



Addiction and Lifestyles in Contemporary Europe: Reframing Addictions Project (ALICE RAP)

Media Images

Deliverable 3.1, Work Package 3

**Matilda Hellman
Franca Beccaria
Michal Bujalski
Marisa de Andrade
Zsuzsanna Elekes
Paul Lemmens
Maija Majamäki
Jacek Moskalewicz
Sara Rolando
Martine Stead
Pekka Sulkunen**

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ABSTRACT. The report accounts for proceedings and results from a European study on media images on addiction. The study involved 6 European countries: Finland, Italy, Netherlands, Poland, Hungary and the United Kingdom.

The core study involved synchronized comparisons between unaffiliated printed press images of addiction in four European countries: Finland, Italy, The Netherlands and Poland. We inquired i) how the persons affected by the problems were depicted; ii) who were the experts and sources of information cited or referred to concerning views on what the problems were all about, and iii) what are the views on the origin of and reasons for the emergence of the problems in the press materials?

The second analysis was concerned with the same aspects in a quantitative analysis of different newspapers in Hungary.

The third analysis was concerned with images of smoking in the UK print press around the time of the ban on print advertising on tobacco in 2003.

Finally, the fourth study formed a theoretical base for the study as a whole, developing theses on how to understand media images of addiction in different cultural contexts in relation to welfare policy.

The study provides new knowledge on the role that the mass media possesses in construing different images of addiction related problems, and how these roles can be traced to different European traditions when it comes to welfare systems; tasks of the print press and mass media landscapes, as well as the history of prevalence of and treatment of addiction-related problems. The discourse on the various psycho-social problems related to addiction conveyed a high salience of the issues in all countries studied. Trends of de-politicisation and individualisation were the most striking overall developments over time.

1. INTRODUCTION

In this study, we have produced new knowledge regarding how the addiction phenomenon is framed in public speech in different European countries. 'Addiction' and 'dependency' have been associated with the use of intoxicants since antiquity, and this is the way these concepts are still frequently understood. However, it has been observed that these terms are increasingly applied to all kinds of behavioural problems, even non-problematic habitual behaviours such as reading newspapers, playing games or communicating with other people on the internet. The extension of the addiction family of concepts to new areas can also be observed in the work on the international classifications of diseases.

The importance of studying this matter in the media lies in the influence that media perceptions exert on not only popular and general views of the problems related to addiction, but also on expert and policy makers' views. If addictive problems are portrayed by the media as isolated individuals' risky habitual behaviours, this leads to the view that they are personal problems which stem from the individual. Additionally, this conceptualisation promotes the idea that remedies for these problems focus on

personal responsibility and controlling the individual, and expert knowledge and policy options turn in this direction rather than the societal environmental factors that are determinants of the individual's risky behaviour. This is familiar from the alcohol policy experience. As long as alcohol problems are understood as growing from an individual propensity to develop dependency, or some other type of personal problem behaviour like violence or self-destruction, societal and policy interest is turned away from the total level of alcohol consumption in a population and from the possible policy options to regulate it, towards control of a 'problematic minority'.

One important explanation for the generalisation of addiction is medicalization. It is often argued that, in technologically advanced western countries, medical technology extends its reach over an ever wider span of human life, including emotions, pleasures and behaviour (Conrad 2007). This could be reflected in popular consciousness, and in return impact on expert and policy discourses. Movement in this direction is not without risk in itself. Controlling and treating individuals is expensive. It may neglect serious threats to vast populations globally who are potential growing markets for public health burdens, (e.g., alcohol). These populations may be as yet unknown to the public health community, or may have actively resisted the market influence on religious or cultural grounds.

The belief that many different problems are now taken for granted as individual addictions, at least in western countries, is nevertheless based on impressionistic evidence alone. Expert opinion among neuroscientists, arguably the discipline closest to understanding the mechanisms by which such undesired behaviours persist, is far from conclusive. The conviction of many psychologists in the field is often based on practical therapeutic interests rather than scientific evidence. The conjectures of social scientists to the effect that "addiction" is part of the individualised late modern belief system are more founded on their theories of modernity than direct evidence from that belief system itself.

The ALICE RAP project offers a unique possibility to conduct a series of comparative studies into the way that the generalised concept of addiction is actually used in different types of advanced western societies, and what characteristics are associated with it. Given our aim to empirically study these assumptions about the concept of addiction in popular consciousness, we chose to analyse mainstream media messages. In addition, as it is often posited that this development in popular consciousness is a recent phenomenon (Hellman 2010), we decided to take a longitudinal sample.

We studied the discourse on the addiction phenomenon, which expresses views on different kinds of problematic excessive and compulsive behaviours. Figure 1 gives a descriptive overview of the study as a whole. The main comparative part in the middle of the figure shows how different national contexts mark how the problems are portrayed and understood. The study is especially concerned with the main explanatory traits regarding how the problems arise, who is concerned and how the problems are to be dealt with. Case study A investigated the typical media setup of the addictions phenomenon in one country, namely Hungary. We were especially

interested in how the perspectives had changed over time. Case study B looked at the developments after a tobacco advertising ban was implemented in the UK. We were interested in discerning the forces that introduces and affect the addiction images in the mass media content. Case study C aims at explaining the typical media narratives' anchorage in welfare cultures, taking Finland and The USA as its case examples. Case study C can be viewed as a theoretical base for the study as a whole, as it theorises the variations in understanding of addictions in the mass media in different types of societies.

Figure 1 Overview of the analyses conducted in the study as a whole.

MEDIA IMAGES Deliverable 1.3, Work Package 3		
<u>CASE STUDY A.</u> THE TOPIC OF ADDICTION IN THE PRINT PRESS	<u>CORE STUDY (COMPARATIVE)</u> THE TOPIC OF ADDICTION IN THE PRINT PRESS	<u>CASE STUDY B.</u> RESTICTING IMAGES OF ADDICTION IN PRINT PRESS
COUNTRY: Hungary NUMBER OF TEXTS: N=475 FOCUS: How has the perspective changed in view of the focus on the phenomenon?	COUNTRIES: Finland, Italy, Netherlands, Poland NUMBER OF TEXTS: N=1327 FOCUS: The discursive traits and their cultural and social reasons.	COUNTRY: The United Kingdom NUMBER OF TEXTS: N=72 FOCUS: Restricting media images, a case study on smoking images.
<u>CASE STUDY C.</u> THE STORY OF ADDICTION COUNTRIES: Finland and the USA NUMBER OF TEXTS: N=230 FOCUS: Typical narrative setup in different welfare cultural contexts. Theoretical part that cuts across and scaffolds all studies.		

In this report we give an account of the processes and results from the study as a whole. In each sub chapter we will address these matters in the following order: core study, case studies A-C. Finally, we discuss our findings, formulate syntheses and draw conclusions regarding implications and the significance of our study.

2. METHODS

2.2 The core study: procedure

The advantages of analysing daily newspapers are that the printed press has been around long enough to enable a historical perspective on how the framings of problems have changed over time. Also, newspapers have an internationally standardised layout which has been developed over the years in a manner that is recognisable in format and function and therefore constitutes a comparable genre, also in cross-cultural analysis.

Common criteria when selecting the newspapers from the different countries for the comparative core study were that the papers would be one of the major national unaffiliated newspapers (without party political binding) and have a digitalized archive, allowing for consultation of back issues through textual search. In Italy, *La Stampa* was chosen, the third largest national newspaper with a circulation of 339,498 daily copies (ADS, 2012). In Finland, the *Helsingin Sanomat* (HS) was selected, which is the most significant and widely-read newspaper in the country, reaching 951,000 newspaper readers in 2009 (Finnish Audit Bureau, 2010). HS is also the largest subscription-based daily in the Nordic countries. In Poland, *Gazeta Wyborcza* was chosen which, since the 90's, is among the top titles of Polish daily press, reaching average number of 4 million readers weekly in 2011¹. In the Netherlands, the *NRC Handelsblad* was chosen, one of five major national newspapers and opinion leader with a liberal voice. Currently, it boasts a circulation of between 200,000 and 300,000 daily, and an average readership of about 1 million daily. The public arenas chosen for our inquiries are, thus, all established public voices widely disseminated in their countries of origin.

The years chosen for sampling were 1991; 1998 and 2011. The first and last complete reporting years found in all electronic archives at the time of data collection were 1991 and 2011. We choose the year 1998 as a middle point in order to discern possible differences over time.

We defined the concepts to be looked for in order to discern the coverage of addiction-related problems. Firstly, the research group agreed on a list of concepts of phenomena that covered the type of problematic behaviour contemplated: alcohol, illicit drugs, gambling, tobacco smoking, and eating behaviour (anorexia and bulimia). We also included some additional concepts for more recently occurring behavioural problems: excessive work, internet/TV use, shopping and sex. Each national team translated the shared list of concepts into a list of terms in their own languages to be used for running the searches in the electronic archives. Choices of search words were shared and discussed thoroughly with the partners from the other countries. In the Polish language, the idea of 'addiction' is related to terms 'uzależnienie', and 'nałóg' while in Italy there are not two terms distinguishing dependence from addiction, but, rather, one term is used with both meanings, which is 'dipendenza'. In Finnish there is no precise equivalent to the word 'addiction'. The most common word for dependency is 'riippuvuus', but variations of the semantic construct 'addiktio', borrowed from English, are becoming increasingly common. In the Netherlands, 'verslaving' is very close to the English meaning of the word addiction. Words or combinations of words (Boolean search) were used to scan all text content in the electronic news archives. Compared to a keyword-search, the content search strategy avoids the bias caused by different praxis of the databases for signifying topics of the press content.

All in all, 1327 (=N) text items were collected and analysed (258 from the Finnish newspaper, 296 from the Italian, 225 from the Polish, and 561 from the Dutch

¹AGORA.pl http://www.agora.pl/agora/1,110780,9274931,Gazeta_Wyborcza.html - accessed 8.3.2013.

newspaper). In addition, Italy, Finland and Hungary collected material from the 1970s in order to look for larger historical paradigm shifts.

Table 1 gives an overview of the numbers of articles that made references to the different types of addiction-related problems looked for in the electronic text archives. Different addictions could be mentioned in the same text items. Problems which received more than 15 % of the total references to addiction have been put in bold in order to highlight the most frequently portrayed problems. In plain terms, a 15 % occurrence means that the likelihood of a reference being made to that problem in the reporting (when using the search criteria of this study) was 15% for that year. Since the text source, the search technique and coding are the same within each country, all national numbers are internally entirely compatible.

Table 1 . Quantities of different types of addictions portrayed in the data from the different countries *

Types of Addiction	Finnish			Italian			Polish			The Netherlands		
	1991	1998	2011	1991	1998	2011	1991	1998	2011	1991	1998	2011
Alcohol	78%	55%	49%	17%	14%	15%	43%	44%	44%	30%	18%	32%
Tobacco	0%	2%	1%	4%	2%	4%	13%	27%	11%	5%	8%	7%
Illicit drugs	15%	19%	25%	77%	66%	27%	39%	21%	22%	48%	59%	46%
Eating disorders	1%	10%	13%	2%	11%	22%	0%	2%	2%	5%	5%	3%
Gambling	0%	1%	1%	0%	5%	15%	4%	2%	7%	6%	1%	3%
Internet	0%	2%	1%	0%	0%	11%	0%	0%	5%	0%	1%	2%
Shopping	1%	1%	4%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	2%	0%	1%	2%
Work	5%	11%	4%	0%	0%	3%	0%	3%	6%	6%	7%	6%
TV	0%	0%	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Sex	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%	4%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%
<i>Total**</i>	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
<i>Total (numbers)</i>	95	134	77	128	101	74	46	94	85	196	231	182

* Some articles could contain two or many different problems, and so counted in each categories

**Total 100% has been rounded off

Both in Finland and in Poland the main addiction problem referred to, throughout the time period studied, was alcohol addiction, whereas illicit drugs was the most frequently discussed problem in the newspapers from Italy and The Netherlands during the whole time period. Nevertheless a decrease in illicit drug references is noticeable in 2011 when eating disorders start to play a more salient role in Italy, and there is an increase of the material on alcoholism in the Netherlands. Among the ‘traditional’ addictions (alcohol, narcotics, tobacco) tobacco was the least discussed in all samples of all four countries. An exception was the Polish material, in which tobacco dependency is among the three most common addictions discussed during the sample years.

The research team developed a common coding scheme which was formalised in a coding handbook. Codes were developed and agreed upon with the aim of finding

categories that were as unambiguous as possible. The coding was performed with the help of qualitative coding software (Atlas.ti or NVivo). The following three aspects were looked for in the materials:

What are the reasons for the problems? (as claimed in the texts)

Who is the addict? (as portrayed in the texts)

What sources are used and referred to for explaining what the problems are all about?

The analysis phase was driven by combing:

- The number of references retrieved for each code, to get an overview and to make some first hypotheses based on the main differences between countries, substances, and years.
- The use of analytical data in order to test the hypotheses by going through the meanings, concepts and patterns of communication retrieved in the different sources.

Each partner took the lead on one of the three analyses, but all other researchers were involved in providing national reports on selected codes and interpretations. This way it was not necessary to have all the data translated, which would have been impossible. Also, this has ensured a better understanding of the national trends along with the general ones.

2.3. Case study A. procedure

In Hungary, the political and public interest toward different addictive behaviours has been lively in the last few decades, but is rarely connected to the extent or severity of the problem. Media discourse has seldom focused on addiction itself, and mostly dealt only with illicit drugs.

The purpose of the Hungarian media study was to examine:

- *How different addictive behaviours, the problem of addiction and people using different licit and illicit drugs are represented in the media (if they are represented at all)?*
- *What kind of differences can be observed in the representation of different forms of substance use and substance users in the media?*
- *Is the addiction itself is portrayed in any way by the media?*
- *How media do reflect changes in political and public interest toward addictive behaviours?*

Two daily newspapers were chosen as sources for capturing the media representation of addiction: *Magyar Nemzet* and *Népszabadság*. Both newspapers are widely read and have an important social relevance in Hungary. *Magyar Nemzet* (MN) is the most prestigious, conservative and national-liberal daily paper that was founded in 1938. According to a recent report (MATESZ, 2011: Terminal report on print press²) MN

² http://mno.hu/data/cikk/1/5/13/10/cikk_1051310/MN_mediakit_Hu_2012.pdf

covers one third of the market of civic-political daily newspapers distributed nationwide. 50,000 copies of MN were sold on average per week in 2011. It is estimated that the typical readers of the newspaper are economically active and highly qualified citizens. 42% of the readers possess a degree, and 53% of the readers have a residency in Budapest or in other urban regions, according to data referring to the second term of 2011.

In spite of the decreasing tendency in printed copy sales – which is a phenomenon experienced with print press materials in general after 1989 –Népszabadság (NSZ) was the most popular daily political paper sold in Hungary until 2011. NSZ was founded in 1956 as the central paper of the Hungarian Socialist Labour Party (MSZMP) which was the only legal party until 1989. In 2011 NSZ was the biggest daily paper in the country with around 67000 printed copies. The newspaper attracts readers with social-liberal values.

We searched for articles in the years 1978, 1991, 2000 and 2011. Newspapers were available on-line for the years 2000 and 2011, thus, we analysed articles of the whole years. Only printed versions were available in 1978 and 1991. In these two years we sampled 6 different weeks from both newspapers.

There were 10 main forms of addiction defined, based on the research proposal. Several search words were created within these categories. When searching, we selected articles dealing not only with addiction or dependence, but also articles discussing substance use as a problem in general. By searching criteria we selected N=475 articles, all together.

2.4. Case study B. procedure

In the United Kingdom, the Tobacco and Promotion Act 2002 started with a ban on print media and billboard advertising in February 2003, and was followed by a ban on direct tobacco marketing in May 2003; a ban on tobacco sponsorship within the UK in July 2003; and point of sale restrictions in December 2004. To identify any potential innovations or changes in tobacco industry marketing and check whether the industry was complying with regulations, a systematic press audit of tobacco marketing activity was performed in the UK, from December 2002 until June 2005, in seven waves.

The press audit was based on the most widely read broadsheets, tabloids and magazines identified using the National Readership Survey and included a wide range of print press genres (n=36) including dailies, tabloids, women's magazines, lifestyle magazines etc. All in all 878 texts and images pertaining to smoking were collected.

One week was sampled from the data collection months chosen, and all tobacco-related material appearing in the publications were systematically collected by a research company. Table 1 displays the total amount of items collected. Our inquiries showed that conventional cigarette adverts had not been observed since the ban was introduced, but pictures of people smoking had indeed continued. In June 2005, such

images were particularly prevalent with 276 counts compared with a range of 62 to 99 across other points.

Table 2. The amounts of items (all genres, textual and images) collected

Description	Study Wave							Total
	Dec 2002	Jan 2003	Feb 2003	Dec 2003	June 2004	Dec 2004	June 2005	
Total	99	138	155	62	73	75	276	878

Table 2 shows a steep decrease of 60 % in the total supply of tobacco-related material from 155 items collected in February 2003 to 62 items in December the same year. The ban of advertising in print press seems to have reduced the total supply of tobacco-related images in the UK print press. However, one and a half years later, in June 2005, the tobacco-related content had increased extensively, so much that the 276 items found from the week in June 2005 represents an over 400% increase in tobacco-related content in comparison with December 2003. We found no circumstantial explanation for this, such as a particular tobacco-related policy discussion taking place at the time. Also, the over 400% increase was large enough for us to consider the increase as very substantial. But what content did the increase convey?

In order to find out about the kind of content prevalent before and after the ban, we selected the data from the first and the last wave. After reading the material from both of these waves, we realised that we needed to trace the sources and qualitatively grasp the meaning-making of the items that had increased over time.

Using a theoretically informed selection process, we selected items from the data sets that we interpreted as referring to habitual smokers or smoking, as these produced meaning on the smoking habit, not merely the incidental or situational smoking. The amount of data selected on the basis of the criteria of smoking portrayed as continuous and habitual was 31 items (30%) for the first wave (December 2002) and 153 items (55%) for the second wave (June 2005). As these were images increasing over time we acknowledged a need to take a closer look at the ways in which smokers are portrayed in different genres, as well as what these images imply and signify.

Table 3 shows the division of the amount of material appearing into different genres. The table indicates that the increase in the reporting between the two waves seems to have taken place especially in the genre category of “entertainment” with 20 items in 2002 and 107 in 2005. We selected the 127 items from this genre category from both data waves in order to trace their sources and functions.

Table 3. The division of amounts of tobacco-related items found in the different genre categories.

CATEGORIES	Advertisement	Entertainment	News	Cartoons	TOTAL
Wave 1, 2002	6	20	3	2	31
Wave 2, 2005	1 ³	107	22	23	153

Table 4 illustrates the types of press publications that the 127 entertainment items appeared in. Magazine supplements to daily newspapers were classed as newspapers, as they are distributed together with the daily newspaper and therefore represented the publication decisions of that editing office. Most of the entertainment content on tobacco smoking appeared in tabloids, supplements to broadsheets and men’s magazines.

Table 4. Publication sources for the two waves.

	TABLOID	BROADSHEET	MAGAZINES
Wave 1, Dec 2002	1 (supplement)	11 (all in supplements)	9 (2 in women magazines ; 6 men; 1 other)
WAVE 2 – June 2005	36 (28 were in the actual paper; the rest in the supplement)	53 (9 were in the actual paper; the rest in the supplement)	18 (5 were in women’s; 13 in men’s mags)

We reasoned that the second wave’s entertainment material would be the most important and warranting a closer look, as this was the format that we had identified as having the largest increase in the smoking portrayals. From the 107 items of the second wave’s entertainment items, we excluded 22 cases, in which “smoking” was only mentioned in passing in the text, and not at all connected to any images of the activity. In an additional 13 cases the image of the smoker was interpreted as not intentional.⁴ The remaining of 72 items from the entertainment genre in UK print press from June 2005 constituted the material proper for the study. We argue that the signification of smoking in these items is, in some way or another, deliberately included in these pictures. By studying these closer we should be able to say

³ The advertising from the year 2005 is for a product that helps quit smoking.

⁴ Strictly speaking all images involve many layers of intentional and unintentional connotations but we needed to limit our material for the qualitative inquiries. In the 13 excluded items we saw that neither the photographer nor the subject portrayed had calculated in advance that the picture would contain the smoking -- it did not seem arranged or planned in any way. Sometimes far in the indistinct background a person was seen smoking. In these pictures the smoking played a subordinate seemingly unintentional role and was very hard to recognize for the average reader if the content was not to be studied very carefully and at close range. Although these images and texts were very much part of the total supply of smoking images, they were less interesting for our intentions to look at the origins and characteristics of the images of smoking published after the ban on advertising.

something about the symbolic repertoire within which the increase in smoking images has taken place. This became the focus of further categorisation and a content analysis on the types of images in which the increase was the largest: namely pictorial images of a character in entertainment sections of publications, who was smoking (n=72).

We identified two possible reasons for the increase of smoking images in the UK print press:

i) a push from interest groups who gain from an increase in images of tobacco smoking, ii) or a heightened symbolic value of smoking images.

An evaluation was made of the likelihood of the two hypotheses in view of our empirical qualitative analysis, on the one hand, and in view of theory and previous knowledge production, on the other.

2.5. Case study C. procedure

In case study C, we wanted to develop a theoretical frame for understanding the cultural anchorage of popular media portrayals of addiction problems. We set out to test whether the typical narrative formats and text contents written on addiction problems can be linked to certain basic value traits in two societies with different welfare contexts, Finland and the USA. By comparing the characteristics of popular stories, we show ways in which dominant myths support different repertoires of solutions.

Based on what we knew from the literature about the ways in which the problems are conceptualized in the two societies, our hypothesis was that the typical addiction myths in the two countries would use different inherent logic regarding individuals' obligations, the scope of possible solutions available, and the role played by beliefs and knowledge.

In order to test this hypothesis, we needed a fairly large corpus of material from each country. The US material was collected via the news search site Googlenews.com. Searches were conducted on two occasions (21 January, 2012, and 26 November, 2012) using the key term "addiction". We selected the top 126, most frequently accessed texts, originating in the United States and published around the time of the searches.

Data collection for Finland was rather more difficult. First of all there are fewer media sources in Finland, and in the absence of a precise equivalent for addiction, we also had to invest more effort in devising the right set of search terms. Both domestic and international internet search engines and electronic press archives were scanned using different Finnish search words ("dependence" in combination with different substances and habits; alcoholism, drug addict, new constructs of the English word addiction: addiktio, addikti, etc.). Most of the Finnish samples (n=104) date from 2012 (n=85), but some articles are from 2011 (n=19).

The data collected from the two countries were similar in both genre and source. Most stemmed from web editions of daily and local newspapers, but some articles were drawn from websites run by television channels or broadcasting companies. In addition, some material was found on popular health and psychology websites featuring journalistically formatted informative articles. Thus, most of our data consisted of journalistic articles (news stories, reports, chronicles) simultaneously disseminated in another media format (daily news digests) with a potentially large readership.

For purposes of data classification and analysis, we worked from the assumption that the two countries would differ in how they conceptualise the target group for action as well as in the aggregation level on which the problems should to be tackled. Texts were therefore classified as representing a solution that referred to one of the following: the level of the state or society (level 4, macro); the level of local policy (level 3, meso); the level of home, family, or small collective (level 2, meso); or the individual level (level 1, micro). A single text could include several perspectives. Table 5 presents an overview of how the narratives are divided between the different context levels.

Table 5. Aggregation level referred to by media narratives on possible solutions to addiction problems (126 US and 104 Finnish texts). One text can incorporate several perspectives.

Perspective	Finnish material	US material
level 1 = micro Individual problem and solution	40%	55%
level 2 = meso Home/ family/ group/ small collective	6%	21%
level 3 = meso Local policy level	8%	16%
level 4 Society/ state = macro	46%	8%
Total references to an aggregation level	(121) 100%	(146)100%

In order to systematise the searching for main characteristics in the two sets of stories, we looked for the four modality dimensions enumerated by Doležel in his book “*Heterocosmica: fiction and possible worlds*” (Doležel 1998): *alethic*, *deontic*, *axiological* and *epistemic modal orders* around which narratives are arranged.

These four modalities offer dimensions for distinguishing the basic logical framework of narratives:

Alethic modality refers to everything being expressed as necessary, possible or impossible according to the laws of nature and logic. *Deontic* modality refers to story elements of prohibition, obligation and permission. *Axiological* modality refers to moral judgements made in the text, concerning what is good or bad. And finally, *epistemic* modality concerns claims about knowledge, ignorance and belief.

For our purposes here, we view different emphases and logic perspectives of these modalities as expressions of differences in meaning-making of the phenomenon in the United States and Finland.

3. RESULTS

3.1. The core study

The core study looked at three aspects of the reporting: (i) Origin: *What are the reasons for the problems given in the texts?* (ii) Addict: *Who is the addict, as portrayed in the texts?* (iii) Sources: *What sources are used and referred to in explaining the problems?*

3.1.1. Origin

The research group identified a need to study the circumstances that may have led to the emergence of certain portrayals of the nature of addiction problems in different countries and times. We looked for variations in the normative explanations in the press reporting. Our argument is that patterns in the variations of the press images are not random. The press represents a range of stakeholder perceptions, judgments, decisions, etc. The different frameworks adopted by the mainstream press to explain why addiction problems come about, and why they occur give insight into the ways in which culture, society, and the welfare state influence different interpretations of the nature of the problems, the posited target population and, in the next step, the division of responsibility for causes and treatment.

The national teams reported on the most typical explanation models found in the newspaper materials. Sub-categories were developed for marking the speech on explanatory semantics about the origin of the problems. Four common codes were agreed upon:

Genetic/Biological (ORIG_Bio) was the label to be applied to explanations of the causes of the problems as biological or with genetic predispositions or constituents.

Constitutional (ORIG_Con) was the label to be applied to factors of personality traits, or other constitutional characteristics within the person (e.g. emotive and cognitive dispositions)

Environment (ORIG_Env) was the label to be applied to factors causing the problems in the person's environment (social and cultural influences, triggers in milieu, use in the family etc.)

Other (ORIG_Other) was the label to be applied to other explanations than those above, for example, explanations that presented the idea of substance use, or problematic behaviour that led to other problematic behaviour (stepping stone theory).

Table 6 presents the distribution of the different codes of explanations of origin of problems found in the newspaper materials. One semantic unit is one marking of a complete meaning entity sequence in the text. These vary in length between some words to some sentences.

Table 6. The distribution of different origins of addiction related problems found in the newspaper materials. Number of codes found in parenthesis. The grey colour signifies the largest categories.

Codes	Finland				Italy				Poland				The Netherlands			
	1991	1998	2011	Average	1991	1998	2011	Average	1991	1998	2011	Average	1991	1998	2011	Average
Biological	2% (1)	15% (14)	0% (0)	9% (15)	11% (2)	28% (5)	10% (3)	15% (10)	20% (1)	26% (10)	26% (8)	25% (19)	1% (1)	0% (0)	18% (6)	3% (7)
Constitutional	21% (11)	29% (26)	24% (6)	26% (43)	21% (4)	22% (4)	10% (3)	17% (11)	0% (0)	23% (9)	10% (3)	16% (12)	21% (28)	21% (21)	13% (5)	20% (45)
Environment	67% (35)	48% (44)	72% (18)	58% (97)	68% (13)	28% (5)	73% (21)	59% (39)	80% (4)	28% (11)	55% (17)	43% (32)	71% (70)	79% (53)	64% (34)	70% (157)
Other	10% (5)	8% (7)	4% (1)	8% (13)	0% (0)	22% (4)	7% (2)	9% (6)	0% (0)	23% (9)	10% (3)	16% (12)	8% (10)	1% (1)	5% (4)	7% (15)
Total	11% (52)	100% (91)	100% (25)	100% (168)	100% (19)	100% (18)	100% (29)	100% (66)	100% (5)	100% (39)	100% (31)	100% (75)	100% (109)	100% (66)	100% (49)	100% (224)

In all countries, emphasis was placed on environmental explanations, which was not that surprising, given that it is by far the broadest category. This is also an area of knowledge about these socially constructed problems that lacks coherent international and professional formulations of consensus, such as those expressed in the categories and diagnoses guidelines by the American Psychiatric Association (APA) or the World Health Organization (WHO). Nevertheless, considering that some medical and psychological stakeholders are drawing towards a unitary concept of addiction, the table displays rather efficiently that the problem is understood as depending mostly on circumstances other than biological and constitutional factors.

Finland

In the Finnish press material, the units marked for the biological, genetic and constitutional explanations constitute a total of only 35 % of all codes, whereas the environmental ones make up 58%. The emphasis on environmental factors is to be expected given that Finland, a Nordic social democratic welfare country, ascribes the main responsibility for care of addiction related problems to the public sector. Municipalities buy services in the addiction treatment field from the A clinic foundation and other providers. The alcohol policy has traditionally been state driven and focused on reducing consumption at the population level.

Poland

Moskalewicz and Świątkiewicz (1998) describe a long Polish tradition of studying social problems from the perspective of social pathology. As early as the 1960s, Podgórecki formulated a definition which had a long lasting impact on Polish sociology. According to his definition, pathology constituted a behaviour, institution or social structure which was in conflict with the dominant value system of a given society (Moskalewicz and Świątkiewicz 1998, referring to Podgórecki, 1968). There has been a long tradition

in Poland of treating alcohol use as a political problem. It has figured centrally in every political crisis during the post-war period.

Italy

The Italian welfare system is often referred to as “continental”: it is strongly based on a family-centred and paternalistic culture. Since the earliest forms of social protection were introduced in Italy, it was targeted at specific groups, with particular defining characteristics. However, post Second World War, starting with the 1948 Constitution, there were many reforms, particularly in health care, which moved in the direction of internalising an insurance model. The health care reform of 1978 introduced a universal system, with health services totally free of charge, accessible to all citizens and financed by general taxation. A turning point in the cultural epistemology of addiction occurred after the HIV epidemic that fostered a spread in interest in biological and constitutional explanations among the scientific community and professionals working in the field. Nevertheless, the high prevalence of environmental causes accounted for in the material is in line with a traditional collectivist vision of human behaviour, which emphasizes contextual factors, both in the development and in the treatment of addiction (Owe et al., 2012; Rolando and Katainen, 2012).

The Netherlands

The Netherlands has a social democratic welfare system model with a principle of universalism granting access to benefits and services based on citizenship. It is a very *avant garde* country when it comes to drug policy. In 1976, the law on narcotics (Opiumwet) was changed to a two-tier classification of narcotics into those with a high potential for abuse and harm and those with a low potential. Cannabis was deemed less potentially harmful, and the main preventive focus was on the ‘heroin epidemic’. Drug addiction was approached mainly as a public health issue, albeit with grave criminal side-effects, and a harm reduction policy took effect. Low-threshold treatments were provided (methadone, syringe exchange), aimed at normalising the lives of those with drug problems. Addiction care and treatment for both the misuse of alcohol and drugs, had a status apart from regular psychiatric care and was financed mainly with national health funds through the health and justice ministries. This has changed somewhat in the 2000s when addiction care became a part of mental health care, organized regionally, with prevention, treatment and rehabilitation (court order) branches. In 1995, the Dutch government (Health Ministry, Justice Department and Home Office) reformulated drug policy again, in particular formalising the quasi-legal status of marijuana (use, possession and retail is not to be prosecuted). This formalisation of a praxis developed since the 1970s has caused a stir internationally, where it was seen as being a breach of an international front in fighting drug use; i.e. the US-led “War on Drugs”. Dutch policy has also been, since that time, under a constant political strain, internationally and domestically, as is evidenced recently by further legal restrictions in cannabis policy. Public order issues around trafficking and production, dominate the Dutch public discussion.

Table 7. Summary of the characteristics coded as “explanations” of addictions presented in 4 national newspapers, 1991, 1998, and 2011.

EXPLANATION	FINLAND	ITALY	NETHERLANDS	POLAND
Environmental causes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Alcoholism dominant problem *Urbanisation *Rootlessness *Society *The Finnish drinking culture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Mother, parents, family *Work life and profession (show business, rock, fashion, cinema) *Districts, metropolis *Economic problems *Society: loneliness, secularization *Culture: advertising, internet, TV *War and homelessness *Drug trafficking 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Competiveness *Alienation, migration *Socio-economic, residential and living conditions *Media representations of female body *Cultural values 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Socio-economic, living conditions, social marginalisation *Social acceptance toward alcohol *Improvement of sociability *Family and parents *Influence of peer group and milieu
Constitutional causes	Substances influence things in the users’ personality that the user wants to change. This is why they are addictive.	Weak personality, frailty of character, loneliness	Expressed in established psychological terminology. A diagnosing tone.	Lack of control an important personality characteristic for falling prey to the problems
Biological and genetic causes	Alcoholism has biological and genetic constituents, which are triggered by environmental stimuli and facilitated by the drinker’s personal characteristics	Genetic predisposition (drugs and alcohol), damage to the children of substance users.	Trend towards more emphasis on different biological explanations.	Risks are seen from the perspective of the individual, but the biological causes are expressed in collective dimensions (parts of populations with certain conditions)

In summary, the above overview documents that the high prevalence of references to environmental circumstances causing addiction-related problems in the press items under study had a fixed range of shared explanations in all countries, although with a different emphasis in each country. On the basis of this first analysis, we posit that the newspaper references to the environmental causes of addiction-related problems are permeated with geographically-bound logic.

When it comes to the pitch and the formulation of the press discourse, the material showed varying patterns according to different geographical logic, such as the role of mass media and institutional contexts. The Polish and the Finnish material presented rather traditional social political questions such as marginalisation and poverty, whereas these themes were dealt with more on a local and community level in the Dutch (living conditions) and Italian newspaper material; the latter stressing especially the family context in the emergence of the problems. The material from Poland and Italy, countries in which the church and the state (and in Italy also the collective culture) have historically strong directives on rights and wrongs, the newspaper materials included more advocating elements. Even though the number of references to constitutional reasons were about the same in the Netherlands and in Finland, the tone of the reporting was different. In the Dutch material the constitutional explanations were given in matter-of-fact “diagnostics”, establishing, with the help of well-known terms of the psychological sphere, whereas in Finland they were expressed

as the individual person's desire to lessen and change weaknesses in his or her personality. The latter media manner may also be seen as fitting in with the role of the press in Finland to uphold a general consciousness regarding the individual's tragic circumstances. There is a need for a consensual understanding of these circumstances so that the solution to the problem to be decided upon in order to enable tax-funded intervention arrangements (i.e. necessary policies, funding, etc.) of the universalist welfare state serving the public good.

We want to suggest that if the point of departure is the definition of a problem on the basis of abstract elements, such as the individual's inability to control and restrain himself, and to group all kinds of problems beneath this label, it will inevitably be reflected in the action intervention programme. No concrete actors are pointed out as responsible for an abstract societal trend towards increased pressure, and a faster mode of existence. However, when we started to look into the different themes, in terms of different kinds of addictions, we found that the problems were more concretely attached to solutions and responsible actors: needle exchange programmes for heroin users, living conditions for marginalised substance users, peer support for gamblers etc. The logic follows the different types of problems in their own narrative journalistic traits, that are not necessarily connected to each other as overall 'addiction problems', although the overarching concept may be present. In order to discern perceptions of the addiction phenomenon, whatever its delineation, the geographical dimensions need to be sufficiently sensitive to thematic subcategories and dimensions.

The biological and constitutional beliefs and understandings about addiction-related problems allow, to some degree, for generalisations between cultures, whereas we need to draw up strategies to conceptualise the differences in terms of environment, culture, society, politics, economics, religion, as well as resource "haves" and "have nots", as these constitute the largest and most heterogeneous categories used to understand the problems.

3.1.2. Addict

Who is the person who becomes addicted to alcohol, drugs and tobacco, or becomes engaged in other problematic habitual and compulsive behaviours which are the characteristics of the groups who serve to illustrate manifestations of these sorts of problems in the public images?

The analysis focuses on the codes related to how the addict is described and depicted within the press items: as a sinner (ADD_Sin), a sick person (ADD_Sick), a criminal (ADD_Crime), a social problem (ADD_Soc), a famous person (ADD_Fame), a person successful despite the problem (ADD_Suc_Despite), a person successful in recovering from the problem (ADD_Suc_Rec), or a person, or a group of persons, who is deviant in ways other than the aforementioned (ADD_Dev).

Table 8. Quantity of different codes marked in the material (Given in percentage of the total amount of codes in the material from that year)

Codes	Finland			Italy			Poland			The Netherlands		
	1991	1998	2011	1991	1998	2011	1991	1998	2011	1991	1998	2011
Criminal	15% (14)	17% (18)	5% (2)	18% (14)	17% (11)	8% (7)	11% (5)	15% (16)	6% (6)	22% (36)	36% (66)	19% (25)
Famous	16% (15)	33% (35)	30% (11)	22% (17)	11% (7)	20% (18)	7% (3)	11% (12)	13% (12)	7% (8)	8% (17)	24% (30)
Sick	15% (14)	3% (3)	5% (2)	1% (1)	28% (18)	21% (19)	11% (5)	4% (4)	12% (11)	12% (15)	23% (40)	14% (20)
Sinner	11% (10)	7% (8)	5% (2)	24% (19)	9% (6)	13% (12)	15% (7)	18% (19)	9% (8)	11% (19)	3% (6)	11% (11)
Social pr.	12% (11)	12% (13)	11% (4)	3% (2)	9% (6)	11% (10)	43% (20)	17% (18)	22% (20)	12% (16)	0% (0)	1% (1)
Success Despite Addiction	5% (5)	13% (14)	3% (1)	9% (7)	3% (2)	5% (5)	2% (1)	7% (7)	3% (3)	13% (14)	13% (19)	8% (10)
Success Recovery	5% (5)	7% (8)	38% (14)	1% (1)	9% (6)	1% (1)	2% (1)	8% (8)	15% (14)	0% (0)	1% (1)	4% (5)
Victim	6% (6)	2% (2)	0% (0)	11% (9)	13% (8)	9% (8)	4% (2)	15% (16)	6% (6)	5% (9)	4% (9)	6% (7)
Deviant (other)	15% (14)	6% (6)	3% (1)	11% (9)	0% (0)	12% (11)	4% (2)	6% (6)	14% (13)	17% (28)	13% (23)	13% (18)
TOTAL*	100% (94)	100% (107)	100% (37)	100% (79)	100% (64)	100% (91)	100% (46)	100% (106)	100% (93)	100% (145)	100% (181)	100% (127)

* Total 100% has been rounded off

Due to the nature of the material and of the qualitative character of the coding, the number of codes found in the different materials can provide only a preliminary indication of trends in the data sets. Keeping this in mind, we have displayed a numeric overview matrix of the total coding in Table 8. We have put in bold the percentages exceeding 15%, as our estimation is that, at the very least, these numbers represent trends significant enough to represent relevant meaning-making features in the material unlikely to be just random, or an artefact of the national search words selected or coding praxis. Due to the same systematic national procedure in each country (sources, searches, coding), trends within each country are to be regarded as ‘actual trends’, discussed and reliability checked within the national researcher teams.

In Finland, a general shift from the concept of ‘sick’ and ‘criminal’ toward those of ‘fame’ and ‘successful’ can be discerned, while only recently in Italy the image of ‘the addict’ as being a ‘criminal’ or a ‘sinner’ seems to have given way to the concept of ‘sick’. In the Netherlands, an increase in the depicting of the addict as ‘famous’ is shown. Addicts portrayed in the role of criminals seem to be consistent, although a

decrease in recent years is evident. The addict represented in terms of a ‘social problem’ has vanished from the Dutch content. In Poland, even if ‘social problem’ appears to be the far most common framing in the beginning of the 1990s, it seems to have progressively lost its importance. Instead, ‘fame’ and ‘success’ portrayals have risen in numbers. The next section presents interpretations of what these trends involve and suggests some explanations to national and cross-national trends.

We see that the “old” substance-related problems still dominate all material, dividing the country material into two groups: In the Finnish and Polish material, there was a clear dominance of alcohol consumption-related problems in the reporting, whereas in the Italian and Dutch data, drug dependency was the most frequently reported addiction-related problem. Both Poland and Finland have the same historical pattern of a dry drinking culture with high and intoxication-led consumption of spirits (and beer, later on), and low consumption of wine in connection with meals. Alcohol has, consequently, become the dominant addictive substance and problem: most likely to happen, and most salient and important in the cultural products of these North European cultures. Drug use has been a more ‘typical’ addiction reported on in the drug policy avant-garde and more middle European-oriented Netherlands, as well as in Italy, where drugs are the addictive substance around which there is most consensus of its addictive nature.

Our qualitative inquiries into the ways in which addicts were portrayed in the different material showed a strong correlation between our addict categories (victim, sinner, famous etc.) and the type of problems that were covered in the reporting (alcohol, drugs, tobacco etc.). The first conclusion that we draw is, therefore, that the most typical newspaper portrayal and role of the person who gets hooked on substances and behaviours is dependent on the type of addictive behaviour being most talked about in the press at the time and place in question. Since the repetition of certain ideas and clichés is a core mechanism through which the mass media produces myth (Barthes 2000 [1957]), the overall ‘gathered’ impression of an addict’s character seems likely to be the one most commonly talked about. The character of the most salient addict profile will also come to colour the overall impression of ‘the addict’ as a unified category of people. Our analysis shows, for example, that drug addicts and alcoholics were more likely to be connected with criminal activities than for example smokers or people with eating disorders. Framings typical for the drug addicts – medical and criminal – thus dominated the Dutch and Italian reporting. Alcoholism was coupled with framings of personal stories and social problems – framings which were rather usual in the Finnish (personal) and Polish (social) materials. Addictions perceived as good or ‘productive’, such as work-aholism, were more likely to be reported in connection with celebrities and leading figures in society. Based on our enquiries, we suggest that the most salient characteristics of the addict most typically discussed in the media, are the characteristics that permeate the general perceptions of the problem holders in the mass media (the typical addict, for example alcoholic, will come to be the representative for people with addiction problems). The most general and most salient problems in the public discourse will be coloured by their national context.

Perhaps the most strongly proven conclusion by this sub-study concerns the national circumstances that will come to colour the picture of the addict depicted in newspapers. These are related to historical developments in the different countries, as well as to the ways in which the mass media have taken on different roles in their reporting on these occurrences. Also, deeper, culturally embedded circumstances, like the ways in which a culture understands the topic of addiction-related problems, start from the existence of such a concept in the language, conceptualisations of human behaviour, and underlying value traits and moral judgement.

In the Finnish material, the typical sufferer of addiction-related problems is a personified, famous alcoholic. We interpreted a shift, from earlier portraits of a problem-holder who is ill to the public and successful figure, as in line with a previously established, general development towards a greater emphasis on individual achievement in the Finnish reporting of addiction-related problems (Hellman, 2010). In earlier times the 'wrongdoers' were, in line with this Nordic society's inclusive agenda, not to be named or shamed, and their experience of successful recovery was not deemed valuable press content in this daily newspaper, which used to have a rather stiff and uptight reporting format and style, up until the late 1990s. In earlier times, addicts were portrayed as being and representing a rather abstract problem for decision-makers or officials who do not prioritise resources correctly. Nowadays the addict in press reporting is not any random street 'drunkard', but she or he can be anyone (poor, rich, you, me) and the addiction phenomenon is noticeably made public and personified, especially through the stories of famous people.

In Italy, the largest trend in the reporting is a shift from the addict being morally condemned (sinner and criminal) to being increasingly portrayed as ill. In the past, a family-centred and rather moral, individualised perspective was salient. In particular, in the early nineties' drug addiction reporting focused on rather sad newspaper stories about crimes and heroin addicts. Due to the AIDS epidemic in the 1990s, the problem of addiction sparked a big debate in the public and, in this context, the individualised press stories seemed to meet the objective of either arousing sympathy or disapproval, depending on the argument of the debate being advocated at the time (Beccaria and Rolando, 2013). Probably due to its typical wet drinking culture and perception alcohol (which is seen as food and not as an intoxicant), alcohol use was not framed as an addiction problem to the extent that it was in the Finnish, Polish, and, to some extent, in the Dutch material. New behavioural addictions, which do not involve illegal substances, arouse less disapproval, and in the 2011 data these appear to be described as social phenomena engaged in by collective subjects (mainly young people) rather than reported through individual stories. Yet, in contrast to Finland, the Netherlands, and Poland, 'success stories' in Italy were rare in all sampled years, including the most recent, 2011. It seems that, although 'ill' has substituted the image of the 'sinners', there still remains a deeper culturally-situated gravity – perhaps morally inflicted -- that surrounds the question, and which is adapted better to other formats than the straightforward and, sometimes, rather plainly compassionate, personal success stories.

Moskalewicz and Świątkiewicz (1998) describe a long Polish tradition of studying social problems from the perspective of social pathology. As early as the 1960s Podgórecki formulated a definition which had a long-lasting impact on Polish sociology. According to his definition, pathology constituted a behaviour, institution or social structure which was in conflict with the dominant value system of a given society (Moskalewicz and Świątkiewicz 1998, referring to Podgórecki, 1968). There has been a long tradition in Poland of treating alcohol use as a political problem. It has figured centrally in every political crisis during the post-war period. In the Polish press material, more than any other country's material, we found a clear articulation of addiction problems as social problems. If Finland has had a secularized Nordic welfare society anchorage for the social framing of substance use problems, tending to leave out the concept of 'addiction' of the social framing, the Polish understandings of the problems may be more coloured by its own variant of addiction science, on the one hand, and its more religious culture, on the other. We reason that both of these circumstances permit a logical bridge between the individual struggles (=addiction) and the societal action to deal with the problems (=the social framing of the addict). Alcoholism, which was found in a similar amount of press pieces throughout all years analysed, was typically portrayed as having environmental origins and requiring policy interventions. Contrary to illicit drug and alcohol misuse, tobacco addiction was presented as a health risk for both the smoker and third parties, who suffer due to passive smoking. Alcoholics were personalised, especially in the semantic units of 'famous' and 'success', while portrayed in a collective perspective in the 'sick' or 'social problems' categories. The rather unique trait of combining the personal and the social in the Polish material was further emphasised by the circumstance that the 'sinner' and 'criminal' categories, which were mostly presented as stories about individuals in the other countries' material, comprised both collective and individualised framings in the Polish data sets. In the early 1990's, most reports described addicts either as drug addicts, who posed a threat to public, or as alcoholics, who were harming themselves. After the HIV/AIDS scare in in the 1990s, the social framing decreased and the framing of drug addicts became more individualised, although they were often portrayed as 'sinners'. However, and rather surprisingly, the depictions of successfully recovered addicts were mostly represented by former drug addicts in the Polish material, rather than alcoholics.

In the earlier items collected from the Dutch newspaper, as in the case of the Italian material, the addicts were often heroin addicts. Although 'the criminal' was a frequent category, the criminal conduct was not that often attributed to the individual, but rather to his or her condition and keeping up an expensive lifestyle. In this way, the addict was still portrayed as being a 'victim' of circumstances, rather than being morally bad or mentally ill. Most negative aspects in the Dutch reporting were related to the 'natural' consequences of heroin addiction. Particularly in the 1990's, stories about how addicts deal with their difficult life, how addicts become a victim of crime themselves, and of being a victim of mental and physical problems that result from their addiction, seemed to create a platform for a view stressing 'care for' these groups rather than rejection and punishment. The addict was depicted as being a person adapting to harsh conditions. Ideas that problems related to the criminal addict would disappear with a different, less harsh drug policy, is a sign of the Dutch faith in heroin

and methadone maintenance. This general inclination of the public to support a harm reduction policy is also associated with the absence of a clear moral judgment.

In addition to the problem-related and country specific traits discussed above, the study also showed that there is a big genre effect taking place in the newspapers' articulation of the popular portrayal of a typical 'addict'. In personalised and more dramatic formats, such as interviews with ex-addicts or the family tragedy stories in the Italian material, more or less the same storyline could convey totally different roles for the person with the addiction-related problems (such as morally condemned, or as a victim of a difficult life with a lot of pressure). Our conclusion is therefore that the status of the person with the problems ascribed in the mass media will to a large extent be a matter of 'the agenda setting', in terms of perspective (the individual's perspective, notifying the public about problems), reporting genre (interview, news piece etc.) and forum (broadsheet, tabloid, TV etc.).

The types of problems reported allowed us to group the countries into two pairs (alcohol in Finland and Poland, drugs in Italy and the Netherlands). The different portrayals of those who manifest addiction form another constellation of 'country pairs'. In both Italy and Poland, we find some moral stances in the press accounts, even if these are of different types. In Poland moralism occurs in portrayals of the wrong-doings of the persons to their environment in different ways, whereas the morality transmitted by the Italian stories is, in the earlier material, more representative of passionate or desperate individual criminal offenses (murder). In the Dutch and Finnish data, the moral or criminal offences are framed more as circumstantial deeds, and not as something that springs out of emotions or constitutional personal characteristics. Addicts are seldom sinners in either secularised Lutheran Finland or mixed-religion, mainly secular Holland. They are more often portrayed in the value-laden terms of sinners and victims in Catholic Italy and Poland.

The increase of the medical-disease framing in Italy could indicate that this reason is not yet fully accepted, but the moral blame against the addict persists. The Church has certainly played a large role in construing the image of the addict as being vicious and unprincipled, as has been noted in previous discussions (Beccaria and Rolando, 2013). Moral blame is particularly evident in stories – the most numerous – about harm caused to the addict's relatives. Here the focus is still on the family rather than on the individual. Addiction as a phenomenon seems to be less acceptable in Italy than, for example, in Finland, especially because it prevents the addict from doing his or her duties as a member of the family, which is among the main points of reference in Italian accounts. Similarly in Poland the moral blame is linked to the harm done to third parties; minors, children and foetuses or to young people addicted to drugs. The moral aspect is present in several cases, however not in the foreground of the Polish accounts, where we find social problems, in the past as well as today. Here, the addict is still mostly described as a marginalised person who represents a cost and a problem for the community. Interestingly, the 'social view' does not include the other side of the issue. The conceptualisation of the addict as being a victim of society does not emerge from the Polish data to a large extent. The victims of addiction are rather

children or other family members who suffer because of an alcoholic father or husband. These moral considerations seem to prevent an increasing trend of reporting about positive and successful images of 'the addict', both in Poland and in Italy, as witnessed in the reporting from Finland and The Netherlands. However, the ample print space given over to stories of celebrities could be also seen as being an indirect form of 'promotion'.

3.1.3. Source

In the "Source" analysis we mapped the sources of information on addiction problems in press reporting in order to discover who is provided the opportunity to define the problems and to confirm and/or challenge their dominant definitions. We argue that this knowledge contributes to an understanding of the influences that different spheres of society has had over the discourse on the problems, and also of the major social transformations which have changed our societies, and the power relations within them, in recent decades around the turn of 20th century. Our material consisted of some pronounced non-biased mainstream daily newspapers in three European countries, namely Finland, Italy and Poland (the partner from the Netherlands was not able to participate in this part of the study).

After consideration we decided to develop codes that represented nine detailed analytical units, which included the informants and formed different groups of societal actors (Table 9): *Private/Individual, addict, civic, public/state, politician, research, medical, media*.

In Finland, three sources dominated throughout the whole period under study. Of these, two, namely individual (31%) and addict (17%) belong to the private sphere. Media constitute the third most frequent source. The combined proportion of these three sources exceeds two third of the total. In Italy, major sources of addiction knowledge come from the science sphere represented by medical (18%) and research sources (13%), which constitute about one third of all sources. The public/state sources are also vital as their share in total reaches 20%. In Poland, similarly to Italy, science sphere plays a key role, although in Poland research sources (24%) are more frequent than medical sources (13%). Media alone constitutes a second most frequent Polish source (19%) followed by public/state sources (10%). This static picture hides substantial changes in the position of sources across the time.

Table 9. The proportion of sources and their number per year (total numbers in brackets)

Sphere	Source	Country	1991 % (N)	1998 % (N)	2011 % (N)	Total (mean value) %
Private	<i>Private/Individual</i>	Finland	42,9% (103)	23,2% (62)	27,5% (30)	31,2%
		Italy	9,2% (9)	3,2% (4)	0% (0)	4,1%
		Poland	11,6% (5)	2,5% (3)	3,9% (3)	6%
	<i>Addict</i>	Finland	3,7% (9)	12,3% (33)	33,9% (37)	16,6%
		Italy	8,2% (8)	4,8% (6)	24,1% (13)	12,4%
		Poland	1% (1)	16,8% (20)	10,4% (8)	9,4%
Civic	<i>Civic</i>	Finland	19,1% (46)	5,6% (15)	8,2% (9)	11%
		Italy	14,3% (14)	18,5% (23)	13% (7)	12,3%
		Poland	7% (3)	6,7% (8)	6,5% (5)	6,7%
Public	<i>Public/State</i>	Finland	4,6% (11)	5,6% (15)	2,7% (3)	4,3%
		Italy	22,4% (22)	21% (26)	14,8% (8)	19,4%
		Poland	9,3% (4)	8,4% (10)	13% (10)	10,2%
	<i>Politician</i>	Finland	3,3% (8)	0,4% (1)	0% (0)	1,2%
		Italy	8,2% (8)	21% (26)	0% (0)	9,7%
		Poland	11,6% (5)	9,2% (11)	7,8% (6)	9,5%
Science	<i>Research</i>	Finland	5,4% (13)	18% (48)	4,6% (5)	9,3%
		Italy	12,2% (12)	12,1% (15)	14,8% (8)	13%
		Poland	16,3% (7)	30,2% (36)	26% (20)	24,2%
	<i>Medical</i>	Finland	9,6% (23)	12,7% (34)	2,7% (3)	8,3%
		Italy	14,3% (14)	12,9% (16)	25,9% (14)	17,7%
		Poland	13,9% (6)	15,1% (18)	10,4% (8)	13,1%
Media	<i>Media</i>	Finland	10,8% (26)	22,1% (59)	20,2% (22)	17,7%
		Italy	11,2% (11)	6,4% (8)	7,4% (4)	8,3%
		Poland	28% (12)	8,4%(10)	19,5% (15)	18,6%
Total		Finland	100% (240)	100% (267)	100% (109)	
		Italy	100% (98)	100% (124)	100% (54)	
		Poland	100% (43)	100% (119)	100% (77)	

During the analysis, only two stable increasing trends from 1991 to 2011 were identified. The first was a slight increase among research sources in Italy and the second was a large increase in addict sources in Finland. However, when comparing the two endpoints: 1991 and 2011, more increasing trends can be revealed: increases in addict and medical sources in Italy; increases in addict, research and public/state sources in Poland; and in media sources in Finland. Moreover, five stable decreasing trends among the sources of information were found: decreases in politician sources in Finland; private individual and public/state sources in Italy; and among civic and politician sources in Poland.

Changes in number of sources in time are most remarkable in the context of macro categories (spheres) between 1991 and 2011. The large increase in the representations of the private sphere came about at the expense of the civic and public spheres. Nevertheless, the private sphere faced the internal substitution of private individual to addict sources, which increased in all countries. This increase was large in Finland (from 3,7% to 33,9%), Poland (from 1% to 10,4%) and Italy (8,2% to 24,1%), in all of which the number of private/individual sources decreased. In Finland, it dropped from 42,9% to 27,5%, in Poland from 11,6% to 3,9% and, lastly, in Italy, the private/individual sources dropped to zero in 2011.

All in all, the analysis revealed three different patterns of dominant sources. In Finland the private sphere dominated utterances in the media. Their views were reinforced by media which, in fact, repeated arguments and opinions from private sphere. This was different to the situation in Italy and Poland, where, on the one hand, the science sphere comprising medical and research sources and political sphere, in the dimension of public/state source, were found to be among the most frequent sources. The main difference was the trend of individualisation of addiction in Finland at the expense of public spheres and less extreme individualisation in Italy and Poland accompanied by relatively high level of institutionalisation and objectifications (research and medical sources) of addiction.

Our study indicates a larger de-politicisation trend, giving less authority to sources in the political and institutional spheres, resulting in a decreased emphasis on a social framing. Over time, increased salience is given to the voices of individuals and representatives of science, including representatives of the medical sphere. A complementary qualitative analysis could offer more precise insight into how the trends appear in the different material and the circumstances surrounding them.

In all countries, private/individual sources decreased continuously, while, at the same time, there has been increase in addict sources. Moreover, in all countries, there was a decrease in civic and politician sources and, partly, in public/state sources (with the exception of Poland) which generally may reflect the withdrawal of social perspective on addiction and delegation of responsibility for addictions to the individual, in other words – the de-politicisation of addiction.

3.2. Case study A.

All in all, 37.3% of the 475 collected articles of two Hungarian daily newspapers dealt with any of the examined substance use related problems as a main topic. Only one fourth of articles discussed addiction as a main topic.

The distribution of articles by different addictive behaviours represents the public and political interest toward different forms of substances well: The highest proportion of articles discussed illicit drug problems as main topic within the whole period. According to the number of articles, illicit drug use was especially widely discussed in 2000, the year that the Hungarian Drug Strategy was passed by the Hungarian

parliament, accompanied by a broad professional and media discourse. The representation of alcohol problems was much lower in the examined period, with a decreasing tendency since 1991. The appearance of tobacco issues is even lower with again a decrease since 1978. The representation of other forms of addictive behaviours hardly exists in the Hungarian media.

A relatively high proportion of articles portrayals the problem holder in some way. The most frequent form of presentation is as a member of a social, demographic group. This is due to the fact that a huge number of articles describe the phenomena, reports prevalence rates, and characterise users by social, demographic and cultural attributes.

Another important proportion of articles presents the problem holder as sick person. This is typical for alcoholics, who are described as dependents or addicts, but this type of portrayal is also typical for smokers, who have different health problems because of their smoking.

Less than half of the articles (40.6%) deal with the origin of the problem, with the lowest proportion in 2011. Of those that do, macro-social causes, legal regulation, norms and values are the most widely described causes.

Most of the collected material assigned some solution to the problem. Legal regulation, restrictive measures, prevention and medical treatment/medicalization are the preferred forms of problem solving in the Hungarian media. Non-medical treatments and solution, such as improving social circumstances or harm reduction, hardly appear in the Hungarian media.

When comparing the appearance of alcohol, tobacco and illicit drug problems, we have found characteristic differences:

The Alcohol user/addict is described as a sick person (whose illness is alcoholism), a socially handicapped person (where alcohol use is an elemental part of the social position) or sometimes as a young person for whom heavy alcohol consumption is the part of his/her adolescent subculture. The most frequently mentioned reasons for alcohol problems are poverty, traditional Hungarian acceptance of drinking or youth culture. Liberal alcohol policies, a lack of prevention or lack of harm-reduction initiatives hardly appear as causes in relation with alcohol problems. As a solution, medicalization seems to be the preferred form in the media.

The typical illicit drug user is described as young person, who sometimes belongs to some subculture, who likes pleasure and festivals. The portrayal of an illicit drug user as sick person or, especially, as a socially handicapped person is very rare. In some articles the drug user might be a criminal, more specifically a dealer.

The most widely mentioned reasons for illicit drug problems are: insufficient legal regulation, the easy availability of drugs and the lack of prevention programmes (although it is worth noting that Hungary has one of the most restrictive drug

regulations in the EU.) Also, as a solution, restrictive measures are the most frequently described possibilities: legal regulation, supply reduction. Medical or non-medical treatment or improving social circumstances hardly appear as solutions in relation to illicit drug problems.

The typical smoker portrayed in the Hungarian media is a sick person, whose disease is not the addiction, but who has different health problems because of smoking. The smoker is frequently presented as a weak person, without willpower. Personal characteristics are frequently presented as the origin of smoking, but easy availability and lack of legal regulation also contribute to the problem in the media's opinion. Personal efforts and education are the most favoured solutions presented in Hungarian daily newspapers for smoking problems.

3.3. Case study B.

In order to explain the increase in smoking images in the UK print press after the ban of advertising, we formulated two hypotheses regarding the background forces at play: a) a push from interested parties who gain from an increase in images of tobacco smoking; b) a heightened symbolic value of smoking images.

Both explanation models build on the circumstance that the signification of smoking serves special meanings and functions in culture [Klein 1993; Bantle & Haisken-DeNew 2002], but they differ greatly when it comes to the extent of deliberate intentions.

The first explanation model holds a good match with previous research on branding strategies and product placements by the tobacco industry in movies and TV content [Sargent et al. 2001]. It has been suggested that the decrease in marketing possibilities due to bans on tobacco advertising are efficiently substituted for seemingly spontaneous images of smoking in various cultural products by lobbying of the tobacco industry (Mekemson & Glantz, 2002).

The second explanation model is more speculative and contains a more vague driving force. It draws on Bourdieusian thought that an economics of cultural production and consumption which acknowledges that not only material goods have different values and worth, but also cultural experiences and products can be valued in terms of currencies formulated within, for example, hierarchies of taste and class significations [Bourdieu, 1993]. Basically, cultural codes determine how products and brands create value and what they mean for consumers [Schroeder, 2009]

Within this second explanation model we are speculating that the increase in smoking images in the cultural content may indicate a reaction to the growing awareness of the negative sides of smoking and stricter policy regulation. In this way, smoking becomes a symbolically more efficient and higher valued signifier. It can be explained as a cultural counter-reaction to a general concern in a rise of the symbolic value, or impact of the cigarette or the smoking as a signifier in the image milieu. A long-acknowledged and established function of art is precisely to revolt and oppose established "truths" [Hauser, 1982].

The mechanisms of both explanation models are almost impossible to prove or demonstrate, but we were convinced that a closer look at our material could give some indications regarding to what extent they may be or not be likely to be true. We will explore the strengths and the weaknesses of each hypothesis as applied to our data. But, first, we will account for a reading of previous knowledge on marketing strategies.

A vast majority of the images of smoking appeared in promotion items, pluggings (a short text in the newspaper that advertises a TV programme or film with information about its content or the people involved), reviews and other meta-textual references to content of media and art: film, TV shows, books, dance, and theatre. Our general conclusion is therefore that the images of smoking still holds various meaningful significations in different cultural products and that press items that refer to them will contain this element.

The level of sender intentions, and fit with our two hypotheses were estimated for each press item. Certain functions and the typicality of the press items were discerned, and on the basis of this analysis we identified 6 categories of images: the historical setting of the original cultural product; smoking signifying class and identity in setting of original cultural product; smoking portrayed as an accessory of artists; smoking to create images of male confidence; smoking as a tool for sexualizing women; and other (not belonging to any of the former ones). The borders between these categories are blurry, especially as a picture can signify several or all the connotations in each category at the same time. For analytical convenience and the sake of argument we are accounting for them separately, although we have marked all significations in the analysis.

The study showed that both hypotheses can hold true, but since the choice of plugging materials rests on the marketing material sent to the print press from the producers of the cultural products (film, TV series, etc.), the influence of the tobacco industry on these entertainment actors must be taken into account at an earlier stage than in the print press editorial offices. However, it is important that journalists and editors are aware of potential background forces that may exist to influence the content in these images and take a critical view of the content mediated to them in cases where smoking images do not even represent the advertised content.

3.4. Case study C.

Our enquiries into typical popular media narratives on addiction in Finland and in the USA showed that culture permeates our truths about addiction problems, and that differences between these truths can be theorised by refining some main traits in the popular mythologies surrounding the problems.

In Table 10 we have summarised the crucial differences in the narrative setups concerning the scenery and tools of the problem solving (including the level of

aggregation), the spectrum of possibilities, hope and belief, and obligations and expressions of a moral dimension.

Table 10 Summary of the narrative setups of popular addiction myths in Finland and the USA.

THE US NARRATIVES	FINNISH NARRATIVES
<p>SUBJECT TO BE HELPED: the struggling addict</p> <p>SCENERY FOR SOLVING THE PROBLEM: group, community, non-governmental activities with main aim of attending and controlling the risky, deviant and dangerous.</p> <p>STORY LINE: The problem is presented by highlighting a single, personal case</p> <p>*group or community setting will support recovery</p> <p>*Happy ending</p> <p>OBLIGATIONS OF THE ADDICT: to follow the right path according to certain premises (like belief in success). Later on, the addict gives back to community by getting involved in helping others.</p>	<p>SUBJECT TO BE HELPED: the anonymous part of the population in need of help</p> <p>SCENERY FOR SOLVING THE PROBLEM: either a) social engineering of the welfare state system with the main aim of providing equitable conditions for the whole population, or b) the individual has to overcome the problems her/himself.</p> <p>STORY LINE: The problem is presented through the recognition of flaws in the system</p> <p>*pending narrative that leaves out the end resolution</p> <p>OBLIGATIONS OF THE ADDICT: none expressed, except for in the short stories on new addictions, in which the individual takes control over her/his own life.</p>

The cultural differences between the constructs of the problems seem very much linked to how the welfare system tends to solve the problems. We see that the American AA ethos has a good fit with the self-made individual whose prime social interaction for personal progress, for coping and helping, is a group-based social movement towards positive change. In the United States group-based movements are regular and legitimate ways of changing society and dealing with its problem (Young, 1990). The conceptualisation of a community – and locally-based framing of the problem’s resolution – a level which is very common in the US material but noticeably absent in the Finnish material - is of course very much a product of the country’s form of government (starting from the fact that the United States is 28 times larger in size than Finland). The United States is a federal republic with a strong tradition of state autonomy. The typical setting for American narration of individuals struggling to make a better life, in accordance with a solidarity contract with the closest group context, has been shown to serve as a resource for daily life in small sub-societies (Rappaport 2000, Sennett 2013). Although Finnish culture and journalistic prose also contains strong individualist elements, alongside this we find taken-for-granted references to a large centralized state sector. Although local authorities have substantial autonomy in the area of welfare and health (e.g., provision of help to addicts), the basic principles are strictly laid down by the central government and national programmes for dealing with the problems (Kokko et al., 2009). The differences between the two countries’ basic centralised and de-centralised means of handling social problems have come to mark the setup, scenery and episodes in popular myth. In American society, addiction narratives tell the story of an individual’s problem that need to be battled by improvements in life competence, by designating and engaging concerned parties, and by progress in science and in medical and therapeutic techniques. The emphasis on the

personal view enunciates the idea that the range of problems is the sum of single cases of addicted individuals, instead of being a collective social phenomenon or a result of malfunctions in social arrangements.

In popular narratives in cultures where citizens must earn their position of respect and appreciation, moral sense dictates that an addict must free himself from his state and also take personal responsibility in helping others. In this peculiar manner, the disease-like state of addiction and the necessity of high self-agency can be combined. The Finnish material emphasizes the agency of the problem holder less: people with severe dependency problems are portrayed as the concern of the whole society, and to be cared for by the state and municipality welfare sector. An exception is the more superficial short texts on small problematic habits, which are centred on the individual problem holder. The community and family recovery context is lacking from the Finnish material.

By uncovering some typical traits of popular addiction myths in the two countries, we have shown that the essence and meaning of the phenomenon of addiction varies widely between societies with different welfare cultures.

DISUSSION

This investigation has shown the many meanings that the addiction concept can transmit in the public media in 6 different geographical contexts and settings. Our results show support for a general *individualisation* of the problem, but this has taken place in different thematic trajectories, depending on the problem being focused on in the reporting of different countries. Another important circumstance seems to lie in the overall level of moralism in the journalistic reporting.

A general *de-politicisation* was also witnessed in the 4 countries of the core study. Less official and political actors are considered specialists or used as information sources when the problems are discussed. In table 11 we have summarised the findings of the comparative part.

Table 11. The differences found in the materials from the four countries of the core study comparisons.

	FINLAND	ITALY	NETHERLANDS	POLAND
TYPICAL PROBLEM	alcohol	illicit drugs	illicit drugs	alcohol
TYPICAL NARRATIVE CHARACTER	*lack moralism *individualism *celebrity stories *Nordic Welfare model	*moralism *tragic and severe tone *not so many personal stories from “within”	*lack moralism *petty theft, understanding of everyday problems by the drug users	*social framing *moralism *de-politicisation
TYPICAL SOURCE	*private sphere	*public/state	-	*research
TYPICAL EXPLANATION	*environmental *constitutional	*environmental *constitutional *biological	*environmental *constitutional	*environmental *biological *constitutional
TYPICAL ADDICT	*famous *successfully recovered	*sick *sinner *criminal	*famous, *criminal *sick	*social problem *sinner

We have 10 main conclusions that we want to draw on the basis of this investigation as a whole:

- 1) In different European countries, different problems have come to signify the typical addiction problem: in Finland and Poland it has been alcoholism, in the Netherlands and in Italy the most common problem to be framed in terms of the addiction phenomenon is illicit drug use. Still, these repertoires of problems have changed over later years, and we have seen some new problems making an entrance into the public articulation of the phenomenon of addiction, for example Internet use, sex addiction, TV viewing etc. We claim that the most dominating problems to be referred to in popular images, in this case press reporting, will come to colour the ways in which the problems are viewed.
- 2) Explanations in popular speech for why the problems arise are dominated by reflections on environmental causes in the four countries of our comparative core study (Finland, Italy, Netherlands, Poland). However, this is formulated in different ways in the different countries: in Italy the family context is emphasized; in the Netherlands the local community is emphasized; in Finland the larger societal arrangements stands for the social context, and in Poland we see a conceptualisation that can be referred to as a social pathology – this perspective is rather close to the Finnish one, but it lacks the frequent ‘natural’ references to the deeply rooted structure of the social democratic welfare system.

- 3) When it comes to expression of personal, constitutional reasons for the problems, the material from the countries differ as well. This can be discerned mostly on the level of the praxis used to formulate the weaknesses of addicted individuals in newspaper texts: in Italy, “weak personality” traits and frailty of character were mentioned; in the Netherlands, a rather established psychological terminology seems to have been adopted in the press. In Poland, certain personal characteristics were presented as reasons for the problems. In Finland, the press reported on how people would like to change their personality with the help of substances, and that the addiction problems stem from this substance use. We see that the burden of guilt was perhaps more naturally applied to the individual in Italy and Poland – the less secular countries in our group of four countries.
- 4) In the biological and genetic explanations to the problems, we also found differences in narrative grasp: the biological constituents were described as triggered by environmental stimuli, but the reasons for this were slightly more often accounted for as the individual’s doing in the Italian reporting in comparison with the other countries, whereas some collective dimensions of risky groups were emphasised more in the Polish reporting. Our research shows, therefore, that even in the case of biological and genetic explanations to the problems, different cultures/ societies are able to present contextual reasons in different manners and, thus, divide both responsibility and guilt in different patterns.
- 5) When it comes to the descriptions of those who have addiction problems, some changes have occurred over the years: in Finland the reporting has come to be more person- and celebrity-centred, unveiling a lot of recovery stories. This seems to have taken place at the expense of the view of the problem as an “illness” and the addict as “sick”. This can be seen as a post-modern turn towards the reflexive and individualised perspective for the public story-telling about problems which affect people’s well-being. In Italy – a country with a tradition that involves a higher level of apportion of guilt in public stories – the framing of the addict as a sick person has come to increase at the expense of earlier perspectives on wrongdoers and criminals of different kinds. In the Netherlands and in Poland, the celebrity addicts have also received more attention in the reporting.
- 6) When it comes to the areas of society and stakeholders that have a say in when the problems are described and explained in the press, the numbers varied largely in accordance to the categories of “origin” and “addict”. In concrete terms, this means that the sources that were used in the reporting tended to apply the perspective that supported the views that we saw that were channelled about who the addict was and what the problems were caused by. This leads us to

conclude that the selection of sources referred to in the reporting correlates with the general views dominating the public images.

- 7) In Finland, important sources of information were individuals, whereas in Italy and Poland there were more medical and scientific sources who presented technical details on the occurrence and prevalence of problems. This could be due to the fact that the public consciousness of the problems is at different stages in the different countries. The biological and technical circumstances have already figured for some time in the Finnish reporting and are thus rather familiar. In an earlier analysis of drug reporting (Hellman, 2011) it has been shown that the addiction concept and its inherent meaning and logic must travel via biological information in order to land in the totally internalised and individualised understanding in popular discourse. It might be that the press reporting in Finland has assimilated this understanding – due to the circumstance that the problems have been discussed along the line of the welfare state tasks already for a while – and the reporting can now focus on the very individualised stories, avoiding placing any burden of personal guilt, as is commonly avoided in the journalistic prose of this social democratic welfare society.

Supposing that the development would be the same in Italy and Poland, this could imply that an additional boost in the more individualised perspective will continue, and perhaps extend even further in these countries.

- 8) When it comes to the developments in the media reporting on the problems in Hungary (case study A), we see that the most common framing does not concern the addiction aspect of substance use, but that other dimensions connected to the problems dominate the press reports. It is possible and likely that this might also hold true for the other countries under study, but since the criteria of the text collection was that the press items were to include the addiction concept, it is impossible to say something about it on the basis of the material gathered for this study. In Hungary the reporting on alcohol and tobacco issues have increased over the years. Those who are described as affected by the problems are often referred to in terms of rather abstract prevalence rates, the personal stories appeared significantly less frequent than in the other countries studied.

- 9) In the UK case study (case study B), we have shown that the mere images of addiction -- in this case smoking images -- concerns stakeholders, as the messages present pictures of the habits that are more or less advantageous for the parties invested in the questions. We see that the film and TV industry is sending a surprising number of images of smoking to the editor offices of print press publishers in the UK, probably even more than before the ban of tobacco ads in 2003. Therefore, we suggest that there has been some sort of intentional push

towards substituting tobacco images of another kind for those banned as advertising. This may have been the cause of the increase in the total amount of smoking images in the UK print press image milieu after the ban. This was the case, at least, in the year 2005.

- 10) Last but not least, we have identified certain cultural traits in welfare systems which uphold governing popular stories on the matters. Our theoretical conclusions from the comparison between systems (Case study C) shows that top-down institutionalised solidarity formulations of solution arrangements surrounding the addiction problems (as in the Finnish system) can involve strong individualism in the views on the problems, whereas in countries where the autonomy of the individual has long been emphasized (USA), a small-scale social context, such as local societies are important ingredients for understanding the solution repertoire. In societies in the latter case, the individual who has overcome the problems becomes an important actor in a society that lacks guarantees of help from the official structure. The testimony to individual strength serves as a way of producing hope and courage for others with the same problems. We see that the governing narratives of the problems expose the basic norm that permeates society also on a system level. In particular, addiction as a problem of autonomy and self-governance seems to expose such differences rather clearly.

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