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PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION OF  
RECREATIONAL GAMBLING IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY  
FINLAND

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ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

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# ABSTRACT

Gambling is a ubiquitous phenomenon in Finland although only a less than a century ago lotteries in goods were the only legal form of gambling. This research explains this change. The focus of the research is on legal, commercialized gambling and on recreational gamblers instead of problem gambling or problem gamblers, because the field of gambling studies has traditionally focused on problematic aspects of gambling. The time period of the study stretches from the nineteenth century to the twenty-first one, but the focus is mostly on the twentieth century. The research question is multifaceted. The research focuses on the question of the cultural, social, and historical place of a phenomenon understood as gambling in a certain time-spatial context (in this case the Finnish society in the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries). The research asks how gambling and discourses and practices related to it have become to what they are and how they are experienced today: Why and how was gambling tamed to be part Finnish way of life; what has been gambling's social, cultural, and economic significance to its practitioners, and what can research done on gambling tell about the history and changes of the Finnish society in the period? The objective of the study is to historicize gambling's place by researching discourses and practices related to the ensemble understood as gambling from the theoretical perspective of Michel Foucault's *dispositif*.

To answer these questions a variety of qualitative data has been used. The idea has been to explore the ensemble understood as gambling from the perspectives of production (the regulation of gambling, gambling operators, technological changes affecting gambling), and consumption (the gamblers). The data include contemporary official memorandums, newspaper and magazine articles, archive material by two Finnish gambling monopolies Veikkaus and RAY, various collections of oral history data, Finnish fiction, and auto-ethnographic observations. The main method of the research is historical approach, which means using diverse and fragmented sources with a commitment to their relevance, reliability and validity and to different longitudinal and qualitative methods that recognize the possibility of change.

The research results show that the history of Finnish gambling can be formulated into three *dispositifs*: prohibition *dispositif*, common good *dispositif*, and risk *dispositif*. These *dispositifs* describe solutions to the "problem" of gambling that are contingent upon the socio-temporal circumstances of the Finnish society. The *dispositifs* reveal how gambling has been understood, practiced, and regulated in certain periods, and they are also indicators of the change concerning gambling that has taken place in Finland. It is argued that in an international comparison, gambling in Finland was both legalised and tamed quite early and exceptionally successfully. Especially the Finnish state has had a quite unique role in taming gambling: Gambling

defined good citizen-ship and the state actively promoted it in many ways decades earlier than similar processes were underway in Anglophonic countries.

The theoretical ambition has been to take part in the international discussion in the field of gambling studies regarding gambling's historical place, taming processes and gambling as consumption in Western societies in the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries, and to give an example of the usefulness of the concept of dispositif, and demonstrate both the value of comparative approach and of oral history data for the field of gambling studies.

# ABSTRAKTI

Ajanvieterahapelaamisen tuottaminen ja kuluttaminen 1900-luvun Suomessa

Rahapelaaminen on nykyään läsnä kaikkialla suomalaisessa arkielämässä, vaikka vain alle sata vuotta sitten tavara-arpajaiset olivat ainoa laillinen rahapelaamisen muoto. Väitöstutkimus selittää tätä muutosta. Tutkimus keskittyy lailliseen ja kaupallistettuun ajanvieterahapelaamiseen sekä ei-ongelmallisiin rahapelaajiin. Aikaisemmassa tutkimuksessa painopiste on ollut rahapeliongelmissa ja rahapeliongelmaisissa. Tutkimuksen aikajänne on 1800-luvulta nykypäivään, mutta siinä keskitytään lähinnä 1900-lukuun. Tutkimuskysymys on monitahoinen. Tutkimuksessa kysytään mikä on rahapelaamiseksi ymmärretyn ilmiön kulttuurinen, sosiaalinen ja historiallinen paikka tietystä ajassa ja paikassa (tässä tapauksessa suomalaisessa yhteiskunnassa 1800–2000-luvuilla). Miten rahapelaamisesta ja siihen liittyvistä diskursseista ja käytännöistä on tullut sitä mitä ne ovat nykyään ja sitä miten ne nykyään koetetaan? Miksi ja miten rahapelaaminen kesytettiin ja kesyntyi osaksi suomalaista elämänmenoa? Mikä on ollut rahapelaamisen sosiaalinen, kulttuurinen ja taloudellinen merkitys sen harjoittajille? Mitä rahapelaaminen voi kertoa suomalaisen yhteiskunnan historiasta ja muutoksista? Tavoitteena on Michel Foucault'n dispositiivikäsitettä apuna käyttäen tutkia rahapelaamiseen liittyviä diskursseja ja käytäntöjä.

Tutkimuskysymyksiin vastataan laadullisen aineiston avulla. Rahapelaamisilmiötä tutkitaan niin rahapelaamisen tuottamisen (rahapelaamisen sääntely, rahapelioperoijat, rahapelaamisen teknologiset muutokset) kuin rahapelaamisen kuluttamisenkin kannalta (rahapelaajat). Aineistoina on käytetty komiteanmietintoja, sanomalehti- ja aikakauslehtiartikkeleita, Veikkauksen ja Raha-automaattiyhdistyksen (RAY) arkistomateriaaleja, erilaisia muistitietokokoelmia, suomalaista kaunokirjallisuutta sekä auto-etnografista havainnointia. Päämetodina on historiallinen näkökulma, jossa käytetään erityyppisiä ja usein myös sirpaloituneita lähteitä, ja kiinnitetään huomioita lähteiden relevanssiin, luotettavuuteen ja paikkaansapitävyyteen. Käytetyt pitkittäis- ja laadulliset metodit mahdollistavat muutoksen tutkimisen.

Tutkimuksen tuloksena suomalaisen rahapelaamisen historia voidaan jakaa kolmeen dispositiiviin: kieltolakidispositiiviin, yhteisen hyvän dispositiiviin ja riskidispositiiviin. Nämä dispositiivit kuvaavat miten eri aikoina ja eri tilanteissa suomalaisessa yhteiskunnassa on vastattu rahapeli-ilmiön aiheuttamaan ”ongelmaan”. Dispositiivit paljastavat miten rahapelaamista on ymmärretty, harjoitettu ja säännelty eri aikoina. Dispositiivit kertovat myös suomalaisen rahapelaamisen muutoksesta. Kansainvälisessä vertailussa rahapelaaminen laillistettiin ja kesytettiin

Suomessa ajallisesti melko varhain ja poikkeuksellisen onnistuneesti. Erityisesti Suomen valtiolla on ollut ainutlaatuinen rooli rahapelaamisen kesyttämässä: Rahapelaamisesta tuli hyvän kansalaisuuden symboli valtion aktiivisesti edistäessä sitä monin eri tavoin.

Väitöskirjan teoreettisena tavoitteena on ottaa osaa kansainväliseen keskusteluun rahapelaamisen historiallisesta paikasta, rahapelaamisen kesyttämisen ja kesyntyneen prosesseista sekä rahapelaamisesta kulutuksena länsimaisissa yhteiskunnissa 1800–2000-luvuilla. Väitöskirja osoittaa myös dispositiivi-käsitteen, vertailevan näkökulman sekä muistitietoaineistojen hyödyllisyyden kansainvälisessä rahapelitutkimuksessa.

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I have been asked many times both in academic and non-academic circles what the point of doing research on the history of gambling is. Hopefully I have been able to show the academic point of such research in my PhD but let me say this: I have had fun doing it! Over the years, I have had the privilege of meeting interesting scholars of gambling and visiting wonderful places. The sounds and smells of Las Vegas and Macao casinos will never leave me.

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Helsinki in October 2017,  
Riitta Matilainen

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## LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

This thesis is based on the following publications:

I Matilainen, Riitta (2010). A Question of Money? The Founding of Two Finnish Gambling Monopolies. In Sytze F. Kingma (Ed.) *Global Gambling. Cultural Perspectives on Gambling Organizations*. London and New York: Routledge, 21–37

II Matilainen, Riitta (2013). The Legalizing of Roulette and Changes in Finnish Consumer Culture in the 1960 and 1970s. In Visa Heinonen & Matti Peltonen (Eds.) *Finnish Consumption. An Emerging Consumer Society between East and West*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 180–202

III Matilainen, Riitta (2014). Oral history data in gambling studies. In Pauliina Raento (Ed.) *Gambling in Finland. Themes and Data for Qualitative Research*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 153–172. (The article is an updated English version of the Finnish article Muistitietoaineistot rahapelaamisen tutkimuksessa (2012). In Pauliina Raento (Ed.) *Rahapelaaminen Suomessa. Aiheet ja aineistot*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 161–179).

IV Matilainen, Riitta & Raento, Pauliina (2014). Learning to gamble in changing sociocultural contexts: experiences of Finnish casual gamblers. *International Gambling Studies*. Volume 14, Number 3, December 2014, 432–444.

V Matilainen, Riitta (2016). Cultural and Social Meanings of Gambling in Finland and Sweden. A Historical Perspective. In Manfred Zollinger (Ed.) *Random Riches. Gambling Past & Present*. London and New York: Routledge, 119–131.

The publications are referred to in the text by their roman numeral.

## ABBREVIATIONS

|             |  |
|-------------|--|
| <b>Alko</b> | Oy Alkoholiike Ab  |
| <b>EU</b>   | European Union   |
| <b>KRA</b>  | Kansanrunousarkisto (Folklore Archives at the Finnish Literature Society)    |
| <b>NGO</b>  | non-governmental organization  |
| <b>PAF</b>  | Penningautomatföreningen   |
| <b>RAY</b>  | Raha-automaattiyhdistys (Finnish Slot Machine Association)                   |
| <b>SKS</b>  | Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura (The Finnish Literature Society)            |
| <b>SOGS</b> | South Oaks Gambling Screen   |
| <b>THL</b>  | Terveyden ja hyvinvoinnin laitos (National Institute for Health and Welfare) |
| <b>YLE</b>  | Yleisradio (Finnish Broadcasting Company)                                    |

# 1 INTRODUCTION: STUDYING GAMBLING

## 1.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND CONCEPTS

According to a consultancy H2 Gambling Capital, Finland made the list of the world's biggest gamblers by placing fourth in the global ranking surpassed only by Australia, Singapore, and Ireland in 2016. The statistics display that each Finnish resident lost (loss meaning stakes minus payouts and excluding expenses) around 440 USD in gambling. Furthermore, the trend starting from the year 2003 shows that almost every year the Finns have spent and lost more and more money engaging in gambling.<sup>1</sup> What explains this state of affairs? Why have the Finns become such eager gamblers and what has gambling historically meant to them?

In order to tackle the Finnish gambling question, gambling as an activity needs to be defined. I agree with sociologist Gerda Reith, who states that "Gambling is essentially about the wagering of value—usually money—in the hope of profiting from the outcome of uncertain future events"<sup>2</sup>. The organising of this activity has over the years and depending on the culture where action considered gambling<sup>3</sup> has taken place changed drastically, ranging from private male dominated poker tables to ethnic minorities granted the rights to organize gambling in their own areas such is the case in First Nation casinos in Canada or the native American bingo halls in the US or state-granted monopoly as is the case in present-day Finland.

The focus of my research is on legal, commercialized gambling and on recreational gamblers instead of problem gambling or problem gamblers. The time period of my study is long stretching from the nineteenth century to the twenty-first one but I mostly concentrate on the twentieth century as that is the period where most of the changes took place. Legal gambling is at the forefront of this research, because in international comparison gambling was legalized in Finland rather early, beginning from the 1920s, and the position of late Finnish gambling monopolies (The Finnish Slot Machine Association [RAY], Veikkaus and Finntoto) has been particularly strong. Furthermore,

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<sup>1</sup> The Economist 2017. February 7, 2017 citing H2 Gambling Capital.  
<http://www.economist.com/blogs/graphicdetail/2017/02/daily-chart->

<sup>2</sup> Reith 2013, 179.

<sup>3</sup> It is downright baffling to understand the diversity of actions that can be considered gambling in a certain time and place. This came clear to me as I launched an oral history survey in Finland in 2006 and 2007. The respondents of the survey defined coin tossing, chain letters, and stock market speculation as gambling, although they had not been mentioned in the guidelines. See Article III, 164.

there is a lot of sources available on legal gambling, whereas illegal gambling is a phenomenon that is much more difficult to scientifically address. The same reasoning also applies to commercialized gambling. I made the decision to concentrate on recreational gambling, because the field of gambling studies has traditionally focused on problem gambling and problem gamblers and I wanted to widen the field especially in Finland.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, I argue that in order to be able to do research on problem gambling and to help the problem gamblers researchers need to be aware of what is considered ‘normal’, ‘appropriate’, ‘social’ or ‘non-problematic’ gambling in the gambling culture under study.

This research focuses on **the question of the cultural, social, and historical place of a phenomenon understood as gambling in a certain time-spatial context (in this case the Finnish society in the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries)**. I ask how gambling and discourses and practices related to it have become to what they are and how they are experienced today: Why and how was gambling tamed to be part Finnish way of life and what has been gambling’s social, cultural, and economic significance to its practitioners? Finally I ask what research done on gambling can tell about the history and changes of the Finnish society in my research period.

The objective of the study is to historicize gambling’s place in Finnish culture in the “long” twentieth century by researching discourses and practices related to the ensemble understood as gambling from the theoretical perspective of Michel Foucault’s *dispositif*. I ask “which risk-taking and risk-making practices are possible, acceptable or desirable under changing historical circumstances”.<sup>5</sup> By risk-making I mean the perspective of gambling regulation, the gambling operators (in the Finnish case gambling monopolies), technological changes and the changing Finnish society (increasing standard of living and as well as the birth and the establishment of the consumer society). This is the ‘production’ that I talk about in the title of my research, whereas the ‘consumption’ comes from the fact that I regard the gamblers as risk-takers and consumers of gambling. I have mostly concentrated on the gambling in the twentieth century, which in many ways was contained to material, territorial and conceptual limitations that are quite different from the online gambling environment of the twenty-first century.<sup>6</sup>

The theoretical ambition is to take part in the international discussion in the field of gambling studies regarding gambling’s historical place, taming processes and gambling as consumption in Western societies in the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Furthermore, I want to the

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<sup>4</sup> As yours truly and Pauliina Raento have noted: “But little is known about how Finns begin gambling and how this has evolved over time, because research has focused on the present day, numerical data, policy issues, and the prevention and treatment of gambling-related harm.” See article IV, 432.

<sup>5</sup> Cassidy, Pisac, & Loussouarn 2013, 3.

<sup>6</sup> Cassidy, Pisac, & Loussouarn 2013, 4.

give an example of the usefulness of Michel Foucault's concept of *dispositif*, and demonstrate both the value of comparative approach and of oral history data for the field of gambling studies.<sup>7</sup> For the field of economic and social history my study offers a new perspective to the change that the Finnish society has gone through. As scholar of literature Thomas Kavanagh has put it: "I have argued that the ways people gambled tell us something otherwise unrecognized about the values, fears, and conviviality that defined a period or a group"<sup>8</sup>.

There are some concepts that need to be made clear. As I have explained in article I, the term gambling – in Finnish *uhkapeli* meaning literally 'risk playing' or 'hazard playing' – has a negative connotation in the Finnish language and society. It has referred to such gambling activities where gamblers have gambled somehow unfairly and cheated at play and foremost lost more money/assets that they could have afforded. Nowadays the Finnish gambling industry, regulators, researchers, NGOs, and the public talk about *rahapeli* – literally 'money playing', which is a more neutral and socially acceptable term and is similar in content to the concept of gaming that the global gambling industry (and the Finnish Veikkaus) prefers.<sup>9</sup> In fact, according to the Finnish Lotteries Act of 2001, the only place where *uhkapeli* (risk playing meaning that sums gambled are in disproportion to gamblers' solvency) is allowed is the so far only casino in Finland, the Casino Helsinki. I talk of gambling throughout this study.

I have chosen to use the term recreational gambling when describing and analyzing the phenomenon under study. Other possible options could have been casual gambling, social gambling, leisure gambling, or non-problematic gambling. Characteristics of recreational gambling and recreational gamblers are as follows in my study: Recreational gambling is defined by the lack of addiction; recreational gamblers play for fun; gambling does not have negative consequences for the gambler or for his/her inner circle; recreational gamblers gamble within their means, and recreational gamblers can stop gambling when they want (even though in practice this might be difficult due to the social importance of gambling in their lives and environment). However, I agree with sociologists Reith and Dobbie, who point out the dangers of categorical approaches to gambling that may produce distinctions suggesting fixity and exclusivity, meaning gamblers' experiences of flux and overlap concerning their own gambling experiences are not taken into consideration<sup>10</sup>.

Some basic information is needed in order to follow my reasoning regarding the Finnish gambling *dispositifs*. I will start at the current gambling situation as the history of the gambling is discussed in detail later on in this

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<sup>7</sup> I have found the following observation by Cassidy, Pisac, & Loussouarn 2013, 3. very helpful: "Comparing gambling through time and space shows how ideas about risk and play temporarily stabilise under particular conditions, appearing natural but often obscuring the complex process of becoming so."

<sup>8</sup> Kavanagh 2005, 215.

<sup>9</sup> Article I, 22.

<sup>10</sup> Reith & Dobbie 2013b, 41.



summary and in my articles. Finns have experienced major changes in their gambling environment in the 1990s and the 2000s. The 1990s was a decade of rapid technological change, when online gambling was made possible thus changing the time-spatial organization of gambling. At the same time, the supply of different kinds of gambling games multiplied, as many new games were marketed to the willing gambling audience. One of the most influential changes in the operative gambling environment took place when Finland joined the European Union in 1995 and started the long battle to defend its gambling monopoly system against the principles of free movement of goods, services, people, and capital.<sup>11</sup> These trends intensified in the 2000s, as the Lotteries Act was rewritten three times in 2001, 2010–2011, and 2016 enhancing the monopoly's legal base, restricting marketing of gambling and introducing the all-time first universal age limit of 18 years on all forms of gambling (including the ubiquitous slot machines and lotto). Furthermore, the laws brought new measures for the prevention of gambling-related harm and crime and sparked funding and research related to gambling and gambling problems. All the changes meant that gambling and its role in the Finnish society has been constantly debated in the 2000s.<sup>12</sup>

By far the biggest change in the Finnish gambling environment for many decades happened as recently as in the beginning of the year 2017, as the Finnish gambling system was reformed and the three holders of gambling monopolies and operators Fintoto, RAY, and Veikkaus were merged into one gambling company, which is owned by the Finnish state. The new company operates under the name Veikkaus, and it has the exclusive right to operate all the gambling games offered in Finland. The company generates over one billion euros for the common good annually benefitting culture, sports, science, youth work, social welfare and health, and the equine industry.<sup>13</sup>

To get an idea of what gambling looks like in current-day mainland Finland with a population of roughly 5.5 million some numbers of the production of gambling are in order: Veikkaus has 3,950 gaming locations for playslip entries, 87 Pelaamo and Feel Vegas arcades, 21,424 slot machines, 223 gaming tables, 40,000 Veikkaus game sales clerks, 1,000 croupiers and dealers and Finland's only casino in Helsinki. One third of gambling takes place online, and the Internet site [veikkaus.fi](https://www.veikkaus.fi) is the country's largest webstore with 400,000 gamblers every week. Veikkaus has nearly two million loyal customers.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, Penningautomatförening (PAF), which is the holder of the gambling monopoly of the autonomous islands of Åland situated between Finland and Sweden, markets its gambling to Finns living in mainland Finland. Finns also have the opportunity to gamble on foreign web sites as there is no blocking of those sites. The latest prevalence survey (2015) by the

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<sup>11</sup> Raento 2011, 77.

<sup>12</sup> Raento 2011, 77–79; article IV, 432.

<sup>13</sup> Veikkaus 2017.

<sup>14</sup> A more detailed description of Veikkaus can be found at <https://www.veikkaus.fi/fi/yritys?lang=en>, retrieved 26 April, 2017.

National Institute for Health and Welfare (THL) shows that 80 per cent of the population had gambled at least one type of a gambling game in the past 12 months, whereas 34 per cent of the respondents reported to have gambled once a week or more frequently. Almost a quarter of respondents (24 per cent) had gambled online. Men are more eager gamblers than women. The prevalence of problem gambling was evaluated using South Oaks Gambling Screen (SOGS), and 3.3 per cent of the population aged 15–74 was classified as problem gambler of which 1.3 per cent were identified as pathological gamblers. One of the important findings was that public attitudes towards gambling grew more favourable between 2011 and 2015 at the same time when only 45 per cent regarded problem gambling as a serious problem in Finland (compared to 69 per cent in 2011).<sup>15</sup>

Based on these figures it is easy to conclude that there is "a strong everyday gambling culture" and "that gambling penetrates ordinary living environments and people know about gambling"<sup>16</sup>.

## **1.2 GAMBLING STUDIES IN HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH**

What is the point of doing (historical) research on gambling? I have been asked this question many times both in the academic and more informal occasions. Coming from a small Nordic, in some respects even peripheral and homogenous country with a late emerging consumer society, and where legal gambling was legalized rather early in international comparison and has always been operated by gambling monopolies backed by the state, my answer to the question why and how to do historical research on gambling might differ from e.g. Anglo-American gambling scholars. Though, having said that, it is evident that the influence of Anglo-American, Australian and European gambling research has been massive on my thinking of why and how to do gambling studies. In this introduction I discuss how academic interest in gambling has evolved over the years and what kind of materials, theoretical aspects, and methodologies have been used focusing especially on the case of Finland.

The most obvious justification for scholarly interest in gambling studies is to lay down mere economic facts: gambling is a multi-billion euro global industry that keeps on growing. And as I showed in the beginning of this summary, Finns are extremely eager gamblers on a global comparison. But

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<sup>15</sup> Salonen & Raisamo 2015, 11–13. The survey has been conducted every four years since 2003 and it explores gambling, gambling problems and attitudes and opinion on gambling among Finns between the ages 15–74.

<sup>16</sup> Karekallas, Raento & Renkonen 2014, 25.

there is obviously more to gambling than the mere economic impact. As gambling scholar Pauliina Raento has put it:

*“It is a prominent part of culture and a major financial contributor to society in Finland and many other countries where governments own, license and regulate gambling enterprises. Most people in Western societies have some experience of gambling, and many buy a lottery ticket, play slot machines, or bet on sports as a regular part of their leisure.”<sup>17</sup>*

In an effort to analyse gambling beyond its mere economic and/or problem gambling resonance sociologist James F. Cosgrave offers another kind of explanation why studying gambling is important:

*Gambling --- “has come to be a feature of late capitalist societies, an activity that might be said to be representative of everyday life in these societies. The recent liberalization of gambling may be considered to be an activity like others – pornography, recreational drug use, same-sex relationships and marriage – that have come to be more accepted, as expressions of lifestyles, through social and political processes of destigmatization. But gambling might also be thought to be a collective representation of life where orientations to chance and risk become institutionalized.”<sup>18</sup>*

I have also found Cosgrave’s another point very helpful: gambling activities can be considered cultural institutions that exist within particular social structures<sup>19</sup>. I also agree with anthropologist Per Binde, who reminds us that gambling is only partially about money:

*---“ it is also about imagination, cultural meanings, excitement, escape, intellectual challenges, socializing or competing with others, and other psychological and social rewards”<sup>20</sup>.*

Thus gambling constitutes an important part of our everyday lives and deserves to be scientifically studied like any other cultural, social or political phenomenon around us. Nevertheless, gambling has always had the questionable pleasure of having been regarded as problematic both by the public and academic scholars. The only thing changing is the nature of the problem, as it varies depending on the sociohistorical context.<sup>21</sup> As Kavanagh explains gambling, of which chance is a fundamental part, has been regarded

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17 Raento 2011, 76.

18 Cosgrave 2006b, 12–13.

19 Cosgrave 2006b, 4.

20 Binde 2010, 190.

21 Reith 2007, 33.

as frivolous and not serious action in Western scientific culture. He claims that even scholars who have taken gambling seriously as a phenomenon worth studying have the tendency to “treat it as an embarrassing digression, a practice usually dismissed as a hybrid or degraded form of something more important.”<sup>22</sup>

Kavanagh’s argument is similar to that of Reith who divided the discipline of gambling studies into two traditions back in 1999 (and I think the two traditions mentioned here are still visible in the field of gambling studies):

*“One “tradition of licence” generally condones all forms of play as manifestations of the sublime element of human nature, while the other regards play in general and gambling in particular as inimical to a healthy society. Within a changing terminology of criticism, the latter has persistently regarded gambling as fundamentally problematic and condemned it as variously sinful, wasteful, criminal and pathological.”<sup>23</sup>*

The very influential works of Johan Huizinga (*Homo Ludens* 1938), Robert Caillois (*Man, Play, and Games* 1961) and of Erving Goffman (the article *Where the action is* 1969) belong to the first tradition mentioned by Reith. In the second and more dominant tradition (this is the one I refer to as “normative” gambling studies) gambling is seen as something that is essentially problematic since the forces of chance threaten the moral order of the society. This tradition has its roots in the moral condemnation of gambling itself.<sup>24</sup> A good example of this is the influential work of sociologist Thorstein Veblen, who did recognize the importance of gambling and dealt with it in his famous *The Theory of the Leisure Class* but condemned “the gambling propensity” to be “another subsidiary trait of the barbarian temperament” that had direct economic value.<sup>25</sup> In a moral climate like this, it is hardly a surprise that gambling studies were never on the top of the academic agenda and that until recently the experiential aspects of gambling as something else than a pathological trait of the human nature have been underrated in the gambling studies. Another reason for the lack of interest in gambling studies could be the fact that gambling as a uniquely ambivalent phenomenon also defies the logic of dichotomies on which both science and everyday life are somewhat based.<sup>26</sup> Thus this societal and scholarly condemnation of gambling may partly

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<sup>22</sup> Kavanagh 2005, 7; 20.

<sup>23</sup> Reith 1999, 2. A nice and concise summary of the history of the various perspectives researchers have used to explain gambling behaviour (inter alia psychoanalytic, cognitive, affective, past behaviour, economic, social and socio-cognitive) is offered by Lam 2006, 308- 309.

<sup>24</sup> Reith 1999, 3.

<sup>25</sup> Veblen 2009 [1899], 325.

<sup>26</sup> Nicoll 2010, 211. Anthropologist Jukka Jouhki (2011a) reflects very interestingly his own thoughts of engaging in academic gambling studies: “I too have had doubts about poker, not about the game itself but as a respectable object of research. It is interesting how the morality

explain why gambling has historically received surprisingly little attention in historical research and in social sciences.

What has been done in the ‘normative’ gambling studies? At the core of ‘normative’ gambling studies has been “particular types of research inquiry”, meaning that the field of gambling studies has been dominated by “clinical biop-psychological studies of ‘addicted’ gamblers as well as by large scale prevalence surveys of populations ‘at risk’ of harm”<sup>27</sup>. So the focus has been on the gambling addiction and gambling problems and to be more precise on the gambler as an addicted individual resulting in the bypassing of the problem-free gambling and problem-free gamblers and the historical and societal discourses and practises of gambling that define gambling. There has been some criticism levelled towards the use of prevalence studies, as they can offer possibilities to locate the “risk within a deviant population” meaning that the responsibility for gambling consumption can be transferred away from the actors that produce the possible risks and harms related to gambling (in many cases the state and the gambling industry). The surveys can produce “a pathologised minority” of which the industry is ironically enough dependent on as the surveys can potentially obscure and maintain the status quo between the power relations of the state, the gambling industry, and the consumer.<sup>28</sup>

My point is not to say there is nothing scientifically valid in the “normative” gambling studies, problem gambling research or that we should get rid of its traditions altogether. I also acknowledge that such rigid divisions that I have here made do not exist in the realities of scholars of gambling. There is a lot of crime and abuse involved both in legal and illegal gambling, and gambling problems are not to be taken lightly. Besides, taking a moral stand is sometimes absolutely needed when dealing with potentially addictive products and a multi-billion euro business. And as societal awareness of gambling problems increases and gambling operators invest more and more in various corporate social responsibility programmes, it is of utmost importance for gambling scholars to take part in the gambling-related discussions and shape the public views on the matters. Having said that, I find myself being more partial to the “new” school of culturally oriented gambling studies that is expanding the field and the image of gambling and gamblers. I argue that the members of this “new” school share some basic presumptions about gambling as a phenomenon, which may include the following: gambling is an important part of almost every contemporary society’s social, cultural

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of the game spreads even to the level of analysis, where scholars might feel that they are gambling with their careers and are perhaps too scared to go “all in” in investing this field of research. If a researcher into poker feels this shy about poker, no wonder a player might feel the same. It often seems like the academic view of gambling has only two alternatives: either it is an addiction or “false play” and has to be tamed or eradicated, or then it is a new way of blurring the boundaries between work and play and of creating new identities. Again, I agree that both views are immensely important and interesting, but I wish less attractive and less dramatic views could get more academic space.”

<sup>27</sup> Reith 2013, 721.

<sup>28</sup> Young 2013, 9.

and economic life; gambling per se is not pathological or criminal; gambling can be a part of everyday life; gambling takes place in time and in space and thus is never an ahistorical activity; (recreational) gamblers make consumer decisions, and these choices must be treated as rational rather than irrational decisions; gender, class, age, ethnicity, dwelling place, religion and other social locations must be taken into consideration when doing research on gambling, and the researchers are interested in the experiences of the gamblers themselves.<sup>29</sup>

As in many other countries, the interest in the gambling studies started in Finland in the 1990s in the footsteps of the 'normative' gambling studies. By the 1990s the Finnish gambling monopolies had been quite successful in taming Finnish gambling to be part of a respectable and normal Finnish way of life and gambling revenues constituted a very substantial part of the financing of the welfare state<sup>30</sup>. Gambling being regarded as a part of a normal way of life and suitable for both women and men, problem gamblers did not fit the image of the Finnish gambling monopolies that were considered the safeguards of the Finnish welfare state. The first studies concentrated on grasping the extent of the Finnish gambling problems and were made by people working with problem gamblers<sup>31</sup>. An interesting exception to this rule of psychological and psychoanalytical Finnish gambling research of the 1990s is sociologists' Pasi Falk's and Pasi Mäenpää's study of lottery jackpot winners in which a combination of interviews of actual jackpot winners and other materials related to jackpot dreaming were used. According to Falk and Mäenpää, the story of a lotto winner who after having suddenly gained a very large sum of money loses control over his life and in a few years' time ends up in a gutter without family, friends or money or even commits suicide is well-known in Finland. Falk and Mäenpää call this the story of "the mythical lotto winner". Interestingly enough, they state that actual lotto winners are well aware of this myth and this awareness guides their behaviour.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, both RAY and Veikkaus commissioned historical researches to celebrate their fiftieth anniversaries in 1988 and 1990.<sup>33</sup>

Gambling problems have become a major issue in public debate only in the 2000s. One of the major reasons for this the Finnish membership in the European Union (EU) in 1995, which has questioned the justifications of the Finnish gambling monopoly, as the EU does not accept the idea of using gambling revenue for the common good a sufficient enough entitlement for a monopoly. Instead, the prevention of social and individual problems caused by gambling and the focus on 'responsible gambling' are nowadays the main

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<sup>29</sup> Matilainen 2011, 89. See also article III, 159.

<sup>30</sup> Article I, 35.

<sup>31</sup> See Murto & Niemelä 1993 (in Finnish) which was the first study done on problem gamblers in Finland.

<sup>32</sup> Falk & Mäenpää 1999.

<sup>33</sup> See Kortelainen 1988, and Ylikangas 1990. See Luoto & Wickström 2008 for a celebratory book of the RAY's most legendary slot machine the Payazzo.

justifications.<sup>34</sup> Increased media attention and the renegotiation of ethical and moral boundaries of gambling bordered on moral panic in the beginning of the 2000s<sup>35</sup>. The pressure both from the EU and public discussion has led to an expansion of especially problem gambling research and funding<sup>36</sup>. As part of their fight to maintain the gambling monopoly the Finnish government(s) have provided substantial resources both for research purposes and for the prevention and treatment of gambling problems, as the Finnish gambling monopoly is nowadays obligated by the law to invest a certain amount of their proceedings to gambling research. The resources have grown up to several million euros per year signalling government's commitment to minimize gambling problems (and at the same time safeguarding the gambling monopoly). Many researchers have argued that it has been the increased government action on problem gambling that has had a crucial effect on the public's perceptions of the extent of the gambling problems at the same time when the Finnish gambling problem prevalence rates have not been on the rise.<sup>37</sup>

There are three major financiers in the field of gambling research in Finland. Research is mainly funded by the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, which offers direct funding to THL. There are also two research foundations: The Finnish Foundation for Alcohol Studies, which used to focus solely on alcohol drinking as an individual and social problem and drug abuse, has had its own funding programme for problem gambling research since 2007 and the Finnish Foundation for Gaming Research, which was established by the three Finnish gambling monopolies (Veikkaus, RAY, Fintoto) in 2008.<sup>38</sup> I consider the founding of the Finnish Foundation for Gaming Research to be the most obvious example of the 'new school' of cultural gambling studies in Finland. Its focus has been on gambling as a social and cultural phenomenon and not on problem gambling.<sup>39</sup>

As the funding has increased so have the numbers of scholars of gambling diversifying the disciplines, data, methods and theoretical perspectives of gambling research. A decade ago economist Mika Pantzar stated that the Finnish gambling research had bypassed all the positive sides of gambling and marginal groups such as youngsters, the aged and above all problem gamblers had been given the leading role in the gambling studies.<sup>40</sup> But the change has been rapid. The recent trends in the "new" cultural gambling studies have meant that Finnish researchers have been doing more qualitative and

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34 Tammi, Castrén & Lintonen 2015, 746–747.

35 Raento 2011, 77.

36 See Cisneros Örnberg & Tammi 2011, 121. The same process can be seen at least in Sweden. Finland and Sweden have decided to reform their gambling monopolies and put the focus on problem gambling in order to be able to convince the EU of the responsible nature and particular capability of monopoly-based gambling markets to deal with the problems.

37 Tammi, Castrén & Lintonen 2015, 746–747; Raento 2011, 77–79.

38 Tammi, Castrén & Lintonen 2015, 747–748.

39 See Tammi, Castrén & Lintonen 2015; Raento 2014a, and Raento 2014b for a detailed description of the Finnish gambling research.

40 Pantzar 2006, 2.

multidisciplinary research than before expanding the groups of gamblers studied. Interviewing gamblers has been the most favoured way of getting research material. Many researchers have also launched various questionnaires on the Internet. Research questions concerning the Internet and its effect on gambling have been popular. There has also been a welcome move to study gambling from a gender and class perspective. Raento has called for new insights into control and intervention and the relationship between gambling and entertainment<sup>41</sup>.

I argue that regulation of alcohol and the regulation of gambling are in many ways linked together in Finland, where the two morally dubious but for the state economically profitable phenomena have been organized by monopolies. I would also dare to suggest that the linkage can also be seen in the rest of the Nordic countries with the exception of Denmark, where the system of monopolies has not been used in selling of alcohol<sup>42</sup>. Sociologist Michael Egerer has found that discourses and practices related to gambling and alcohol monopolies support each other, which shows in the ways Finnish social workers discuss problems related both to alcohol and gambling.<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, the linkage can also be seen in the emergence of gambling studies, as it is the Finnish Foundation for Alcohol Studies that funds gambling studies. Many researchers previously engaged in the field of alcohol studies have also taken up gambling studies thus bringing their methodological and theoretical knowhow into the field.<sup>44</sup>

In Finland, being a small country where practically everyone dealing with gambling research knows each other, there is easily the risk of both research ethical and other ethical problems as well as too close links to the gambling monopoly, to gambling policy-makers and to NGOs working to help the problem gamblers. The financial dependence of many NGOs working with problem gamblers on gambling revenue has led to a paradoxical situation where their work is being paid by the same activity they try to curb. At the same time, the Finnish state owns and benefits from gambling but also controls gambling.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Raento 2011, 78–79.

<sup>42</sup> Article V, 121–122.

<sup>43</sup> Egerer 2013, 74–75.

<sup>44</sup> The idea of applying the total consumption model used in the alcohol studies to gambling studies has been discussed in the project Gambling Policy and the Public Good led by sociologist Pekka Sulkunen and public health scholar Thomas Babor. See Bruun & co 1975 for further reading on the idea of total consumption model.

<sup>45</sup> Karekallas, Raento & Renkonen 2014, 30.



### 1.3 RECREATIONAL GAMBLING AS CONSUMPTION

Like many other scholars of gambling<sup>46</sup>, I regard (recreational) gambling participation as a consumption decision<sup>47</sup>. I consider gambling to be part of the system where risks are being produced for consumption. An interesting part of the risk production is the way that historically carefully articulated boundaries between investment and gambling have been made. Geographer Samuel Randall discusses the emergence of weather derivatives from gambling into an acceptable and rational financial product. By doing so he shows how the acceptability of certain financial products is contingent upon time and place. He talks about “moral landscapes of risk” that are constantly being reshaped and that “legitimate some arguments and products over others”.<sup>48</sup>

As sociologist Sytze Kingma has pointed out, gambling markets can be considered a part of Ulrich Beck’s risk society<sup>49</sup>. According to Cosgrave, gambling can be seen as “risky consumption”, which means that risks are an integral part of the consumption experience and risk is actively consumed instead of being avoided.<sup>50</sup> Reith talks of gambling as “a paradigmatic form of consumption that captures the intensified logic at the heart of late modern capitalist societies” and of being “a site of intensified consumption”.<sup>51</sup> The role of gambling organisations is two-sided: they offer risks for consumers but at the same time they also project risk onto the same environment that they are part of. These other risks are due to the possible dangers that gambling addiction and gambling related crime can engender.<sup>52</sup>

For many scholars especially Las Vegas or other spectacular gambling spaces have been the starting point when dealing with commoditization of gambling. But I agree with Kingma who states that the commoditization can also be seen

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<sup>46</sup> See e.g. Garvía 2007, 644, and Casey 2008.

<sup>47</sup> I understand that by stating that I consider recreational gambling to be consumption I am at risk of conforming the idea that individuals are obliged to self-control in matters related to consumption (e.g. alcohol, food, drugs, or gambling) and in case they fail to internalize the confines of appropriate consumption they are regarded as failures. Or as Reith 2007, 33 has put it when analyzing the concept of problem gambling: ---“today the notion of problem gambling is articulated in terms that are oppositional to the ideology of a “consumption ethic” based on the values of self-control, self-actualization, responsibility, and reason. This is related to wider socioeconomic trends whereby the decline of external forms of regulation is matched by rising demands for individual self-control, which is conducted through consumption. In the case of gambling, the liberalization and deregulation of the industry and the simultaneous expectation that individual players govern themselves express the tensions inherent in consumer capitalism and create the conditions for the emergence of the problem gambler as a unique historical type.” See chapters 4.1 and 4.2. for more discussion about consumption and problematic gambling.

<sup>48</sup> Randall 2013, 187, 189–190. It would be interesting to do research on the making of such boundaries in the context of Finland in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. To my knowledge no such research has been done.

<sup>49</sup> Kingma 2008, 446. See Beck 1992 on risk society.

<sup>50</sup> Cosgrave 2009, 46–47.

<sup>51</sup> Reith 2013, 717.

<sup>52</sup> Kingma 2008, 446–447. See also Reith 2013, 731–732, on the harms created by gambling.

*“in the less spectacular but ubiquitous gambling forms, such as urban casinos, betting shops, racetracks, bingo halls, amusement arcades, and lottery shows on television<sup>53</sup>.”*

Sociologist Emma Casey, who has studied British working-class women’s experiences of the National lottery, points out that buying a lottery ticket is a very popular routine purchase with unique mass appeal and a “mundane consumer purchase”, which does not necessarily cause harm to individuals<sup>54</sup>. As a social historian coming from a culture that experienced the breakthrough of mass consumer culture as late as in the 1960s or even the 1970s and where gambling has been successfully tamed to be part of everyday lives of every citizen, I feel that the use of the concept of consumption in its less spectacular and less flashy everyday version is more suited for my needs.<sup>55</sup>

According to sociologist Daniel Miller, consumption as a topic cannot be usefully defined:

*“Rather it must be followed as dialectic between the specificity of regions, groups and particular commodity forms on the one hand, and the generality of global shifts in the political economy and contradictions of culture on the other”.<sup>56</sup>*

I understand consumption to be an active cultural and mental process by which people define themselves and their place in the world. An integral part of the consumption and consumer society are mass goods. Mass goods (including commercialised gambling products) are products of industrialisation and modernity representing culture through which people create their identities, social affiliations, and everyday practices.<sup>57</sup>

Historian Frank Trentmann stresses that study of consumption brings attention to the private side of people’s lives and to the everyday working of politics. Consumption can be seen as a series of evolving processes. In short consumption is about fulfilling certain tasks. Consumption practices tie individuals to the larger systems of provision by linking the private with the public world. I have been inspired by Trentmann’s notion that it is worth studying how skills needed for a certain practice (in my case practices of gambling) have been “performed, acquired, contested and regulated” and how these practices have changed over time<sup>58</sup>.

What are then the dynamics between consumption and citizenship? Trentmann noticed a decade ago how citizenship and consumption had moved

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<sup>53</sup> Kingma 2010, 4.

<sup>54</sup> Casey 2008, 3–4.

<sup>55</sup> See articles I, and II on the history of Finnish consumer society.

<sup>56</sup> Miller 1995, 34.

<sup>57</sup> Miller 1991, 215.

<sup>58</sup> Trentmann 2007, 154–155.

closer together and the concept of a “citizen-consumer” had arisen.<sup>59</sup> I turn the concept vice versa and use the concept of “consumer-citizen” in my own analysis to describe how through gambling related consumption discourses and practices and especially through gambling related dreaming many Finns were learning to adapt to a new consumer society that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s. As I have shown together with Raento in article IV, gambling in Finland was represented as every citizen’s duty or a social commitment for the ‘good causes’ thus being part of a good citizenship.<sup>60</sup>

Money is an important part of consumption but not always a prerequisite for consumption: I consider e.g. window-shopping and dreaming consumption. The importance of dreaming in consumer discourses and practices has been noted by many researchers. Sociologist Colin Campbell has dealt with dreaming and consumption in his very influential work *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*. He wants to deny the Weberian starting point that rationality is the determining factor regarding capitalism and modern consumerism. The industrial revolution took place also in the field of consumption and not only in production.<sup>61</sup> When pondering the secret of the modern consumerism, Campbell wants first to find out how the *wants* of consumers are born. He levels his most incisive criticism against Veblen’s very influential theory on “conspicuous consumption”. According to Campbell, Veblen understood that the economist had neglected aspects of emotion and social status when studying consumption. However, he does not accept Veblen’s basic idea of consumption as a process of emulation, where the lower classes copy the elite’s taste and consumer habits. Veblen and researchers after him thought for a long time that consumption consisted of behavioural patterns that were directed to the social world and to other people.<sup>62</sup> On the contrary, Campbell stresses the importance of an introvert, soul-searching and dreamy type in the birth of the romantic ethic and the modern consumerism.

The basis for Campbell’s theory is the division into *traditional* and *modern hedonism*. This division is based on the difference between the concepts of *satisfaction* and *pleasure*. A hedonistic action is behaviour where pleasure is sought knowingly and self-purposely. The development of the modern hedonism can be understood as a transition from *sensations* to *emotions*. For Campbell, a modern hedonist is a dream artist and the distinguishing features of modern hedonism consist of imagination, daydreaming and fantasies and their use and control. Daydreaming is tightly connected to the excitement of waiting for the gratification of the enjoyment and the longing that comes with it. It is the *wanting* instead of the *having* that is the essential factor in pleasure

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<sup>59</sup> Trentmann 2007, 147–149.

<sup>60</sup> Cosgrave 2009, 64, puts the same idea rather eloquently: “Between alibis and risks, gambling is mobilized in Canada as a political-economic vehicle, and the citizen and consumer are merged.”

<sup>61</sup> Campbell 1987, 1–35.

<sup>62</sup> Campbell 1987, 36–57.

seeking in modern hedonism. It is, in fact, the gratification of desire that causes a disappointment for the modern hedonist since no imagined object of desire can fulfil the meanings and hopes that were attached to it in the dream world. Thus, the hedonist constantly continues his dreaming and fantasizing and most importantly: purchasing.<sup>63</sup>

I have referred to Campbell's reasoning rather extensively because he has been able to widen the definition of the concept of consumption in a manner that seems to very suitable for my own purposes:

*"The essential activity of consumption is thus not the actual selection, purchase or use of products, but the imaginative pleasure-seeking to which the product image lends itself, "real" consumption being largely a resultant of this "mentalist" hedonism."<sup>64</sup>*

The western world's main source of restless energy is guaranteed by the strain between dream and reality, pleasure and utility.<sup>65</sup> The idea that the cultural logic of modernity cannot be understood solely by taking into account the traits of rational accounting, but researchers also have to pay attention to people's feelings, passions and the creative dreaming born of longing has been an important one to me.<sup>66</sup> Historian Orsi Husz has used the concept of *consumer dream* when analysing the Swedish lottery fever in the twentieth century. The concept highlights the tension between hedonistic and rational consumption. In historical research, dreams have been seen as something unreal and something that is experienced emotionally rather than rationally. Thus, dreaming has been considered opposite to rational consumer behaviour, in other words irrational. Husz is out to prove that dreaming is not necessarily an irrational activity but rather a vital part of people's consumer behaviour.<sup>67</sup> Young has put it rather eloquently: "—, the fantasy of the big win is perhaps

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<sup>63</sup> Campbell 1987, 58–73.

<sup>64</sup> Campbell 1987, 89.

<sup>65</sup> Campbell 1987, 227.

<sup>66</sup> However, to a social historian Campbell's work and his explanation of the significance of the romantic ethic in the birth of the Western modern consumerism is problematic because Campbell seems to forget the existence of the working classes. He mentions that in the nineteenth century a more important factor than the division between the upper and middle class was the fact that the middle class was divided internally into many different strata. According to Campbell, the focus on the "high culture" is acceptable concerning the eighteenth and the nineteenth century but not when it comes to the twentieth century. Another problem concerns the possibility of a generalisation of the mental process that Campbell describes. I share Campbell's opinion that there was no proper theory of modern consumption and the birth of the revolution in consumption prior to his theory. However, even though one takes into account the might of the British Empire in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the question remains whether it is possible to explain the changes in the whole Western world by transitions of middle class' consumption mentalities in one country. Did the same kind of change in mentalities happen for example in Lutheran Sweden or in Catholic Italy? And if this change took place, when was it? And why did it happen? Could it be that, for example, Finland experienced a shift from traditional to modern hedonism in the twentieth century or even as late as after the Second World War? See Campbell 1987, 6–7, 12, 230 (footnote 25).

<sup>67</sup> Husz 2004, 26.

the ultimate capitalistic product, one that offers realization of all consumer dreams“<sup>68</sup>.

Many researchers have described the increasingly widespread hedonism among consumers as a characteristic feature of modern consumer culture. However, Husz points out that “ascetic values persisted not only in the criticisms but also in the practices of the lottery games”.<sup>69</sup> She stresses the fact that hedonism is not the logical opposite of rationalism but rather hedonism and ascetism form a dichotomy. The difference is that hedonism and ascetism are the driving forces and motivations of a consumer, whereas rationalism and irrationalism are the characteristics of a consumer. In short, Husz refuses to identify hedonism with irrationality.<sup>70</sup> Casey is of the same opinion when she calls for researchers to regard gambling decisions made by recreational gamblers as rational choices, choices where they regularly decide to gamble a proportion of their income. Gamblers should be seen as rational and thinking beings and researchers should be interested in the social and cultural experiences of gambling and also motivations for gambling.<sup>71</sup>

All in all, I consider (recreational) gambling a consumer decision that can be regarded as rational. The dream of hitting the jackpot is one of the great consumer dreams that have shaped people’s experiences of consumption and gambling.

## **1.4 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: THREE FINNISH GAMBLING DISPOSITIFS**

I have chosen to use Michel Foucault’s concept of dispositif as a theoretical framework for my study because the concept offers me a possibility to name and analyse the ensemble considered gambling in the Finnish (and to some extent in Swedish and Nordic) contexts. I have been inspired by the observations by social historian Matti Peltonen, who claims that there is a misconception of Foucault’s methods in the social sciences and cultural studies. Peltonen states that Foucault did work both on the nondiscursive (I call them practices) and the discursive elements, whereas the mainstream has understood Foucault’s method as discourse analysis. Furthermore, Foucault

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<sup>68</sup> Young 2010, 259.

<sup>69</sup> Husz 2004, 335.

<sup>70</sup> Husz 2004, 26–28.

<sup>71</sup> Casey 2008, 3–5. I agree with Casey 2008, 6 that it may be potentially dangerous to condemn gambling (or in Casey’s case the UK National Lottery play) as irrational: “Such an explanation is inadequate because it ignores the social and cultural structures of gambling behaviour, positions Lottery play as a meaningless and pointless activity, and overlooks any exploration of the subjective pleasures that might motivate women to purchase Lottery tickets.”

stressed that these elements were neither historically constant nor ordained.

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Foucault defines *dispositif* as follows (in the English translation version *dispositif* is called apparatus. I have chosen to use the original French term *dispositif*)<sup>73</sup>:

*“What I’m trying to pick out with this term is, firstly, a thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions – in short, the said as much as the unsaid. Such are the elements of the apparatus. The apparatus itself is the system of relations than can be established between these elements. Secondly, what I am trying to identify in this apparatus is precisely the nature of the connection that can exist between these heterogeneous elements. Thus, a particular discourse can figure at one time as the programme of an institution, and at another it can function as a means of justifying or masking a practice which itself remains silent, or as a secondary re-interpretation of this practice, opening out for it a new field of rationality. In short, between these elements, whether discursive or non-discursive, there is a sort of interplay of shifts of position and modifications of function which can also vary very widely. Thirdly, I understand by the term ‘apparatus’ a sort of – shall we say formation which has as its major function at a given historical moment that of responding to an urgent need. The apparatus thus has a dominant strategic function”.*<sup>74</sup>

What makes *dispositif* especially useful and appealing to a social historian is the idea of *dispositif* consisting of such heterogeneous discourses and practices and being so tied to a certain time and place.<sup>75</sup> It also seems that the *dispositifs* of control are not totalizing meaning that resistance and revolt are

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<sup>72</sup> Peltonen 2004, 206; 214–215. See also article V, 119–120; 131, on my understanding of *dispositif*. Historian Aija Kaartinen 2012, 289–290, has summarized nicely the way she used and understood the concept of *dispositif* in her study of Finnish women’s opinions and actions concerning the Finnish Prohibition (1919–1932): “The best tool for structuring the object of my research is Michel Foucault’s concept of *dispositif*, which helps in the strategic formulation of the key questions. With the help of this concept, it is possible to “package” the concrete reality called prohibition culture, i.e. the entity of actions and cultural phenomena, into one whole. It is important to note that the discourses alone do not constitute the object of the study although they are in the very core of it.”

<sup>73</sup> Philosopher Martin Kutsch (1991, 143) explains the several meanings the word *dispositive* has: “The last, not straightforwardly translatable word has several meanings, for instance, “an ensemble of parts that constitute an apparatus or machine”, “an ensemble of measures that constitute an organization or plan”, and “an ensemble of (material) precautions and means for carrying out a strategic, military operation”. The last-mentioned meaning harmonizes especially well with Foucault’s liking for military terminology.”

<sup>74</sup> Foucault 1980, 194–195.

<sup>75</sup> Important works for my understanding of Foucault’s methodology and especially *dispositive* have been Foucault 1978, 1980, and 1991; Veyne 1997; Dean 1998, and 1999; Peltonen 2004, and in Finnish Helén 1997 and 2016; Eriksson 1999; Selin 2010, 2011a, and 2011b, and Koivusalo 2011, and 2012.

always possible.<sup>76</sup> And there is the possibility for unexpected effects or as Foucault argues: *Dispositif* can produce “An entirely unforeseen effect which had nothing to do with any kind of strategic ruse on the part of some meta- or trans-historic subject conceiving and willing it”<sup>77</sup>.

What does Foucault mean by practices and by analyzing practices? Archeologist and historian Paul Veyne notes that Foucault “made the effort to see people’s practices *as they really are*; what he is talking about is the same thing every historian talks about, namely, what people do”<sup>78</sup>, whereas sociologist Mitchell Dean states that Foucault’s analysis concentrates on ‘regimes of practices’ by which Dean means “the more or less organized or routinized ways of doing things that manifest an immanent logic or reason of their own”<sup>79</sup>. For Foucault practices are not to be reduced to the level of institutions, ideologies, circumstances, contexts or the subject but treated with a kind of positivity.<sup>80</sup> Or as Foucault put it:

*“It is a question of analysing a ‘regime of practices’ – practices being understood here as places where what is said and what is done, rules imposed and reasons given, the planned and the taken for granted meet and interconnect”*<sup>81</sup>.

Foucault talks of discourses being the “tactical elements or blocks operating in the field of force relations”, where there can be “different and even contradictory discourses within the same strategy” that can “circulate without changing their form from one strategy to another, opposing strategy”<sup>82</sup>. As I have stated in article V, I have wanted to analyse the discourses and practices that have shaped Finnish gambling *dispositifs* by taking also into consideration the ‘forgotten’ and ‘wrong’ discourses and practices that for various reasons never became the ones to dominate the way gambling is thought of or experienced in Finland.<sup>83</sup> This brings my aim close to the idea of Foucauldian genealogy where taken-for-granted ‘truths’ are seen as historical constructs having roots in a specific time and place. Following the genealogical idea I have wanted to ask what historical discourses and practises have produced the current Finnish gambling culture as a specific form of risk making and risk taking.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Frost 2015, 21.

<sup>77</sup> Foucault 1980, 195.

<sup>78</sup> Veyne 1997, 156.

<sup>79</sup> Dean 1998, 185.

<sup>80</sup> Dean 1998, 185.

<sup>81</sup> Foucault 1991, 75.

<sup>82</sup> Foucault 1978, 101–102.

<sup>83</sup> See article V, 119–120. See Foucault 1978, 94–95: “Power relations are both intentional and nonsubjective. --- there is no power that is exercised without a series of aims and objectives. But this does not mean that it results from the choice or decision of an individual subject--- the logic is perfectly clear, the aims decipherable, and yet it is often the case that no one is there to have invented them, and few who can be said to have formulated them:”.

<sup>84</sup> Saukko 2010, 133.

When it comes to risk and gambling studies, especially Foucault's concept of governmentality has been put to use in many studies. Sociologist Deborah Lupton states that Foucauldian governmentality has had the perspective of understanding risk strategies and discourses as a

*“means of ordering the social and material worlds through methods of rationalization and calculation, attempts to render disorder and uncertainty more controllable. It is these strategies and discourses that bring risk into being, that select certain phenomena as being ‘risky’ and therefore requiring management, either by institutions or individuals.”<sup>85</sup>*

Foucault's concept of *heterotopia* has also been discussed in gambling studies.<sup>86</sup> To my knowledge only anthropologist Rebecca Cassidy has used *dispositif* in the gambling studies while engaged in her “micro-ethnography of gambling” which deals with interviews of one professional horse race bettor to show how changes both in taxation and regulation have affected the experience of horserace betting in the UK.<sup>87</sup> Cassidy explains her choice of the concept of ‘apparatus’ (i.e. *dispositif*) and stresses the importance of everyday practises in understanding gambling:

*“Brian [the interviewee] was particularly interested in the impact of technology, regulation and administration on his every day practises. My decision to focus on the ‘apparatus’ of betting, is, therefore, determined, by his priorities.”<sup>88</sup>*

Following the idea that *dispositifs* can be understood as answers to problems linked to the ensemble that is considered gambling in a certain society (in this case the Finnish society from the nineteenth throughout to the twenty-first century) I have formulated three *dispositifs*: prohibition *dispositif*, common good *dispositif*, and risk *dispositif*.<sup>89</sup> These *dispositifs* describe solutions to “problem” regarded as gambling that are contingent upon the socio-temporal circumstances of the Finnish society. The names of

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<sup>85</sup> Lupton 2006, 98. See Nicoll 2013 as an example of the use of concept of governmentality in the gambling studies.

<sup>86</sup> See Schnyder 2016, 108–109: “Michel Foucault developed the concept of heterotopia in his essay “Des espaces autres,” which he wrote in 1967...- Unlike a utopia – which, as its name (Greek for “no-place”) indicates, cannot be found in reality – a heterotopia is an “other-place” or “counter-place” *within* the existing world - a demarcated area in which normal cultural and social life is simultaneously “represented, contested and inverted”:--- He shows how churchyards, gardens, museums, libraries, fairs and holiday villages can all be understood as heterotopias – as places in which general cultural and social phenomena are mirrored (and often *critically* mirrored), as it were, *en miniature*.”

<sup>87</sup> Cassidy 2013, 43–45.

<sup>88</sup> Cassidy 2013, 45.

<sup>89</sup> See also article V.



the *dispositifs* reveal how gambling has been understood, practiced, and regulated in certain periods. They are also indicators of the change concerning gambling that has taken place in Finland.

The formulation of these *dispositifs* has been strongly influenced by the work of sociologist Sytze Kingma who has analysed the gambling regulation in the Netherlands<sup>90</sup>. In his own model Kingma talks of regimes by which he means “the ‘complex of institutional geography, rules, practice, and animating ideas that are associated with the regulation of a particular risk or hazard’”<sup>91</sup>. I find Kingma’s models innovative and also applicable to Finland (and to a certain extent also to Sweden). Whereas Kingma has concentrated solely on regulation in his own model, I have taken into account the ensemble of gambling (that means discourses and practises) in a Foucauldian manner based on my research on gambling in Finland. Kingma has named his models as prohibition model, alibi model, and risk model. The reason I decided to name the second *dispositif* as a common good *dispositif* and not as an alibi *dispositif* is that my analysis has shown that in Finland the understanding and practices related to gambling were quite different from Dutch ones.<sup>92</sup>

Kingma refers to the work of Thomas Kuhn and describes the rise of the risk model a part of a “paradigm shift” that replaces the former regulation model, which he calls the alibi model<sup>93</sup>. I dare to argue that my formulation differs from Kingma’s in this respect: I consider the *dispositifs* to be flexible, porous, and coincidental meaning that they overlap each other. In many cases it is difficult to analyse where one *dispositif* replaces the other.<sup>94</sup> The discourses and practices inside one *dispositif* may sometimes be desynchronized: for example many people wanted to participate in the Swedish football pools in the 1930s despite the widespread attitude that Sweden was Finland’s sworn enemy in sports or that the introduction of

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<sup>90</sup> See Appendix 1 for Kingma’s three models of Dutch gambling regulation.

<sup>91</sup> Kingma 2008, 446, citing Hood et al. 2001, 9.

<sup>92</sup> Kingma 2008, 447, states that “In discourses characterized by alibis, gambling is still intrinsically controversial and considered a vice. Gambling can be legalized to avoid illegal markets, and the exploitation of gambling is severely restricted by discouraging the private pursuit of profit, and by allocating gambling revenues to social interests, such as welfare, sports and other “just causes.” Because of the restrictive policies and the central role of the government in organizing gambling markets, the alibi model closely aligns with the principles of the welfare state. The alibi model is best understood as an intermediary regulation model in between the risk model and the prohibition model, in which gambling is considered to be morally wrong and is legally opposed.” Cosgrave 2009, 58-59, refers to and accepts Kingma’s alibi model when analysing the way gambling has been understood, regulated and practiced in Canada. I argue that the Finnish *dispositif* of the same era differs from both the cases of the Netherlands and Canada since gambling was not considered a vice but was rather successfully tamed as every citizen’s duty.

<sup>93</sup> Kingma 2008, 447.

<sup>94</sup> However, Kingma (2004, 63) stresses that “With regard to gambling, I chose not to emphasise the abolition of prohibitions and restrictions but the new controls that replaced the old strategies. These controls, based on ‘external effects’ and ‘risk analysis’, are a reaction to and an extension of earlier regulations. With the transformation of gambling policies there is a continuation in the direction of the structural development of gambling practices.” Thus Kingma also recognises the importance of continuance in his gambling models.

roulettes in the end of the 1960s was marketed as a chance to get rich overnight in a Monaco style, when in real life the bets and rules of the game of roulette were different from traditional luxurious casinos in continental Europe.<sup>95</sup>

I have made some adjustments, changes and additions to Kingma's original model for it to better suit my own analysis of Finnish gambling *dispositifs*. I have to stress that my formulation of the *dispositifs* is ideal-typical in the sense that I have had to simplify the *dispositifs* and as such the *dispositifs* do not correspond to all of the characteristics of a certain *dispositif*. Whereas Kingma employs nine categories (time frame, moral meaning of gambling, political strategy, rationale for gambling law, destination of returns, central concern, exploitation, controlling institutions, and ideal typical state<sup>96</sup>) I use ten categories: time frame, moral meaning of gambling, destination of returns, rationale for regulation, controlling institutions, ideal typical state, class, gender, ideal-typical form of gambling, and ideal typical form of gambling space. By the category of time frame I roughly sketch the time period of a certain period, whereas moral meaning of gambling names the "dominant" discourse related to gambling. The categories of destination of returns, rationale for regulation, controlling institutions and ideal typical state are related to the perspective of making and controlling risks, and regulating them. I have created the four new categories (class, gender, ideal typical form of gambling, ideal typical form of gambling space) to stress the importance of gambling's classed and gendered nature, to highlight the importance of certain forms of gambling for a certain *dispositif*, and to emphasize the change in the gambling spaces that has taken place over my research period. These new categories are related both to the perspectives of making and taking risks in the Finnish society.

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<sup>95</sup> Kaartinen 2012, 295–296, has pointed out the same thing about the desynchronization of discourses and practices in her PhD that deals with women's opinions and actions for and against the Finnish Prohibition (1919-1932). It was especially the representatives of the organized working class who were for the prohibition but the working class people were reluctant to obey the Prohibition regulation at a personal level. Thus, the practices differed from the discourse. See article I about the threat of Swedish football pools and article III about the introduction of roulettes in Finland.

<sup>96</sup> Kingma 2008, 448. See Appendix 1.

**TABLE 1. THE THREE GAMBLING *DISPOSITIFS* IN FINLAND (INSPIRED BY KINGMA 2008, 448; KINGMA 2002, AND MYLLYMAA 2017, 35).<sup>97</sup>**

|   | <b>PROHIBITION<br/><i>DISPOSITIF</i></b>                     | <b>COMMON GOOD<br/><i>DISPOSITIF</i></b>   | <b>RISK <i>DISPOSITIF</i></b>   |
|---|--|--|---|
| <b>TIME FRAME</b>                                       | Until 1920s  | 1920s to the 1990s   | 1990s onwards   |
| <b>MORAL<br/>MEANING OF<br/>GAMBLING</b>                | A sin  | Every citizen's duty   | Entertainment/Addiction   |
| <b>DESTINATION<br/>OF RETURNS</b>                       | Good causes<br>(lotteries in<br>goods)                       | The welfare state  | The state   |
| <b>RATIONALE<br/>FOR<br/>REGULATION</b>                 | Dysfunctional for<br>social order                            | Collecting revenue<br>for the state and<br>protecting the state<br>from foreign<br>gambling with<br>monopolies | Part of the risk/consumer<br>society  |
| <b>CONTROLLING<br/>INSTITUTIONS</b>                     | Legal norms/The<br>Lutheran church<br>and folk beliefs       | Legal norms and<br>social values   | The EU/Legal norms and<br>social values/Scientific<br>research and healthcare |
| <b>IDEAL TYPICAL<br/>STATE</b>                          | The national state   | The national welfare<br>state  | The risk society/the<br>welfare state   |
| <b>CLASS</b>  | Great class<br>distinctions                                  | Democratization<br>of gambling   | Concern for the young<br>and otherwise vulnerable<br>gamblers                 |
| <b>GENDER</b>   | A male<br>prerogative  | Both men and<br>women allowed and<br>encouraged to<br>gamble   | Women seen as a<br>special target group                                       |
| <b>IDEAL TYPICAL<br/>FORM OF<br/>GAMBLING</b>           | Lotteries in goods   | Lotto  | Internet poker/sports<br>betting  |
| <b>IDEAL TYPICAL<br/>FORM OF<br/>GAMBLING<br/>SPACE</b> | Big fund-raising<br>entertainment<br>events/Gambling<br>dens | Kiosks, grocery<br>stores and service<br>stations with slot<br>machines  | Casino/Online gambling<br>sites   |

Furthermore, political scientist Antti Myllymaa has created his own model of gambling regulation in Europe adapting the model from Kingma and yours truly. Myllymaa states that by contrasting three models (in his case the

<sup>97</sup> I discuss these three dispositifs and their categories in detail in the following parts of this summary.

prohibition model, the embedded liberal model and the neoliberal model) he is able to sum up the differences between these three ideal-typical models in broad strokes.<sup>98</sup> What is interesting about Myllymaa's model (and applicable also to Finland) is what he calls "import substitution"; how in the embedded liberal model the rationale for (de)regulation was to make sure that gambling took place solely in the confines of one's own country thus guaranteeing that gambling revenues benefitted only the citizens of that particular country. The import substitution meant that all gambling import was banned or made difficult to participate in but also that citizens were given domestic options for gambling (for example the legalization of money lotteries in 1926 or the establishment of the gambling monopolies RAY and Veikkaus in 1938 and in 1940). Another interesting point Myllymaa makes in his comparison is the change in the ideal typical state that regulates gambling: the nation state has evolved through the national welfare state to the competition state, which now in many cases has allowed the private profit seeking and is export-oriented.<sup>99</sup>

## **1.5 DATA AND METHODS**

I have used a variety of qualitative data to construe the Finnish gambling dispositifs. The idea has been to explore the entity understood as gambling from the perspectives of production (the regulation of gambling, gambling operators, technological changes affecting gambling), and consumption (the gamblers). The qualitative approach has been particularly helpful when I have prioritized questions that have been important for the research subjects when they have encountered gambling<sup>100</sup>.

My data include contemporary official memorandums (articles I, and II), newspaper and magazine articles (articles I, and II), Veikkaus' archive materials such as research reports (article I), and photographs (article IV), RAY's annual reports (article II), oral history data on gambling including *New ways of life 1939*; *My best Payazzo memory 1998*; *Let's save our lottery and betting lore 2000*; *Horse stories 2003*; Oral history data on consumption 2007 (articles III and IV), Finnish fiction (articles I, and II), and auto-ethnographic observations (article IV). Article V is more of a compilation of my own previous research where no new data is introduced but I discuss a more theoretical approach. In addition to the above-mentioned data, I have relied on research literature on gambling especially concerning Finland and Sweden but also

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<sup>98</sup> Myllymaa 2017, 34.

<sup>99</sup> Myllymaa 2017, 35.

<sup>100</sup> Cassidy, Pisac, & Loussouarn 2013, 2.

Western gambling in general to give context to my findings and analysis. I have also made use of consumer culture studies and Finnish social history research.

My main method can be called historical approach by which I refer to using diverse and fragmented sources with a commitment to their relevance, reliability and validity and to different longitudinal and qualitative methods that recognize the possibility of change<sup>101</sup>. As no single data can give answers to my research questions I have used a mix data and depending on the data used different kind of methods to analyse them. In practise this has meant that I have in various ways categorized, coded, and critically close read my data depending on the data in question and my research questions. When doing so I have tried to avoid the risk of forgetting the things that deviate from the ordinary; a risk that is closely related to research methods such as typology, classification, and data saturation.<sup>102</sup> Furthermore, I have validated my data and its interpretation in a kind of cross-exposure keeping in mind that critical analysis needs diverse methods and sources to throw light on the phenomena under study.<sup>103</sup>

Another important method in my work has been oral history method which I discuss at length in articles III and IV and put to use in the same articles.<sup>104</sup> In oral history method the people's own experiences, interpretations and meanings are in the core of research<sup>105</sup>. The keyword here is critical dialogue both with the data and with the researcher's commitments as qualitative research requires the researcher to examine his/her own assumptions about the phenomenon under study. Reflexivity can be defined as "the critical awareness of the development of research as a personal and public activity"<sup>106</sup>. I have always been interested in reflecting my own position as a researcher due to my engagement in gender studies and oral history that as research approaches take methodological questions concerning defining researcher's own position and self-criticism very seriously. I have tried to break down the conditions related to the data in my articles as mere presentations of the findings are not sufficient.<sup>107</sup>

I have also used contemporary fiction as a source material in my articles for I regard it as a valuable source of how people of the certain era and of certain culture discussed, framed and valued gambling. I also think that fiction can reveal and explain some of those discourses and practices that may seem incomprehensible to a researcher.

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<sup>101</sup> See Reith & Dobbie 2013b, 41.

<sup>102</sup> Article III, 165. Here the concept of *exceptional-typical* has been to great heuristic aid.

<sup>103</sup> Article III, 171.

<sup>104</sup> See article III, 162–163 for a specific description of how I organized the "Oral history on consumption" survey in 2006. See Heimo 2016 on the peculiarities of Nordic-Baltic oral history research, and Taavetti 2016, 104–105 (footnote 3) on the difficulty to give an English term for oral history data produced in Finland.

<sup>105</sup> Article III, 172.

<sup>106</sup> Cassidy, Pisac, & Loussouarn 2013, 2.

<sup>107</sup> Fingerroos & Haanpää 2012, 90. See articles III, and IV for more detailed description on methodological awareness, auto-ethnography and reflections on one's position as a researcher.

Pauliina Raento and I called our method triangulation when combining our methodologies in article V<sup>108</sup>. However, triangulation has been criticized for (positivist) ontological and epistemological weaknesses: ontologically it produces a notion of fixed reality and epistemologically it reflects reality while its goal of research is the truth<sup>109</sup>. The metaphor of prism might be better suited to describe the way I have been doing research since the metaphor brings into light “the way in which reality changes when we change the methodological angle or perspective from which we look at it<sup>110</sup>.” The prism metaphor sees reality as ontologically fluid and epistemologically research creating or socially constructing the realities it studies. This paradigm has been used to “give voice to silenced or subordinated knowledges and realities<sup>111</sup>”. I argue that this paradigm of combining various kind of data has been in use in historical studies for a long time and is quite close to the idea of History from below.<sup>112</sup>

There is no doubt that in most cases conducting research associated with gambling means that the researcher is faced with problems related to interdisciplinary research. Part of the project at hand has been the interdisciplinary nature of the research. As an economic and social historian I have worked together and organised seminars with sociologists, social policy researchers, and geographers and spotted some cultural differences between disciplines over the years. As historian Heikki Mikkeli states it is not only the language used in various disciplines that creates cultural differences but also epistemological obstacles (i.e. the way a field understands the world and what is worth studying in that world) arise while engaging in interdisciplinary research.<sup>113</sup> For the most part I believe that interdisciplinary approach has benefitted my own research and given me new and better understanding of the gambling phenomenon in general but perhaps the most contested part of my PhD project in the field of gambling studies has been the fact that I do not concentrate on problem gambling but on recreational gambling. Sometimes I have felt that concentrating on the problematic aspect of gambling legitimises research in a way that I as a researcher of recreational gambling never can dream of. The second observation arises from within my own discipline of economic and social history and from historical research field in general: the study of gambling where gambling is defined as consumption is easy to dismiss as not worth-while or being too frothy to deserve scientific inquiry.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> See article IV, 435–437, for a specific description of the triangulation method used in article IV. Methods used in the article IV include content analysis, oral history method, discourse analysis, auto-ethnography, and visual data methods.

<sup>109</sup> Saukko 2010, 25.

<sup>110</sup> Saukko 2010, 26.

<sup>111</sup> Saukko 2010, 26.

<sup>112</sup> See Thompson 1966 for more information on the concept of history from below.

<sup>113</sup> Mikkeli 2014, 39.

<sup>114</sup> See Matilainen 2012, 73–81, for more reflections regarding doing research on gambling (in Finnish).

Due to the somewhat difficult nature of cultural understanding of gambling, researchers of gambling need to consider research ethics carefully.<sup>115</sup> As gambling is about money (and lots of it!), researchers need to consider their integrity especially in such a small country as Finland is where practically everyone in the gambling studies field knows each other including the representatives of gambling monopolies, the regulators, and the NGO employees working with gambling related matters.

What I found particularly interesting and difficult during the research project was how to spot the significant silence (i.e. the matters that gamblers/producers of various documents I analysed) did not mention due to cultural reasons. Historian Jan Löffström states that besides verifying that such significant silences really exist researcher needs to explain why certain phenomenon in a certain society are kept silent<sup>116</sup>. Feminist philosopher Lorraine Code talks of rhetorical spaces as fictive but not fixed locations “whose (tacit, rarely spoken) territorial imperatives structure and limit the kinds of utterances than can be voiced within them with a reasonable expectation of uptake and “choral support”<sup>117</sup>. As I have discussed in article III, people modify their memories in order for them to be acceptable generally or to a specific audience.<sup>118</sup> This seems to be true also regarding gambling and especially gambling related dreaming<sup>119</sup>. I recommend that a researcher should get thoroughly acquainted with the era s/he is researching as to ease the task of spotting and analysing the significant silence.

One limitation to the study is that it does not sufficiently deal with illegal gambling due to the nature of my research data which is concentrated on the legal gambling. On the other hand, I made a conscious choice to concentrate on legal gambling. As I will show in part II of this summary, discourses and practises around illegal gambling have defined in a significant matter the way Finns have thought about gambling before and after the establishment of gambling monopolies. Especially card-playing for money has had a reputation of being an infamous and possibly violent male activity. In hindsight, it would have been wise (and not to mention extremely interesting) to write one article on illegal gambling based on newspaper reporting and actual court cases.

Other limitation to the study is the fact that I did not originally plan to write an article-based doctoral dissertation. Because of that there is some tautology in the published articles and a rather long interval between the first publication (article I in 2010) and last publication (article V in 2016). The length of my doctoral dissertation project has meant that some of the oral history data that I have used (mostly the Let's Save our lottery and betting lore! from the year 2000) or that I have myself arranged to be gathered (Oral history

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<sup>115</sup> See article III, 168–171, for detailed description of the ethical use of (oral history) data.

<sup>116</sup> Löffström 2015, 134.

<sup>117</sup> Code 1995, ix.

<sup>118</sup> Article III, 157.

<sup>119</sup> See articles III, 170, and V, 128–129, for detailed description of the modesty of gambling related dreaming in the Finnish and Swedish contexts.

data on consumption from the year 2007) may have led my analysis to different kind of discourses and practises than an oral history survey gathered in 2017 might result to. Based on the results of Finnish gambling prevalence surveys by the National Institute for Health and Welfare (THL), I expect that the awareness of problem gambling and the number of mentions relating to problem gambling would increase if the oral history survey was to be conducted in 2017 (depending obviously on the guidelines and questions of the survey).<sup>120</sup> The same thing applies for the Internet gambling. However, I do not think that this is a flaw or a limitation in my research. Furthermore, during the course of my doctoral dissertation project the field of gambling studies has evolved tremendously both in quantity and quality allowing me to expand my knowledge on gambling and question my previous research choices but at the same time making it impossible to follow all the interesting research done in gambling studies.

## 1.6 SUMMARY OF THE ARTICLES

**TABLE 2. SUMMARY OF THE INDIVIDUAL ARTICLES**

| <b>Title</b>  | <b>Published in</b>  | <b>Time frame</b>     | <b>Data</b>   | <b>Research question</b>  | <b>Contribution</b>  |
|---|--|-----------------------|---|---|--|
| 1. A Question of Money? The Founding of Two Finnish Gambling Monopolies | Global Gambling. Cultural Perspectives on Gambling Organizations. Edited by Sytze F. Kingma. Routledge 2010, 21–37 | 1889–the 1970s        | Official memorandums, newspapers, Veikkaus’ archive (research reports), contemporary fiction, research literature on Sweden | What made it possible to found RAY in 1938 and Veikkaus in 1940? How was gambling tamed to be part of normal Finnish way of life? | The establishment of Finnish gambling monopolies as an example of making of public, organized and regulated gambling; the importance of comparative approach in gambling studies |
| 2. The Legalizing of Roulette and Changes in Finnish Consumer           | Finnish Consumption. An Emerging Consumer Society between East and   | The 1880s – the 1980s | Official memorandums, newspaper and magazine articles, RAY’s annual   | Can a new legalized form of gambling (roulette) work as a clue in an  | A new empirical insight to discussions regarding gambling and consumption;   |

<sup>120</sup> See also article III, 164–165.



|   |   |                |  |   |   |
|---|---|----------------|--|---|---|
| Culture in the 1960 and 1970s   | West. Edited by Visa Heinonen & Matti Peltonen. Finnish Literature Society 2013, 180–202                          |                | reports 1968–1981, contemporary fiction  | effort to analyse the changing consumer and leisure mentalities and cultures of Finns in the 1960s and the 1970s?   | democratization of gambling; class and gambling; and gender and gambling  |
| 3. Oral history data in gambling studies (The article is an updated English version of the Finnish article Muistitietoaaineisto t rahapelaamisen tutkimuksessa. Published in Rahapelaaminen Suomessa. Aiheet ja aineistot. Edited by Pauliina Raento, 2012, 161–179). | Gambling in Finland. Themes and Data for Qualitative Research. Edited by Pauliina Raento. Gaudeamus 2014, 153–172 | 1939–2007      | Oral history data on gambling (New ways of life 1939; My best Payazzo memory 1998; Let's save our lottery and betting lore 2000; Horse stories 2003; Oral history data on consumption 2007), research literature | What do oral history data offer to gambling studies and how can they be acquired, interpreted and analyzed?   | Article demonstrates that oral history data offer a possibility to analyse people's experiences from an increasingly social and cultural perspective thus widening the scope of gambling studies  |
| 4. Matilainen, Riitta & Raento, Pauliina: Learning to gamble in changing sociocultural contexts: experiences of Finnish casual gamblers   | International Gambling Studies. Volume 14, Number 3, December 2014, 432–446                                       | The 1920s–2014 | Auto-ethnographic observations, elicited written data on gambling (Let's save our lottery and betting lore 2000; Oral history data on consumption 2007), Veikkaus' historical photographs of gambling            | How have Finns become gamblers, and what has gambling meant to them? How did people learn to gamble responsibly when formal protective measures were few and gambling was | Article demonstrates the value oral history data and the method of triangulation; the approach enhances control over subjectivity in qualitative gambling studies and promotes a holistic approach to policy evaluation whilst raising critical |

|  |  |           |   | promoted by the state?  | questions about harm management.  |
|--|--|-----------|---|---|---|
| 5. Cultural and Social Meanings of Gambling in Finland and Sweden. A Historical Perspective. | Random Riches. Gambling Past & Present. Edited by Manfred Zollinger. Routledge. London and New York, 119–131 | 1699–2016 | Writer’s own previous research about gambling in Finland; research literature on gambling in Sweden | What are the (historically) shared cultural and social meanings concerning gambling in Finland and Sweden? What are the differences? How have the gambling cultures changed over the years? Can there be talk of Finnish and Swedish “gambling dispositifs” in a Foucaultian style? | Article demonstrates the value of comparative approach in gambling studies and discusses the possibility of using Foucault’s concept of dispositif in gambling studies. |

## 2 THE PROHIBITION *DISPOSITIF*

### 2.1 THE FINNISH ‘GAMBLING PROHIBITION’ IN AN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

In earlier gambling studies it has been somewhat customary to start historic research on gambling by stating that gambling is a universal phenomenon that has been practiced since time immemorial. The idea that gambling is something inherent in human nature and thus ‘natural’ has for obvious reasons been embraced by the gambling industry as well. However, Binde has pointed out that there were many peoples of the world who did not practice gambling and who probably never had. Prior to the era of European colonization, non-gambling societies appeared to have been quite common.<sup>121</sup>

Binde has also discussed things promoting or restraining gambling. The presence of commercial money, societal complexity and the type of social and economic system are factors promoting gambling. Social inequality, for example, promotes gambling because it offers a shortcut to wealth and a better life, and its very existence inspires hope and dreams of a better life.<sup>122</sup> To put it economically: “gambling has a greater utility in itself in such societies”.<sup>123</sup> When it comes to restraining factors, gambling is less common in nomadic and seminomadic societies than it is in others.

In this brief overview of the history of gambling I will concentrate on the history of European and Western gambling and discuss the Finnish ‘gambling prohibition’ of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in the international context. Historian Gherardo Ortalli has analysed the historical roots of European (and Western) gambling and come to the conclusion that there can be talk of certain phases in the history of European gambling. He starts his analysis with the gambling ban that was given in the sixth century by Roman Emperor Justinian in his *Corpus juris civilis*. The one exception to the gambling ban was staking money on *virtutis causa* meaning athletic activities where victory is determined by the objective abilities of competitors and not by chance. The second important phase coincides with the spread of Christian culture starting from the Late Antiquity and continuing throughout the Early Middle Ages. Games were subject to stricter moral prohibition than before, but the prohibition was more due to economic and social decline facing the west than cultural or religious factors. Things changed only with the great

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<sup>121</sup> Binde 2005, 1.

<sup>122</sup> Binde 2005, 15.

<sup>123</sup> Binde 2005, 15

regeneration that took place between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, as Europe revived quickly.<sup>124</sup> In the twelfth century, games were slowly regarded as legitimate activity. Interestingly this led to a situation where various acts of gambling were punished with more defined sanctions while at the same time places and gaming houses where gambling was tolerated were established under public control. States started to create revenues from games of chance.<sup>125</sup> Ortalli argues that it was precisely this period that triggered both the birth of modern (Western) gambling and its explosive growth.<sup>126</sup>

Dice are the oldest gaming instruments of human civilisation, and dice playing became the gambling game of the entire medieval period. Playing cards were introduced in Europe in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, probably first in Italy. They offered a greater potential for manipulation and an enormous number of possible games.<sup>127</sup> By the Renaissance playing cards had taken their place beside dice. Reith has pointed that games follow the configurations of the world that is around them and that games and cards exist in a dynamic relation with both each other and the social world.<sup>128</sup>

In the footsteps of Norbert Elias and the *Prozess der Zivilisation* Ortalli argues that the fourth phase in the history of Western gambling started as the age of courts dawned and with the courts a greater social disciplining that was also characteristic to the ludic system. After dice and playing cards came lotteries, which offered public authorities a chance to assume a new role concerning gambling and its control. Especially the sixteenth century can be seen as a turning point in gaining control over a phenomenon that had long been feasible. With the help of smart entrepreneurs public authorities were able to exploit the wagering of money to their own purposes. This paved the way to the Genoese lotto that took roots in most of Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>129</sup> In Western Europe, feasts, important religious days and gradually other socially significant circumstances such as fairs and market days that were special occasions led the way for declaring exceptions on gambling bans and thus making gambling more acceptable.<sup>130</sup> It was as late as in the seventeenth and eighteenth century when market days offered often the only local possibility to gamble excepting lotteries, courts, certain spas and the Ridotto in Venice.<sup>131</sup>

Both Ortalli and Reith are of the opinion that it was the advent of capitalism that encouraged the development of large-scale lotteries. First national lotteries were already established in the beginning of the sixteenth century mostly by Italian city states. The utility of these small lotteries was obvious to

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<sup>124</sup> Ortalli 2016, 29–30. See also Korpiola and Sallila 2014 on *Codex Justinianus*.

<sup>125</sup> Ortalli 2005, 100.

<sup>126</sup> Ortalli 2016, 30.

<sup>127</sup> Reith 1999 45; 47; 49–50.

<sup>128</sup> Reith 1999, 53

<sup>129</sup> Ortalli 2016, 30.

<sup>130</sup> Ortalli 2005, 102.

<sup>131</sup> Zollinger 2005, 141.

the leaders of emerging European nation-states. Lotteries offered an alternative to unpopular taxation evoking ambivalent religious feelings at the same time. This ambivalence is to be seen in legislation, which vacillated between outright condemnation and the tacit encouragement of lottery schemes. An important division of three distinct but interrelated forms of gambling took place in the seventeenth century. Gambling was discerned into gambling in games of chance, betting between individuals, and speculation in economic ventures.<sup>132</sup> According to Reith, this is also the time when a gradual demarcation of the gambling world into private and public leisure spheres began. Leisure became increasingly class bound and private gambling took place in aristocratic court cycles. When it comes to games of chance, it is important to understand that gambling debts were not legally binding. This meant that a gambling contract depended entirely on the word of the parties involved. To pay one's gambling debts demonstrated honour and integrity thus making gambling an arena to demonstrate status and gain prestige.<sup>133</sup>

By the end of the eighteenth century gambling had become stratified: Upper classes typically took part in high-stakes card play in the court surroundings and in exclusive clubs, whereas the lower classes participated in lotteries with minimal stakes and gambled in illegal taverns and dens<sup>134</sup>. What was significant was the fact that these clubs and dens were run as businesses and the house profited from the money wagered between individual bettors. This process contributed to the standardisation of the organising of gambling. Gradually the commercial interests began to regulate the experience of gambling.<sup>135</sup>

Most European states operated lotteries as a regular source of revenue in the second half of the eighteenth century<sup>136</sup>. The lotteries were a sign of a modern state that was able to administer and policy its citizens and also a sign of a state able to enact laws and regulations in order to protect the state monopolies.<sup>137</sup> But the change was about to come in the nineteenth century, as many countries such as the UK and France abolished state lotteries. Historian James Raven has studied the abolition of English state lotteries in 1826 and points out that contrary to earlier histories that have mythologized the abolition as "Victorianism before Victoria" the more likely explanation is of commercial kind: simple economic reasons would have sufficed to abandon the lottery earlier than in 1823. The lottery was tied to commercial interests and its abolition was triggered by the economic slump of 1819–1822 but it was "the organizational arrangements and competitiveness of its contracting agents" that brought the system down<sup>138</sup>.

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<sup>132</sup> Reith 1999, 60.

<sup>133</sup> Reith 1999, 60, 65–66.

<sup>134</sup> Reith 1999, 71.

<sup>135</sup> Reith 1999, 72.

<sup>136</sup> Garvía 2007, 622.

<sup>137</sup> Raven 2016, 90.

<sup>138</sup> Raven 1991, 388–389.

Kingma offers a cultural explanation for the situation where gambling came to be valued negatively during the nineteenth century. He talks about the Netherlands but I argue that his observation is applicable to many other countries as well:

*“Gaming was shaped by changing forces of incriminating morality and economic gain, of state government and local autonomy, of collective action and everyday life, as a result of which restrictions varied between games and between severe or lenient sanctions.”<sup>139</sup>*

As pointed out by Reith, the Protestant ethic manifested itself now in laws forbidding games of chance along with other “vices” such as alcoholism and prostitution: the gambler became a criminal.<sup>140</sup> But the nineteenth century shows the discrepancy between the discourses and practices of gambling once again, as the century was an essential period when it comes to the development and democratization of various forms of gambling. The century saw the emergence of the recognisably modern forms of the casino, the public racetrack and the mechanized slot machines. Reith points out that the democratization of gambling took place when instead of massive sums wagered by aristocrats the more modest stakes in games in which many people took part in at the same time became the norm.<sup>141</sup> The game of roulette established its status in the middle of the century becoming the most important form of gambling in European casinos. Although casinos were generally exclusive, at least some of the German casinos were so commercialized that they offered the public some degree of democratisation. The most famous casino, the casino in Monte Carlo, was established in 1861. Historian David G. Schwartz has summed up the cultural history of the roulette in the nineteenth century by stating that spa gambling defined Europe<sup>142</sup>. New card games such black jack and baccarat and new dice games such as craps can be seen as the interests of an increasingly capitalist society, and gambling entrepreneurs made profits by increasing the volume of players. All in all, by the twentieth century, gambling was both condemned and heavily regulated, and tolerated and even encouraged.<sup>143</sup>

When it comes to the history of gambling in Finland, one has to remember that before 1809 Finland was part of the realm of Sweden and 1809–1917 an autonomous Grand-Duchy of the Russian empire. Finland became independent in 1917. As legal historians Mia Korpiola and Jussi Sallila point out, there is very little previous research on the legal history of gambling in the Nordic countries. They stress the importance of placing Swedish (and Finnish)

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<sup>139</sup> Kingma 1996, 185.

<sup>140</sup> Reith 1999, 6.

<sup>141</sup> Reith 1999, 74.

<sup>142</sup> Schwartz 2006, 185.

<sup>143</sup> Reith 1999, 75, 66, 87.

gambling history into an international context, as trends regarding gambling and its regulation are not endemic to Sweden but rather have spread there from elsewhere in Europe and are not always as innovative as one might expect. Therefore the regulation of gambling needs to be studied as a long-term phenomenon from a comparative perspective that can be used to observe how different classes or people living in the countryside or in towns have been controlled.<sup>144</sup>

When studying the early history of gambling in Sweden (Finland being part of Sweden and under Swedish legislation) it is evident that gambling in castles and manors in its various forms was a popular pastime. The manorial law of Erik of Pomerania dating back to the year 1403 is the oldest Swedish legal source that mentions gambling. The law stresses the importance of no man gambling away his horses or weapons or gambling with a bigger sum than he had with him thus making sure that landed property was protected.<sup>145</sup> The most famous of the town laws applying to the entire population of the Swedish towns was Magnus Eriksson's Town Law that was in force until 1736 and that did not categorically forbid gambling in towns but rather was concerned again with preserving the status quo and obstructing the redistribution of property. At the same time, laws in rural areas did not mention gambling at all. Korpiola and Sallila point out that Swedish town laws had been influenced by the gambling laws of Hanseatic towns connecting Swedish gambling discourses and practices to those of Europe.<sup>146</sup>

The eighteenth century was one of the heydays of the French culture, and French manners and fashionable card games affected the Swedish gambling as well as the gambling in the rest of Europe. The gambling was regulated by several special provisions starting from 1719, when a decree forbade gambling in any form in coffee houses, private houses, and cellar restaurants under the threat of fines or 14 days in prison. A new decree given in 1730 stressed that the decree given in 1719 was still valid throughout the country. In 1792 the "King's Renewed Prohibition of games and gambling" was given corresponding largely to the one in 1719. The general Swedish Law Code of 1734 did not mention gambling as such, but the public policy ordinances were the means by which public life and politics were governed. According to Korpiola and Sallila, gambling decrees given by the state are "typical public policy regulations of the eighteenth century" and the reasons for prohibition of gambling were based on the general maintenance of the public order and morality.<sup>147</sup>

It is important to understand that the decrees containing restrictions on gambling were directed at private gambling. All in all, regulation's stand on lotteries was less negative than on gambling.<sup>148</sup> Sweden fits the European

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<sup>144</sup> Korpiola & Sallila 2014, 40, 70. See also Matilainen article V.

<sup>145</sup> Korpiola & Sallila 2014, 55–56, citing Beckman 1919, 31.

<sup>146</sup> Korpiola & Sallila 2014, 56–57.

<sup>147</sup> Korpiola & Sallila 2014, 60–63.

<sup>148</sup> Korpiola & Sallila 2014, 66.

pattern of organising lotteries, as the first state lottery was arranged in Sweden in 1699. In the eighteenth century money lotteries were organized to fund great construction works such as the reparation of the cathedral in Turku. The basic principle was that lotteries could be organized for charity and purposes of public good. The Swedish state could sell or grant a privilege to organize lotteries or to have a gambling hall in exchange for a certain amount of the lotteries' profits<sup>149</sup>. Furthermore, the playing cards were subjected to stamp duty in the beginning of the eighteenth century, as they were considered luxury and object of sumptuary laws. What makes this law particularly interesting is that the stamp duty on playing cards was annulled as late as in 1983.<sup>150</sup> Lotteries for the benefit of private persons were already forbidden in 1739. The first ban on the selling of foreign lotteries was issued in 1784 and the ban was renewed many times in the nineteenth century.<sup>151</sup> This trend of banning foreign lotteries and protecting the national lotteries has proven to be a constant one, as I have shown in my research<sup>152</sup>.

One of the reasons for setting up state lotteries was that the ideology of regulation changed leaving behind the traditional religious viewpoint and giving way to secular ideas of utility and of turning people's desire to gamble into profit. All in all, there was less gambling related regulation in Sweden than in many other countries.<sup>153</sup> However, the Lutheran church could from time to time punish gamblers with fines, flogging, or public humiliation<sup>154</sup>. Following the international trend Sweden abolished its lotteries for 40 years in the nineteenth century and started lotteries again in 1897 when *Penninglotteriet* run with special royal permission. It was in 1939 when the Swedish national lottery was established.<sup>155</sup> The early history of regulated gambling in Sweden "reveals a pattern of alternative periods of harsh restriction and relative liberalism"<sup>156</sup>.

It is impossible to estimate the distribution and economic magnitude of private gambling in Finland during the Swedish era. Card games were an essential part of the nobility's way of life. Especially in the eighteenth century nobility considered gambling a pleasure, a passion and even an obligation in their social life resulting in only few occasions without gambling. Such was the situation also in Sweden. Historian Johanna Ilmakunnas has done research on the expenditure of a high noble woman called Charlotte Sparre in the eighteenth century Finland and Sweden. It seems that Sparre was a gambling enthusiast and that she gambled for sums equivalent to buying a farm or an estate.<sup>157</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> Korpiola 2015, 172.

<sup>150</sup> Korpiola 2015, 172; Linnakangas 2014, 33.

<sup>151</sup> Lehtonen 1994, 114–117; Wessberg 2012, 16, 18; article V 2016.

<sup>152</sup> Article I, and article V. See also Myllymaa 2017.

<sup>153</sup> Korpiola & Sallila 2014, 69.

<sup>154</sup> Korpiola 2015, 166.

<sup>155</sup> Garvía 2007, 623; Binde 2014, 194; De Geer 2011, 34–35.

<sup>156</sup> Binde 2013, 194.

<sup>157</sup> Ilmakunnas 2004, 131; Ilmakunnas 2009, 223.



Finland became part of the Russian empire in 1809 and was given the status of an autonomous Grand Duchy, which meant that the laws and regulation of the Swedish era were preserved, the administrative language was still Swedish and close ties to Sweden in various aspects of cultural, economic and social life remained. However, stories of Russian aristocrats gambling away huge sums in casinos in continental Europe were not unheard of also in Finland. Literature scholar Ian Helfant points out that the Russian literature of the nineteenth century abounds with gambling scenes and many of the famous writers such as Tolstoy or Dostoevsky were heavy gamblers. Nevertheless, gambling of the era has not been studied as much as another phenomena of the same era, namely duelling. To gamble in the nineteenth century Russia was one of the favourite pastimes of the gentry leading to gambling losses, which played a significant part in the impoverishment of the gentry as the ideology of the gentry was profoundly ambivalent in its attitude towards the exchange of money. Money was needed to maintain aristocratic lifestyle but at the same time it was considered not worth of a gentleman's notice. Helfant talks of a preoccupation with chance that had mesmerised the Russian gentry, but at the same gambling was experienced as a "contested discursive field; gentry honour codes, the newly emerging voices of professional journalists, moralistic tracts, and literary representations of gambling in diverse genres all claimed its terrain".<sup>158</sup>

During the Russian era the organising of money lotteries gradually ceased, the climax being the criminal code of 1889 which started the gambling prohibition. There were also no state lotteries. In the Russian empire gambling was considered morally condemnable and especially dangerous for the lower strata of the society.<sup>159</sup> The criminal code of 1889 forbade the organizing of money lotteries and selling of lottery tickets (also foreign lottery tickets). The punishment for such a crime was fines, which were heavier on persons who sold foreign lottery tickets. It was also forbidden to organize public lotteries in goods without a permit. The punishment for keeping a room for gambling or organizing gambling in a restaurant or other public place was fines or imprisonment up to one year. In case the master of a restaurant or any other public place allowed gambling to take place the punishment was fines and if the crime was repeated the master lost his right to run a restaurant. It was also illegal to take part in gambling under the pain of fines up to 200 Finnish marks. All the money and goods wagered while engaged in gambling was to be impounded. In sum: the lotteries in goods requiring a permit from the authorities were the only form of gambling that was allowed. Other phenomena in the same section of the criminal code are the regulation and punishments for cruelty against animals, public drunkenness, getting a child under the age of 18 drunk and the responsibilities of the master of the tavern towards his drunken customers.<sup>160</sup> I claim that it is not a coincidence that

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<sup>158</sup> Helfant 2002, xiii–xv.

<sup>159</sup> Article I, 24.

<sup>160</sup> Criminal code of 1889 <http://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/alkup/1889/18890039001> (in

regulation concerning gambling and alcohol are mentioned in the same section of the criminal code, but that there is a cultural link between gambling and the use of alcohol and their regulation.

An interesting indication of the moral climate of the 1880s prior to the criminal code of 1889 is the novel *Helsingfors–Monaco: skildring ur vårt hufvudstadsliv* [*Helsinki–Monaco: a depiction of our lives in the capital city*]<sup>161</sup> by Rafael Hertzberg that I have dealt with in articles I, and II. The novelist paints a picture of upper and middle class gambling in Helsinki, which ends with the impoverished protagonist travelling to the casino in Monaco and killing himself there. The novel leaves an impression that the readers of the novel are thought to be familiar with the world of illegal gambling, but it can be considered a morality play which warns about the dangers of gambling.<sup>162</sup> There were some cases of members of the gentry being caught for gambling related embezzlements that the press was covering. What makes these press articles interesting is that usually the press addressed with a patronizing tone the problems gambling might cause to common people, but in these cases the press reported on the actions of the members of the ruling class. The classed nature of gambling and the Finnish society is also seen in how the press warned about cardsharps that were considered a real threat to the uneducated masses of commoners. Furthermore, the unholy trinity of gambling, alcohol and prostitution was also regarded as a vice of lower classes and not the gentry itself. The study of press coverage shows that the problems caused by excessive gambling were known in Finland in the nineteenth century. There was talk of *pelihimo* (Finnish for ‘gambling lust’) or *spelsjukan* (Swedish for ‘gambling illness’).<sup>163</sup>

What about the linkage between gambling prohibition and alcohol prohibition, which are temporally close? Historian Aija Kaartinen points out that the emergence of the temperance movement and demands for Prohibition were international phenomena and that Finland was closely following international ideas and practices concerning temperance in the end of the nineteenth century and in the beginning of the twentieth century. But Finland was also monitored by especially Sweden and Norway.<sup>164</sup> Sociologist Harry G. Levine considers Finland a temperance culture country, which refers to a country which had a large and enduring temperance movement in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and where the movement’s concerns about the danger of alcohol extended far beyond formal membership achieving widespread legitimacy in the larger society.<sup>165</sup> The prohibition laws were

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Finnish).

<sup>161</sup> The original novel was published in Swedish in 1887.

<sup>162</sup> Hertzberg 1887; article II, 187–188.

<sup>163</sup> Sirén 2012, 41, 48, 50, and 62.

<sup>164</sup> Kaartinen 2012, 1415; 289.

<sup>165</sup> Kaartinen 2012, 15, citing Levine 1993, 2. According to Levine, there were nine of these temperance cultures: the English-speaking cultures of US, Canada, the UK, Australia, and New Zealand and Nordic societies of Finland, Sweden, Norway, and Iceland. It is interesting to notice that these countries are also the countries where gambling studies have rooted.

enacted or seriously considered in countries where women had been politically active and gained their political rights fairly early. The decline of the prohibition ideology beginning in the 1920s was also a global phenomenon due to accusations of prohibition increasing the smuggling of alcohol and criminality, of decreasing the respect for law, and for changing people's drinking habits so that they preferred stronger alcoholic beverages than before. It was the global economic depression of the end of the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s that was a good stimulus for governments and citizens to do away with prohibition in the hope of more alcohol tax revenue.<sup>166</sup> The Finnish alcohol prohibition was in force 1919–1932<sup>167</sup>. The Finnish prohibition ended in a consultative referendum in 1931, when more than 70 per cent of the voters voted in favour of abolishing the Prohibition. The state-owned Oy Alkoholiike Ab (Alko) was established in 1932, and it was given an exclusive right to import, export, produce, and sell alcoholic beverages. What is important to understand is that even though the Finnish alcohol prohibition and the temperance ideology that pushed for the prohibition was a highly politicised endeavour meaning that the temperance ideology was a civic religion for the working class seeking its ideological character<sup>168</sup>, the gambling prohibition (or the abolition of it) was not backed by similar kind of pressure from the civic movements or political parties. There were no anti-gambling Finnish civic movements to my knowledge, whereas plenty of civic movements were dedicated to fighting for or against the alcohol prohibition.

Historian Martti Häikiö states in his study on Alko commissioned by Alko that Alko is an ambivalent commercial enterprise and as a monopoly it had the power to decide what products to produce itself and what products to let other companies to produce. But most importantly it is the aims of Alko that are contradictory. On the other hand, the Finnish state wanted as much alcohol tax revenue as possible from the alcohol that was to be consumed anyhow, but at the same time the business profit was never Alko's expressed aim. The balancing between the needs to make profit and restrain the consumption of its products has been characteristic throughout Alko's history.<sup>169</sup> All the gambling monopolies in Finland have also faced same kind of ethical and operational problems.

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<sup>166</sup> Kaartinen 2012, 19, 289.

<sup>167</sup> The other countries where there were all-state prohibitions were Iceland (1915-1935), and the USA (1920-1933). There were also partial prohibitions for example in Norway (1916-1927). There was a referendum on prohibition in Sweden in 1922 but the prohibition was rejected by a very slight marginal and a strict Bratt system of rationing liquor was introduced. See Kaartinen 2012, 17.

<sup>168</sup> Sulkunen 1986, 312.

<sup>169</sup> Häikiö 2007, 30–31.

## **2.2 THE LUTHERAN RELIGION, FOLK BELIEFS AND GAMBLING**

I have stated in my articles I, II, and V that the role of religion has been considered one of the most important factors behind the perception and practices of gambling in the gambling studies. As Binde has demonstrated, gambling and religion have certain elements in common:

*“Gambling and religion go well together because there is a common preoccupation with the unknown, mystery, fate, destiny, despair and happiness, receiving something valuable from ‘higher powers’, and the hope for a transformed and better life”<sup>170</sup>.*

Furthermore, Kavanagh points out that all religious foundational narratives deal with moments when an urgent and an important matter is resolved or transformed by leaving the matter to a chance event and placing stakes on the outcome.<sup>171</sup>

Religious denunciation of gambling is partly due to a conception that gambling competes with religion. Monotheistic religions, which claim authority in religious matters, are more likely to denounce gambling than polytheistic and animistic religions.<sup>172</sup> An example of such a religion is Islam. It is interesting to compare gambling in Christian and Muslim civilizations even though they both obviously are monotheistic religions. Researcher of Islam Franz Rosenthal argues that contrary to the Western civilization gambling never mirrored the glamour of high society in Muslim civilization. Gambling was both an illegal and irreligious activity but most of all it was considered a private vice and not a public nuisance or danger. Obviously there were devotees of gambling in the vast area that was both inhabited and politically controlled by the Muslims<sup>173</sup>. The societal division regarding gambling seems to have been rigid, as Rosenthal points out that gambling was regarded in the literature as a “contemptible low-class pastime to which only the economic and spiritual dregs of society would devote themselves”<sup>174</sup> whereas chess and its players were highly esteemed.

The negative religious or cultural attitude towards gambling does not mean that gambling would cease to be practiced. Based on historical evidence gambling under such circumstances usually continues to be practiced illegally and only heavy moral pressure or the strict enforcement of anti-gambling laws

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<sup>170</sup> Binde 2005, 19.

<sup>171</sup> Kavanagh 2005, 7.

<sup>172</sup> Binde 2007a, 146–148, 153.

<sup>173</sup> Rosenthal 1975, 4-5; 156.

<sup>174</sup> Rosenthal 1975, 149.

will eradicate it.<sup>175</sup> Scholar of gambling Desmond Lam found that there was a strong link connecting public religiosity and gambling. He measured both gamblers' reported frequency of religious participation and gamblers' reported importance of faith and came to the conclusion that non-gamblers seem to participate in religious activities more often than gamblers and "thus religious participation through social interaction, support, and/or moral guidance may cause a person to avoid taking part in gambling activities".<sup>176</sup>

The games of chance were not specifically regarded as sinful in the Middle Ages. The Catholic Church never expressly banned gambling per se. However, the Catholic Church issued a declaration in 1215 that forbade priests to play any dice games or to be present when such games were played. It was also considered especially sinful to gamble on certain days like Sundays or in certain places like graveyards.<sup>177</sup> It was the Reformation that brought on a strong moral stance against gambling. Reith stresses the importance of the emergence of the bourgeoisie as a group holding real antipathy towards gambling. The Protestants considered gamblers sinners for their idleness, greed, blasphemy and superstition. And most importantly, gambling divorced the creation of wealth from the efforts of labour.<sup>178</sup> During the Enlightenment, the idea of the sinful nature of play was replaced by an emphasis on its embodiment of irrationality. However, in the nineteenth century the figure of a despised working-class gambler was common. This figure squandered his time and money on gambling and was not thus considered part of the disciplined labour force. Class played an important role in the moral condemnation of gambling, as the aristocracy was considered to be profligate and their gambling behaviour waste of money, whereas the poor were thought to be lazy and wasting their time while engaging in gambling.<sup>179</sup>

Finland being a Lutheran country the attitude of the Lutheran church towards gambling is of interest. Historically speaking Lutheran churches have been harsh in their attitudes towards gambling. This condemnation has its roots in the Protestant (Lutheran) work ethic, where prosperity is regarded as a reward of hard work and diligence and should not be left to chance. Starting from the 1950s the attitudes of Lutheran churches regarding gambling have become more permissive.<sup>180</sup> I argue that the Lutheran church nowadays has a rather neutral relationship to the tamed state-owned gambling monopoly, whereas many influential revivalist movements among the Finnish Lutheran church have a more ambiguous view on gambling.

To illustrate the relation between the Lutheran church and gambling it is important to understand the influence of the Lutheran church and its local parishes in the Finnish society. The church and the parishes were the

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<sup>175</sup> Binde 2005, 19.

<sup>176</sup> Lam 2006, 316.

<sup>177</sup> Korpiola 2015, 164. Traces of these discourses and practises can be seen in Finnish belief legends as I show later on in this chapter.

<sup>178</sup> Reith 1999, 4–5.

<sup>179</sup> Reith 1999, 82.

<sup>180</sup> Binde 2007a, 146–148; 153.

caretakers of the poor and took also care of the municipal administration until the 1860s. Historian Paavo Alaja states that the renewed principles of the Swedish administration in the beginning of the seventeenth century led to increased poverty and decreased social care, which made it essential to find more effective ways of taking care of the poor in an environment where circumstances commonly were poor. People living in the countryside were reluctant to subject to administrative guidelines and taxes for poor relief but rather wanted to help the poor voluntarily and within their own means. This resulted in slow changes in the poor relief in the seventeenth century, but in the middle of century collecting money for the poor grew in number. This was partly due to the improving monetary economy.<sup>181</sup> I cannot help but wonder whether these kinds of discourses and practices have had an influence on how it has been possible to use gambling as a way of funding 'good causes'.

Historian Heikki Ylikangas states in his history of Veikkaus (commissioned by Veikkaus itself) that pools have been considered an innocent game of chance and not gambling *an sich*<sup>182</sup>. However, if we look at the Finnish folklore and belief legends stored at the Finnish Literature Society, there is a lot of evidence indicating that playing cards for fun and especially for money was largely disapproved of and even considered sinful in the Finnish (rural) culture of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century.<sup>183</sup> Folklorist Marjatta Jauhiainen explains that belief legends depict the encounter of the real world and the powers of the supra normality. Many belief legends recount a story where a conflict arises from the action where an actor breaks with a cultural norm (for example swears or plays cards at an unseemly place at an unsuitable time). The story consummates as the actor gets punished immediately for having broken the cultural norm (for example the devil will show himself to the actor).<sup>184</sup> As the belief legends are deeply rooted in the social reality of the people who have narrated them, listened to them and passed them on, they reflect the lived lives and experiences of those people in question. The age, gender, occupation, residence, religious orientation and ethical stand have affected the legends. Belief legends project the historical, religious, and societal idiosyncrasies better than many other genres of prose folklore.<sup>185</sup>

I will present two belief legends, which I consider quite typical and revealing the stance towards playing cards. They also show how cards were played in saunas and other suitable buildings and not so much in the main building itself and how gambling was a male prerogative associated with all kinds of bad behaviour like swearing. The first belief legend is from

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<sup>181</sup> Alaja 2013, 5, 342, and 448.

<sup>182</sup> Ylikangas 1990, 222.

<sup>183</sup> See Jauhiainen 1999 (in Finnish) for a detailed description of the collection of belief legends at the Finnish Literature Society (SKS) and its Folklore Archives (KRA).

<sup>184</sup> Jauhiainen 1999, 16.

<sup>185</sup> Jauhiainen 1999, 16.

Kannonkoski situated in the middle of Finland from 1936. The story was told by a 70-year old master:

*“Once upon a time there was a group of drunk men who wanted to play cards in sauna, but the door did not open and remained closed. The men started to swear and tear the door apart. Finally the door opened and men went inside the sauna still swearing. They said that the devil should leave the sauna, but when they entered the sauna they saw a skinned man who was very bloody. One of the man died immediately because of fright and others fled. It is said that nobody played cards anymore in that locality.”<sup>186</sup>*

Another story was told by a 77-year old woman in Muolaa in the Eastern Finland in 1940:

*“The devil is always close whenever there is a card game going on. He appears in whichever form but frightened players always discontinue their game. Once the devil emerged as a gentleman, but during the game other players noticed that the gentleman’s hands holding the cards were wolf’s paws.”<sup>187</sup>*

The depiction of the devil as a gentleman differing thus from the rest of the gamblers who were commoners might be an indication that it was the gentry’s gambling or even the gentry itself that was disapproved of or it was the mixing of estates/classes in a gambling situation that was frowned upon.

The case of Finnish lotteries in goods and their popularity in the nineteenth and twentieth century highlights intersections between gambling discourses and practices, religion, international influences, gender and class. The criminal code of 1889 banned all other forms of gambling than lotteries in goods. Lotteries in goods for charity purposes were not subject to any taxes, not in the cities nor in the countryside. However, when a big fund-raising entertainment event that was meant to gather all the strata of the society was planned, a lottery licence was needed from the authorities. No licences were

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<sup>186</sup> SKS KRA Uskomustarinat F221.e. Kannonkoski. The belief legend in Finnish: ”Kerran oli erääseen saunaan eli saunan luo mennyt juovuksissa olevia miehiä tarkoituksena mennä kortin peluuseen saunaan, mutta ovi ei avautunut vaan pysyi kiinni. Silloin miehet rupesivat kiroamaan ja repimään ovea ja vihdoinkin ovi avautui ja miehet meni kiroillen sisään ja sanoivat jotta lähet täältä perkele kun laitetaan ja kun miehet menivät lauteille näkivät parvessa nyljetyn miehen joka oli hyvin verinen. Ukoista heti säikähdyksestä yksi kuoli ja toiset pakeni pois. Kerrotaan, että kortin peluu lakkasi siltä paikkakunnalta.”

<sup>187</sup> SKS KRA Uskomustarinat E211.h. Muolaa. The belief legend in Finnish: ”Piru on aina lähellä kun vain korttia pelataan. Se ilmestyy milloin missäkin muodossa, mutta aina siten että pelaajat kauhuissaan jättävät pelaamisensa. Kerrankin ilmestyi piru hienona herrana, mutta kesken pelin huomasi toiset sillä olevan kuin suden kypälät, joilla hän kortteja piteli.”

needed if the lotteries in goods were organised among a close circle of acquaintances, this means among the gentry.<sup>188</sup>

Interestingly enough, during the nineteenth century the Finnish clergy and the Evangelical Lutheran Church were divided in their attitudes towards lotteries, thus making participation in lotteries less condemnable an action than might be expected. The reason for this division was the growing influence of various revivalist movements, which demanded a person to make a total change in his or her lifestyle as a sign of true belief and love for God. This demand for change was in stark contrast to the lifestyles of old-school Finnish clergy accustomed to musical soirées filled with consumption of alcohol, dancing and also card playing and even gambling. Due to this old-school gentry clergy it is not surprising that there are plenty of examples of how lotteries were used to raise funding for the purchase of an organ or an altarpiece.<sup>189</sup>

Lotteries had earlier become a popular pastime for lower strata on the Continent and in the UK. Fund-raising entertainments for charity purposes were part of a new way of thinking which in the UK was known as “rational recreation”. Public fund-raising events at which money was collected for local and national charity and other purposes became very popular in the Finnish countryside in the nineteenth century. Lotteries in goods were an essential part of these events; lotteries were organized in two thirds of these events. Fund-raising amusements were happy occasions also in Finland, and dancing and singing were nearly always involved. A lecture was usually part of the programme for the sake of amusement with instruction.<sup>190</sup> These entertainments became popular at a time when there were only very few competing amusements in the countryside.<sup>191</sup>

According to historian Eeva-Liisa Lehtonen, lotteries in goods were an amusement innovation, which came to Finland through the gentry and connected the local community to the pan-European gambling culture of common people. The lotteries can also be seen as a Northern counterpart of folk carnevalism. Everyone regardless of their societal status was able, with luck, to win something concrete, something to take home. The lottery became the basis of the Finnish gambling culture.<sup>192</sup>

There was strong condemnation of various forms of gambling, but as Lehtonen points out in her study of newspaper articles on lotteries, the criticism was milder than one might expect. Mostly this was due to the fact that the funds from the lotteries were used for charitable purposes. In the newspapers was also some discussion about compulsive gambling; lotteries were seen as the first step in a journey leading to a total lust for gambling. A

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<sup>188</sup> Lehtonen 1994, 117.

<sup>189</sup> Lehtonen 1994, 99–101; 146–154.

<sup>190</sup> Lehtonen 1994, 66–77; 412; 417.

<sup>191</sup> Lehtonen 1994, 102–108. See Hirn 1986 and Hirn 2007 on the history of amusements in Finland in the nineteenth century and on the hotel and restaurant scene in Helsinki before the independence in 1917, (in Finnish).

<sup>192</sup> Lehtonen 1994, 417; article V, 124.



lot of the criticism was directed at the concept of novelty as such and not towards lotteries *an sich*.<sup>193</sup>

The role of women is also of interest. As the nineteenth century progressed, organising lotteries for charity gave gentry women a way to make their role more visible in their communities. National fund-raising campaigns, such as the financing of the Student House for the university students in Helsinki, were something totally different from the traditional philanthropic relief work done in the local communities. Organising lotteries and other forms of entertainment for charitable purposes was part of the great change in gentry women's milieu: they were able to step from the private sphere into the public life. Many wives and daughters of the Finnish clergymen were great motivators behind many fund-raising entertainments. Gentry's women were also responsible for donating lottery prizes, and the most common lottery prize was a needlework the women had made and donated or sold to the lottery organisers.<sup>194</sup> Historian Alexandra Ramsay, who has studied the Helsinki Ladies' Association in the nineteenth century, states that the Association held ever since its establishment in 1848 almost yearly a ball of which essential part was lotteries in goods. These lotteries were a source of lots of criticism and were given up for several years at the end of the nineteenth century. The opposition towards the lotteries in goods was not only due to the gambling taking place in the ball but rather the balls being part of a political movement and breaking estate/class boundaries. Ramsay argues that organizing these balls with lotteries in goods opened up new possibilities for (gentry) women to engage in public philanthropic work.<sup>195</sup>

Like gender, class played a role in the organising and participation of lotteries. Fund-raising entertainments were one of the few occasions in the Finnish society where people of different strata could meet each other. Only when lotteries became commonplace in the fund-raising events, it was possible for the lower strata to participate in the events by buying a ticket and a lottery ticket. Everyone's money was needed and wanted regardless of its origin. These events were usually organised in conjunction with the traditional festivities. According to European models, the entertainments were organised in order to educate and civilize the lower strata and thus improve the well-being of the lower strata under the supervision and according to the set of values of the educator. There was the idea that fund-raising entertainments were a more civilized form of amusement than disreputable local dances. In the 1870s the fund-raising entertainments in the Finnish countryside changed their character, as the gentry gradually withdrew from organising them, leaving the responsibility for wealthy farmers and tradesmen.<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>193</sup> Lehtonen 1994, 139–145. See Mikkola 2009 on the opposition against technological and cultural innovations in the nineteenth and twentieth century Finland (in Finnish).

<sup>194</sup> Lehtonen 1994, 205; 207–214.

<sup>195</sup> Ramsay 1988, 291

<sup>196</sup> Lehtonen 1993, 286; 291.

Even though the criminal code of 1889 stated that it was illegal to sell foreign lotteries, the lotteries advertised their draws in Finnish newspapers. These foreign money lotteries were the main concern of the Finnish authorities. The Finnish newspapers were filled with warnings concerning these foreign lotteries. Especially Danish and German state and private lotteries had a bad reputation. The foreign lottery organisers were very resourceful in the marketing of the lotteries: lotteries were delivered as collect on delivery letters. This negative attitude towards the foreign lotteries cast a shadow also over the Finnish fund-raising events and lotteries. Therefore it was needed to make a clear distinction between the foreign and the charity lotteries.<sup>197</sup>

## **2.3 PRIVATE, SELF-ORGANISED AND UNREGULATED GAMBLING IN FINLAND**

I argue that the first of my three gambling *dispositifs* can be called a Finnish prohibition *dispositif*. The prohibition *dispositif* is twofold, as the popularity of lotteries in goods and discourses and practices related to them form an interesting and important exception to the *dispositif*. The discourses and practices of the *dispositif* are as follows: The starting point of the time frame of the *dispositif* is difficult to pinpoint exactly. It is true that the criminal code of 1889 banned all other forms of gambling than lotteries in goods, but I consider the criminal code a climax of a long process that already started decades ago and that can be compared to other regulation changes in many other countries. However, it is easier to state that the prohibition was lifted in 1926 when a decree allowed money lotteries to be organized in Finland followed next year by a decree to legalize trotting and tote. What is interesting is the fact that gambling prohibition was lifted at the same time when alcohol prohibition was still standing<sup>198</sup>.

Under the prohibition *dispositif* gambling was considered a sin and dysfunctional for social order. Gambling, organizing of gambling or selling foreign lotteries was a crime punishable by fines or up to one year in prison in case the person was found guilty of offering a place for gambling or organizing gambling in restaurants or other public places. It was also illegal to sell or hold foreign lotteries, but many people tried their luck regardless of the law. Gambling was a private matter the only exception being the lotteries in goods, which were experienced on a communal level as a part of the new vogue of public fund-raising events for local and national charity purposes. Gambling

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<sup>197</sup> Lehtonen 1993, 141–143; Korpiola 2015, 174.

<sup>198</sup> See Peltonen 1997 on the Finnish ‘prohibition mentality’ by which he means the *longue durée* of the discourses and practices concerning the alcohol consumption and which can be considered analogous to the Finnish gambling prohibition *dispositif*.

was a self-organized and unregulated male prerogative in the sense that gambling being illegal there was no law that would have guaranteed the gambling debts to be actually paid so the gamblers had to rely on codes of honour and personal integrity when settling the gambling debts. It seems that women were excluded from gambling in all other estates than the nobility, the exception being once again the lotteries in goods where the gentry women had a large role in organizing the lotteries in goods.

In addition to gambling being controlled by legal norms the Lutheran church and various folk beliefs based on Christianity and the belief in supranatural beings such as the devil also had a controlling effect on the gamblers. The *dispositif* was characterized by great class distinctions: even though gambling practices sometimes meant that the different estates/classes mixed while engaging in gambling, the majority of gambling took place in environments where homogenous groups of people met. Furthermore, possibilities for lower estates and classes to participate in the foreign lotteries were for financial and language reasons (many of the representatives of the lower estates and classes being Finnish speakers, whereas the participation in foreign lotteries demanded language skills in Swedish, Danish or German and obviously literacy) less than for those of the higher estates/classes.

Lotteries in goods (that is the ideal-typical form of gambling of this *dispositif*) took place in both old and new typical spaces of this era built especially for the purposes of people to meet each other. Such buildings were built by the youth association movement, voluntary fire brigades and the labour movement (people's houses) all over Finland. Lotteries in goods, organizing of them and their revenues were an essential part of the emerging Finnish civic society that embraced various civic movements, such as the pro-Finnish Fennomania, the labour movement and the formation of the organized Finnish working class, and temperance movement not to mention the funding of missionary work. So the destination of returns of the lotteries in goods was regarded as good causes. The ideal typical state of the *dispositif* was thus the Finnish national state, which came into existence in 1917 as Finland got its independence from Russia. In contrast to the spaces where lotteries in goods were organized private gambling took place in various gambling dens ranging from luxurious gambling dens in brothels to simple saunas and barns where the illegal and deprecated card-playing for money was the name of the game.

All in all, the lotteries in goods were the most essential and anticipated form of fund-raising entertainment in the nineteenth century Finland and their popularity continued well into the twentieth century. They have been important fund-raising occasions for the Finnish civic society, political parties and the churches. Furthermore, I argue that they have not been regarded as gambling but rather as gaming suitable for everyone who wants to support the good causes funded with the lottery revenues.

### 3 THE COMMON GOOD *DISPOSITIF*

#### 3.1 RISK IN THE MAKING: ON THE HISTORY OF FINNISH GAMBLING MONOPOLIES

Because I have dealt extensively with the history of Finnish gambling monopolies in many of my articles<sup>199</sup>, I will discuss some interesting new research results in relation to my own research and analyze why Finland presents such an interesting case also in international comparison. I present the basic overview of the history of the three Finnish gambling monopolies in table 3. The prohibition *dispositif* ended when money lotteries were legalized in 1926 followed by tote in 1927.

**TABLE 3. OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF THE THREE FINNISH GAMBLING MONOPOLIES**

|                                      | <b>RAY</b>  | <b>VEIKKAUS</b>   | <b>FINTOTO</b>   |
|--------------------------------------|---|---|--|
| <b>Founding year</b>                 | 1938  | 1940  | Suomen Ravirengas in 1919; Suomen Hippos in 1973; Fintoto in 2001. |
| <b>Historical ownership</b>          | An association owned by various non-profit social and welfare organizations | A limited liability company owned by various sports organizations; a state-owned limited liability company since 1976 | A company owned by Suomen Hippos (the equestrian sporting sector)  |
| <b>Was responsible for operating</b> | Slot machines, casino games and running the casino in Helsinki              | Money lotteries, betting and pools  | Totalizator betting  |

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<sup>199</sup> See articles I, II, and IV. See also Matilainen 2006, and 2010b.

|                                      |  |  |  |
|--------------------------------------|--|--|--|
| <b>Current situation<br/>in 2017</b> | Part of the state-<br>owned company<br>Veikkaus since 2017 | Part of the state-<br>owned company<br>Veikkaus since 2017 | Part of the state-<br>owned company<br>Veikkaus since 2017 |
|--------------------------------------|--|--|--|

Sources: Kortelainen 1988; Ylikangas 1990; Pesu 2008.

In my own research I have stressed the importance of ‘economic nationalism’ as one of the most important reasons to end the gambling prohibition in the newly independent Finnish national state of the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s. By economic nationalism I mean the felt need to address and get rid of foreign influences that were thought to disturb the Finnish gambling market. The idea was that Finnish money should only benefit other fellow Finns and not any other countries including the sports adversary Sweden, which had launched money lotteries and football pools before Finland. The economic nationalism was also about nation-building and lifting Finland to a higher status among Western nations as well as a sign of the state’s interest to guarantee the financing of (new) social and cultural institutions.<sup>200</sup>

In a recent study regarding the hasty establishment of Veikkaus in the spring and summer of 1940 historian Jukka Ahonen has come to an interesting conclusion. He stresses the internal political and societal factors as a reason for the establishment in an insecure situation when Finland had lost the Winter War against the Soviet Union and was struggling with relocating hundreds of thousands of evacuees from Karelia and other parts of Finland that had been ceded to the Soviet Union. Ahonen points out that Veikkaus was established hastily by the sports organizations that were worried that the state aid would diminish in a difficult economic situation after the lost war but a significant reason for the establishment and rush was the need to support national defence and patriotism in a politically precarious situation, where the enemy was thought not only threatening Finland from the outside but also from the inside in the shape of communists. After the Winter War the comradeship of bourgeois and leftist (social democratic) sports organizations wanted to work closely together in order to oppose the influence of the communists. From this perspective it is possible to regard the birth of Veikkaus as one manifestation of the Finnish Comrades-in-Arms-Axis. The sports organizations used Sweden as a positive example stating that local

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<sup>200</sup> Article I, 34–35, and V, 125–126. The nationalistic and protectionist tendency can also be seen in the discourses and practises concerning the Finnhorse and legalization of trotting and totalizator in 1927. According to historian Mikko Korpela (2008, 188–189; 193), the history of organized Finnish trotting dates back to the nineteenth century and it was at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth century when the questions concerning breeding of pure Finnhorse were actualised. The state had for a long time been interested in improving the quality of horse breeding. The first Finnish federation of trotting sports was founded in 1919. The federation pushed for legalizing of tote by arguing that a betting agency controlled by the state could prevent any malpractice and increase the financial resources of trotting and horse breeding. What makes the Finnish trotting case interesting in international comparison is that there were no warmblood horses in the Finnish racetracks until the 1950s as it was only the Finnhorses that were used in trotting.

Tipstjänst had been able to collect significant sums for the benefit of Swedish sports.<sup>201</sup>

When the Continuation War against the Soviet Union started in the summer of 1941 the pools craze, which had taken off rather nicely, was quickly reduced into a hobby of most probably only a few thousand gamblers. The unpopularity of pools may be explained by the fact that the cadre of pools gamblers was at war, wages were regulated and pools coupons were filled with Swedish football that did not appeal to the masses, but the war's psychological impact may have played a role as well as the war destroyed many dreams and hopes related to pools wins. The declining participation in pools did not mean that Veikkaus would have been invisible during the war time. It was especially Veikkaus' advertising that served many other functions than mere sales promotion: the advertising can be considered a part of the Finnish state's war propaganda, and its aim was to keep the home front happy, as it persuaded the Finnish working-class men to put their hopes to hard work and the football pools and not on the revolution.<sup>202</sup> During the Continuation War it was decided that the surplus was to be given to war invalids and other war destitute people.<sup>203</sup>

There is research indicating that playing (illegal) card games was the favourite pastime of Finnish soldiers at the front especially during the Continuation War and its sitting war phase when soldiers were stationed in dugouts. Sociologist Sari Näre states that playing cards was a way to forget the harsh reality of warfare giving consolation in the same way that faith, comradeship and tomfoolery did. Card playing might also have had a role in training soldiers to frontline warfare and easing the managing of war pressures, as both warfare and card playing have learning tactics and nerves control in common. Soldiers played for money but also for food, alcohol portions and watch duties. There are stories of soldiers losing in the card games and having to do extra watch duties during which they were killed. There are also indications of some soldiers falling victims to gambling fever and running into considerable debts, whereas some soldiers were so good at card playing that they could provide for their families with the money won. Lotteries in goods were an acknowledged and regular amusement approved also by the army brass. Näre argues that these regular lotteries are one of the foundations for Finnish gambling eagerness as the weekly moment of gambling excitement became a habit for many soldiers.<sup>204</sup> Historians Helena Pilke and Olli Kleemola confirm many of Näre's findings and stress that the army brass and Lutheran ministers disapproved soldiers' card playing<sup>205</sup>. Legal gambling in form of pools and slot machines (the Finnish mechanical slot machine Payazzo) was also present at the front, as Veikkaus provided

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<sup>201</sup> Ahonen 2017 (manuscript).

<sup>202</sup> Ahonen 2017 (manuscript).

<sup>203</sup> Ylikangas 1990, 38.

<sup>204</sup> Näre 2014, 224–226, 228, 230–231, 233.

<sup>205</sup> Pilke & Kleemola 2015, 43.

pools and slot machines were placed in the occupied zones of Eastern Karelia. However, Ahonen points out that the role of the legal gambling at the front seems to have been exaggerated afterwards in various Veikkaus histories.<sup>206</sup>

Ahonen has come to the conclusion that the core of the Finnish gambling system took shape in a crucial period of the 1940s. Two wars and the ensuing societal unrest led to a strong patriotic ethos and national consensus in the actions of both RAY and Veikkaus. In addition, the practises of Finnish gambling monopolies were strongly influenced by organizations dedicated to charting the mood of Finns and securing the societal order and whose main aim was to oppose the communists. The Finnish gambling system can be seen as an organization dedicated to foster the national order and continuity. It is plausible that participation in pools may have offered a gambler an experience of being a good citizen and doing a patriotic deed by engaging in the pools. Ahonen considers legalized gambling in Finland a safety valve that was used to ward off societal threats the communists were thought to cause and guarantee the peace of society.<sup>207</sup> However, Ahonen's results are not contradictory to my findings concerning the 'economic nationalism' as one the explanations of early legalization of gambling in Finland.

What makes Ahonen's results interesting from the perspective of my previous research is how they explain how gambling in Finland in the common good *dispositif* came to be understood as every citizen's duty or at least as good citizenship<sup>208</sup>, and how the political consensus on gambling so typical of the Finnish gambling *dispositifs* was achieved. They also pinpoint the Finnish state's and gambling monopolies' connecting interests as the state's role in gambling rose increasingly. It was the state's involvement and the use of the revenues generated by gambling to 'common good' that gave respectability to gambling, which many still considered morally questionable. The state's participation also made gambling safer for the citizens as well as more profitable for the state at the same time, as it fostered citizen participation and trust in the state. Furthermore, the state took the role of educating Finns on how to gamble and featured gambling on the national radio and on television, which came to Finland in the end of 1950s. The state also used its institutions such as the Finnish army as spaces to inform about gambling. Thus, the state actively promoted and tamed gambling.<sup>209</sup>

In addition to the state's role in the taming of gambling, also the effect of advertising is important, as especially Veikkaus has been a really active advertiser over the decades, and up until the Lotteries Act amendment of 2010/2011 the regulation of gambling advertising in Finland has been minimal. The leading theme of advertising has been to demonstrate how taking part in the public, legalized and regulated gambling is beneficial for the

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<sup>206</sup> Ahonen 2017 (manuscript).

<sup>207</sup> Ahonen 2017 (manuscript).

<sup>208</sup> Article IV, 437–438; 443.

<sup>209</sup> Article IV, 437–438.

whole Finnish society.<sup>210</sup> The ingenuousness of Veikkaus advertising is best shown in the immense popularity of the Lotto girl, who promoted the new game of Lotto in the beginning of the 1970s.

The introduction of the money lottery Lotto in 1971, its enormous popularity and the discourses and practices related to it can be considered the epitome of the Finnish common good *dispositif* connecting various societal changes such as structural changes in the production modes of the society, the emigration of hundreds of thousands of Finns to Sweden to look for an economically better and safer life, the emergence of both the Finnish consumer society and the welfare society, the overall democratization of the Finnish society and a more equal status of women and men to gambling. One important change took place already in 1965 in the form of the Finland's first Lotteries Act that cleared the juridical jungle and gave the Finnish state stronger leadership. The starting point of the law was that operating gambling always required an official permit and was only allowed for charitable and ideological purposes.<sup>211</sup>

It is important to understand that in comparison to many other Western countries Lotto was launched early in Finland in 1971 (just like pools were legalized rather early in 1940). Actually, Finland was more in line with the Eastern Bloc countries, such as Bulgaria, Italy, Yugoslavia, Poland, Romania, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and the Soviet Union, where lotto was already introduced in the 1960s than with the capitalist West. However, the lotto was already also running in Austria and in West Germany. What makes the Finnish introduction of Lotto particularly interesting is that Finland which had earlier closely followed the examples of Sweden in gambling regulation was the first Nordic country to introduce Lotto (Lotto came to Sweden in 1980, to Norway in 1986 and to Denmark 1988). Furthermore, the economic nationalistic or protectionist discourse and practise of securing Finnish money benefitting only Finland and not letting the gambling revenue to pour abroad does not apply in the case of introduction of Lotto as there was not a similar game available in the neighbouring countries that Finns could participate in.<sup>212</sup>

I agree with Ahonen that the timing of the introduction of Lotto differs from that in most of the Western countries, as it was introduced during the heyday of the construction and implementation of the Finnish welfare state and not later on in the 1980s or even in the 1990s (like the UK National Lottery) when both the financing and ideological basis of the welfare state were facing a crisis. Therefore the Finnish case does not match the Anglophonic discourse of gambling being legalized and commercialized on a grand scale only since the 1960s, 1970s or even the 1980s. McMillen explained this legalization back in 1996 by the growing middle-class affluence and the liberalization of social values in the West. Governments were interested in legalizing gambling due to

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<sup>210</sup> Article I, 32.

<sup>211</sup> Article IV, 438; Varvio 2007, 49.

<sup>212</sup> Ahonen 2017 (manuscript).



the prospect of additional revenue and also because of the need to control the existing illegal gambling activities.<sup>213</sup> If we look at the gambling regulation model by scholar of addictions Peter Adams where gambling regulation is divided into four “stages”: emergence, regulation, liberalization and normalization, the model does not seem to be applicable to Finland. I argue that in the Finnish case regulation, liberalization and normalization (which I call taming of gambling) were already achieved in the common good *disposif* ending in the 1980s and not in the 1990s or in the 2000s.<sup>214</sup>

At the same time as Lotto was introduced Finland was undergoing an exceedingly rapid structural change from a traditional agrarian country with majority of people living in the countryside to an urbanized industrial country. According to Ahonen, the Finnish introduction of Lotto had to do with the state wanting more revenues as well as with the societal situation and the breach that temporarily endangered the construction of welfare society. Just like the pools decades earlier Lotto was launched with haste in a precarious societal situation, where the influence of the Soviet Union and Finnish communists was feared. So Lotto was needed as a safety valve (just like the pools) so that the confused citizens had something to focus on and wait for. Furthermore, the Lotteries Act of 1965 was amended in order to efface any traces of Lotto (or football pools for that matter) being harmful gambling but rather it was considered a fun and even more innocuous form of charity. One sign of the political consensus concerning gambling in Finland is that, once again, there was practically no discussion in the Finnish Parliament concerning the moral of gambling or the moral of introducing a new gambling game.<sup>215</sup>

There are many reasons why Lotto became so massively popular and why the popularity has continued up until the 2010s. First, the supply of different (legal) gambling games was really modest in comparison to this day: there were only football pools, horse betting (trotting), money lottery, lotteries in goods, bingo, roulettes in fine restaurants and night clubs and a Finnish mechanical slot machine called Payazzo. Second, the mental shift from football pools to Lotto is interesting since traditionally football pools were thought of as a skill game rather than as a game of chance, whereas the Lotto is a pure game of chance. There seems to have been a demand for a game of chance.<sup>216</sup> Third, the First Lotteries Taxation Act liberated winners from gambling tax meaning that the advertised sums were the sums the gamblers would get in case they won. Fourth, the televising of Lotto draws that began from the first draw on January 3, 1971, which had almost two million viewers (the population of Finland being 4,626,000 at that time) was a true success story.<sup>217</sup> Watching the televised Lotto draws broadcasted on the state-owned

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<sup>213</sup> McMillen 1996a, 1.

<sup>214</sup> Adams 2008, 36–37.

<sup>215</sup> Ahonen 2017 (manuscript).

<sup>216</sup> Matilainen 2006, 144.

<sup>217</sup> Ahonen 2017 (manuscript).

Yleisradio (YLE; Finnish Broadcasting Company) television channel grew into a national popular-cultural ritual and even a constituent of a collective Finnish identity. It was the combination of relaxation in the sauna (Saturday has been the traditional sauna day in the Finnish culture), and the excitement and hope of an economically better and safer life when watching televised Lotto that made Lotto into a mundane leisure spectacle that momentarily gave many Finns a feeling of utter relaxation and marked the boundary between work and the lazy Sunday.<sup>218</sup>

Fifth, what makes Lotto special is the lure of hitting a jackpot, which in comparison to potential winnings in other gambling games is substantial and evokes daydreams, and it is also possible to win very large sums with very small bets.<sup>219</sup> Sixth, Lotto has had a relatively low profile when it is compared to high-risk gambling games, as it is drawn only once a week and it does not offer the same kind of addictive intensity to problem gamblers as some other games do. However, the percentage of Finns playing Lotto every week is substantial, and the players can be regarded as hooked on the game in some way, although their playing can be considered an acquired routine.<sup>220</sup>

Seventh, Veikkaus has advertised Lotto over the years in many innovative ways and with a big budget. Lotto was advertised on television before it was started but it was the Lotto girl that became the symbol of Lotto and one of the biggest celebrities of the 1970s. Historian Outi Niemelä points out that the Lotto girl was a continuation of famous Finnish advertising female figures. The Lotto girl became famous for her scanty and short clothes, white wig and sex appeal.<sup>221</sup> Furthermore, the Lotto girl can also be seen as a symbol of the consumer culture emerging in Finland, as she toured the newly built consumption spaces such as shopping centres. Eighth, the introduction of Lotto is the main reason why more women took up gambling on their own in the 1970s. The societal circumstances obviously also played a role as most Finnish women had already taken to working outside the home and many had gained additional independence by moving to an urban centre thus leaving their traditional social milieu.<sup>222</sup>

Lotto was an enormous economic success for Veikkaus, as in 1972 it was responsible for 67 per cent of Veikkaus' turnover and next year for almost 77 per cent. The turnover increased by incredible 326 per cent thanks to Lotto in 1970–1973.<sup>223</sup> Ylikangas has pointed out that Lotto's significance as a revenue generator was one of reasons why Veikkaus changed hands from the ownership of sports organizations to the Finnish state in 1976.<sup>224</sup> The cultural,

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<sup>218</sup> Matilainen 2006, 144; article IV, 438; Raento & Meuronen 2011. See article IV, 441–442 on the intergenerational importance of watching Lotto draws together.

<sup>219</sup> Ylikangas 1990, 156–159.

<sup>220</sup> Falk & Mäenpää 1999, 4.

<sup>221</sup> See Niemelä 2012, 90–117, for a detailed description of the popularity of the first Lotto girl (in Finnish).

<sup>222</sup> Article IV, 438.

<sup>223</sup> Ahonen 2017 (manuscript).

<sup>224</sup> Ylikangas 1990, 160–165.

social, political and even symbolic importance of Lotto can also be seen in the political cartoons that Raento and Meuronen have studied and that depict the stereotyped Finn as a devoted gambler who never misses the Saturday night televised Lotto draw and discusses gambling at work or during her free-time. In cartoons everyone gamblers regardless of their age, class or gender. Raento and Meuronen conclude that in cartoons Lotto represents ordinariness as ordinary people gamble with small stakes in order to get some excitement in their lives.<sup>225</sup> All in all, Lotto has thus become the most socially acceptable gambling game and an ideal-typical gambling game of the common good *dispositif*.

What makes Finnish gambling culture interesting in the international comparison is the profusion of all kinds of gambling venues across the country, but it is the abundance of especially slot machines that are placed in everyday consumption places, such as grocery stores, service stations, cafes, and kiosks, that is truly exceptional. Therefore it is virtually impossible not to be exposed to slot machines when taking care of the needs of everyday life such as shopping or fuelling the car. I argue that the slot machines are the most visible (and audible) part of the Finnish gambling culture, and it was during the common good *dispositif* that the slot machines attained this status.

Slot machines were introduced in Finland in the 1920s by entrepreneurs of German descent, and most of the first slot machines were also bought in Germany. As I have discussed in article I, the regulation of slot machines was slowly tightened in the 1920s and 1930s culminating in the founding of RAY by charitable associations and associations endorsing national defence. RAY was given a monopoly to operate slot machines in Finland.<sup>226</sup> In contrast to RAY's current policy of dispersing the slot machines, RAY tried to restrict the access to slot machines by only allowing them in first class restaurants and cafés at the end of the 1930s and in the beginning of the 1940s making the use of slot machines almost impossible not only for young people but also for the members of working-class and people living in the countryside, as there were only few first class restaurants or cafes elsewhere than in the cities.<sup>227</sup> Furthermore, the practice can be considered paternalistic and compared to the strict alcohol policy that eventually led to the introduction of a personal liquor card and a customer control policy called buyer surveillance in the 1940s.<sup>228</sup> This was changed as after the Second World War in 1946 slot machines were allowed in all restaurants, pubs, and cafés in order to boost the profits, which meant that also people living in the countryside (the majority of Finns) could try their luck with the legendary Finnish mechanical slot machine Payazzo<sup>229</sup>. I argue that in addition to increasing the profits, renouncing of the

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225 Raento & Meuronen 2011, 109.

226 Article I, 27–28.

227 Article II, 194–195. The same practise was in use when roulette wheels were introduced by RAY in 1969.

228 Häikiö 2007, 131–136.

229 Matilainen 2006, 142.

paternalistic practice was a sign of the overall democratization of the Finnish society that took place after the Second World War.

However, Ahonen points out that in addition to their official duties members of RAY's staff were also used to observe and report on the mood of Finns in a politically very precarious situation after the lost war against the Soviet Union and with the conceived threat of the actions of the newly legalized communist party<sup>230</sup>.

Payazzo became an essential part of the coffee bar milieu in the Finnish countryside to the extent that from the 1950s onwards it was culturally almost impossible to picture a bar without a group of men fiddling around a Payazzo and without the jingle of coins won. Good Payazzo skills were a means of impressing others. Furthermore, Payazzo was considered a male territory but there are many stories in the Finnish gambling oral history data of girls and women defying this cultural pattern.<sup>231</sup>

The big change really got underway in the 1970s as RAY decided that the time was right for locating slot machines also elsewhere than in restaurants, cafés, and pubs. According to RAY, such a change in policy could be done because attitudes towards gambling had changed and the standard of living as well as the supply of other gambling games had increased. The new slot machine locations could be waiting halls, canteens, service stations, kiosks, department stores, bingo halls, amusement spaces, ferries and ships as well as various exhibitions and fairs. The supply of slot machines was also diversified in 1977, as RAY was given a permanent permit to operate fruit slot machines.<sup>232</sup> As can be seen on the list of slot machine locations, the new locations meant that slot machines became a ubiquitous phenomenon in the Finnish society, since they were accessible even in workplace canteens. Slot machines became a part of everyday lives of Finns. Furthermore, slot machines were located in many places which were part of the newly emergent consumer society and where people had to be about in order to run their daily lives. I argue that these changes meant that slot machine gambling that was earlier somewhat hidden away in pubs and bars became now an increasingly public phenomenon, which engendered the popular myth of pensioners gambling away their pensions on slot machines.

An interesting decision and a change in slot machine decree was made in 1976, as the age limit on playing slot machines alone was lowered from 18 to 15 years. Also the under 15 year olds were allowed to gamble on slot machines but only if they were accompanied by their parents. The former decree had allowed the under 18 year olds that were not employed to gamble if accompanied by their parents. The reasoning behind the lowering of the age limit was that young people were considered to become independent earlier than before and they had more money at their disposal. Furthermore, it was said that it was difficult to know the age of slot machine players and whether

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<sup>230</sup>Ahonen 2017 (manuscript).

<sup>231</sup> Matilainen 2006, 142.

<sup>232</sup> Kortelainen 1988, 214, 215–216.

they were employed or not.<sup>233</sup> Interestingly enough, the reasoning RAY offered for lowering the age limit seems to be in line with the experiences of the gamblers in oral history data, as a frequent theme in the data is the importance of one's own money which served as a key vehicle "of transition from dependency to self-determination and self-governance<sup>234</sup>".

All in all, gambling monopolies were able together with the state to tame and normalize Finnish gambling to a good citizen's duty in order to support the common good causes.

### 3.2 DEMOCRATIZATION OF FINNISH GAMBLING: GENDER, CLASS, AND AGE

Gambling has historically been represented as a male activity. As sociologist Johanna Järvinen-Tassopoulos states, women's absence from the Western gambling scene has been explained by traditional masculine and feminine roles and functions, the masculinity of the gambling places and social attitudes towards female and male gambling. Until the 1990s, most of the research on gambling and problem gambling has been made on male subjects. The studies were conducted through the perspective of gender differences. This dichotomous view on gender is being replaced by socio-cultural and more diverse perspectives on gambling.<sup>235</sup>

I argue that the biggest change concerning gender and gambling took place during the common good *dispositif* as an activity that was solely a male prerogative during the prohibition *dispositif* was tamed and culturally and socially allowed even for women. In the early phases of the common good *dispositif* gambling was often regarded as positive or negative depending on who was playing (a woman or a man, a youngster or an adult, a member of the working class or elite, people living in the countryside or in the cities). But the oral history data shows that girls and women did gamble on their own and the Finnish culture that has generally favoured independence, initiative and equal participation in society was rather open to it.<sup>236</sup>

However, there has been a clear gendering of certain gambling games such as Payazzo being a male territory in the bars and cafes in the 1950s and 1960s and the coin tossing that was played by underage boys. The study conducted in Turku (one of the biggest cities in Finland) in the 1960s demonstrates that there were major gender differences in engaging in various forms of coin tossing and playing cards for money as, for example, 90 per cent of over 12 year old boys had played cards for money while among girls of the same age

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<sup>233</sup>Kortelainen 1988, 215–216.

<sup>234</sup> Article IV, 442.

<sup>235</sup> Järvinen-Tassopoulos 2016, 3.

<sup>236</sup> Article IV, 441.

the figure was 46 per cent.<sup>237</sup> It seems that gambling in the Finnish culture has been both a personal and a broader sociocultural matter simultaneously. Furthermore, negotiations concerning personal and more general moral and cultural attitudes toward gambling have had an effect on personal relationships, networks and the use of social power.<sup>238</sup> I argue that one of the reasons for gambling becoming accepted even for women is that gambling places have lost their masculine character, as especially slot machines were placed in everyday consumption places where women did the shopping and ran errands. Another reason has to do with women having their own means of income (just like youngsters). After more and more women started to work outside home they could spend on what they liked. Obviously the acceptance of female gambling has a lot to do with the overall democratization of the Finnish society and culture including gender roles as well as the taming process of Finnish gambling.

Despite the fact that gambling was tamed, the legal supply was plentiful and gambling was thought to be suited to both men and women of various class and various backgrounds living both in the countryside and in the population centres, there were gamblers (mostly men) who did not want to contain themselves with the prevailing mentality of 'a little extra excitement for small stakes and common good'. These gamblers were after more risks and higher stakes and could fulfil their desires in various illegal gambling dens and in privately organized card rings that can be seen as a continuation of the prohibition *dispositif*. This 'highly gendered' alternative reality of Finnish gambling was open to only those who knew to look for it, and its access required special knowledge and willingness to take great risks. Consumption of alcohol was an essential part of these milieus such as it was during the previous prohibition *dispositif*.<sup>239</sup>

Class or social status is a concept that has been used in gambling studies to understand why and how different people gamble or do not gamble, why some people sometimes are not allowed to gamble or how the gambling of differently classed people has been understood and regulated. I understand class in a Bourdieuan way: a class is defined as much by its being-perceived as by its being and by its consumption as much by its position in relations of production<sup>240</sup>. Sociologist Beverley Skeggs states that the category of class has very real effects for those who have to live its classifications and that class is being re-formed through market discourse and circulated in popular culture and political rhetoric.<sup>241</sup> However, as a historian doing research on Finland I am faced with the fact that sociological classics tend to base their empirical findings on societies that are actually quite different from Finland (in these cases France and the Great Britain). Finland has historically been a country

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<sup>237</sup> Helanko 1969, 119.

<sup>238</sup> Article IV, 441.

<sup>239</sup> Article IV, 438; Reith & Dobbie 2011, 484, 487.

<sup>240</sup> Bourdieu 2000, 483.

<sup>241</sup> Skeggs 2004, 44.

with a low income inequality even though the income inequality has risen over the last two decades. Furthermore, Finland has not been as much a class society or a class-conscious society as for example Great Britain. What makes Finland an interesting case is that in addition of having a history of gambling regulation and gambling discourses and practises handling differently people of different standing, class or occupation, citizens were treated differently based on their place of dwelling in matters concerning traditionally deprecated forms of consumption, such as alcohol drinking or gambling. It was as late as in 1969 that the medium-strength beer became available not only in retail shops of Alko (that were situated in population centres) but in over 50,000 outlets also in the countryside.<sup>242</sup> When it comes to gambling the same logic applied to the location of slot machines in the 1930s and in the beginning of the 1940s: they were located in first class cafés and restaurants in the population centres and thus the supply of gambling was not societally equal.

Another rather striking feature of the Finnish gambling culture from the international perspective is the lateness of universal age limits of gambling, as the universal age limit of 18 years on all forms of gambling did not come into force until 2011. Attitudes toward gambling and participation in gambling are transmitted in intergenerational family relations in many cultures.<sup>243</sup> In the Finnish case based on oral history evidence it seems that parents taught their children how to gamble, because they wanted their children to learn the value of money and teach them money management, responsible conduct and caution in risk taking in a culture where gambling was a common phenomenon, knowing about gambling was part of social capital and gambling was allowed also for children and youngsters. Beginning gambling was one of the ways Finnish parents have used when they have wanted to socialize their children to responsibility and independent running of errands. The goal might have been easier to achieve in Finland than in many other cultures due to the ubiquitous nature of Finnish gambling especially since the 1970s. Just like in the UK<sup>244</sup> children and youngsters have learnt gambling through the routines of everyday life. Parental control, peer pressure and mainstream social, cultural, and moral values were used to keep the children off of harmful gambling. Furthermore, youngsters have learned gambling from each other and through their own information searches and sometimes also turned the intergenerational system upside down by teaching their parents and grandparents how to gamble. Gambling and the decision to use one's own money to participate in it has surely been a rite of passage for many Finns.<sup>245</sup>

Travelling on board the very popular Baltic Sea Ferries from Finland to Sweden, Estonia (before 1991 part of the Soviet Union), Germany and Poland is a Finnish gambling culture phenomenon that offers an excellent example of

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<sup>242</sup> Peltonen 2013, 99

<sup>243</sup> Reith & Dobbie 2011, 488, 490; article IV. See also Reith & Dobbie 2013a, and Kristiansen, Trabjerg, & Reith 2014.

<sup>244</sup> Reith & Dobbie 2011, 488.

<sup>245</sup> Article IV, 439–440, 442.

the Finnish gambling regulation's sore points as well as the contact points between gambling and various major changes that shook the whole Finnish society and gender system in the latter part of the twentieth century. Beginning in the 1950s the Finnish standard of living rose and more money and leisure time was disposable for amusement. Furthermore, the Finnish gender system changed allowing women to engage in phenomena (such as gambling or drinking alcohol) which earlier were thought to be a male prerogative. The various oral history data paint a picture of the ferries being cultural spaces where the rules and norms of everyday life do not apply meaning that ferries can be understood as liminal spaces. Another interesting point revealed by the oral history data is that many people have had their first experiences of gambling and especially gambling on slot machines on board. Thus ferries represent a consumerist and liminal gambling space in the Finnish gambling culture.<sup>246</sup>

What is interesting from the perspective of today's Finnish gambling is that socio-demographic factors seem to have an effect on what games people are more likely to engage in and whether they might experience gambling problems or not. Social scientists Maria Heiskanen and Arho Toikka have concluded that the clusters that engaged in slot machines, sports betting or generally speaking in multiple forms of gambling, "as well as the clusters with higher prevalence of men, showed more experienced gambling problems than the clusters with higher rates of females and participation in, for example, scratch cards, horse betting or generally infrequent gambling"<sup>247</sup>.

It is safe to say that the Finnish gambling experience has not been so bound by class and gender normativity as it has been, for example, in the UK which is a more class-conscious and perhaps even more conservative society than Finland has been historically.<sup>248</sup> During the common good *dispositif* both men and women of various class backgrounds and even children and youngsters were allowed and encouraged to gamble in the name of common good.

### **3.3 CONSUMER DREAMS AND GAMBLING**

As I have stated in part I, dreams have usually been seen as something unreal and something that is experienced emotionally rather than rationally in academic research. Thus, dreaming has been considered opposite to rational consumer behaviour, in other words irrational. I, like Husz, argue that dreaming is not necessarily an irrational activity but rather a vital part of people's consumer behaviour.<sup>249</sup> As Husz states when talking about lotteries:

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<sup>246</sup> Article III, 167–168.

<sup>247</sup> Heiskanen & Toikka 2016, 375.

<sup>248</sup> Article IV, 443.

<sup>249</sup> Husz 2004, 26.



*“The “dream” in this case involves envisaging a future position, a future identity or simply the prospect of a better life. Buying a lottery ticket, taking out an insurance policy or saving money are practices of objectification towards the future. Lottery gives one the possibility of (imaginatively) creating an identity based on consumption, despite economic constraints.”<sup>250</sup>*

Lotteries can be considered an “example of the societal celebration of chance within consumer culture<sup>251</sup>” and they can be regarded as commodification of dreams. This very characteristic of lotteries was often the target for moral criticism against them. The main concern for Swedish lottery opponents in the beginning of the twentieth century was the prospect of a mental change, which was mainly manifested in hopes, and dreams of the people who participated in lotteries. The lottery dream offered an alternative way of envisaging the future which was in contrast of the legitimate alternative of success in life and a secure old age, which were to be achieved through hard work and thrift.<sup>252</sup>

Many researchers besides Husz have stated that engaging in gambling can be considered a rational action. Casey is one of the researchers to have pointed out that members of the working classes have thought of gambling as a real attempt to make a dire financial situation easier<sup>253</sup>. Historian Gary Cross also discusses this “irrational” consumer behaviour during the Great Depression in Britain. The people of marginal and insecure income were attracted to gambling because it gave them an opportunity to make decisions and above all a chance of winning money that was otherwise unattainable. Many of these predominantly unemployed men regarded gambling as a wise and a “democratic” investment.<sup>254</sup> Anthropologist Keith Hart is of the same opinion, when he states that for many people without much means betting can be a chance to engage actively in the money force instead of being a passive bystander. Betting and gambling also teach money management and offer skills that might be applied well beyond gambling situations.<sup>255</sup> Historian Ross McKibbin has studied working class gambling in Britain in 1880–1939 and argues that gambling was not only important to people because it played a part in their economic lives as the winnings eased their financial situation but also because gambling practises took on an intellectual character and being successful in gambling gave the gamblers an elevated status among their peer group.<sup>256</sup>

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<sup>250</sup> Husz 2003, 67.

<sup>251</sup> Young 2010, 267.

<sup>252</sup> Husz 2003, 67.

<sup>253</sup> Casey 2003, 247.

<sup>254</sup> Cross 1993, 146–147.

<sup>255</sup> Hart 2013, 22, 24–25. See article IV, 438, 442, on how Finnish parents have taught their children money management with the help of gambling.

<sup>256</sup> McKibbin 1979, 65, 82–84.

I will give you some examples of the Finnish consumer dreams related to gambling and use oral history data that I gathered together with my colleagues and with the help of SKS and its Folklore Archives in the “Oral history on consumption” survey that took place during autumn 2006 and spring 2007 and was answered by 28 respondents of which 15 were women and 13 were men. A full 250 pages of text were accumulated. There was one specific section of the survey dedicated to dreams and fantasies related to gambling.<sup>257</sup> I consider this oral history data to be incredibly rich material and its use requires reconciliation of individual and cultural experiences.

What is notable in the data is that none of the respondents admit that they dream of hitting the jackpot in the game of Lotto or in some other game in order to change their lives radically or to embark on some sort of luxurious or hedonistic lifestyles. It seems that they dream of very realistic goals, such as new houses and helping their family members financially. The age of the respondents surely plays a part in this outcome, as they all have settled down and an overwhelming majority of them are retired. This means that the biggest financial acquisitions and investments and choices on the ways of life have been made a long time ago. However, it is plausible that moderate daydreaming may have its historical roots in the long prevalent ethics of the peasantry, which considered ostentatious, abundant and excessive consumption both unacceptable and morally reprehensible.<sup>258</sup> Furthermore, the realisation of new possibilities that the lottery win enables is a question of social and cultural competence, and when the winner lacks competence there is not much room for change to take place.<sup>259</sup> All in all: the respondents seem to dream of a good life rather than a completely new life.

Interestingly enough, it is nonetheless the dream of hitting the jackpot or downright poverty that motivate the respondents to keep on gambling, as a man born in 1928 writes:

*“Lack of money. It was poverty that drove me into playing. The wealthy, religious people did not take part in gambling. Gambling was entertainment for the common people.”<sup>260</sup>*

Experiences of poverty drove the writer to engage in gambling, whereas the wealthy and religious people were not in need of gambling wins. Gambling could be entertainment for the common people in the Finnish countryside with few amusements.

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<sup>257</sup> See article III, 162–164 for a detailed description of the organising of the “Oral history on consumption” survey.

<sup>258</sup> Article III, 170.

<sup>259</sup> Falk & Mäenpää 1999, 1.

<sup>260</sup> SKS (The Finnish Literature Society) KRA (Folklore Archives) Muistitietoa kuluttamisesta (Oral history on consumption) 2007, 978. The original passage in Finnish: “*Rahan puute. Köyhyys joka minut pelaamaan veti. varakkaat, uskonnolliset ihmiset eivät olleet mukana peleissä rahvaan huviahan se oli.*”

It is easy to conclude from oral history data that talking about the dreams of hitting the jackpot was part of social interaction of some people and that the imagined events and changes could even arouse anger in some of the listeners.

A woman born in 1933 tells of her grandmother who used to play Lotto a lot. The grandmother always dreamed of hitting the jackpot but never won. The neighbouring farmers' wives also engaged in Lotto and dreamt of winning:

*There were also men involved. And I heard the old men talking in the shop: – Please believe that it is me who is going to hit the jackpot. I know it and I've already dreamt of it too. – Do not talk nonsense! It is going to be me who wins, perhaps not this week but then next week and then I'll buy you all a round of beers.”<sup>261</sup>*

Besides of talking about dreams of hitting the jackpot in the free time, the dreams could also be shared in the workplace even to the extent that the talk of winning dominated the discussion. It could also happen that a kind of peer pressure induced people to take part in gambling. A man born in 1927 writes:

*“After that I had not participated in any gambling (excepted in the game of stock market speculation but that's a different matter) until I started a factory work for --- in Vantaa. There was a joint Lotto group, which was run by one female employee. She lured everyone to this group and we used small bets. Engaging in the game of Lotto was one of the basic values in life for this lady; as of Wednesday we only talked about what is going to happen and what are we going to do with the money and as of Monday we wondered why we had not had the right numbers. Some of my co-workers had their own Lotto numbers but no one bragged about any winnings and nobody stayed away from work suddenly. --- When I got retired I left the Lotto group and the Lotto lady got ill and retired as well.”<sup>262</sup>*

Gambling related dreaming was thus a communal and shared matter.

There are two common objects of gambling related dreaming that respondents write about: helping the family financially and the purchase of a

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<sup>261</sup> SKS KRA Muistitietoa kuluttamisesta 2007, 869. The original passage in Finnish: ”Ja kuulin, kun ukot kaupalla juttelivat: - Uskokaa nyt, että minulle se voitto tulee. Kyllä minä sen tiedän ja näin siitä jo untakin. - Älä höpsi. Minä sen saan, jos en nyt, niin ensi viikolla saan ja silloin tarjoan kaljat koko porukalle..

<sup>262</sup> SKS KRA Muistitietoa kuluttamisesta 2007, 31-32. Original passage in Finnish: ”Sittenpä en ollutkaan osallistunut mihinkään peleihin (paitsi ”osake keinottelu peliin”, mutta se on eri juttu) kunnes tultuani tehdas työhön Vantaan Valiolle. Siellä oli lotto rinki jota veti eräs rouvas työntekijä. Siihen rinkiin hän houkutteli kaikki tosin pienillä panoksilla. Tälle rouvalle lottoaminen oli yksi elämän perus arvoja, keskiviikosta lähtien puhtiin mitenköhän nyt käypi ja mitä rahoilla tehdään ja sitten maanantaista ihmeteltiin miksi ne numerot oli aina vieressä. Joillakin oli myös lotto-rivejään, voitoista ei kukaan kehunut, eikä yllättävää työstä pois jääntiä tapahtunut ----. Kun jäin eläkkeelle niin se lottorinki jäi minun osaltani ja se lotto emäntäkin sairastui ja jäi eläkkeelle.”

dream house. A woman born in 1943 writes that when she was young she dreamt of buying the house of her dreams, of travelling and of donating part of the winnings to relatives and to the needy.<sup>263</sup> Another woman tells of her husband's dream of their own "red house with a potato field" but how in the absence of the big win they had to content themselves to a flat in a block.<sup>264</sup> A man born in 1941 writes:

*"The dream is always to hit the jackpot in Lotto and improve one's quality of life by, among other things, buying an apartment of one's one. The dream has never come true."*<sup>265</sup>

The idea of improving the quality of life by living in an own house or apartment has been long-lasting in the Finnish society and Veikkaus has been keen to capitalize on the cultural need to own a property. Ahonen states that Veikkaus launched advertisements depicting the possibility of winning enough money for one's own house from the pools already in the spring of 1941. This kind of advertisements would become the backbone of Veikkaus' advertising.<sup>266</sup> Based on interviews of Finnish Lotto winners in the 1990s Falk and Mäenpää considered winners' actions of buying a new house or building a house an attempt to build an idyllic miniature world around them that would protect them and their loved ones.<sup>267</sup>

It is difficult to say based on this material whether there is a distinction between men and women in the willingness to help their family members and especially children financially if they won a lot of money. A woman born in 1934 writes:

*"I'm always hoping that I would hit the jackpot so that I could give money to my children and their families – they are always short of money and I only have a small pension. --- I have said to my children that with my luck I will die and then hit the jackpot so they need to go through my Lotto numbers even after my death for I do the Lotto for them."*<sup>268</sup>

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<sup>263</sup> SKS KRA Muistitietoa kuluttamisesta 2007, 170–171.

<sup>264</sup> SKS KRA Muistitietoa kuluttamisesta 2007, 937.

<sup>265</sup> SKS KRA Muistitietoa kuluttamisesta 2007, 179. Original passage in Finnish: *"Toiveenahan on aina voittoa suuri lottopotti ja parantaa elämänlaatua mm. ostamalla oma asunto. Eipä vaan toive ole koskaan vielä toteutunut."*

<sup>266</sup> Ahonen 2017 (manuscript).

<sup>267</sup> Falk & Mäenpää 1999, 75–81.

<sup>268</sup> SKS KRA Muistitietoa kuluttamisesta 2007, 94. The original passage in Finnish: *"Aina toivon, että tulisi täyspotti, jotta voisin antaa lapsilleni ja heidän perheelleen – tiukoilla kun ovat, eikä mulla ole kuin pieni eläke. --- Olen lapsilleni sanonutkin, että mun tuurilla kuolen ja sitten tulee suuri potti, joten tarkistakaa rivit vielä kuolemani jälkeenkin, sillä heillehän lottoankin."*

This passage also reveals how important gambling is, how gambling is considered to alleviate a dire financial situations and how it is discussed in family circles. Furthermore, the respondent expresses a belief in (bad) luck and urges her children to check Lotto numbers even after her death.

How have the people then used their smaller winning sums? A woman born in 1927 came in on her sister's Lotto win of 60 Finnish markkas (approximately 10 euros):

*“My sister had already recovered from her illness, she decided to “blow” the Lotto win, she took a taxi, we went to Langinkoski to that emperor’s summer house. My sister bought a small coffee pot as a souvenir from that trip. That small coffee pot is still on top of the television as a reminder of that trip and my sister’s Lotto win...”*<sup>269</sup>

Besides the souvenir other important clues in this passage are the recovery from illness and taking a taxi to a tourist destination, which both indicate a change in the ordinary life of the Lotto winner in question. The unusual or even a sinful nature of a paid taxi ride has come up in some other oral history data as well.<sup>270</sup> Furthermore, a man born in 1928 spent his illegal card games winnings on a bicycle and a trip to Helsinki to see athletic competitions in 1947.<sup>271</sup> One woman born in 1943 admitted of buying a golden jewel with her Keno winnings.<sup>272</sup>

A suspicious attitude towards hitting the jackpot is also common. There are interesting ways of thinking about deserving and not deserving the jackpot money and of the jackpot money being essentially different to money well-earned through hard work or through saving. A man born in 1929 writes:

*“I’ve never thought of dreaming about winning in gambling. If one were to win a big sum of money some time, that might change the rules of life, one would perhaps begin to worry about how to invest the money. One wouldn’t know whether to boast of the winnings all over the place or to keep quiet and go on living a modest life. At least I’ve heard that a public win attracts all manner of needy people wanting a share of the lucky player’s fortune. Obviously, one could’ve got some wider experience and seen new things with money. I’d have needed such a sum a long time ago, to go see some of the interesting places I used to think about. [...] But I have to admit that everything’s easier*

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<sup>269</sup> SKS KRA Muistitietoa kuluttamisesta 2007, 937–938. Original passage in Finnish: Sisareni oli jo toipunut sairaudesta, hän päätti ”törsätä” sen lottovoiton, hän voitti/otti? taksin, menimme Langinkoskelle, sinne Kaisarin huvimajalle. Sisareni osti pienen kahvipannun muistoksi siltä reissulta. Se pieni kahvipannu on vieläkin ”telkkarin” päällä muistona siitä retkestä ja sisareni lottovoitosta...”

<sup>270</sup> Article III, 166.

<sup>271</sup> SKS KRA Muistitietoa kuluttamisesta 2007, 977.

<sup>272</sup> SKS KRA Muistitietoa kuluttamisesta 2007, 171.

*with money. Otherwise one just thinks hard about everything and worries both before and after, wondering if some solution would be good or bad. Money would solve and mend a lot of problems, no question about that, but that money should already have been there, and as saved money, not just something IF I win in Lotto.”<sup>273</sup>*

The writer’s ambivalent attitude towards money and money’s feared and admired potential when it is not earned by hard work could be traces of the Lutheran culture of Finland, which in the previous research has been associated with Weber’s ideas about Protestant work ethics.<sup>274</sup> Furthermore, some of the passages reveal a belief in a cosmic balance of good and bad, happiness and sorrow. A woman born in 1943 and living in Sweden writes:

*Closest to a million I have been in the game of Joker. I had all the numbers but in wrong order and then I did win the biggest sum of my life, 3000 krona. It was just something good before bad for a few weeks later my life-companion died.”<sup>275</sup>*

Binde points out that ideas of deserving or not deserving a win are close to ideas of a religious nature, the concept of blessing being one of them. There are also lots of other magico-religious notions in gambling dealing with questions such as do people have a predestined faith. Gambling might partially fill the void which has been left, as formal religion and traditional folklore have lost their ground in people’s lives.<sup>276</sup>

Even though the vast majority of Finns favours Lotto and dreams of hitting the jackpot, many people seem to be intimidated by the idea of being in possession of large sums of money all of a sudden. The story of a Lotto winner who after suddenly having gained a very large sum of money loses control over his life and in a few years’ time ends up in a gutter without no family, friends or money or even commits suicide is well-known in Finland. Falk and Mäenpää call this the story of “the mythical Lotto winner”. Interestingly enough, they state that actual Lotto winners are well aware of this myth and this awareness guides their behaviour. It is the task of the Lotto winner to make sure that he

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<sup>273</sup> SKS KRA Muistitietoa kuluttamisesta, 212–213. See also article III, 167. The original passage in Finnish: ”Eipä ole koskaan tullut mieleen unelmoida rahapelien voitoilla. Jos joskus saisi jonkin ison potin, niin elämän pelisäännöt voisivat muuttua, sitä rupeasi suremaan miten rahansa sijoittaisi. Ei tietäisi levelisikö voitolloaan, vai olisiko hiljaa ja eläisi vaatimatonta elämää. Ainakin kerrotaan, että julkinen voitto vetää eriaisteisia avuntarvitsijoita jakamaan pelaajan saamaa onnea. Tietenkin näkö- ja kokemuksenttänsä olisi voinut rahalla laajentaa. Tarvittava rahapotti olisi pitänyt tulla aikoja sitten, olisihan sitä joskus voinut lähteä katsomaan joitain mieleen tulleita kiinnostavia paikkoja. ---- On kyllä myönnettävä, että rahalla kaikki sujuu helpommin. Sitä harkitsee ja suree etu ja jälkikäteen onko mikäkin ratkaisu hyvä tai huono. Kyllä rahalla ratkaisisi ja korjaisi monta ongelmaa, mutta se raha pitäisi olla ja vieläpä säästettynä rahana, ei mitään JOS saisi Lotosta..”

<sup>274</sup> Raento & Meuronen 2011, 110; article IV, 442.

<sup>275</sup> SKS KRA Muistitietoa kuluttamisesta 2007, 171. The original passage in Finnish: ”Lähimpänä miljoonaa olen ollut Jokerissa. Kaikki numerot minulla oli, mutta ensimmäiset oli väärässä järjestyksessä ja voitin silloin kyllä elämäni suurimman pelivoiton, 3000 kr. Se oli vain hyvää pahan edellä, sillä muutamaa viikkoa myöhemmin elämäntoverini kuoli.”

<sup>276</sup> Binde 2007b, 229.

or she does not suffer the same pitiable fate. In order to be able to make sure of this, there is a twofold strategy in use. The winners aspire to minimise the effects of the change by lying low and restricting the purchases of flashy luxury goods and the number of people to whom they tell about their win. They also assured to be the same ordinary people they were before hitting the jackpot.<sup>277</sup>

It is interesting to compare the Finnish case of Lotto winners to that of English working class women taking part in the National Lottery Play in the years 1999 to 2001 that Casey has studied. In their responses to the classical question of “what would you do if you won in the lottery” women stated that they would pay off bills and debts, buy property and invest in children’s and grand-children’s futures. Thus, the absence of goods regarded as luxury such as cars, clothes and holidays was notable. These women were afraid that becoming very suddenly wealthy would make them lose the things that gave them status and value within their own class as working-class women since the newly gotten economic power might lead them to fail to adhere to the norms they cherished. The idea of money changing people was frequent among these women, and the media with their ‘horror stories’ of lottery millionaires supported their thoughts. However, these women did dream of winning sums that would make them able “to demonstrate care and respectability, in terms of working-class norms of femininity.”<sup>278</sup>

The common fear for both of these groups is the alleged magical ability of money to change personalities and people’s status in their own communities. Furthermore, it seems that both the dream objects of lottery wins and cautionary tales about the dangers of lottery play are similar in different parts of the world. Anthropologist Ilana van Wyk studied South-African township lottery players and concluded that most of them dreamt of winning enough money so that they could buy their own houses and cars. Also the cautionary tales of lottery winners’ fates seem similar to those told in Finland.<sup>279</sup>

Why are then winning big sums of money both feared and fantasized? According to sociologist Georg Simmel, money is considered vulgar because it is equivalent of everything and everyone. However, money that is a mere instrument to acquire consumption goods is regarded as intrinsic value and as autonomous even though money only embodies intermediate and transitional stage en route to the objective and to the proper enjoyment. Money also seduces people by promising an opportunity to a complete fulfilment of all desires and at one go to reach everything that seems worth craving for.<sup>280</sup> However, sociologist Viviana Zelizer opposes Simmel’s idea of money being culturally neutral and socially anonymous. She states that there are different types of money that people are constantly crafting, and money also means different things to different people. Gambling money is a special kind of money which can be used and even kept separately from other money. It may be seen

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<sup>277</sup> Falk & Mäenpää 1999, 123–163.

<sup>278</sup> Casey 2003, 259–261.

<sup>279</sup> van Wyk 2013, 158, 161.

<sup>280</sup> Simmel 2005, 57–59, 61–62.

as dirty or unreal, but sometimes it can be morally earmarked and laundered morally by donating a portion of the dirty money to good causes. The earmarking of money is a thoroughly social process.<sup>281</sup> Sociologist Jani Kinnunen reminds that although money is an essential part of gambling, during the game money is considered to be a financially worthless element, as it is the excitement of the game itself and the wish to be able to continue the game incessantly that are the driving forces.<sup>282</sup>

The dream structure of Finnish gamblers seems to be similar with those of Finnish savers from the 1950s to the 1970s. Pantzar talks of “target saving”, which promoted the long-term growth goals of the Finnish national economy. At the same time target saving required the individual to fetter his or hers desires. Without the dreams of a better future Finns could not have been enticed to participate in the national investment and the saving driven reconstruction project after the Second World War. It was through target saving for one’s own house or apartment that Finns were bound to this national project.<sup>283</sup> As I have stated, the absence of luxurious consumer goods and/or traits of hedonistic consumer behaviour are notable in the oral history data. It is of course worth considering that people might dare to write only about socially and culturally accepted forms of dreaming, which in Finnish context happen to be dreams of an own house and helping the family. But perhaps it is also so that the concept of hedonism as an individualistic trait of consumer behaviour does not fit as an analytical concept for the study of a communal and shared phenomenon like gambling in the Finnish context?<sup>284</sup>

Especially since the introduction of Lotto in 1971, consumer dreams and hopes of many Finns have concentrated on the idea of the tempting care-free life after hitting the jackpot. Finns shaped their identities as citizen consumers with the help of gambling related consumer dreaming when consumer dreams were an essential part of becoming a respectable citizen consumer. Historian Minna Sarantola-Weiss uses as an example of this process the breakthrough of sofa suites in the Finnish living rooms in the 1960s and in the 1970s:

*“From the 1960s onwards, realising oneself and one’s citizenship through consuming came within the reach of the working class as well. In 1970s Finland, the sofa may have been an indication of fully-fledged citizenship. It was an object which one could buy, and this act materialised moving on into a new life.”<sup>285</sup>*

New sofas, cars, houses and trips abroad needed to be financed somehow. Engaging in Lotto and other forms of gambling offered dreams and hopes of a different and better future for many Finns. In the oral history data two types

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<sup>281</sup> Zelizer 1994, 1, 3, 18, 22, and 25.

<sup>282</sup> Kinnunen 2010a, 54.

<sup>283</sup> Pantzar 2000, 70.

<sup>284</sup> Article III, 170.

<sup>285</sup> Sarantola-Weiss 2003, 400.



of dreams were central: the idea of helping the family financially and desire to buy one's dream house. The dream structure of gamblers seemed to be similar with that of Finnish savers. The absence of hedonistic traits of gambling related consumer dreaming and consumer behaviour is notable.

### **3.4 THE TAMING OF FINNISH GAMBLING: THE TRIUMPH OF PUBLIC, ORGANIZED AND REGULATED GAMBLING**

The second Finnish gambling *dispositif* can be called common good *dispositif*. It is easy to consider the legalization of money lotteries in 1926 and tote in 1927, which ended the gambling prohibition, as the starting point for the new *dispositif*. Obviously the discourses and practices of the prohibition *dispositif* were visible and tangible especially in the beginning of the common good *dispositif* just like discourses and practices of the common good *dispositif* still resonate during the risk *dispositif* that dawned in the 1990s.

It was the newly independent and fiercely proud nationalistic Finnish state that made the gambling legal, because it feared that otherwise Finnish money would be pouring out of the country, and helped in the founding of two Finnish gambling monopolies RAY (in 1938) and Veikkaus (in 1940). In an international comparison, gambling in Finland was legalised quite early. I argue that the Finnish state has had a quite unique role in taming gambling: Gambling defined good citizenship and the state actively promoted it in many ways making the gambling an every citizen's duty. During the Second World War the gambling monopolies and their revenues were used to help war invalids and other war destitute. The state continued the taming process by harnessing its institutions, such as the national radio and national television company, to give gambling airtime and using the Finnish conscription army as a place where recruits could be taught to participate in new gambling games. From the 1950s to the 1970s Finland was a society facing a rapid structural change: urbanization, better education possibilities, upward social mobility, birth of a welfare society in a Nordic manner, birth of a mass consumption society, a more equal and liberal society and lifestyle, mass emigration to Sweden in order to achieve a financially safer life, the democratization of culture in many ways, the increase of free time and holidays, and a rising standard of living with a better dwelling situation caused significant changes in Finns' material and mental lives. Simultaneously with the changes in the Finnish society gambling was democratized, as public, organised and regulated gambling was part of the process where gambling became socially, culturally and also geographically accessible to women, people of different classes, rural population and also to different age groups.

The destination of the gambling revenues was the Finnish welfare state. Gambling losses were rationalized and heavily marketed to benefit the common good of all Finns. Gambling was regulated and monopolized to ensure that the gambling revenue would go for the beneficiaries that the state wanted and that the state would be protected from foreign gambling. The ideal-typical state of the common good *dispositif* was thus the national welfare state.

One important factor contributing to the taming of gambling in Finland has been the profusion of all kinds of gambling venues across the country. Especially this is true and exceptional concerning the slot machines since the 1970s. Whereas in most countries the slots are found strictly in casinos, in Finland the slots are placed in ordinary consumption places, such as grocery stores, kiosks, and service stations. I consider these spaces the ideal-typical gambling spaces of this *dispositif*. The various slot machines have become part of a Finnish everyday life and part of normal and everyday consumption habits. Another interesting feature of the Finnish gambling culture is that historically gambling age limits have received only a little regulatory attention and the age limits concerning slot machines were lowered in the 1970s. This meant that in an environment that offered gambling also to children and youngsters many parents taught their children how and what to gamble as well as money management and rational risk-taking. Finns were exposed to legal gambling at an early age, but there were controlling institutions such as legal norms and most of all social values that were used to keep Finns out of gambling harm's way. Yet another important factor in the taming of Finnish gambling has been the advertising by the gambling monopolies that has been abundant and innovative.

The Finnish Lotto (introduced in 1971) can be considered a commodification of dreams and also the ideal-typical form of gambling of the common good *dispositif*. Politics and consumer culture come together in the enormously successful pure game of chance that is the Finnish Lotto: You were a good consumer but also a good citizen if you took part in the consumer and welfare society also through gambling and dreamt of hitting the jackpot. Dreams of Lotto jackpots were often a shared and communal matter. Lotto players can be seen as citizen consumers.

All in all, the Finnish gambling monopoly system can be considered a protectionist system that has reactively answered to changes in international gambling policies. However, it is paradoxical that at the same time the internal gambling regulation of Finland has been very permissive in international comparison.<sup>286</sup> I argue that many of the changes that the Anglophonic gambling scholars have described happening in their societies in the 1980s or in the 1990s already happened in Finland during the common good *dispositif* in the 1970s or even earlier.

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<sup>286</sup> Myllymaa & Matilainen 2016, 475.

It was the revenue-desiring and protectionist national state together with the gambling monopolies that taught Finns to gamble in order to support the Nordic welfare state. Gambling became a phenomenon strongly anchored in the Finnish everyday life.

## 4 THE RISK *DISPOSITIF*

### 4.1 RISK IN THE MAKING AND TAKING: GAMBLING AS AN ENTERTAINMENT AND RISK

The change in the values of the Western world has meant that the social and economic values of the Protestant ethic have yielded and now values revolve around consumption, leisure, and risk-taking.<sup>287</sup> This has meant that gambling is also considered an acceptable leisure pursuit nowadays. The risk society defined by sociologist Ulrich Beck is a society where

*“the concept of risk is directly bound to the concept of reflexive modernization. Risk may be defined as a systematic way of dealing with hazards and insecurities induced and introduced by modernization itself. Risks, as opposed to older dangers, are consequences which relate to the threatening force of modernization and to its globalization of doubt. They are politically reflexive”<sup>288</sup>.*

The intensified commercialization of gambling is part of a risk society where gambling is mass-marketed as a ‘safe’ risk. It means that gambling has (especially in Finland) successfully been tamed to entertainment and part of people’s free-time overturning such Protestant (and Lutheran) values as the idea of work equalling reward and the idea that it is irreligious to rely on chance.<sup>289</sup> However, at the same time questions about gambling problems and addictions have also surfaced into public, regulative and scientific discussion. At the core of this development is the process where chance is actively bought and sold as just another commodity whilst its problematic status is being delegated to people labelled as pathological gamblers. This makes compulsive gambling a problem of the individual and opens up the doors for medicinal solutions.<sup>290</sup>

Kingma points out that it is particularly the state-run gambling organizations that need to convince the public that the social benefits of gambling outweigh the social costs, risks need to be seen as both managed and manageable and social problems successfully controlled. According to Kingma, the risk model of regulation (which I have adapted to the risk

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<sup>287</sup> Cosgrave 2006, 8.

<sup>288</sup> Beck 1992, 21.

<sup>289</sup> Cosgrave 2009, 47.

<sup>290</sup> Reith 1999, 182.

*dispositif* in my research) is grounded on cost-benefit analyses, as gambling organizations are more and more dependent on the scientific analyses regarding their games and their external effects. Science has become a tool of legitimation of the scientific manageability of problem gambling especially when it comes to prevalence of problem gambling. Furthermore, with corporate social responsibility being on top of agenda of almost all gambling organization, they have become “responsibilized” and are nowadays preoccupied with both the management of problem gambling and the perceptions and the expectations of public.<sup>291</sup>

When it comes to Finland, by the 1990s gambling had been tamed to be part of a respectable and normal Finnish way of life. Furthermore, gambling revenues constituted a very substantial part of the financing of the welfare state. Many discourses and practices that define the Finnish gambling cultures of the 2010s had their roots in the changes that took place in the 1990s. One of the most important changes has been the increasing commercialization of gambling that has continued to the present<sup>292</sup> and which has meant that the number of gambling games available to Finns offered by the Finnish gambling monopolies has multiplied. Furthermore, the gambling spaces such as the casino and online gambling sites have been opened up. The commercialization has also intensified due to the introduction of Internet gambling. Changes in technology and especially the introduction of the Internet have changed the time-spatial organization of gambling having an effect on people’s gambling routines, gambling spaces and sociability of gambling. The Finnish membership in the EU has entailed many changes in the Finnish gambling regulation and scientific research on gambling. The figure of a problem gambler has to some extent began to dominate the public discussion of gambling in Finland.

How then have new forms of risks (gambling products) been made and taken since the 1990s? I will give examples of three new gambling products, spaces and modes of regulation (the founding of the first casino in 1991, introduction of sports betting in 1993, and introduction of RAY’s Internet casino offering also online poker in 2010) that I consider important and perhaps even ideal-typical of the Finnish risk *dispositif*.

A flashy part of the gambling consumption has been the process of Las Vegasizing gambling, which means the globalization of gambling and entertainment industries following the logic and facilities of development comparable to that in Las Vegas<sup>293</sup>. Since the 1960s the casinos have become a legitimate and integrated part of the world economy. The global spread of casino gambling can be seen of consisting of borderless networks of corporate alliances quite different from those of the past. They also attract a flow of

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<sup>291</sup> Kingma 2008, 448, and Kingma 2015, 19–20. See also Young 20013 on the critique against problem gambling prevalence research.

<sup>292</sup> Binde 2014, 194.

<sup>293</sup> Kingma 2010, 5.

gamblers across local and national boundaries.<sup>294</sup> There is actually nothing new in the fact that casinos are tourist attractions, but the speed of this cultural phenomenon is unprecedented, as organized, legalized and commercial gambling is spreading throughout the whole world at the same time.<sup>295</sup> The collision and integration of local gambling and consumer cultures with the often global gambling operators and their aims is not always very smooth. The gambling industry's crusade to sell slots in Macau has not proven to be a successful one even though in Western casinos it is the slot machines that bring in about 70 per cent of the revenue. The lack of success of slot machines is due to cultural reasons: the Chinese gambling culture tends towards face-to-face and social gambling. You cannot always win by adopting a Las Vegasizing process.<sup>296</sup>

However, the lateness of (legal) casino gambling is a characteristic of both Finland and Sweden that both legalized gambling rather early in international comparison. Finland's so far only casino started in Helsinki in 1991, and four international-style casinos were opened in Sweden in 2001–2003. Both countries had offered casino table games (such as roulettes and black jack) previously, for example, in certain bars.<sup>297</sup> The lack of a casino meant that some gamblers chose to gamble illegally in gambling dens, and at least in Helsinki there was a lively scene with many gambling dens from the beginning of the 1950s to the end of the 1970s<sup>298</sup>. The history of the founding of casino dates back to the 1950s when RAY (the casino games were under RAY's operation) had been interested in establishing a casino because of the need to increase Finland's attractiveness as a holiday destination, but it had to give up the idea due to fierce opposition towards casinos. In an unofficial memorandum dating from 1968 by a tourist industry representative it was suggested that RAY could establish casinos in Finland so that Finland could be the first Nordic country to have legalized casino gambling. There was not much talk of the needs of Finnish citizens to gamble away in casino settings, the stress being on the foreign tourists.<sup>299</sup> The following year RAY introduced roulettes in the upscale restaurants and night clubs in mainland Finland. There is an analogy (once again) between the discourses and practises of gambling and alcohol policy. Finland hosted the Summer Olympics in 1952 and prior to the games there was a lively debate on the need to liberalize the serving of alcohol so that the Olympics tourists would feel at home although a majority of the tourists were expected to come from neighbouring Sweden where the rules for serving alcohol were even stricter than in Finland.<sup>300</sup>

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<sup>294</sup> McMillen 1996b, 281.

<sup>295</sup> Matilainen 2011, 91.

<sup>296</sup> Dow Schüll 2013, 95.

<sup>297</sup> At the moment of writing (2017) there is only one casino in Finland and it is situated in the city centre of Helsinki. See article II for the introduction of roulettes in Finland.

<sup>298</sup> Nykänen & Sjöberg 2005.

<sup>299</sup> Article II, 190; Ahonen 2017.

<sup>300</sup> Peltonen 2002, 90–94.

Ahonen points that there were two appointed committees in the 1960s and 1980s that reported on the possibilities of establishing a casino. Meanwhile, the roulettes and black jacks had become a natural part of the Finnish restaurant, bar and night club scene. Finally, a working group was set up in January 1990 with the mission to examine the possibilities of opening a casino and to draw a draft of the needed regulation. The results of the working group were the basis of the government's proposal in which the need for a casino was justified because the attitudes towards gambling had become more permissive, the demand for various leisure services had increased, and the casino revenues would amass to sum needed for common good causes. It was also stressed that the establishment of a casino would attract foreign tourists, curb illegal gambling, and the possible social harms caused by casino gambling would be minimal in a strictly controlled casino environment. The government's proposal was a bit of a legal conundrum as the criminal code forbade gambling (meaning playing with excessive bets and means in respect to one's means) but the criminal code was amended and gambling in excess to one's means became legal in the casino in Helsinki. The casino was opened in December 1991 and the maximum bets (and payoffs) were much bigger than in roulettes and black jacks placed in bars and restaurants. There is some evidence that the establishment of a legal casino did not totally eradicate illegal gambling or gambling dens, but it can be said that in comparison to many other countries gambling related criminality was rather well under control.<sup>301</sup>

What also makes the establishment of the casino in 1991 interesting is that there was a lively debate concerning the casino in the Finnish parliament. The debates regarding gambling have been rare in the history of the Finnish parliament perhaps indicating that gambling and organizing of gambling through monopolies for the benefit of the common good have been widely accepted and a matter where political consensus has been easy to reach. But, as Ahonen points out, there was a division in opinions between the left and the right and the religious members of the parliament in a situation when Finland was about to plunge into a severe economic depression and the funding of the Finnish welfare state was under threat resulting in the interest of many politicians towards the revenues aggregated by RAY. Leftist members of the parliament compared the legalization of casino gambling to the rise of the stock market capitalism that was one of the reasons for the severe banking crisis Finland had gotten itself into in the beginning of the 1990s. Religious members of the parliament were especially against card playing in the casino, as it might lead or be in combination with excessive alcohol consumption.<sup>302</sup>

Another important change in the Finnish gambling culture taking place in the 1990s was the introduction of legal sports betting by Veikkaus in 1993. Contrary to gambling cultures where sports betting has been the norm (the UK for example), prior to 1993 Finns could legally bet on racetracks where a totalizator was in use, but the only human sports Finns could bet on were the

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<sup>301</sup> Ahonen 2017 (manuscript).

<sup>302</sup> Ahonen 2017 (manuscript).

football pools once every week. It can be said that on the map of global sports betting Finland was a remote periphery even though some enthusiasts had placed their bets via mail or phone to foreign betting shops for decades. It was the personal networks that were essential in becoming a sports bettor before the 1990s, the first contact to betting facilitated often by a member of one's own family or by a friend. The sports betting was introduced in a very dire economic depression of the 1990s, when the Finnish state suffered from chronic budget deficits, the Cold War had ended and the economically very important trade to the Soviet Union had stopped. Under the circumstances the Finnish state wanted Veikkaus to increase its revenue and Veikkaus could launch new products into the market. Furthermore, it was feared that the increasing international connections of Finns in combination with technological advances (such as the introduction of the Internet) would make Finnish participation in foreign gambling easier than before. Veikkaus actually objected the expansion of gambling products but as a state-owned company had to give in to the state's demands. The introduction of sports betting can be seen as another sign of 'economic nationalism' or protectionist and/or mercantilist way of thinking that has labelled the Finnish gambling discourses and practices throughout my research period.<sup>303</sup> Or as geographers Matias Karekallas, Pauliina Raento and Taina Renkonen put it when discussing the changing boundaries of gambling:

*"This shows how the monopoly operator had to be increasingly sensitive to its customers' views in an environment where national boundaries were losing their significance and individual bettors could reach other markets from the privacy of their homes."*<sup>304</sup>

A historical change has taken place in the 2015 and 2016 as the revenue made by the sports betting games is bigger than Lotto's, which previously dominated the Finnish gambling culture and profits.<sup>305</sup>

According to my analysis, in addition to casino gambling the Internet poker is the other ideal-typical form of gambling of the risk *dispositif*. Anthropologist Jukka Jouhki explains how online poker almost accidentally turned into an exciting hobby of global extent around 2005 and has been depicted as a game of young men who want and need to pursue intense experiences. The image of online poker culture is has been flashy with its "big players moving big money to live in luxury or small players getting a little excitement to escape the everyday<sup>306</sup>". I argue that the online poker boom showed itself as a male prerogative resembling of the illegal card-playing gangs of the nineteenth and

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<sup>303</sup> Karekallas, Raento & Renkonen 2014, 34–35, 42; Myllymaa & Matilainen 2016, 471. See article I, 33–34 on "economic nationalism" when establishing the Finnish gambling monopolies.

<sup>304</sup> Karekallas, Raento & Renkonen 2014, 36.

<sup>305</sup> Helsingin Sanomat December 14, 2016.

<sup>306</sup> Jouhki 2011a.



twentieth centuries. What makes Internet poker especially interesting to study is how it is “characterized by its contradictory embodiment and rejection of the virtues of the Protestant work ethic<sup>307</sup>. Thus, it also attracts moral attention. The problematic status of online poker given to it in gambling studies has affected the way the media and the public have come to view the game although there are indications that there has been no pandemic online poker addiction problem in Finland. <sup>308</sup> Sociologist Jani Kinnunen stresses the variety of social rewards related to online gambling that might partly explain its success, as it is not only the game itself but also the discussion forums and other environments connected to the game that can be socially rewarding. Thus, it is acknowledged membership (and not money) that matters most.<sup>309</sup> Another interesting feature of online environment is the technical possibility to transform any entertainment game into gambling and players engage in playing against each other for cash. This means that boundaries between gambling and digital gaming are becoming increasingly blurred.<sup>310</sup>

What makes the online poker boom important from the regulation perspective is that Finland and RAY (following once again the example of Sweden) opened an Internet casino offering a range of slot machines, casino table games and online poker in November 2010.<sup>311</sup> Originally RAY dismissed Minister of Culture and Sport’s idea to launch a national Internet poker site by stating that such a launch would add to gambling problems. It has been estimated that there were circa 125,000 online poker players in Finland. The situation changed in 2009, when a working group that had worked on reforming gambling legislation proposed that RAY should offer Internet casino games. After that RAY applied for the right to run Internet gambling. Change in Finland did not happen as fast as in Sweden but the Finnish RAY was given much more territory in the Internet than the Swedish Svenska Spel. Furthermore, both in Finland and in Sweden the public health approach has been one of the main points of discussion in granting the gambling monopolies

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<sup>307</sup> Jouhki 2011b, 79.

<sup>308</sup> Jouhki 2011a; Jouhki 2011b, 79–80.

<sup>309</sup> Kinnunen 2011, 85–88.

<sup>310</sup> Kinnunen 2010b, 9–10.

<sup>311</sup> Swedish Svenska Spel started its online poker gambling in March 2006 being the first state owned online poker site in the world. In its application for the right to arrange online poker Svenska Spel reasoned that the purpose of the online poker would be to meet the increasing competition of foreign companies already organising Internet gambling and offering it to Swedes. Svenska Spel used a canalization argument when they expressed their idea that by taking over gamblers from foreign gambling sites problem gamblers would be better treated and controlled in a state-owned company that was not operating on short-term commercial objectives. The company also presented a gambling responsibility program that was said to diminish the risk of harmful gambling. The Swedish government ignored the assessments of the various institutions concerning the public health harms caused by the online poker but expressed hope that the licence would result in strengthening the protective interest of the Lottery Act and would thus be compatible with the EC law. See Cisneros Örberg & Tammi 2011, 117–119, for a detailed description of the Svenska Spel’s launch of its online poker site.

the right to run Internet poker, but the both governments made the decision not to listen to critical voices.<sup>312</sup>

## 4.2 GAMBLING ADDICTION AS A BY-PRODUCT OF THE RISK DISPOSITIF

Even though problem gambling or problem gamblers are not at the centre of my research, it would be scientifically ignorant to dismiss this distinct social phenomenon when analysing the Finnish risk *dispositif*. As the in-depth discussion concerning problem gambling or addictions is out of the scope of this research, I will only briefly refer to most relevant research dealing with addiction and problem gambling to make the Finnish risk *dispositif* more understandable.

There are many ways to define addiction. I argue that addiction can be understood “as a maladaptive means of emotion regulation” where “its long-term consequences almost always exceed its short-term benefits” and “the utility of consumption “now” with its immediate hedonic consequences outweighs the long-term costs for health and well-being that disappear out of sight”<sup>313</sup>. Furthermore, it is of utmost importance to understand addiction as a phenomenon anchored in a particular time and place meaning that addiction is socially and historically constructed although there are psychological and physiological factors in addiction. Sociologist Matilda Hellman has studied the presentation and construction of addiction in the Finnish mass media 1968–2008. She concludes that the significance of the addiction phenomenon both in culture and language use as well as in construing meaning has increased in the Finnish culture over the research period. Addiction as a concept is in demand nowadays. The inherent ambivalence of consumer society where “multiple self-choice world” can lead to such addictions as alcoholism or excessive gambling reflects the dilemma of “free choice” sliding into “no choice”<sup>314</sup>. When it comes to lifestyle risks sociologist Pekka Sulkunen talks of *the ethics of not taking a stand* which is a principle where lifestyle risks are attempted to be managed through persuasion rather than through law and the persuasion is disguised in rational and morally neutral arguments concerning health, well-being, and safety.<sup>315</sup>

It is obviously no co-incidence that the figure of a problem gambler or a pathological gambler has risen to dominate the Finnish public discussion concerning gambling especially in the 2000s and 2010s. I agree with Reith that discourses and practises related to problem gambling and problem

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<sup>312</sup> Cisneros Örnberg & Tammi 2011, 119–120.

<sup>313</sup> Uusitalo, Salmela & Nikkinen 2013, 45–46.

<sup>314</sup> Hellman 2010, 58, 60.

<sup>315</sup> Sulkunen 2009, 142.

gambling must be understood and researched in the widest context possible. Reith argues that the liberalization of gambling regulation and gambling markets expanding on a global scale have led to a situation where “discourses of pathology and irresponsibly” are needed to express the downside effects of consumption gone too excess and that “the ideology of the responsible sovereign consumer is the corollary of the deregulation of markets and the expansion of commercial industry”.<sup>316</sup> The figure of a problem gambler is constructed through various discursive formations (and I may add through various practises) that reflect tensions and contradictions of the consumer societies.<sup>317</sup> The problem within the problem gambling is that it undermines both the values of the production ethic and the values of the consumption ethic as “the endless repetition of dematerialized consumption” in the end “appears as the consumption of nothing at all”. Reith continues:

*“The possibility that individuals might choose to risk their money on something as insubstantial as the operation of chance seems a perversion of the very freedom of choice that liberal Western societies value so much and, as such, is expelled and classified as “other,” in a move that gives birth to the pathological gambler as a distinct historical subject.”<sup>318</sup>*

Cosgrave states that addiction (and in this case gambling addiction) has evolved into “a central discursive object, embedded in the field of gambling knowledge, contributing to the constitution of legalized gambling markets”<sup>319</sup>.

What do Finns then think of gambling problems? According to social psychologist Tanja Hirschovitz-Gertz, who has studied the common images of eight different addictions in the light of a Finnish population study conducted in 2007<sup>320</sup>, it was the functional addictions (problem gambling being one of them) that were considered the lightest form of addiction and spontaneous recovery from gambling problem was thought to be almost as easy as spontaneous recovery from Internet addiction. The personal characteristics of the problem gamblers were the main reason Finns deemed to prevent recovery from problem gambling. Furthermore, gambling problems were assessed to be the least important social problem. <sup>321</sup> The two latest prevalence surveys by THL tell a bit different story: 69 per cent of the interviewed regarded gambling problem as a serious problem in Finland, whereas the number was 45 per cent in 2015.<sup>322</sup>

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<sup>316</sup> Reith 2013, 733.

<sup>317</sup> Reith 2007, 33.

<sup>318</sup> Reith 2007, 51.

<sup>319</sup> Cosgrave 2010, 129.

<sup>320</sup> Addictions to alcohol, illicit drugs, prescription drugs, nicotine, gambling and internet were the targets of the study. See Hirschovitz-Gertz 2010, 7.

<sup>321</sup> Hirschovitz-Gertz 2010, 85.

<sup>322</sup> Salonen & Raisamo 2015, 13.

However, I claim that this is not the whole picture of the Finnish case, as in historical and international comparison the Finnish internal gambling regulation has been rather loose and especially the supply of slot machines in spaces of everyday life, such as grocery stores, kiosks and service stations, has been abundant even before the risk *dispositif* dawned in the 1990s. The rise of the figure (or as Reith puts it configuration) of the problem gambler and the public awareness of the problem gambling phenomenon could be more due to the pressures caused by the Finnish EU membership to the gambling monopolies and the accompanying changes in the Finnish gambling policy and the practices of the Finnish gambling monopolies. Sociologist Tuukka Tammi has shown how the “gambling problem” emerged rather rapidly as a social problem in Finland and how a control policy has been created to control this problem. The emergence of the “gambling problem” in Western Europe is mostly due to the EU’s internal market, which has created pressure against national gambling monopolies to maintain their monopolies. This has led to a situation where the stress and focus on the prevention of the problem gambling has been the leading reasoning for safeguarding the monopolies. Tammi also stresses (and I find it very plausible too) the significance and the increase in numbers of professions dealing with addictions in creating the Finnish gambling problem.<sup>323</sup>

A very important aspect of safeguarding the national monopoly and a big cultural change in the Finnish gambling cultures has been the implementation of the first universal age limit of 18 years on all forms of gambling, which came into effect as late as in 2011. Before the current Lotteries Act there were only age limits for casino games (18 years) and slot machines (15 years). Historically gambling age limits have received very little attention. As shown in the article IV, gambling has been considered a ritual of passage into adulthood and many parents have taught their children what and how to gamble.<sup>324</sup> The ubiquitousness of slot machines scattered in everyday consumption spaces combined with the age limit of fifteen years meant that practically all Finnish youth had experienced gambling before turning 18. According to a research made by THL based on two nationwide cross-sectional surveys conducted in 2011 and 2013, the six-month prevalence of slot machine use among 12–16-year-olds had declined from 44 per cent in 2011 to 13 per cent in 2013 thus strongly suggesting that raising the legal gambling age limit decreased the prevalence of underage gambling even in a context where the general availability of gambling products was not limited.<sup>325</sup> However, there are indications that the enforcement of legal age limits on the use of slot machines in retail outlets is very insufficient.<sup>326</sup>

Responsible gambling can be considered a form of self-regulation by the gambling industry. I regard it as part of the risk *dispositif*, where gambling

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<sup>323</sup> Tammi 2014, 83–84.

<sup>324</sup> Article IV, 442.

<sup>325</sup> Raisamo, Warpenius & Rimpelä 2015, 584, 588.

<sup>326</sup> Warpenius, Holmila & Raitasalo 2012, 385.

industry has become dependent on the concept of problem gambling and on the measures to prevent and fight it. Responsible gambling can be seen as a publicly announced sign of commitment to minimise risks related to gambling, and it is in an important role in the Finnish gambling policy, as the gambling monopolies have needed to show their dedication to preventing problem gambling to the EU. Sociologist Jani Selin points out that Finland offers an interesting case to study ‘responsible gambling’, as Finland has gone against the international trend and instead of a more liberal industry self-regulation gambling policy has shifted to more stringent state regulation in an effort to better prevent and reduce harms related to gambling after the Lotteries Act amendment in 2010. Furthermore, the Finnish gambling monopoly considers itself to belong to the most responsible gambling operators in the world. Therefore it is possible to investigate the relationship between self-regulation and regulation which is also connected to the political economy of gambling. The results of Selin’s research show that the shift from self-regulation to regulation has not been fully accomplished, as the gambling operators have been able to have an effect on the implementation of the gambling policy through self-regulation. Furthermore, the Finnish gambling companies have also other aims than contributing to reducing gambling-related harms with their responsible gambling programmes; the aim has been also to influence policy implementation. Selin argues that the Finnish operators have tried to “do less than the law requires with the tools developed for doing more” and reminds us that “responsible gambling is also a way of steering human conduct just as much as more traditional forms of regulation” and therefore researchers’ views of responsible gambling as “a reflexion of neoliberal ideology” are too simplistic.<sup>327</sup>

#### **4.3 INTERNET AND THE CHANGING FORMS AND TIME-SPATIAL ORGANIZATION OF GAMBLING**

As I have stated before, my research concentrates on legal gambling in the twentieth century that differs from gambling in the twenty-first century which in many ways was contained to material, territorial and conceptual limitations quite different from the online gambling environment of the twenty-first century.<sup>328</sup>

What makes Internet gambling truly revolutionary is the fact that it “breaks with the conventional time-spatial organisation of gambling”<sup>329</sup>. As sociologists Ghazaleh Gariban, Sytze F. Kingma and Natalia Zborowska point

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<sup>327</sup> Selin 2015, 199-200; 205–206.

<sup>328</sup> Cassidy, Pisac, & Loussouarn 2013, 4.

<sup>329</sup> Gariban Kingma & Zborowska 2013, 107.

out, Internet gambling represents a new mode of gambling which both weakens and challenges traditional modes of gambling consumption, operation and regulation. In comparison to conventional gambling regulation that has been all about municipal and national jurisdictions that are there to strictly define and regulate gambling opportunities, the Internet gambling has three basic features. Online gambling is flexible meaning that it is independent of time and space; it is virtual or representational and consists of “a technologically predefined gambling order based on algorithms and images”, and it is also “interfaced”, or mediated, that is, players have to activate and operate online casino with the use of electronic “play stations” in order to be able to participate and create meaningful gambling experiences.”<sup>330</sup> Geographer Martin Young argues that the mass production of gambling has been made possible by technological changes, which in turn have been successfully harnessed by the states and the gambling industry. New technologies have reconfigured the social relations of the gambling game itself by replacing labour with technology at the moment of exchange. Furthermore, traditional social distinctions between different types of gambling venues are being blurred as the sites where gambling is being consumed are converging and becoming similar to each other.<sup>331</sup>

What kind of consequences does Internet gambling then have for gambling regulation? Gambling regulation issues are in many ways linked to questions dealing with the relationship between a globalizing capitalist market economy and a territorial state system. Myllymaa claims that

*“The fact that the gambling operator can locate the business into an alternative home jurisdiction is a challenge for the customers’ home jurisdiction”, as this means that governments’ ability to tax and regulate the activity is substantially altered. But there are also opportunities for the governments: it is possible to embrace emerging cross-border online gambling industry. “Many jurisdictions have opted to become “hubs” for this industry, that is, host countries for the gambling operators.”<sup>332</sup>*

In the European Union, Malta is the best example of such a hub attracting gambling businesses.

But the collision of protectionist gambling policy and global economy can create opportunities also for old, ‘land-based’ gambling operators such as Finnish and Swedish gambling monopolies. The EU membership (both Finland and Sweden joined the EU in 1995) questioned the legality of Finnish and Swedish gambling monopolies. This questioning has had manifold consequences. Cisneros Örnberg and Tammi point out that Finland and Sweden decided to reform and fortify their gambling monopolies by increasing

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<sup>330</sup> Gariban, Kingma & Zborowska 2013, 107–108.

<sup>331</sup> Young 2010, 263–264.

<sup>332</sup> Myllymaa 2017, 28–29.

their focus on problem gambling and incorporated the problem aspect into their business models. It is in fact this incorporation that has made it possible to extend their businesses to cover also Internet gambling. Internet gambling has been introduced and marketed as socially safe and responsible option for the private and cross-border industry.<sup>333</sup> Binde agrees with them but argues that problem gambling is viewed mainly from an epidemiological perspective that has been used in policies concerning public health (especially alcohol matters) and well-being and that the Swedish National Institute of Public Health has been assigned the task of preventing and gathering knowledge about problem gambling.<sup>334</sup> The situation is similar in Finland, where the National Health Institute studies and prevents problem gambling. However, Selin has concluded that the gambling harm perspective in the Finnish gambling policy is far less developed in Finland than the alcohol and tobacco policies are. The significance of the gambling harm perspective is however increasing.<sup>335</sup>

When it comes to the utilization of the technological possibilities the Internet offers Finnish gambling monopolies have been the cutting edge even globally. A very important technological achievement was experienced in 1990, when Veikkaus launched an online system changing the rhythm of gambling and routines of gamblers. Online gambling developed early. Veikkaus launched its internet gambling site in 1997 being the first national gambling company in the world to do so. The site became very popular and especially the popularity of sports betting and Keno (launched in 2002) supported the expansion of Internet gambling. Furthermore, Veikkaus has also been an international pioneer in developing certain betting products such as Live Betting, which was introduced in 2004. Raento points out that the system took part in the temporal and territorial gate-keeping of gambling in Finland, as registration of all gamblers is required, the service is only meant for adult residents of Finland and the service closes for the night.<sup>336</sup>

The ambivalent relationship of the Finnish state and the gambling monopolies towards the Åland's Penningautomatföreningen (PAF) highlights the changing spatial and temporal organisation of gambling with special regard to passenger ships and ferries travelling from Finland to Sweden and Estonia and to the EU regulation.<sup>337</sup> The Åland islands is an autonomous Swedish-speaking archipelagic region of Finland at the southwest coast of mainland Finland. PAF has been given an operating license by the government of Åland and its revenue go to financing of 'good causes' in Åland. PAF has permission to operate gambling in the Åland islands. Furthermore, every ship that has Åland (or its capital Mariehamn) as a homeport is obligated to have

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<sup>333</sup> Cisneros Örnberg & Tammi 2011, 121. See 4.2 in this summary.

<sup>334</sup> Binde 2014, 195.

<sup>335</sup> Selin 2016, 81–83.

<sup>336</sup> Raento 2011, 69–70, and Karekallas, Raento & Renkonen 2014, 29.

<sup>337</sup> See article II for a discussion of importance of passenger ship travelling in the Finnish gambling history.

PAF's gambling machines on-board. Thus PAF can offer gambling games onboard while the ships are on international waters. This has led to many questions concerning the sovereignty and jurisdiction of gambling on board ships that are on territorial waters. As PAF recognized that there were limits to gambling expansion onboard its focus shifted to Internet gambling, and it launched its online site in 1999.<sup>338</sup> It was PAF's online operations and the marketing of PAF's online gambling site that quickly inflamed the relations between PAF and the Finnish mainland government officials and Åland. PAF has never been authorized to run gambling in mainland Finland but even so it launched its mainland Finland-facing site in 2000 and also an extensive marketing campaign. This led to a complicated law battle, which ended up in the Finnish Supreme Court that decided that PAF's active marketing in mainland Finland was incriminating and PAF ceased its marketing. Despite of the Supreme Court's decision mainland Finns can still register on PAF's Internet site, transfer money and gamble on PAF's online sites. The Supreme Court's decision was convoluted and there is still to this day uncertainty towards the legality of PAF's operation, as PAF is saying that it is operating legally as long as it does not engage in active marketing in mainland Finland, whereas certain Finnish officials are of the opinion that PAF's operations are in breach of the Finnish Lotteries Act. Åland can be considered an offshore jurisdiction competing over cross-border gambling revenue.<sup>339</sup>

#### **4.4 FINNISH GAMBLING AND THE RISK DISPOSITIF**

I argue that the third Finnish *dispositif* can be called a risk *dispositif*. What makes this *dispositif* particularly interesting from the point of view of a scholar of gambling history is that this is the *dispositif* we are now living, experiencing and creating with our own discourses and practices related to gambling. This research can also be considered part of the risk *dispositif*, as an increased scientific enquiry towards gambling is an essential part of the *dispositif*. What also needs to be understood is that the borders between the common good *dispositif* and the risk *dispositif* are more fluid than the borders between the prohibition *dispositif* and the common good *dispositif* meaning that many discourses and practices of the common good *dispositif* still resonate in the risk *dispositif*.

The risk *dispositif* dawned in the 1990s as Finland was plunged in to a severe economic depression, the technological advancements enabled new

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<sup>338</sup> According to PAF's own estimates, PAF has a global market share of approximately one percent of all online gambling. See Myllymaa 2017, 190 citing Pettersson 2016, 49–57.

<sup>339</sup> Myllymaa 2017, 18–194. See Myllymaa 2017, 189–194, and Raento 2011, 72–75, for detailed descriptions of the PAF controversy.



changes in the spatial and temporal organization of gambling and the EU membership questioned the legality of Finnish gambling monopolies. What makes the Finnish case interesting is that gambling had been almost completely tamed during the common good *dispositif*. Paradoxically Finland has had a protectionist gambling monopoly system that has been reactive in its responses to international changes in gambling policies and gambling technologies, but at the same time the internal Finnish gambling regulation has been very permissive in international comparison. It was only the Finnish EU membership in 1995 and especially the EU Commission's infringement proceedings in 2006 that put the pressure on the Finnish government and the Finnish gambling monopolies to tighten the internal regulation, which happened when the Lotteries Act was amended in 2010 and 2011.<sup>340</sup>

The moral meaning of gambling gradually changed from every citizen's duty to fund the Finnish welfare society by gambling to a discourse where gambling was understood both as entertainment and a possible addiction in need of scientific and healthcare intervention. At the same time, destination of returns is the state and the operations of a welfare state. Rationale for regulation is that gambling is considered part of the risk and consumer society, but at the same time it also has a significant role in financing tasks related to welfare society. Gambling and the gamblers are nowadays controlled by the EU and its legal norms. Social values continue to be important controllers as well. What is new in the Finnish case is the extent to which scientific research and healthcare control the gambler, as gamblers are believed to be at risk developing gambling problems and therefore in need of guidance and governance. Ideal typical state of the risk *dispositif* is the risk society, but the welfare state ideology still resonates in the Finnish case.

When it comes to the class and age of gamblers there are traces of 'old' discourses and practices concerning the vulnerability of underage gamblers, but for the most part the implementation of the first universal gambling age limit in 2010 and 2011 was due to the pressure from the EU. Furthermore, there are also signals of negative attitude towards problem gamblers receiving social assistance and them possibly spending it on gambling<sup>341</sup>. This discourse is similar with the old moralistic discourse of poor people (or working-class people) spending their time and money on idle gambling. Speaking of gender, I argue that at least in the Finnish gambling advertising women are seen as a special target group, as they do not gamble as much as men, and there are special gambling games such as Internet lottery tickets that are gendered to attract women. However, the Internet poker boom of the late 2000s and early 2010s was heavily dominated by (young) men in the Finnish media. It could be said that the online poker was masculinized.

Online poker and sports betting are the ideal-typical forms of gambling games of the risk *dispositif*. They are both tokens of new forms of commercialized gambling and reflect the new risk making and risk taking

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<sup>340</sup> Myllymaa & Matilainen 2016, 475.

<sup>341</sup> Heiskanen & Egerer 2017.

preferences of both the gambling organizations and the gamblers themselves. When it comes to the ideal-typical gambling spaces the Finnish gambling still mostly takes place in ordinary and everyday consumption spaces such as grocery stores or service stations with slot machines, locations for play slip entries, and TV screens for watching trotting broadcasts, but new, even flashy, gambling spaces such as the casino in Helsinki or casino games arcades as well as the Internet online gambling sites have diversified and perhaps also contributed to a certain decommunalization of the experience of gambling.

Gambling continues to be public, organized and regulated but there is also a domestication of gambling meaning that gambling is more and more taking place at home. The time-spatial re-organization of gambling has meant that gambling routines once firmly anchored in a particular time and place are now more flexible. The community aspect of gambling may have suffered due the time-spatial changes, but at the same time online gambling can offer new social rewards and new gambling peer groups. It will be interesting to see what changes the merger of three Finnish gambling monopolies into one gambling company called Veikkaus will bring about in the Finnish gambling regulation and in Finnish gambling cultures.

Gambling is a ubiquitous phenomenon in Finland both offline and online.

## 5 CONCLUSION

### 5.1 PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION OF RECREATIONAL GAMBLING IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY FINLAND

The idea of this conclusion is to raise some key concerns that have wider implications both for my thesis' research questions and for the international gambling studies. Thus rather than to give an all-encompassing overview of the study at hand I will focus on four central themes that I have to some extent addressed in this research and which I feel need more academic interest and enquiry in future.

First, I started by asking what has been the cultural, social, and historical place of a phenomenon understood as gambling in a certain time-spatial context (in this case the Finnish society in the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries) and how gambling and discourses and practices related to it have become to what they are and how they are experienced today. To answer these questions I have made use of Michel Foucault's concept of *dispositif* and analysed the history of Finnish gambling through three *dispositifs* (the prohibition *dispositif*, the common good *dispositif*, and the risk *dispositif*) which I regard as solutions to 'problem' of gambling that are contingent upon the socio-temporal circumstances of the Finnish society. As a social historian I find myself always interested in the temporality of matters and putting focus on the change. However, in addition to change, stability of discourses, practices, and *dispositifs* needs to be taken into consideration and remember that many discourses and practices ideal-typical of the common good *dispositif* or even the prohibition *dispositif* still resonate in our risk *dispositif* that we are experiencing, living and creating at the moment. I have kept in mind that ideas about gambling have a tendency to stabilise and become naturalized effacing the complex historical processes that have led to certain discourses and practises prevailing over others<sup>342</sup>. This is especially true in a society like Finland where gambling has been tamed successfully and where gambling is a ubiquitous everyday matter.

I have strived to understand gambling as a cultural and social phenomenon that is firmly anchored in certain time and place. Gambling *dispositifs* vary greatly in different societies and different contexts, depending on the organization, social meanings and moralities of gambling. Marionneau has pointed that gambling's cultural and institutional contexts influence how

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<sup>342</sup> Cassidy, Pisac, & Loussouarn 2013, 3.

gambling is understood and discussed, which gambling games are favoured, which forms of gambling provision are accepted, how excessive gambling is conceptualized and what justifications both legislators and gamblers use to entitle their actions<sup>343</sup>. I might add that technological changes and innovations also have a profound influence on gambling *dispositifs* as they change the gambling practices and make possible new forms of gambling. Thus both the production and consumption of gambling are dependent on the cultural and institutional contexts.

Second, I have showed that gambling was legalized early in Finland in international comparison in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s. Especially in contrast to many Western European countries and other Nordic countries lotto was introduced even decades earlier in a situation when the Finnish society was undergoing a rapid structural change that shook the citizens and paved the way for new lifestyles in a consumerist society in the beginning of the 1970s. Lotto has become the most socially and morally acceptable gambling product that sometimes is not considered gambling at all. Another characteristic feature of the Finnish gambling culture is the abundance of slot machines in everyday consumption spaces starting from the 1970s which has meant that Finns have had experience of ubiquitous gambling earlier than other western residents and before the era of Internet gambling.

On top of that the all but absence of legal gambling age limits, the voluminous gambling advertising and the most unique role of the Finnish state as a promoter of gambling have tamed gambling in a way that I dare to argue is without parallel in the Western world. Cosgrave has pondered why gambling has not been (re)presented as a possible social commitment since gambling has lately been culturally destigmatized and it is used for generating revenue for the state<sup>344</sup>. This study has shown that gambling in Finland has been presented as a social commitment and it has been associated with good citizenship, membership in community, and willingness to participate in society also by the gamblers themselves. All in all, I argue that the Finnish case does not entirely fit the grand liberalization narrative of the Anglophonic world<sup>345</sup> where gambling's de-stigmatization, deregulation and introduction of

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<sup>343</sup> Marionneau 2015, 89.

<sup>344</sup> Cosgrave 2009, 57.

<sup>345</sup> See for example Young 2010, 261–262: “To understand the state’s involvement in gambling, we need to first understand the pressures to which it has been subject over the past several decades, the threats and risks that have emerged, as well as the natures of its response to those risks. A previous social concern with the distribution of ‘goods’ has given way to a concern with the minimization of ‘bads’. In short, rather than eliminating scarcity, the risk society is concerned with the reflexive elimination of the risks introduced by modernization itself. As a consequence, individuals increasingly organize themselves around risk ‘positions’ in an attempt to minimize their respective exposures, an orientation that produced new forms of social and political formations. Consumers are forced to self-organize to manage risk, and this risk management, rather than class struggle, becomes the central axiom of modernity. The state itself has been forced to reorganize along principles of risk management. The state itself is consequently subject to the uncertainties of contemporary capitalism (Beck’s industrialization), a global alea that it is ill-equipped to bear. The subordination of the planner state to the forces of globalization (i.e. abstract power of money and law) has meant that both

grand-scale lotteries is tied to the idea of neo-liberalist state in need of more revenues starting from the 1980s. Taming of gambling and internal de-regulation of gambling took place much earlier in Finland. When it comes to the classical division of understanding the change in the perceptions concerning gambling ‘from sin to vice to disease’ I am ready to argue that the perception of public, regulated and organized gambling as a vice was a rather brief period in Finland as already in the common good *dispositif* gambling was successfully tamed.

What makes Finland yet again different from many other countries is that Finland can be considered ‘a walled garden’ in gambling regulation meaning that Finnish gambling monopolies (and currently the one and only monopoly) have operated within circumstances that lawyer George Häberling has named as ‘a walled garden’. Its characteristics are the protection of domestic monopoly from foreign competition at the same time as the monopoly is allowed to operate on a strictly commercial basis and not hindered by overregulation (in the Finnish case the age limits or restrictions on gambling advertising).<sup>346</sup> What is interesting also from the taming of gambling perspective is the new 18 year age limit on all forms of gambling which is a big change in the Finnish gambling culture and in contradiction to permissive earlier internal gambling regulation.

The successful taming of gambling can be seen in the wide acceptance and participation of gambling which is evident in various population studies. Marionneau has done comparative research on Finnish and French gambling cultures and notes that French recreational gamblers have a tendency to mistrust their national gambling institutions, whereas the Finnish interviewees regard the organization of gambling through national monopolies as a good thing and favour the prevailing gambling system in comparison to the private market or to other countries’ policies. What the Finnish interviewees were concerned over was the wide accessibility of slot machines but despite their concern they trusted that the government would be capable to take care of the issue.<sup>347</sup> But to break this harmonious picture of all Finns gambling happily and cozily away under the state’s protection there has obviously been and there still is also private, self-organized and unregulated higher-risk gambling which in previous research has been seen as active form of resistance to prevailing norms.

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levels of social welfare and access to employment have become increasingly aleatory. In this way social security risks are transferred from the state to the citizen – the citizen is no longer subject to state insurance but to the chance or alea of the global market. The key point is that the state has changed the form of its intervention accordingly, from an agônistic to an aleatory interventionist mode (Neary and Taylor, 2006). It is these new mechanisms that Neary and Taylor (2006) describe as the ‘law of the lottery’, a situation where the state no longer has the policy control to maintain aggregate levels of employment, resulting in the impacts of unemployment becoming a matter of chance.”

<sup>346</sup> Myllymaa 2017, 125, footnote 73 citing Häberling 2012, 294.

<sup>347</sup> Pöysti 2014, 18.

Third, returning to Finland and to Finnish gambling *dispositifs* I cannot help but to wonder what the merger of three gambling monopolies into one state-owned company Veikkaus in the beginning of 2017 will bring about. What kind of consequences will the merger have for Finnish gambling culture and is this kind of institutional regulation change enough to engender a new gambling *dispositif*? Marionneau notes that the institutional arrangements for gambling influence how gambling is experienced by consumers whereas it is the cultural understandings that influence the underlying perceptions of gambling.<sup>348</sup> My first impression is that there has been surprisingly little media discussion concerning the new gambling company, its societal importance or its economic prospective yield. Perhaps this could be a sign of political and societal consensus regarding gambling in Finland that has been historically the case.

However, the credibility of the Finnish national jurisdiction has been lately increasingly questioned by both the bettors and foreign online gambling operators. It is the economic importance of the gambling monopoly for the Finnish society and to good causes that brings together regulators, operator, and harm preventers such as officials and NGOs to defend the monopoly although they quite often have conflicting perspectives.<sup>349</sup> What would happen if this unity for some reason failed and the current gambling *dispositif* lost its legitimacy? Could the unity fail because of increasing income differences and differences in people's lived experiences in a country with historically small income differences? Or could it be that the Swedish example of political discussion concerning the dismantling of the gambling monopoly system and switching to a licence system could pave the way for yet another change as has happened so many times in the past?<sup>350</sup> Will then the legitimacy of Finnish gambling generating revenue for the common good causes crumble and political consensus concerning the importance of safeguarding the gambling monopoly change as well? Would this lead the Finnish state and Veikkaus losing the national gambling monopoly and Veikkaus becoming just another operator of gambling games to Finns together with licenced foreign operators? Or could it be that the new *dispositif* could be generated by profound technological innovations such as various applications of virtual reality that would change gambling in ways it is yet not possible to foresee? Will there be some kind of backlash against online gambling and gamblers wanting to return to brick and mortar gambling for more face-to-face contacts or will the generational differences in the choice of gambling games and modes of gambling increase in the future? I dare to argue that there is no return to the nostalgic era of the Finns gathering around television on a Saturday night to watch the televised Lotto draw after the sauna that I can remember from my own childhood in the 1980s. It seems clear that such shared ritualistic gambling experiences are now longer possible at the same extent.

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<sup>348</sup> Pöysti 2014, 18.

<sup>349</sup> Karekallas, Raento & Renkonen 2014, 45.

<sup>350</sup> Aftonbladet March 31, 2017.

Fourth: What should be done in the international gambling studies and in Finnish gambling studies in future? I have earlier called for new (methodological) openings such as ethnographical research that would be useful in doing research e.g. in the collision and integration of local and global gambling cultures. I have also stressed the importance of research done in the digital gaming studies as borders between gaming and gambling have become increasingly blurred on the Internet and in the social media. The idea would be to move the focus away from the individual behaviour and start to analyze the social and cultural structures of different communities may that be online or offline.<sup>351</sup> As I have always been an advocate of research that pays attention to gender and class I suggest that the concept of intersectionality would offer interesting new insights to international gambling studies. I consider intersectionality to be a theoretical framework which helps to analyze how people are divided into political, social and economic classes depending on their gender, class position, age, residence, ethnicity, sexual orientation etc. in a certain place at a certain time. The idea is to understand the variety of privileges and/or forms of oppression that one as an individual or a group of people may experience simultaneously at any given time.<sup>352</sup>

Coming back to Finnish gambling studies, not much research has been done on the gambling by minorities such as immigrants of various backgrounds, the Sami people or the Roma. I argue that especially here the concept of intersectionality could show its potentiality. Furthermore, the Finnish historically oriented gambling studies is lacking research on illegal and criminal gambling. This research would be needed in order to understand the long-standing discourses of resentment towards playing cards for money and to understand the Finnish cultural and social conceptualizations of excessive gambling. I would also warmly welcome research dealing with the historically fine lines between gambling, speculation, and finance that to my knowledge has not been done in Finland. But paradoxically enough what I feel would be most beneficial to the Finnish gambling studies would be to study people who do not want to take part in the national pastime that is gambling for various reasons. Doing research on people who do not gamble might reveal who has been excluded from the Finnish gambling culture although I have argued that taming and inclusion have been almost complete. I suspect that many non-gamblers might express religious motives or total lack of interest as their reasons for choosing not the gamble but there might be come structural factors as well that researchers have not come to think about.

After years spent on researching gambling I can honestly say that I could not have found a better and a more interesting research subject since gambling as a phenomenon encompasses so many fields and highlights questions concerning class, gender, societal equality, status, respect and also disrespect for both social norms and values, and money. Discourses and practices related to gambling never cease to amaze me as a researcher. Kingma has

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<sup>351</sup> Matilainen 2011, 91; Raento 2011, 76–77.

<sup>352</sup> See Pellander 2016, 41–46, on intersectionality.

*Conclusion*

encapsulated the diversity of gambling well in a quote that is one of my absolute favourites:

*“[Gambling] is a trade in illusions. Money is almost instantly turned into fun, identity, status, hope (and profit to the operators).”<sup>353</sup>*

I could not agree more after having grown up and being a member of a culture and society where gambling is ubiquitous and where gambling’s symbolic value continues to be enormous.

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<sup>353</sup> Kingma 1996, 219.



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## APPENDIX 1.

Table 1. Sytze Kingma's three models of Dutch gambling regulation

|                                   | <b>Prohibition model</b>                              | <b>Alibi model</b>  | <b>Risk model</b>  |
|-----------------------------------|---|---|--|
| <b>Time frame</b>                 | Until 1950s   | 1950s–1980s   | 1990s onwards  |
| <b>Moral meaning of gambling</b>  | It is a sin   | It is a vice  | It is entertainment  |
| <b>Political strategy</b>         | Conflict  | Compromise  | Consensus  |
| <b>Rationale for gambling law</b> | Gambling is considered dysfunctional for social order | Gambling can be valued as a social activity, and legalization can be important for countering illegal markets | Gambling markets are economically important                  |
| <b>Destination of returns</b>     | Returns, if any, only go to the treasury              | Good causes   | Private profit is also allowed                               |
| <b>Central concern</b>            | Fighting the exploitation of gambling                 | Criminal involvement in gambling enterprises  | External effects like gambling excesses and problem gambling |
| <b>Exploitation</b>               | Illegal enterprises                                   | Monopolies  | High-risk organizations                                      |
| <b>Controlling institutions</b>   | Policing  | Legal norms and social values   | Scientific research and health care                          |
| <b>Ideal typical state</b>        | The nation state                                      | The welfare state   | The risk society   |

Source: Kingma 2008, 448; derived from Kingma 2002.<sup>354</sup>

<sup>354</sup> See Kingma 2008, 446–447, for a precise description and analysis of Kingma's three models.