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Individualism, Self-Control, and the Finnish Temperance Movement*

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This article analyzes the role of self-control, moral and ethical doctrines in the rise of individualist world-view in Finland. In the Finnish case, the formation of the modern individual was closely linked with the temperance movement, the ideology of which is therefore used as an illustrative example. The guiding line in the article is not to treat self-control as a theoretical concept used in analyzing individual behavior, but as a legitimation of an increasing use of a utilitarian framework. The author discusses the developments in Finnish individualist world-view by analyzing the main turning points in Finnish notions about drinking. First he discusses the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the era of the strength of Finnish temperance movement. Secondly he analyzes the way in which conceptions about drinking changed when the temperance movement lost its appeal to the masses.

From Bottomless Thirst to Self-Control?

The rise of the temperance cause, and its becoming a central value of a mass movement in the late of the 19th century, coincides with a change in drinking habits that Oiva Turpeinen has documented in his studies dealing with alcohol mortality in Finland in 1802–1917. In the first of his two studies (1975), he reveals a pattern that is elegant in its simplicity. The number of alcohol-related deaths was strongly associated with total alcohol consumption and with the overproduction of distilled spirits. It appears that the better a season, and the better off a region was with respect to agricultural production, especially that of grain, the more such deaths there were. There was higher mortality in the autumn, after harvest. Those who died of alcohol poisoning were more likely prosperous farmers than

farmworkers or tenant farmers. In other words, whenever there was any grain left over beyond the amount stored for food, it appears that it was fermented, distilled, and practically drunk on the spot. There seemed to be a bottomless yearning and thirst for distilled spirits (cf. Mäntylä 1985: 169–179).

The whole pattern changed after the late 1870s. In the second part of his study, dealing with alcohol-related mortality in Finland in 1878–1917, Turpeinen (1977) can no longer employ the simple materialist explanatory model. The regional differences in alcohol mortality and consumption was no longer explained by differences in grain production, as new variables had emerged. Now such mortality was noticeably greater in towns than in rural areas. And in towns, it was not the affluent middle or upper class people but rather the factory workers who had the highest alcohol mortality rates. On the basis of these mortality figures and other sources, Turpeinen could infer that rural alcohol consumption—especially that of farmers as a social group—sharply decreased during the latter research period, whereas alcohol consumed by the industrial population increased with industrialization and urbanization.

This shift had to do with changed alcohol legislation. The acquisition of spirits became more difficult in the countryside due to the legislation of 1865 and 1886. The 1865 law denied the farms the right to distill spirits. The 1886 law enforced further restrictions on the sales of beer and spirits, and country towns were denied the right to produce and sell spirits. On top of this, the tax on alcohol production was raised (Turpeinen 1977:63–65). When the peasants' license to make distilled spirits was transferred to the bourgeoisie of the towns, alcohol mortality diminished, but there was also a more profound change underway that could be read from the data. Although farm income and prosperity in rural areas grew, the extra money was not spent on alcohol but for other purposes, such as various forms of investment, Turpeinen concludes. Industrial workers in towns, on the other hand, spent a large part of their increasing income on spirits.

This reflects a change in people's ways of thinking and behaving. The emerging mode of thought is called here the self-reflexive frame of mind. Its essential feature is an individual's increased reflexivity concerning his or her own motives and behavior (cf. Trilling 1978). People tried to find legitimizing explanations for the changes in their drinking habits. The ideological fluctuations of the Finnish society, reflecting changes in people's living conditions, can be understood as changes in the accounting strategies that are used to render different patterns of behavior ethically impeccable.

Temperance as a Movement and as an Ideology

The late 19th century change in the patterns of alcohol consumption corresponds with the rise of the Finnish temperance movement. According to Turpeinen (1977), the decrease in total alcohol consumption during 1878–1900 was primarily due to the rural population, whereas the industrial workers did not decrease their consumption until 1901 onwards. The principal Finnish temperance organization, *Raittiuden Ystävät* (The Friends of Temperance), was founded in 1884. It was the greatest mass movement in the 19th century, reaching the peak in the number of its members between the years 1900 and 1905 (Sulkunen and Alapuro 1987:142).

What is the link between these findings? I suggest that the link between the temperance movement and changes in the codes of conduct can be found in the impact of the social movements on state formation and on modern character formation.

There are at least two levels on which the temperance movement may be said to have had an impact on people's way of life. First, such social movements restructure the social organization. The temperance movement for instance contributed to modern state formation. As free and equal members of a voluntary organization, the people became citizens, and members of the Finnish nation (see Alapuro and Stenius 1987). Organized into social and political movements, citizens began to make claims to the state. Secondly, the ideology of a social movement can be seen as a response to social changes.

In addition to modern state formation, there was also a change in the individual's relation to economy. People were no longer subordinated to their positions in the old corporate class system, but became independent actors in the capitalist market economy. This meant that an individual's subsistence and well-being became increasingly dependent on his or her own choices. By placing individuals in a new setting, these changes made individuals consider their conduct within a framework that had not thus far been applied to drinking contexts. The social movements of the time legitimated a new code of conduct on an ideological level. Since we know that individuals restricted their drinking during 1878–1917, it is reasonable to study the role of the temperance ideology in this change. As Sulkunen (1986:312) puts it, temperance was a civic religion which "acted as a tool by which the entire view of life of the working class, which was recruited from the countryside, sought its ideological character."

Take, for instance, the 1865 change in alcohol legislation. Previously, each farm used to have a set quota, a set amount of spirits it could distill each

year, depending on the amount of grain it produced. That quota was shared among the people who lived off the farm—both the owners and the farm workers—and drunk in traditional ways according to rituals that emphasized a collective ownership of alcohol (Sulkunen 1986:276–277). After the change of the legislation, individuals had to buy their spirits personally in the town. So, alcohol became a commodity with a certain price. The new situation made it easier to think of drinking in terms of a utilitarian framework. However, the application of the utilitarian framework to drinking habits had to be ideologically legitimized. The temperance movement had an important role in this legitimization.

The Ideologies of Self-Control

Temperance was first raised as a central issue by the Fennoman movement. The background of this originally upper-class movement was in the conviction that the Swedish speaking upper-class and intelligentsia had become too detached from the ordinary Finnish-speaking folk, whose needs it did not know, and whose best interests it did not promote. The solution was thought to be found in the intelligentsia's decision to start speaking Finnish—a language the upper class did not master—and to develop it into a “civilized” language. As a result of the efforts—carried out in advantageous economic conditions—public elementary schools were established, Finnish language newspapers were established in increasing numbers, Finnish books began to appear, and libraries were founded (Hästesko 1931, Numminen 1961, Raivio 1975, Suuniitty 1976). The Fennoman movement promoted literacy, knowledge as opposed to superstition, and humanist values in addition to religious ones.

The fight against drunkenness was a central part of the Fennoman movement. It was contended that drunkenness was widespread, leading to poverty, misery, and negligence at work. Especially the workers' drinking was thought to have caused an overall moral decline. That is why the Fennoman intelligentsia launched a campaign against drunkenness. Many pamphlets or “temperance tales” (cf. Lender & Karnchanapce 1977) were published, the first of which was a story of a fictitious person called Turmiolan Tommi, or “Paul of Perdition Place” of the year 1858. This picture story, provided by texts imitating the meter of Kalevala, the national epic of Finland, is a cautionary tale wherein Tommi leads a happy family life until he goes to a barroom, brawls at home, loses his fortune, and finally beats up and kills his wife. He ends up in prison, and the story concludes with the moral: “The Booze did its deed/Menaced the mind/And Fettered the Feet.”

The Fennoman intelligentsia promoted various kinds of cultural activities and the founding of temperance societies in order to raise the public morals among the working class. The aim was obvious: the idea was to resolve the social problems associated with drunkenness, to teach the folk more civilized habits. But why did the ordinary folk join the ranks of the temperance societies in great numbers at the turn of the century? How did the creed of the temperance movement attract the ordinary folk? This calls for looking at the way the temperance ideology is associated with the ideologies of other movements of the time.

As predecessors, the revivalist religious movements of the 19th century are worth mentioning. Many of the movements cherished the identity of a teetotaler, but more important than that is their role as a prelude to the era of a self-reflexive frame of mind. Two main things disassociated their movement from ordinary Protestant religious life. First, like the temperance movement, the revivalist movements played an important role in popular organization as proponents of a new form of societal organization (Sulkunen 1983: 1986:18). The movements had a rebellious, even if ambivalent, relation to the church as an institution. They, for instance, more or less challenged the position and authority of Protestant ministers, and had their own preachers and leaders. It has been said that the *Laestadian* sect was the most radical in this respect.¹ The revivalist movements have often been considered as pre-political social movements (Alapuro 1977; Suolinna 1969; 1975).

The revivalist movements also promoted an individualist view of life. With their emphasis on the total and personal nature of belonging to faith. It was, for instance, the main point in *herännäisyys*, one of the movements. Around 1800 Paavo Ruotsalainen, one of its most influential and legendary characters, realized and started to preach that true faith is based on a daily fight for it; one must not fool oneself into thinking that s/he is sacred and that s/he knows god; one has to do penance every day (Rosendal 1902:26–27; Ruokanen 1989). In that sense, this Pictist movement reflects the growing importance of self-reflection.

Another movement worth mentioning was the youth societies (*nuorisoseura*) founded in the countryside after 1881. However, it was not until the 1890s that the youth societies movement started to spread. Compared to the Fennoman movement, it was more in the hands of the peasantry itself, but it nonetheless aspired to refine the “uncivilized” or “immoral” folkways. One of its main enemies was, of course, traditional heavy drinking habits. Drunkenness was, in fact, important because it was perceived as an indicator of low public morals; other immoralities that were fought were dancing, and the tradition of night courting (*yökosinta*)² (Turunen 1979:24–25). To fight these immoralities, the youth associations organized choirs and amateur

theater groups, so that the youth would become more cultivated to create a taste for more mental activities as opposed to sexual.

And people's sexual behavior did indeed undergo a change that took place during the last decades of the 19th century. According to Notkola's (1989) recent study dealing with the change in fertility in Finland, a shift towards conscious birth control took place among women born in 1870–79. According to her data consisting of a sample of women representing the cohorts 1830–1909, the change in fertility could be explained primarily as due to the spread of a new way of thinking, that is, the ideology of family planning, rather than economic factors. The regions in which information material about the ideology and techniques of family planning were first spread were also the first in which fertility showed signs of conscious birth control. The spread of new techniques was certainly a precondition for the change, but it can be reasoned that also in the case of family planning, the booklets also *legitimated* the new habits in their state of formation.

The ideology of the 19th century social movements concentrated on individual abstinence or moderation, whether it was a question of drinking or, say, sex. In this sense, the increasing proportion of the working class in the temperance societies caused a slight shift in emphasis. The Finnish working class movement adopted total prohibition as its goal in the end of the 19th century, and in that sense its demands were levelled toward the state rather than individual members. In 1898–1900, the working class leaders organized “drinking strikes,” where the partakers promised to abstain from drinking for a fixed period of time. The leaders were, however, doubtful about the actual effects. For them the aim of the strikes was educational: they thought that the failure in trying to eliminate the consequences of bad social conditions would force the working class to abolish its causes by, for instance, starting to demand prohibition (Sulkunen & Alapuro 1987:148).

But even when the temperance movement made demands to the state, the changes in legislation were to affect individuals. In this sense the temperance ideology always had to do with individual ethics, and with the individuals' readiness to change their ways. The working class movement was ambiguous about its relation to prohibition. Many of its leaders were known for their alcohol use, yet as solidary members of a movement they stood behind the prohibition demand. The members were convinced that it was for the good of the working class as a whole that the sales of alcohol be prohibited.

There are certainly several reasons for the unique Finnish phenomenon that the working class supported prohibition. First, it has been argued that the working class used the temperance movement as an umbrella under

which it organized as a political movement (Sulkunen 1986:260–272). Second, since the license for the sale of spirits was in the hands of the bourgeoisie of the towns, they were branded with the name “liquor mafia”. The abuse was not an accusation of illegal activity. According to the labor movement’s temperance ideology, the bourgeoisie profited from the sale of liquor in two ways. On the one hand, some capitalists produced and sold it as a profitable article, and on the other hand, it kept the working class content and passive. Alcohol was perceived as “the opium of the people.” This articulation of the temperance ideology with class interests alienated some of its middle-class supporters. Third, temperance was also a gender issue. As early as in 1876, a group of women demanded restrictions to the alcohol legislation in an attempt to protect religion, family, and the fatherland (Sulkunen 1986:33–35).

In 1916 at the Kymmene paper factories, the wives of factory workers organized a meeting, and decided to demand that the sale of beer be prohibited. When the lists were placed at the factory gates, they were signed by 1,337 people, most of which were men (Talvi 1979:298). In that sense, the working class solidarity crossed gender boundaries. According to the prevailing ethics, the interests of the working class overrode individuals’ own preferences; they were prepared to make personal sacrifices.

Why were the people ready to change their habits and ways of life? As simple as it seems, I suggest that it was due to a cult of self-control that was a shared theme in the ideology of all these social movements. Such was the case with the thinking of one of the leading ideologists of the time, Santeri Alkio, the leader of the youth societies movement. His central concept was self-education (*itsekasvatus*)—where he synthesized the various indicators—temperance, public education, sexual morality—of the ideological change into a whole.

According to Alkio’s individualist world-view, both social defects and individual faults are caused by lack of knowledge and education. Therefore the “folk youth”—by which he referred mainly to the peasantry—needed education and guidance in civilized manners. The function of education was not, however, to change only external behavior, but rather to awaken the individual’s personal activity and yearning for knowledge and mental cultivation. By self-education Alkio meant that a person him/herself has to take care of his/her maturation (Turunen 1979). An individual should learn to conceive of his/her life as an endless striving for better, and as a “sublimation” of one’s desires.

The same idea of “sublimation” is also present in the Russian novelist, Leo Tolstoy’s ideology. Among the intelligentsia, “Tolstoyism” was well-known and rather popular at the time and influenced Alkio. In the youth

societies movement, two presidents of the central organization were, in addition to Alkio, moved by Tolstoyism. Further it had an influence on the workers' movement, since many of the leading figures of the socialist movement admired Tolstoy and read his books. Matti Kurikka, one of the socialist leaders and an editor of the workers' newspaper, *Työmies*, in 1897–99, spoke and wrote openly for Tolstoy's ideas. In this creed, there were three main points. The first was pacifism. The second one has a ring from socialism: according to it, we must not live on others' work. And according to the third point, we must not let our sex drive freely control ourselves (Nokkala 1958).

Self-Control and the Nature/Culture Opposition as Legitimations

In what way did the cult of self-control affect people? Did they simply get the message and begin to control their urges and impulses more effectively? That is how Norbert Elias (1978; 1982) perceives the history of manners. According to him, the civilizing process can be best understood as the emergence of self-control, whereby natural instincts and urges are kept in check. In this respect it shares the views of the Finnish late nineteenth century popular movements, whose members perceived themselves as proponents of "culture," i. e. civilized conduct, as opposed to "nature," that is primitive behavior. The popularity of the nature/culture opposition makes us ask how it is socially and historically conditioned, and what made it appealing to the public as an essential element of the temperance ideology.

I suggest that the cult of self-control had a legitimizing function. It contributed to rendering the individualist behavioral code morally acceptable. As a legitimization strategy, the cult of self-control can be best understood as a particular way of articulating the prevalent dimensions of meaning, or pairs of opposition, in terms of which individual behavior was assessed. In the first place, there was an opposition between utilitarian self-seeking and a code of conduct serving the interest of a community. Secondly, there was a conflict between hedonism and asceticism. Finally, there was a contraposition between nature and culture.

During the rise of the temperance movement, people were apt to consider their drinking habits from an individualist, utilitarian perspective. However, it was a new frame to be applied to drinking occasions, which were traditionally structured by a collectivist frame. And utilitarian self-seeking was morally disapproved. In this situation, the temperance ideology provided the people with a new interpretation of the individualist frame. Since the working class movement, for instance, adopted prohibition as its goal, personal moderation or abstinence was associated with class solidarity

among free and equal individuals. In other words, the individualist frame was no more in contradiction with communal values.

The emphasis on the value of self-control also justified the individualist behavioral code. On the one hand it emphasized the difficulty of living up to the new ideals. It stressed the strong will-power it takes to be able to resist the temptations of individual drives and needs. This is expressed in Tolstoyism's third point by saying that we must not let our sex drive freely control us.

The emphasis on the difficulties in achieving the new moral standard tends to dampen the gains. Take, for instance, methods of birth control adopted by large numbers of people in late 19th century Finland. Along with the extension of capitalist exchange relations, the value of a child could—and often had to—be counted in money, and that certainly influenced the spread of birth control methods. However, it seems that to account for birth control in terms of a utilitarian framework would have made it morally and ethically questionable. The emphasis on the heroic will-power and self-denial it requires presented the situation in a new light.

The other technique was to observe the traditional habits, associated with the value of solidarity, from an unfavorable viewpoint. This inversion was achieved by picturing the old ways as savage, animalistic, and uncivilized. Here the nature/culture opposition comes into play. People's desire to behave in the old ways was interpreted as based on natural drives. Traditional behavioral patterns were at least presented as less "civilized" or nearer to the state of nature, than the new ones. Those who still clung to the old ways were therefore perceived as savage, childlike people with a weak will-power.

The attitude of the youth societies movement toward traditional, ritualized, courtship manners provides a case in point. These rituals were in fact highly regulated and formalized. According to Sarmela (1969), a tendency towards formality and the creation of a shared sign language was typical of the night courtship ritual. According to his study, this ritual, along with other independent youth cultural activities like corner dances which came into being from the 18th century onwards were among the changes that enabled the emergence of 19th and 20th century religious and political mass movements.

Similarly, the much criticized and opposed heavy drinking habits and reckless behavior of agrarian youth gangs were, according to Peltonen (1985), a deliberate show-off. Alcohol played an important role in the initiation ritual when a boy became a member of the 'youth' group. Gradually the church was able to abduct these initiation rites associated with adulthood and give them a religious meaning in the form of con-

firmation, or first communion. Yet the degree of ritualism and formalism in the traditional habits is of secondary importance. The point is that they are no less “civilized” than the new ones.

In Santeri Alkio’s thinking these methods of rendering modern individualist praxis morally ideal were combined with a political message. With his central concept of “self-education,” he associated individual ethics with social ethics; a person must be both a good human being and a decent citizen. He emphasized that self-education did not mean the training of a self-reliant, self-sufficient person who would be content after taking care of his or her own development. Rather the idea was to create a person who is useful for social life, and serves others in the spirit of brotherhood (Nokkala 1958:253). In his writings he presented the individualist behavioral model as decent and beneficial to the whole of society, and he pictured traditional manners as a form of self-seeking hedonism, caused by a lack of education. In 1899, for instance, he wrote: “We must finally get that part of the youth along with us, who totally carelessly, without any yearning for knowledge and enlightenment, still rejoice in the darkness” (Turunen 1979:20).

The ideology of these social movements works by creating a new articulation of two oppositions: the individualist and collectivist frameworks on the one hand, and the nature/culture opposition on the other. By associating traditional habits with selfishness and hedonism, and individualism with civilization, individualist behavior is presented as a socially appropriate and beneficial code of conduct.

From Self-Control to Utilitarian Ethic

What has changed since the end of the 19th century? As trivial as it seems, the most important change is that there is no longer any temperance movement, or even a temperance ideology. The organizations still exist, and they get funding from the state (Kirsi and Piispa 1985; Kirsi 1989), but they cannot really be called social movements. They are now institutions doing health education, and as important as health has become to the people recently, it does not give rise to social movements.

However, the decline of the temperance movement is a sign of a qualitative shift in the “civilizing” process. The traditional temperance ideology, based on a cult of self-control, does not appeal to people any more. People are not fascinated by sacred self-denial; they want to feel free to behave according to their own desires. Nor do people feel that they should defend a frame of mind characterized as everybody seeking their own interests. The whole situation has been reversed in the sense that an individual’s own best, “self-realization,” and the fulfillment of his or her own needs and desires is now

used as a legitimizing device of a present behavioral model. Asceticism is no more approved or valued, because it is associated with paternalism and militant narrow-mindedness. Instead, the present temperance ideology cherishes the values of Romanticism, the right and duty of every person to find one's true self.

The shift can be seen in the changes of the temperance movement's programs. From "civic religion" or convictional tectotalism to rationalist temperance (of the types of temperance ideology, see Kirsi 1988) and "healthy-ism" has been the general trend at least on the programmatic level. Until the 1950's, the programs of the temperance movement were based on an ideal picture of a "healthy, natural and positive way of life," and alcoholic beverages did not belong to it. The ideal of a good life included other things: cultural education, taking care of one's physical fitness, and being a good, law-abiding citizen. The programs warned of "diversions which idealize and maintain an unhealthy life," and they advised to be cautious of "asocial individuals who spread drunkenness."

In the 1980's the programs shift to emphasize people's individual values, needs and decisions: it is stressed that one can lead a natural and positive life in a number of ways. Almost the only message the temperance movement has left is information about health issues and about the dangers of intoxicants. The empty space left by the disappearance of an outspoken moral ideal has been filled in by an increased interest in the areas usually taken care of by the state officials, through health care and social policy.

It appears that self-control and hedonism had changed places. It is now emphasized that the particular way in which individuals behave stems from their own free will, and the insistence that we use self-control on ourselves is lessened. There are no paternalistic instructions in the present-day ideologies, only a vaguely expressed wish that every individual is provided the chance for self-realization. In other words, the notion of "self-control" has a bad ring. One is not expected to use self-control, but rather to manipulate one's desire, to kill every urge for any kind of "harmful" behavior.

This shift is produced, I suggest, by a transformation of the civilized/primitive distinction into that of normal/pathological. It is taken for granted that every individual acts according to his/her own best interests, that everybody leads a normal, "healthy" life. Forms of behavior thought to be bad for the individual's health are taken as proof of an individual pathology, of a mental disorder. Aberrations from the normal are no longer interpreted as immoral, sinful or hedonist, but rather as sick. In the social science literature, this trend to perceive many modes of behavior—including abnormal drinking (Room 1983)—in medical terms has been named medi-

calization of deviance and social control (Conrad & Schneider 1980; Schneider 1978).

In light of the history of the Finnish temperance movement, it seems fruitful to approach medicalization as the replacement of the earlier civilized/primitive opposition by that of normal/pathological. It is taken for granted that "normal" behavior is for the good of the whole society. Should, then, an individual's behavior be harmful to the society, or especially to him/herself, it is taken as proof of a disease or disorder. Such disorders are not condemned; rather they are treated by various forms of therapy.

It seems that the new "healthy-ism" ideology is based on a changed conception of "human nature." Unlike the Christian religious doctrines, where it was thought that people are bad, or "wild," by nature, and reflected in the 19th century temperance movement, the new "healthy-ism" reflects the modern, secularized concept that all "evil" in a human being is caused by a "disorder," either induced by bad social conditions or by an individual's inheritance. As Sulkunen (1986:312) notes, the temperance movement was indeed, even in this sense, a civil religion, a transition stage "from the religion-oriented view, and from the collective concept of man to individualist secular citizenship." With this new notion of human nature, hedonism has acquired a positive ring. The new temperance ideology supports individuals in their own, "natural" aspirations towards a healthy life, in the conviction that only "disorders" can lead an individual to desire unhealthy things.

The shift from asceticism to hedonism and from a religious or criminological to a medical view on heavy drinking seems to be linked to the repeal of Prohibition in 1932. With drinking no longer criminalized, more responsibility for the negative consequences of drinking was delegated to the individual. However, the shift from the cult of self-control to an ethic of hedonism has been a gradual one. That may be because, from the days of total Prohibition onwards, the liberalization of Finnish alcohol policy has been a slow process.

The liberalization of Finnish alcohol policy started out with the repeal of prohibition in 1932, but alcohol control was still quite strict until the late 1960s, with liberalization continuing throughout the 1970s and 1980s. This gradual liberalization process is reflected in the institutional changes in alcoholism treatment. The founding of the first A-clinics (a short for alcoholism clinics) in 1953 was a turning point in the sense that for the first time there was a place where individuals went voluntarily to get treatment and therapy (Bruun 1971).

From Asceticism to Hedonism

Social theorists from Daniel Bell to Christopher Lasch have suggested that modern society has witnessed a shift from asceticism to hedonism. It seems that the rise and fall of the Finnish temperance movement can be partially interpreted in terms of this transformation. Asceticism seemed to be a central element in the ideology of the temperance movement during its days of glory, whereas its decline seems to be associated with the rise of some sort of hedonism. Daniel Bell (1976) notes that the American hedonistic age, which is often associated with the 1960s generation, has in fact its roots in the Young Intellectuals' attack on petty bourgeois values, and can be seen as an extension of the hedonism of the 1950s. As in the Finnish case, he associates American hedonism with an opposition of Prohibition, since it was the last major effort by small-town and traditionalist forces to impose a specific value, the prohibition of liquor, on the rest of the society. However, along with the shift from asceticism to hedonism on the ideological level, there is a shift from state control to individual control on the organizational level. In other words, asceticism and hedonism should be regarded as accounting strategies of new modes of behavior, brought along by changes in living conditions. The social theorists' characterization about the present era as a hedonistic one could therefore be seen as a response to the present ideology of hedonism and maybe as part of it.

The shift from the cult of self-control to the ethic of hedonism seems to be associated with the gradual liberalization of Finnish alcohol policy. In other words: the ideology of asceticism was strong during the time when individuals were externally controlled; when they were strictly controlled by society and state apparatus. People emphasized how they, despite difficulties, used self-control and lived up to certain ethical principles in an era where society in fact decided many things for individuals. The ideology of hedonism has gained currency along with increasing personal freedom, coupled with more and more options for wrong choices. In the hedonist era, the crossing of the limits of normality came to be defined as pathological.³

The problematic of self-control rose in the end of the 19th century along with the temperance movement. The gradual shift from state control to self-reflection meant a new variation of the theme of self-control. Along with the increasing need for personal concern for one's actions, the conception of human nature seemed to change. As the need to consider one's behavior, to plan one's choices is factually increased, the changing requirements are legitimized by talking about hedonism. In people's efforts to develop themselves into subjects who "instinctually" behave in the right fashion,

people emphasize how they want to behave exactly the way they do. Behavior which is obviously against an individual's own interests, and in that sense irrational, is from this point of view deemed a disease or a symptom of a physical or psychic illness.

NOTES

* The article is based on my book "Desire and Craving" (Alasuutari, forthcoming).

1. This is due to the doctrine the movement adopted in the 1860's, according to which the community of believers has "the keys to the Kingdom of God." By that they meant that the members of the movement had the power to forgive a member's sins, or to make him or her do more repentance work (Raittila 1976; Suolinnä 1969; Miettinen 1942).
2. This means that the boys went on evening visits in one or more groups and visited several girls during the same trip. In going to the girls' sleeping quarters a formal endeavor ceremony was performed with its knocks, endeavor rhymes, and lines (Sarmela 1969:155).
3. In *Discipline & Punish* (1979) and in *Madness & Civilization* (1973) Michel Foucault talks about the same mechanism, about the way in which the loosening of external control and the strengthening of "disciplinary" techniques also leads to the disciplinary question of the normal and the abnormal.

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