Changes in Beer Labels and their Meaning

A Holistic Approach to the Semiosic Process

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Dedicated to Mummi,
Armi Sulamit Seppola
s. Ojala
** 27.3.1913*
† 19.4.2007

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Signs and the meaning creation process have puzzled me all through my studies. It might be said that signs grew to be an obsession for me. Especially the problem of expressing oneself through writing – so often it is easier to draw models, pictures, graphs. The expressing and with it the meaning-creating process problems amounted to the fact that I ended up achieving a Master's degree in aesthetics, the subject being advertising seen from a semiotic perspective. From that time onwards I owe deep gratitude to the immense patience that professors Arto Haapala, Pauline von Bonsdorff and Eero Tarasti have had on my journey from Master's thesis to this dissertation. Especially, I must thank my supervisor Arto Haapala for being able to support my fragmented approaches that were frequently interrupted by work life. Without his support and belief in this project, I doubt the thesis would ever have been completed. I want to express many thanks to Eero Tarasti for taking my ideas seriously and for introducing me into academic life and to many scholars of genius. Special thanks go to Eila Tarasti for arranging the visits to Mikkeli which allowed for such warm and memorable moments.

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Note concerning earlier publications

Some chapters and sections in this book have been published in earlier versions or are forthcoming. These publications are found in the book as follows Chapter I: Bauters, M. (2007 forthcoming). "Multiple determination and association: Peirce's model of mediation applied to visual signs". In E. Tarasti (ed.), *Acta Semiotica Fennica*, *XXIV*, Helsinki, Imatra: International Semiotics Institute; Chapter II and Chapter V *Towards further abstraction in the meaning of the signs*: Bauters, M. (2006). "Semiosis of (target) groups: Peirce, Mead and the subject". *Subject Matters* 2(2): 73–102; Chapter III: Bauters M. (2007 forthcoming). "Mediation seen through the sensory eye: An alternative to the 'old' and 'new' media paradigm". *International Journal of Applied Semiotics* and Chapter V "*'Global'/general (Western) beer signs: The case of Italy and Finland*: Bauters, M. (2006a). "'Global'/general (Western) beer signs: The case of Italy and Finland". In Martinelli Dario and Navickaite Lina (eds.), *Finland – Italy: a few comparisons*, (1–17). Helsinki: Umweb.

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Introduction

1. Background

Our environment is permeated with visual artefacts, and this has been discussed greatly in the media in recent years. Media literacy, especially the literacy and education of visual artefacts, is one of the questions that have been raised.

However, the main issues have remained quite unchanged, namely, how to support critical analysis of visual representations and how the interpretation of a given sign structure occurs. Bluntly phrased, topics have been specific or static snapshots of categorising sign systems and structures. Therefore, I see that there is a need for studying the dynamic and processual nature of signs, interpretation and embodiment. A holistic approach into the issue is needed to enable a broader view of the field of visual artefacts and meaning-creation deriving from the signs of visual artefacts. I propose that an interdisciplinary approach be employed. Therefore my intention is to study signs and the interpretation process from a holistic point of view, taking into account the relation of the interpreter and the environment (context), the history of the signs and context as well as the function and role of emotions in the process.

The interpretation of signs and especially the structure of signs have been studied extensively. These issues have been tackled in philosophy, aesthetics, the history of art and semiotics. Furthermore, many theories and methods have already been created for analysing and describing visual elements, some of which are well-known in many disciplines, such as Erwin Panofsky's

(1993) Iconological-Iconographical theory of art. Panofsky's focus was on the interpretation of different artworks. He divided the interpretation process into the descriptive level, the iconographical level, and the iconological level. The first level contains the objects, colours and positions found in the work (descriptive level). According to his perspective, the themes of the images can only be understood by taking into consideration the moments of history at which these elements occurred and where the elements point. The iconography stage concerns allegories, stories, and used images in a painting. These are thus joined in the iconological stage with norms, symbolical values and ideology of the historical period in question, including intentions and the artist's personal view. The challenge of the semantic dimension and also finding the significant smallest components in visual signs/elements (text) to be analysed or of sketching a model, structure or system of the visual signs has persisted to be the one of the main concerns.

Semiotic methods and theories such as Ferdinand Saussure's *Course in General Linguistics* (1990), Roland Barthes's *Image, Music, Text* (1977), *The Fashion System* (1983) and *Mythologies* (2000), and Algirdas Greimas (1987) on general semiotic theory have been employed, modified and adapted to meet the challenges of analysis and descriptions. Often the adapted methods have been used to find sign structures and systems, but have been also used to reveal the underlying or deeper meaning of myths represented by the visual signs. The methods range from distinguishing paradigmatic and syntagmatic structures starting from the description of signified and signifier as well as denotation and connotation. Greimas' narrative and structural semiotics, such as the semiotic square have been employed to discover the contrary pairs of concepts of the topics under analysis for grasping the attitudes and values connected to that topic or event. Especially in applied semiotics the semiotic square has been popular. For example, Jean-Marie Floch in *Visual Identities* (2000) and *Semiotics, Marketing and Communication* (2001) used marketing research data to formulate the possible significations and abstract conceptual planes of the elements of artefacts; in other words, the world-view, lifestyle and values people associate with the concepts found in the elements. These were analysed by means of the semiotic square (by the binary oppositions). For Floch the semiotic square is interesting in its ability to organise a conceptual

universe coherently although it is not recognised as rational.[1] In the Barthesian manner the describing of the effects and usage of myths or describing of the myth and its associations using the idea of connotation/signification chains has been one of the bases for Jonathan Bignell (2002) and Marcel Danesi (2002) in their analysis and description of media semiotics.

Umberto Eco's (1977 and 1985) semiotic communication theory and his study on language of images are mentioned frequently.[2] Eco follows the line of thought that visual elements are not analysable into signs, but are rather schemata. As such, the structural units in a picture can be determined only with reference to their context or to the pictorial context. Another subject matter for Eco as well as for Barthes has been the relation of image and text where the text directs the viewer/reader to interpret the images more in one way than another. One of the main questions has been the possible analogy between language and images. Another topic of interest that is often referred to is the signification chain or "unlimited semiosis". However, Eco also sees a possibility in double connotations in sign functions in stable social conventions. The double connotations in sign functions have further been employed by Ron Beasley and Marcel Danesi's (2002) notion of different interpretations that derive from advertising. Their focus is on analysing advertisements and revealing the myths behind the surface meaning of advertisements. It seems, though, that the signification or connotation chains are based on the idea of *linear* connotations or association building on top of each other and thus carrying the interpretation and understanding to further levels lacking the possibility to take into account the changes in the context and the embodied

1 Floch's analysis ranges from describing the values connected to different types of (pocket) knives to an actual case of designing and planning a hypermarket using for example the Greimasian semiotic square. Floch's approaches can be seen to also follow Andrea Semprini's (1996) theory on how to analyse images, media and consumption from a communicative and semiotic perspective.

2 I have deliberately left out authors discussing aesthetics, architecture, photography, film and other somewhat related topics to draw the line at the given highlights of those persons discussing visual elements. Thus, for example Eco's various definitions of codes, one of which is the aesthetic code, will not be highlighted here; likewise so many other important contributions from Eco.

nature of interpretations, which might promote multiple signification chains for one person.

Different theories on visual perception, art and ideology have been issued by many. Such are, for example, Ernst H. Gombrich's (1972, 1977 and 1981), Rudolf Arnheim's (1974) and Thomas W. J. Mitchell's (1987 and 1994).

Gombrich has studied extensively pictorial illusions and is sometimes referred to as the bridge between iconicity and semiotic emphasis. For Gombrich it is more a question of learning and convention. Some of the conventions are so easy to acquire that they are hardly seen as such, while others may pose a more difficult problem to the individual. Gombrich finds it difficult to accept the notion of absolute difference between meanings that exist "by nature" and others that are learned. Rather for him, it is about a hierarchy of responses, some of which are more easily triggered while others must be conditioned to discovering. In other words, it is schemata that mediate interpretation but also perceiving. Arnheim's theory serves to explain the very basic concepts of perception that are guided by Gestalt psychology rules; meaning, for example, that all shapes are forms of some content. It implies that it is not possible to find the smallest significant element since these form within the content. Arnheim would partially agree with Gombrich's constructivist view by affirming that reality is ambiguous, and must be supplemented by the beholder's share. However, in Arnheim's view the perceived organisation would be the result of the Gestalt laws that the human mind holds. The configurations are immediately given, whereas the supposed basic sensations must be abstracted from the whole.

In his *Picture Theory*, Mitchell (1994) strives to unfold the division and difference between image and text. He sees the starting point for the investigation of images in the discourse on iconicity. He has also proposed a typology of images. According to Mitchell, semiotics, linguistics, and discourse analysis have not been able to bring a solution to the understanding of images, but they have been able to create a terminological economy for metalanguage in the search for the understanding of representation and the differences/similarities between image and text (Mitchell 1994: 417–21). Although Mitchell mentions Peirce several times in connection with the pragmatist tradition in the United States, he does not bring up the possibility that Peirce's semiotic could offer a potential answer to the questions of perception or to the relations

of image and text. Mitchell claimed that while semiotics is not able to provide a better solution to the problem of representation, it contributes to the clearing and unifying of the concepts used in the discussion of representation and iconicity.[3]

From the aspect of pictorial semiotics Göran Sonesson (1989) has pondered the number of different models that have been used in the semiotic analysis of pictorial signs; for example, narrative models that Sonesson excludes from the analysis of pictures and photographs. Other models Sonesson discusses are, for instance, the rhetorical model, including the taxonomic and systematic variants of it. The Belgian Groupe µ (1992) has continued on structural semantic rhetorical lines. Groupe µ distinguishes substance and form in iconical signs. From this basis Groupe µ has created a system of different features that pictorial/iconical signs have. The aim has been to discover a zero degree of painting from which the aesthetic and stylistic features could be determined using rhetorical operations such as addition, omission or permutation. Sonesson has, however, developed the system further including Gestalt theory and Gibsonian psychology, which Sonesson sees to stand a much better chance than Gestalt theory. However, Sonesson's concern is still to find the parts or features in pictorial signs that enable a systematic analysis of the pictorial signs. His theoretical pondering is directed to the discourse on iconicity and perceiving.

Important contributions also come in the form of overviews of the field of semiotic analysis and in the form of applied semiotics. For example, David Mick et al. (2004) have given an overview of the semiotic-based research approaches to marketing and field of consumer studies. David Mick et al. also emphasised the lack of taking into account the processual nature of analysed events and the reductionist use of the concept of icon, index and symbol. An impressive collection of essays is the *Semiotics of the Media: State of the Art, Projects, and Perspectives* edited by Winfried Nöth (1997). The essays in this collection cover approaches from aesthetics to interactive media. However,

3 See also Norman Bryson on analysing paintings. Bryson suggests the Saussurean structuralist view, however in an extended form. He sketches a model of a development combining the historical perspective with the demand from "outside" – both affect the recognition of the painting.

being essays, they concentrate on specific aspects and thus lack the ability to tackle a more holistic view of the topics.

Approaches to advertising and mass communication are also worth mentioning since they have given a basis for many later analyses on the potential ways advertising could be analysed and interpreted. Still, the approaches are often concentrated on discovering the deep meanings that are under the surface elements and layout. Such approaches have been taken by Gillian Dyer (1982) in the field of mass communication. The basic idea is the process of message exchange and rhetorical figures in the visual images of advertising. Judith Williamson (1988) studied the ideological systems in advertising which are based on text analysis following Saussure but also hold flavours of Marxist interpretations. Torden Vestergaard and Kim Schrøder (1985) study advertising as communication following Jakobson's model of functions in communication, but also the Greimasian text semiotics and narrative constellations in advertisements, as well as use Peirce's concepts of icon, index and symbol for division of signs. A variety of approaches to marketing and consumption[4] can be found in the collection of essays from the conference and workshop on semiotics and marketing *Marketing and Semiotics: New Directions in the Study of Signs for Sale* edited by Jean Umiker-Sebeok (1987). The essays range from product consumption and design[5], to marketing aesthetics and the marketing of performance.[6] One of the focuses has been to

4 Martial Pasquier (1995) has been investigating structural market segmentation and product/service positioning; Ronald D. Michman, Edward M. Mazze, and A. Greco (2003) have been writing about lifestyle market segmentation (Ronald D. Michman and Edward M. Mazze (2001); Greco, A. (2000)). I am grateful to Kristian Bankov for pointing out to me much of the consumer-related research mentioned here (Bankov's presentation in Imatra 2006).

5 For deeper insight into product design see Susann Vihma (1990 and 1995), Vihma et al. (2004) and Toni-Matti Karjalainen (2004).

6 For example, Henri Broms and Henrik Gahmberg (1987) have taken the Greimasian narrative aspect into advertising and marketing. Within applied semiotics, worth mentioning is an extensive case study on postage stamps that fully takes into account fully the historical aspects following Peirce's theory of signs but use only the icon, index, and symbol categories of the signs from David Scott's (1995) *European Stamp Design: A Semiotic Approach to Designing Messages*. Concerning studies of semiotics and consumption or

keep track of the interdisciplinary endeavours in the field of marketing and semiotics.

However, the process, embodiment and change of signs appearing in artefacts and of interpretation have been less in focus. As Jaan Valsiner also stated, "It is remarkable that traditional semiotics – as a science of signs – has largely ignored the issue of the dynamic process of its construction of the phenomena it attempts to reflect. […] the study of time-based transformation of cultural symbols has been largely missing […] at the level of personal cultures, the sense-making and sense-changing process is largely unstudied" (Valsiner 1998: 236).[7]

Furthermore, if the signs and the interpretation process is studied from a holistic point of view, the challenge of taking into account the relation of the interpreter and the environment (the actual place (context)), and the history of the signs as well as the function of emotions in the process, it needs an interdisciplinary approach. Approaches to the relation between individual and environment (Umwelt[8]) can be found, for example, in sociology and social psychology with a semiotic flavour.

symbolic consumption the following, for example, can be mentioned: M. B. Holbrook and K. P. Corfman (1985), E. Hirschman (1989) and Holbrook, M.B. and Hirschman, E. (1993), Bell P. (1994, 2000), K. Grayson and D. Shulman (2000) (authors are indebted to Morris, R. Barthes and U. Eco in their theoretical descriptions).

7 Valsiner defines the term "personal culture" as follows "The collective culture entails communally shared meanings, social norms, and everyday life practices, all united in a heterogeneous complex. On the basis of this complex, individual persons construct their personally idiosyncratic semiotic systems of symbols, practices, and personal objects, all of which constitute the personal culture"(1998: 30).

8 The term "Umwelt" is here used somewhat in an Uexküllian sense, namely Umwelt is the species-specific way of experiencing the environment (objective world) distinct from the physical environs as common to all life forms. Sometimes species-specific has been referred to the general notion of how humans as a species view the context – a mental structure or way of perceiving (as Deely would express it, Innenwelt). Further information on the different definitions of Umwelt and on the relation between Umwelt and Semiosphere can be found from Sebeok (1979), Merrell (1996, 2001), Kull (1998), Lotman (2002), and Deely (2004: 59–69 and 2001a: 10 and 721).

For example Serge Moscovici (1972 and 1988) has discussed social tendencies and social representations. Social representations prescribe socially shared definitions enabling a common ground for communication and shared understanding of used concepts. As such, Moscovici's approach emphasises on the social aspects and not so much the person. Rom Harré's (1970, 1984, 1993 and Harré and Parrot 1996) sociophilosophical perspectives on the self emphasise the sociogenetic generic thought model of the growth of personality. Harré's is quite an extreme view of the socially embedded nature of a person in the sense that he claims that there is no psychological mechanism except the person's social practices. Harré's processual and dynamic orientation to the relationship of Umwelt and person has been taken up by, for example, James Wertsch (1981, 1993 and 1995). Wertsch's emphasis on the semiotic mediation[9] of the reflecting persons derives from the activity-theoretical ideas of e.g. Lev Vygotsky (1978 and 1981) and A. N. Leont'ev (1978). As mentioned, Wertsch's approach emphasises the dynamic process of a situation where persons are involved in a joint activity context. The joint activity context provides means that guide one another's development. The process results in multivoicedness, which enables diversity in the system, where, however, certain voices usually dominate others. Wertsch's emphasis is also more on the social world than on the individual or person.

Discussions on the person and on the role of emotions in human construction of the self have been undertaken, for example, by Valsiner (1998, 2001 and 2004), who has adopted a sociogenetic approach to personality. In Valsiner's view, "personality is simultaneously socially dependent and individually independent, with both parts of this whole being mutually interdependent" (1998: 1). Even more emphasis on the person can be found in Damasio (1994, 2001 and 2003b) and Damasio et al.'s (2003) neuroscientific research. Damasio's

9 Mediation replaced representation in Peirce's sign definition when he adopted the communicative perspective (Bergman 2004: 252). In bold terms, mediation means that a sign acts as a mediator between Object and Interpretant. "[…] the essential nature of a sign is that it mediates between its Object, which is supposed to determine it and to be, in some sense, the cause of it, and its Meaning, or as I prefer to say, in order to avoid certain ambiguities, its Interpretant, which is determined by the sign, and is, in a sense, the effect of it; and which the sign represents to flow as an influence from the Object" (MS 318:14/158$_b$–15/159$_b$ [1907] quoted from Bergman 2004: 253).

quest is to understand how emotions form the basis of the construction of the self, the emphasis being on the embodied nature of all human activity.

All of the above-mentioned scholars have in common the idea of the mediating nature of the processes under investigation. Thus they also share a more or less semiotic touch in their research. Although the theories and approaches share the element of mediation in their approaches, a basis is needed for finding further affinities in the theories and for exploring the possibility of weather the studied theories would complement and cohere with each other. Peirce's theory of signs is general in its character, therefore it was taken as the basis for the attempt to form a holistic approach from the variety of studied theories and approaches. Another attempt is to form a conceptual toolbox that would enable an analysis of investigated topics from a holistic point of view. I have followed Valsiner's and Bergman's suggested way to continue on the road of Peirce's "communicative semiotic". According to Valsiner, Peirce's dynamic nature of sign construction gives tools and means for analysing the meaning-creation and sign changes from both the societal level and the individual level (cf.: Valsiner 1998: 249). Mats Bergman has stated that there is a potential for further study of the communicative nature of Peirce's semeiotic, which would help to move forward in the direction and explication of the dynamics of sign-action. Furthermore Peirce's abstract theories in the communicative context could make Peirce's theories approachable to other lines of inquiry (Bergman 2004: 473).

2. Plan and aims

As already indicated, this study ranges from the more general to the more specific. At the broader level, the goal of the study is to investigate the relation of the individual to the environment, keeping in mind the adaptation to the segments of consumers (interpreters). Therefore, various approaches that have discussed the relationship between the individual and Umwelt will be employed. Secondly, I attempt to sketch out what role emotions play in the process of sign interpretation and self-construction. Thirdly, I try to see how the different approaches cohere by using Peirce's theory of signs as a framework or set of "tools" for analysing and investigating the change of the signs of artefacts and the emerging interpretations. The approach is holistic as it intends to draw together Umwelt, individuals, signs and embodiment in the process; meaning not only as a static snapshot but as a dynamic development. It means also an attempt to form a conceptual set of tools or toolbox that would enable using a holistic approach in analysing signs, changes in signs and in interpretation. As was indicated above, a holistic approach today to visual artefacts is somewhat limited. Thus I will endeavour to provide a beginning to finding a holistic approach to analysing and describing visual artefacts. Accordingly, a conceptual set of tools is important since it would give a backbone to the analysis and prevent the frequent appearance of ambiguity in the practise of analysing artefacts. The concern directing this study is the problem of the missing framework in analysing signs in visual artefacts from a holistic perspective and of the missing conceptual tools.

Since the analyses so far have concentrated on the different aspects separately (interpretation, sign structures or sign processes, construction of the self, the context and history and emotional reactions), my aim and humble attempt is to test an alternative approach or framework that would tie the aspects together and complement each other. My aim is not to discuss all the non-equivalencies between the disciplines and approaches but to find out if it would be possible to continue with the lines proposed by Bergman to use Peirce's theories in the other lines of inquiry. As mentioned, a holistic approach also needs conceptual tools for it be usable, thus another attempt in this study is to form a conceptual toolbox.

The secondary request of this study is the need of companies to identify what signs in the various artefacts that represent them should be preserved, changed, and modified to keep those values and images that best reflect the company, product, service, etc in a globalised world where the attitudes, values, and habits keep changing. This need is due partially to ownership changes thus creating a need to justify the demand for changes and/or preserving the chosen signs in the design of the artefacts (representation of the company or product) for a particular cultural area. A conceptual toolbox would enable less ambiguous justifications, especially when the point of view is holistic and embodied. This dissertation intends to take the first steps in that direction.

We are accustomed to thinking that global companies unify representations and that in this process local cultures lose their specific identities. However, it is not necessarily so, since this can also create diversity and different kinds

of understanding of what is important in a particular culture and even what is to be represented in a broader area. The historical aspect is important, or even essential, since only by knowing occurrences related to the elements under investigation and the basic knowledge of possible experiences by the interpreters, it is possible to analyse the changes in the artefacts and the interpretation of them as well as to see if the growing signs reduce or add diversity in relations to the agreed cultural values of the particular cultural area.

This dissertation consists of two parts: a theoretical part, and a case study of beer labels. The theoretical part and the case study have been kept separate in the sense that no examples are introduced from the case study to the theoretical part in order to keep the structure of the work clear and concise. In Chapter I, I first discuss some main issues of Peirce's theory of signs that are relevant to this study. Such issues are mediation, multiple Objects and sign-action pointing out that multiple Objects have an influence in further semiosis by potentially creating multiple chains of interpretations. In Chapter II, I take up the long-lasting problem of the relation between the individual and society presenting somewhat broadly the social-psychological approaches to the forming of "groups" therein the relations between individual and society. This is important when the attempt is to form a holistic framework. In Chapter III, I ponder the role of emotions and feeling of emotion in human activity and self-construction. The attempt is to see if Damasio's neuroscientific approach to the construction of the self would conform to Peirce's Phaneroscopic categories. It is essential to begin to investigate how different approaches and disciplines complement each other and cohere when the focus of the disciplines and approaches is on the same questions or subject matter. As it is, the focus is on the role of emotions in the construction of the self and in human action. In Chapter IV, the different aspects are seen through Peirce's theory of signs and are attempted to be combined to describe the main points of the holistic approach. In addition, a conceptual toolbox is intended to be delineated.

Lastly in Chapter V, I present a case study of restricted visual signs – beer labels – including a brief comparison of beer labels in Finland and in Italy. The case study consist of a historical background to enable a better understanding of the changes in the Umwelt, from a full history of one beer brand called

Karhu (from the 1950s until 2004[10]) and from a comparison of Italian beer labels and Finnish beer labels. The comparison has been included to observe if the frequently found signs, so-called general signs, are found and correspond in different cultures and also to enrich the description of the changes occurring in signs across cultures. The Italian beer brand was chosen as a comparison point because Italy differs as a culture from Finland, thus producing a more fertile ground for comparison. Furthermore, Italy does not have the same kind of alcohol political background as Finland – therefore bringing a different kind of social context to the field of analysis. The difference in the social context is an important factor as one of the areas of the holistic approach is to take into account the historical aspect and the intertwined relation of societal semiosis, signs, and individual semiosis. Therefore it provides more grounds to see how the social semiosis, signs and individual semiosis proceed. Since this dissertation provides the first steps towards the holistic model, it is sensible to start with a clearer and more straightforward case than, for example, beer brands from Belgium, Germany or the Netherlands, which have an abundance of brands and therefore would have been outside of the scope of this work. Italian beer brands were also an interesting case as Italy in general is not taken to be a "beer country", which despite this general assumption has its own beer culture and habits of consumption. Therefore, investigating what actually exists in Italy in the realm of beer brands was also interesting as such.

The purposes for choosing labels as a case study have been the fact that labels are not researched so deeply from processual and cultural aspects and still they are artefacts representing the culture they originate from. Furthermore, beer labels are a highly interesting case in Finland since they also have a special connection to locality. With their connection to locality and social changes the labels also provide a fertile ground for analysing the changes in their style that may result from the social changes, be they technical, attitudinal or reflections of changes in marketing strategies. Furthermore, the investigated brands Karhu and Koff (see footnote 10) are interesting in themselves. The

10 However, two labels were investigated and tracked from the first label until 2004. The other brand (Koff) has not been described in terms of its full historical background due the redundancy of the analysing results within Finnish beer brands, but has been used as one of the brands along with Karhu in the comparison of Italian and Finnish brands.

Karhu brand has been an object of interest for a long time due to the unknown reason of its increase in consumption. The Koff brand also has its own merits for being an interesting case, namely the brewery Oy Sinebrychoff Ab is said to be the oldest factory like brewery in the Nordic countries (founded in 1819). Therefore, there has been a need to investigate the history of the two brands but also to analyse and describe by means other than only giving a historical account of the development. The second reason is that the visual elements are clear and consist of a limited amount of signs, which is a good point from which to start using the holistic approach and the conceptual toolbox. The third reason for selecting beer labels was the possibility of comparing them across cultures.

The case studies are analysed and described using the holistic approach/ model drawn from former approaches and disciplines. My discussion on the different approaches is an attempt to show how the problem of change in the signs of artefacts and their interpretation could be dealt with —yet taking into account the need to define, at least, temporal structures of signs. I suggest that in trying to approach the processual nature of signs and of meaning-creation in a fresh way one should resist the traditional temptation to *only* describe and find structures of signs. Instead, the actual processes of sign changes, creations and meaning creations (interpretations) should be analysed from a holistic point of view. This means focusing on the production and use of materially embodied signs on artefacts. The main points of this thesis can be summarised as follows: i) there are many Objects with two aspects involved in Peirce's definition of sign-action and these can promote multiple semiosis arising from the same sign by the same Interpretant depending on the domination of the Objects; ii) the relation of the individual and society or group must be made more apparent in this construction of the self since this construction is intertwined with the process of meaning-creation and interpretation; iii) the fundamental role of emotions in the process, i.e., in semiosis, has to be brought up because it emphasises the embodiment, which has been too often neglected iv) the dynamic, mediating and processual nature of sign-action is important in analysing and understanding the changes in signs and the interpretation of signs.

3. Methodological issues

Peirce writes:

> The purpose of reasoning is to proceed from the recognition of the truth we already know to the knowledge of novel truth. This we may do by instinct or by a habit of which we are hardly conscious. But the operation is not worthy to be called reasoning unless it be deliberate, critical, self-controlled. In such genuine reasoning we are always conscious of proceeding according to a general rule which we approve. It may not be precisely formulated, but still we do think that all reasoning of that perhaps rather vaguely characterized kind will be safe (CP 4.476).

I have followed Peirce's advice and attempted to reason in a critical and self-controlled manner describing my path of reasoning so that it can be followed by others for anyone to point out if there are flaws in it. I have also followed Valsiner's view of scientific knowledge construction processes: "The psychological processes involved in scientific knowledge construction are similar to everyday knowledge construction in its main feature – semiotic mediation" (Valsiner 1998: 286–287).[11] The methodology adopted here could also be said to follow the hermeneutic tradition of being interpretative. In addition, the parts of the articles presented here have been commented on and my attempts have been guided by discussions with colleagues.

I will be turning towards sociology (social psychology or cultural psychology) for example, G. H. Mead (1934 and 1938), W. James (1983 and 1902), J. Valsiner (1998, 2001 and 2004), and S. Moscovici (1972 and 1988); neuroscience, A. Damasio (1994 and 2003b); and semiotics, Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen (1996) van Leeuwen (2000), E. Tarasti (2000 and 2004), and C. S. Peirce – Peirce and Tarasti have been examined more from the perspective of semiotics than from philosophy, to find my way into forming a holistic

11 According to Bergman, Peirce's description of science is the need to flee from doubt and find a stable belief; as such, it is something that belongs to the nature of all human beings. Furthermore, there is a connection between everyday practical problems and their solutions and between scientific and theoretical activity (Bergman 2004: 44 and 55). See also Peirce's concept of "logica utens" (CP 2.186, CP 2.773).

approach and a conceptual toolbox for describing and analysing sign changes and interpretations mediated by signs. What is common to these approaches is that they, in one way or another, concentrate on mediation provided by signs in explaining human activity and cognition.

As well as to the theoretical part discussed in the previous section, the case study has required the investigation of various resources. As mentioned above, historical data and marketing research results are often used but rarely explicitly mentioned.[12] I have also used historical data, marketing research results, and interviews for the case study. The written material used in the case study consists of old magazines and newspapers, company leaflets and reports, research publications on social issues that have a relation to beer labels and their design, or on the history of brewing that has been connected to the breweries of the labels. Some of these sources were used to find examples of the advertisements of the times and of the investigated beer labels. Some provided information about the advertising companies that were involved in the label and advertising design. Some described the attitudes towards alcohol (and beer), also explaining the prohibition of alcohol act and the prohibition of advertising alcohol act invoked, including the reactions these acts provoked among the different stakeholders. The magazines also described where they looked for the trends and styles for design trademarks and advertising strategies and what research methods were popular in different times. All of this has been essential to be able to construct a view into the context of where the labels and advertisements appeared. Furthermore, reports, research and documents concerning Finnish alcohol policy and advertising prohibition were investigated to acquire the "official" perspective on the topic.

Nine semi-structured interviews[13] and five e-mail, letter or telephone discussions were conducted during 2004 with marketing managers, marketing directors, advertising company managers and visual designers who have either been involved in the designing of labels and advertisements or who have created and guided the design process. The interviews were conducted

12 An impressive exception is Scott's (1995) historical analysis of European stamps.

13 The interviews were recorded and transcribed, except for one interview because the recording machine malfunctioned (see Appendix 10 of the guiding themes/questions for the interviews).

because the case study artefacts, namely beer labels, are a largely unstudied area. The key persons were interviewed for a relatively long period (from 1 1/2 hours to 3 hours). The interviews provided information that does not appear in magazines, company reports, newspaper or books. It was necessary to acquire as much knowledge that the persons involved in the label design, advertising design and marketing strategies could provide. Such information is often called "tacit knowledge".[14] The information acquired from the interviews consisted of descriptions of different practices between breweries, marketing departments, marketing research, and advertising companies as well as who has designed what, what kind of atmosphere and attitudes existed, production matters, challenges of the times, what the designers wanted to express with the designed labels and advertisements, etc. The interviews were used as additional resources providing other kinds of perspectives than that which could be had from the media resources and research documents. All of the above-mentioned data has also been used to pinpoint the history of the labels, to find the reasons for design changes and existing attitudes and to discover who has been involved in the design processes and decisions. It was also used to plainly find out the different version of the labels. Moreover, I was able to closely observe a design change that took place in 2004 which involved marketing managers, marketing researchers, and advertising companies.

After stating all the above, I still have a feeling similar to what Peirce's statement below expresses,

> […] our knowledge is never absolute but always swims, as it were, in continuum of uncertainty and of indeterminacy (CP 1.171).

14 The term "tacit" or "tacit knowledge" is not used in a strict manner in this work. It is outside of the scope of this study to contribute to the discourse on tacit knowledge. For a recent discussion on tacit knowledge see, for example, Ikujiro Nonaka and Hirotaka Takeuchi (1995) *The Knowledge-Creating Company*, Yu Zhenhua (2003) *Tacit Knowledge/Knowing and the Problem of Articulation*, and Peter Busch, Debbie Richards, and C. N. G. Dampney (2003) *The graphical interpretation of plausible tacit knowledge flows*.

I Peirce's theory of signs

Peirce's concepts of the sign categories (icon, index, symbol[15]) have been often used for analysing visual elements, whereas the notions of the sign process or semiosis and mediation have not. Peirce's theory of signs gives a unifying point of view to the development of temporal consensus in the interpretation processes within the course of time.[16] This study is based on a communicative reading of the sign theory (see Bergman 2004: 228–233 and Merrell 2003: 42–43). Therefore the sign is more a mediating vehicle of understanding and communication and not so much a question of a class of things. A reminder of Peirce's definition of a sign is a good place to start, because both mediation in sign-actions and interpretation processes come about in semiosis by/through signs.

15 The characteristics that Peirce affiliated to the trichotomy of Sign-Object relation go as follows:

> "[T]he most frequent useful division of signs is by trichotomy into firstly Likeness, or, as I prefer to say, *Icons*, which serve to represent their Objects only in so far as they resemble them in themselves; secondly, *Indices*, which represent their Objects independently of any resemblance to them, only by virtue of real connections with them, and thirdly *Symbols*, which represent their Object, independently alike of any resemblance or any connection, because dispositions of factious habits of their interpreters insure their being so understood" (EP 2:460 f. [1909] cited from Bergman 1999: 36).

16 Or it should rather be called Peirce's insight of semiotic, or in his words "semeiotic".

> A sign, or Representamen, is something which stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity. It addresses somebody, that is, creates in the mind of that person an equivalent sign, or perhaps a more developed sign. That sign which it creates I call the Interpretant of the first sign. The sign stands for something, its Object. It stands for that Object, not in all respects, but in reference to a sort of idea, which I have sometimes called the ground of the Representamen (CP 2.228).

Signs refer to something and the reference is always understood in some respect. Therefore, a sign cannot be defined by certain characteristics that belong to the entity as such, but it is explained by its relations, i.e., a sign is a matter of acquired triadic form. In addition, signs cannot be reduced to the smallest meaningful units, e.g. "lexemes" or "signifieds" out of which meaningful relations would be constructed (Bergman 1999: 29). Signs are developing, and thus are not static. The relations hold also dyadic connections such as between the sign and Object, sign and Interpretant, but a sign cannot be reduced to the dyadic relations. As Bergman puts it: "Semeiotic signs are not bound in an atemporal system, but develop constantly as new relations and interpretations become connected to them" (1999: 29). Sign-relation also is not just a matter of a triadic structure, because it involves the idea of action taking place in the relations. Therefore it can be said that signs are processual in nature.[17]

The sign itself can be seen as a First, as in Richard Parmentier's explanations, in the place of the Representamen (see Figure 1, p. 37). The "First sign" taken as Representamen from the observation can be considered a "thing", working as a sign, namely, a certain beginning of a particular sign process. It is, however, impossible to find the "real first sign" at the bottom of the sign process.

The term "Representamen" is more or less a technical term for a sign, as to make the processual nature of the sign-action more transparent.[18] The

17 For the discourse on the sufficient and contingent aspects of signs see Bergman (2004: 233-241) and Litszka (1996: 18–19).

18 Further discussion on the term "Representamen" can be found, for example in Bergman (2004: 239–241), Parmentier (1985), Deledalle (1992: 296–298). I have followed Bergman's advice in using or not using Representamen, i.e, "rather than hanging on to the explicitly

interpretative aspect points out that a sign must be interpreted by something (not necessarily a human mind). Thus a sign is essentially the relations it holds, not its necessary or sufficient characteristics.[19]

According to Fisch (1986: 330) and Deely (2001: 729), the relational definition of a sign places it into a situation that a sign seemingly can be anything. In Deely's word, a sign is something that an "object presupposes" (2001: 705). Therefore, all graphical representations/models of a sign are somewhat misleading, since they cannot present the actions, the semiosis. Peirce himself explains the semiosis as follows:

> […] But by "semiosis" I mean, on the contrary, an action, or influence, which is, or involves, a coöperation of three subjects, such as a sign, its Object, and its Interpretant, this tri-relative influence not being in any way resolvable into actions between pairs. {Séméiösis} in Greek of the Roman period, as early as Cicero's time, if I remember rightly, meant the action of almost any kind of sign; and my definition confers on anything that so acts the title of a "sign" (CP 5.484).

Semiosis can be viewed from different aspects, i.e., if the focus is more on the manner, the sign stands for the Object (aspect of representation). If the emphasis is on the influence of the Object upon the sign and of the sign upon the Interpretant, the relational terms are from the aspect of determination. Mediation[20], then, arises from the aspect of communication and it covers both

abandoned 'representamen', it might be more appropriate to specify the term 'sign' when needed, so as to bring out the particular sense in which it is being used" (2004: 241). Bergman's suggestion is very apt for my study since it enables sustaining "the polysemic character of Peirce's sign" (Bergman 2004: 241). The term "sign" in itself implies the triadic relations. Therefore, it is possible to say, for example, "general signs" or that "signs are designed". I have specified the "first sign" (Representamen) as "sign 1" in cases where I have anticipated the potential for confusion to arise. I have used "sign-vehicle" or "representamen" when discussing particular authors' understanding of sign-actions, semiosis, etc. to be consistent with the authors' terminology; e.g., in describing Parmentier's approach I have used "representamen".

19 See Bergman (1999: 29) and (2004: 229–241), Liszka (1996), and Deledalle (1992).

20 "Had there been any process intervening between the causal act and the effect, this would have been a medial, or third, element. Thirdness, in the sense of the category, is the same as

aspects. The Object, however, brings important points into the understanding of the semiosis from the aspect of determination and from the aspect of representation. The two aspects are not separable but occur simultaneously in semiosis. In general terms it could be said that the aspects go in different directions but are intertwined in their "movement". However, before going into representation and determination, the Object must be dealt with in more detail.

1. Object

For Peirce the Object is not necessarily a physical object, even though, it can also be a physical object (CP 4.536). The reference can be a physical thing, for example a beer label. Or the reference may be an undefined thing such as the name tag of the beer brand, namely the mental image of it, which can refer to beer, a brewery or an image of the lifestyle of those beer drinkers. Again, the Object has more a functional status than an ontological property.[21] Furthermore, the Object is divided into two aspects, namely the Immediate Object and the dynamical Object. The Immediate and Dynamical Object can be approached by different functions that they carry in the aspects of semiosis, i.e. representation and determination.

The Dynamical Object cannot be reduced to the physical thing, only because it can become a sign itself. This is possible because, broadly speaking, the mind is also a sign. Thus, the meaning of the Dynamical Object does not depend on the human mind, but it also implies that the Dynamical Object is not independent of the semiotic process as a whole (Bergman 1999: 33).

mediation." (The List of Categories: A Second Essay', CP 1.328, c.1894)

21 About the dynamic nature of the representation and its Object, Peirce stated, for example, the following "The Object of representation can be nothing but a representation of which the first representation is the Interpretant. But an endless series of representations, each representing the one behind it, may be conceived to have an absolute Object at its limit. The meaning of a representation can be nothing but a representation. In fact, it is nothing but the representation itself conceived as stripped of irrelevant clothing. But this clothing never can be completely stripped off; it is only changed for something more diaphanous" (CP 1.339).

The "two Objects" can, thus, be seen to hold two aspects of the Object. One takes the position of the Object from the aspect of representation that is the Immediate Object, the other, from the aspect of determination where the emphasis is on the aspect of the dynamical Object. In proper semiosis these aspects are not independent, but intertwined. "The Dynamical Object is outside of the sign in the sense that it is the Object, which is conceived to be the real cause of the sign" (see EP 2:409 cited from Bergman 1999: 33). The Dynamical Object can also be seen as the mediated connection through experience to the "outside".

> We must distinguish between the Immediate Object, – i.e., the Object as represented in the sign, – and the Real (no, because perhaps the Object is altogether fictive, I must choose a different term, therefore), say rather the Dynamical Object, which, from the nature of things, the Sign cannot express, which it can only indicate and leave the interpreter to find out by collateral experience (CP 8.314).

It could be assumed that the dynamical aspect of the Object implies a causal role for the Object in the semiosis. The Dynamical Object presupposes that the Interpreting Mind has to possess some previous or additional experience that enable the signs to be grasped (See CP 8.178). A sign requires a background of experience for it to function as a sign. Otherwise, the sign would be empty. Or the sign gets its function from experience not usually connected to it. However, the collateral observation does not deny the non-rational experience of change or brute facts (force) (CP 1.431).

These new experiences of resistance are brute facts. The brute facts are dyadic in their relation and, thus, are not intelligible as such. To be explicable, the brute facts must be enclosed into triadic relations. These triadic relations then again depend on the previous semioses. Hence, all meaningful (fictitious and "real") signs have some kind of experiential basis, although it can be vague and indirect, or distant.

There is still more to consider about the Object, namely, the fact that there might be more Objects for a sign than just one.

> The Objects – for a Sign may have any number of them – may each be a single known existing thing or thing believed formerly to have

existed or expected to exist, or a collection of such things, or a known quality or relation or fact, which single Object may be a collection, or whole of parts, or it may have some other mode of being, such as some act permitted whose being does not prevent its negation from being equally permitted, or something of a general nature desired, required, or invariably found under certain general circumstances (CP 2.232).

Thus the Object can be taken as the complex or *total Object* (EP 4.536) or it could be taken so that one of these Objects dominates over the others, hence, the dominating Object is being taken as the Object to which the sign refers. But how do the multiple Objects relate to mediation? I shall approach this question through Parmentier's understanding of Peirce's theory of mediation.

2. Peirce's theory of mediation*

According to Parmentier, "[…] determination is the causal process in which qualities of one element are specified, transferred, or predicated by the action of another element" (Parmentier 1985: 27). The basic terms are Object, Representamen and Interpretant. Firstly, there are two processes active between the three elements. These two processes are called determination and representation. In the determination process the Object will determine the Representamen (the first sign), continuing with the Representamen determining the Interpretant (the second or new sign). Representation, then, works somewhat backwards, but it establishes a relation between the Object and the Representamen. The sensing of the relation between the Object and the Representamen allows the Interpretant to represent the Object directly[22]. The determinative force of the Object then delimits the representative force

* Permission granted for reproducing parts from the article of Bauters, M. (2007 forthcoming). "Multiple determination and association: Peirce's model of mediation applied to visual signs". In E. Tarasti (ed.), Acta Semiotica Fennica, XXIV, Helsinki, Imatra: International Semiotics Institute.

22 Note that Parmentier separates here the determination and representation "forces", to be able to describe how the ground forms and allows the Interpretant (sign 2) to represent the object.

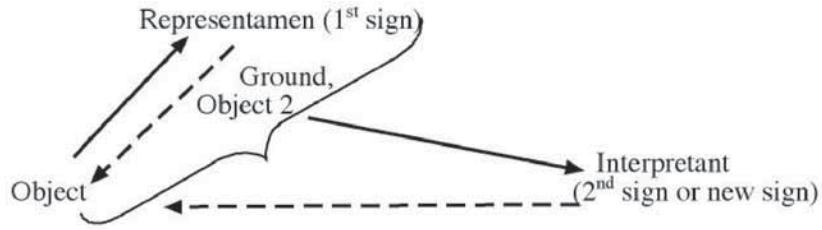

Figure 1. Representation process. The solid lines illustrate the determination process and the broken lines the representation process (Parmentier 1985: 28 and 30).

of the Interpretant. Signs are created in the unlimited process of semiosis. In this process, both representation and determination are active. In short, the Interpretant of a sign represents the relation between its Object and Representamen, which Peirce calls the ground. The ground can be seen in some respect as a reason, or quality that enables the sign to be in connection with its Object.

Figure 1 does not involve the important aspect of the Interpreting Mind, which is important for illustrating the multiple associations. However, the Interpreting Mind belongs to the process. Peirce frequently noted that the interpretation takes place in the mind of the interpreter (CP 8.179)[23]. There is no semiosis without this instance.[24]

23 In the light of post-modern semiotics, it has been claimed that the "Interpreting Mind" is merely a manifestation of the sum of Interpretants who are themselves formed in the process of semiosis. This claim rests on an attempt to reduce the role of the interpreting subject, and maybe eliminate it in the first place. I should, however, point out that the subject as an instance of interpretation lies quite beyond the possible sum of Interpretants. First, a "mind" merely consisting of past interpretations would be fully determinable (thus, eliminating Peirce's "pure chance"). Second, rather than discussing the subject, I should follow Tarasti in his pointing out that the roles of subject and object are continuously oscillating, thus creating the existential quality of semiosis (see Tarasti 2000).

24 It must be added here, however, that the "Interpreting Mind" does not necessarily have to be included in a human interpreter. There are sign processes taking place beyond human consciousness. Peirce presumes that an Interpretant does not necessarily have to be a modification of a consciousness (CP 5.485). It can, to the contrary, be contained in any example of sign-action.

Therefore I shall emphasise the importance of the Object – the sum of experiences, which will govern multiple interpretations. The sum of experiences determines the way the Representamen is cognised. As the Interpretant must be guided by previous experiences and perception channels, it is determined by the Representamen. In other words, the outcome of the signification process rests on experience and cognition. This procedure of multiple associations evokes different interpretations in the Interpreting Mind in different situations and at different times. Thus depending on the experiences that are rather on the "surface" of the Interpreting Mind, the hierarchical structure within the mass of the multiple associations may change, bringing about different interpretations at different times when the Interpretant still perceives the same sign. Among these are the Interpreting Mind's former experiences (memory) and the social network that affects the Interpreting Mind. The influence of the social network can also be named societal semiosis. This societal semiosis is in state of constant change, moreover it is based on the process of experiencing, of having new experiences added to those already processed in the mind of the thinker, or interpreter (Ipsen 2003: 190).

Therefore this idea could be slightly modified to show the multiple lines between Object and Interpretant. Peirce's model of mediation, is not questioned; however, there is one aspect of it that seems to have remained somewhat ignored. The following model (see Figure 2, p. 39) stresses the importance of the ground that enables us to form meaning and interpretation, also highlighting the signification chain where the process of mediation is further evolving, provided the sign in question is powerful enough for additional chains to appear.

Figure 2 shows that the representation of the sign (or Representamen) changes in the determinations depending on the dominance of the qualities, characters, or reasons in the interpretative mind. The change in dominance might be caused by the sum of experiences or through the change in the societal semiosis. Or the sign itself might be changed but the determinations still remain the same. It can also be noted that the different parties of semiosis can all participate in other semiosis simultaneously (see Kull 1998: 303).[25]

25 Kull bases his ideas partially on Lotman and his concept of the Semiosphere stemming from the Umwelt where the organisms create their signs. Lotman defines how in the Semiosphere the new flux of issues/norms forms the periphery and the centre (Lotman [1999] 2001: 134). The idea is similar to those formulated by the representation theory.

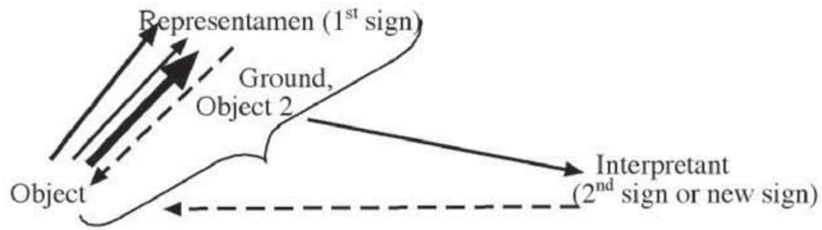

Figure 2. The multiple determinations and resulting representation in the mediation process.

Collateral experience is a process intertwined with individual experiences and memories and shared experiences and memories, and it is important to see how the individual and the social relate to each other and how they are intertwined in the semiosic process. Next, I shall touch upon some points about societal and individual semiosis and their relations.

II Semiosis and target groups*

The aim of this chapter is to give an overview, using Peirce's theory of signs, explain and describe the dynamics in (target) groups and to study how such groups form common interpretations of signs. Here, "target groups" means those communities which can be formed sometimes spontaneously, or, for example, virtually on the Internet, or loosely in society, combining people who feel like sharing certain attitudes, activities or world-views. The concept also refers to groups that are investigated by market research, especially in relation to different products or brands which are designed for certain target groups.

I do not seek to draw conclusions on the broader notion of groups constructed in a society or by the society itself; it is impossible to not discuss this by virtue of the fact that groups inevitably belong to society. The key idea suggested here is that sign-action, i.e., semiosis, offers a more holistic view of the effect of the social context on the interpretation of signs. In a sense, such a holistic view could overcome the gap between an individual and the society/group and show how semiosis can be used to explain the changing interpretations of signs.

This chapter is a preliminary foray, finding connections and analogies between disciplines, without definitively establishing a new theory or a

* Permission granted for reproducing parts from the article of Bauters, M. (2006). "Semiosis of (target) groups: Peirce, Mead and the subject". *Subject Matters* 2(2): 73–102.

revision of social studies. I will start the chapter by pondering the connection of action, creativity, and emotions in the sociological approaches to Peirce's theory of signs. Research on action, creativity, mediation and emotions has grown to be an important body of research work in recent years contributing to the current discussion on creativity and obviously bringing along the relation of individuals and society. As it combines the main mediating concepts it provides a good bridge towards representation theory and the definitions of the relation between society and the individual. I also take a deeper look at the aspect of the social individual, the semiosis of groups and the self which paves the way for the next chapter that deepens the view on the semiosis of the self, tackling the role of emotions from another point of view, namely the neuroscientific. I will start by introducing Hans Joas's theory of creativity of action because it introduces well the concept of action, creativity, and emotions. Joas also grounds his theory partly on George Herbert Mead's thought, which, as is known, is the basis for many thinkers in social studies. Furthermore, Mead provides another connection point towards the semiosis of the self and the essentiality of the Umwelt in the forming of the self.

1. Action, creativity, knowledge

The triadic and processual aspect of Peirce's theory of signs has increasingly been incorporated by theories and disciplines associated with creativity, action and knowledge. These include, for example, Hans Joas's theory of the creativity of action which is particularly close to the Peircean view of phenomenological (Phaneroscopic) categories (Firstness, Secondness and Thirdness) and sign processes (semiosis), social-psychological theories such as the representation theory, and pedagogical approaches, such as knowledge creation. All emphasise the triadic, mediating and processual activities of knowledge creation and person-society relations. I shall briefly introduce some of the above-mentioned theories and their relation to my study.

Joas has discussed the problems of *creative action* as distinct from the normative, utilitarian and functional points of view on the actions people take in society. Joas's view on the creativity of action is based partly on George Herbert Mead's insight in to the person acting with others in various contexts, thus emphasising collectivism, namely that the social environment can and does give impulses to creative solutions to problems. In my understanding, Joas's recent book on values (2000) shows the important role of emotions in interpretation. To Kilpinen (2002a), the discourse in Joas's thinking and in Pierre Bourdieu's (2000) is about where and how values originate. Both Joas and Bourdieu, according to Kilpinen, see values as arising out of action: "[…] creativity is an anthropological universal, present, in principle, in all human action, but always limited by the particular situation where it takes place" (2002a: 57). Both Joas and Bourdieu place a significant emphasis on emotions. For them, it can be argued that emotions are the basis of actions – creative actions. Furthermore, they draw attention to both individual semiosis and societal or group semiosis which, of course, cannot be separated.[26] Eero Tarasti's approach, in contrast, concentrates more on the aspect of the individual, particularly interactions with the individual's *Umwelt*. Tarasti's approach as a basis for understanding the inseparable nature of the individual and groups therefore contributes to the formulation of a holistic point of view on the processes.

Scholars of representation theory have noted that social schema theory and social attribution theory have placed too much emphasis on the individual at the expense of group and social aspects as a starting point for investigation (cf.: Augoustinos and Walker, 1995). Social representation theory, closely associated with Serge Moscovici, suggests that social representations are the ideas, thoughts and knowledge that individuals share in their environment. These shared elements form a part of "common consciousness". In Moscovici's words social representations "concern the contents of everyday thinking and a stock of ideas that gives coherence to our religious beliefs, political ideas and the connections we create as spontaneously as we breathe" (1988: 214). Moscovici stresses the individual's social aspect in its context, namely that through inter-individual relationships in the context of the social and physical environment common social reality is created, which in its turn interacts with

26 Further, in the words of Bourdieu "Nothing is more serious than emotion" (Bourdieu 2000:138, 140), "[…] this is just what is emphatically affirmed by Joas and classical pragmatism" (Kilpinen 2002a: 61). Also William James (1902) agrees on the importance of emotions in experience and thus in action, although James's approach deals more with an individual as a person than as a social being (psychology of personality).

the inter-individual (Moscovici 1972: 55–56).[27] Although not consciously embracing a Peircean approach, representation theory and schema theory nevertheless deal with similar ideas and thus may provide insight into the approach I am forming. To my mind, social-psychological theories could gain from the Peircean approach the idea that an individual is essentially social in nature and belongs to triadic processes.

Yet, in spite of the different perspectives, all the theories give some important insight and support my effort to explain and describe the dynamics in (target) groups and to look at how the common interpretations of signs could arrive and change within the groups. For example, Yrjö Engeström as well as Sami Paavola and Kai Hakkarainen[28] consider the social-historical context and the collective or shared aspect of actions in greater depth than is possible in this study. The social-historical context is important, because from the Peircean perspective the interpretation or the creating of meaning in any artefact requires "collateral experience". In other words, it is not possible to identify the meaning of an artefact or interpret it without history and contextual relations. To take into account the history and the contextual situation[29] of the interpretation of signs is a valuable enterprise for examining changes of interpretation occurring in the target groups since the context and

27 Moscovici's theory has been disputed by those stating that in the end his individual is not that social, since the representations are also cognitive, thus there are cognitive structures *in the mind of each individual* (see for example Harré 1984 and Parker 1987). However, if we consider the cognitive structures through Tarasti's existential semiotics, these structures are in interaction with the environment. Moreover in the Peircean view the cognitive structures are socially suggested.

28 Hakkarainen and Paavola tackle the problems from a pedagogical and philosophical point of view. They base their theory on Bereiter's knowledge building approach (Bereiter and Scardamalia 1993, Bereiter 2002 and Scardamalia, Bereiter and Lamon 1994), and Engeström's theory of expansive learning (Engeström, Miettinen and Punamäki 1999) and obviously Peirce's theory of mediation. The perspective of mediation brings forward the essentiality of triadic processes.

29 I am grateful to Sami Paavola for pointing out to me that there exists a notable difference in the depth in which historical aspects are taken as a part of semiosis. The cultural-historical activity theory emphasises the historical aspect much more and takes it into account in the process more deeply than is possible to find or interpret Peirce to suggest in his writings.

the past indubitably affect changes in the interpretation of signs. Further, this truism has already been somewhat neglected by the semiotically orientated marketing approaches (see, for example, Mick, Burroughs, Hetzel and Brannen 2004).[30] My position, on the other hand, is predicated on a different relation of the individual and the collective in relation to the signs which impute subjects. Firstly, I shall point out how, according to Peirce, the individual or self is already by nature social; thus, the distinction between an individual and a group in a certain sense disappears. Secondly, I concentrate more on the semiosis and the different Interpretants in the semiosic process; this is because the *Emotional Interpretant* is crucial when discussing a shared sign interpretation within groups.

2. "Social individual"

In this section I shall show where the individual is positioned from a semiosic perspective, discuss the self as social in nature and touch on the process of becoming a "semiotic self"[31]. The point in the discussion is to test assumptions about how attitudes, beliefs and meanings arise and how they affect changes in the interpretation of signs. Peirce's philosophy of mediation highlights the idea of semiosis as the main element from which one can begin searching for the dynamics between signs, groups and individuals and the investigation of meanings, attitudes and belief formation. Peirce's theory of signs is very general; yet, given that individual and group semiosis are just one particular part of semiosis in general, how can it be used as a concept to understand how the individual is related to a group and vice versa?

30 See studies on marketing segmentation Martial Pasquier (1995); Ronald D. Michman, Edward M. Mazze, and A. Greco (2003).

31 Sebeok (1986: xi, 1992: 335) introduced the term "the semiotic self". Sebeok has been interested in the self-image and in its relations to bodily functions, he suggested "to discriminate between two apprehensions of the self, (a) the immunologic or biochemical self, with, however, semiotic overtones, and (b) the semiotic or social self, with, however, biological anchoring," therefore proposing "the self is a joint product of both natural and cultural processes" (Sebeok, 1986: xi quotation form Kull 2003: 52).

According to Mead, the individual is a part of his/her environment and is also formed by it. Moreover, Mead's opinion of the individual-environment relation comes close to Deely's description of Umwelt[32]. For Mead the mind or, in our case the individual, selects the Objects which are "worth minding", that is "mental processes imply not only mind but that somebody is minding and that Objects of these processes are dependant upon the *emphases* and *selections of the individual*" (Mead 1938: 68 cited from Kilpinen 2002: 14, emphasis added). The point that some Objects are emphasised or selected implies that the individual does knowingly or unknowingly select some Objects and ignores others. The emphasising or selecting of Objects has been noted by Peirce, for example, in his description of multiple Objects and of the effect of time. He says that the past, the present and the future influence perception (for deeper insight into this question, see Bergman 2004: 299–309). In Joas's parlance

> […] the individual is engaged in a continuous process of drawing boundaries and of opening them vis-à-vis other individuals and the collectives with which he is associated. Out of this 'magma' of sociality […] there arise, by means of creative accomplishments of human action, the norms, values, cultural works, and institutions that are accepted and operative in a given society (Joas 1990: 186, see also Gibson 1986).

However, there is more than just the tendency to select certain Objects at the expense of others. To put it differently, sociality stresses the context where the individual is situated, and the already existing experiences of the individual and his/her former semiosis, by which certain habits, attitudes, and, perhaps, even values can be attained. Attitudes and habits are not stable; they keep on changing. Thus to belong to a group means that at least some of the values, habits and partially the world-view/lifestyle are agreed among the individuals

32 The term "Umwelt" originates from Uexküll's theory of meaning (see Nöth 1995: 158). John Deely has mentioned the selective tendency of the individual in its Umwelt "Umwelt is shorthand for objective world. In the case of the species-specifically human objective world it is often called rather 'Lebenswelt'" (Deely 2001: 719). It must be remembered, however, that the terms "Object" and "objective" have been thoroughly revised by Deely to take on their original meaning in philosophy.

in the group. Furthermore, temporal consensus in the group in which values, habits and world-views are held can be seen to follow Peirce's description of the performance of scientific inquiry[33]. Scientific inquiry is based on a wish to learn. Learning occurs through observation and experience[34] and it is "[…] an intelligence capable of learning by experience. As to that process of abstraction, it is itself a sort of observation. The faculty which I call abstractive observation is one which ordinary people perfectly recognize" (CP 2.227 [c.1897]).

The observation carried out by "ordinary people" also involves selection and interpretation of perceived Objects (CP 6.319, 8.178, CP 8.314 [1909]). Mead's idea of intersubjectivity *preceding* subjectivity[35], that is, with the individual beginning from the state of intersubjectivity and through that process developing gradually his/her own personal subjectivity, also implies the notion of selectivity based on previous social action and experience. Mead and Peirce see the individual to be essentially social, acquiring habits, norms and attitudes which grow through the process of intertwining with the Umwelt. To put it another way, the individual captures the world through semiosis. Likewise, groups are more or less held together by beliefs, and attitudes, habits of thinking and acting, including those patterns of thought that amount to the world-views or lifestyles understood by marketers. Unsurprisingly, these do change and do go through modifications as a result of interaction

33 Scientific inquiry is an important aspect in Peirce's writings since practically it influences all of Peirce's philosophy in one way or another (cf.: Bergman, 2004: 31).

34 "But for philosophy, which is the science which sets in order those observations which lie open to every man every day and hour, experience can only mean the total cognitive result of living, and includes interpretations quite as truly as it does the matter of sense. Even more truly, since this matter of sense is a hypothetical something which we never can seize as such, free from all interpretative working over" (CP 7.538). Even though, "the brute force is not mentioned here it is a predominant aspect of experience. It could be said that the interpretative nature comes somewhat after the 'brute force'" (cf.: CP 8.103, CP 8.195).

35 Intersubjectivity is actually introduced by Joas to summarise Mead's theory about the emergence of the inner self (Kilpinen 2002: 16, see also Vygotsky 1981: 163 and Wertch 1985: 47–62; for knowledge-creation processes that also follow Vygotsky and Peirce with the idea of shared artefacts and the social individual for knowledge creation, see Paavola and Hakkarainen forthcoming).

within groups and with other groups or society as a whole. Peirce, himself, emphasises this communal aspect of experience:

The course of life has developed certain compulsions of thought which we speak of collectively as Experience. Moreover, the inquirer more or less vaguely identifies himself in sentiment with a Community of which he is a member, and which includes, for example, besides his momentary self, his self of ten years hence; and he speaks of the resultant cognitive compulsions of the course of life of that community as Our Experience (CP 8.101).

This quote from Peirce provides a springboard for us to extend the concept of individual/self particularly with reference to Mead's, Tarasti's and even Vygotsky's work.

If the "semiotic self" is a sign and it is "social in nature" then how does it affect those traditionally understood features of the interaction between a group and an individual? The question of the interaction occurring within groups/Umwelt and the individual has been studied extensively, for example, by Mead (1934), obviously by Peirce, by Vygotsky (1978) and later by Deely (2001), Colapietro (1989), Joas (1990, 1996), Merrell (2003) and Tarasti (2000, 2004).[36] In social identity studies, there is a question that has been central and problematic for a long time regarding what social identity consists of. It has recently come up again: for example, Augoustinos and Walker argue that social identity is not reducible to personal identity alone; rather identity is essentially social (Augoustinos and Walker 1995: 98, cf.: CP 6.307 and Zurcher 1977, for a stronger emphasis on social self, see Bourdieu 2000, Kilpinen 2002 and Mead 1934 and 1938).[37] In Colapietro's understanding of Peirce's concept of self, the self is essentially the minds of others as well as a totality of meanings; thus,

36 There are differences between the authors' approaches. Since this chapter is not focusing on individual semiosis in depth but more on the individual as a part of a group, I shall mention only one difference, namely, that everybody, except Tarasti (2000 and 2004), brings up the importance of the process of acquiring "personality" through the social "magma". Tarasti's approach, in Peircean parlance, could be seen to focus on the individual's inner semiosis, in my understanding.

37 "Speaking collectively, the one logical universe, to which all the correlates of an existential relationship belong, is ultimately composed of units, or subjects, none of which is in any sense separable into parts that are members of the same universe"(CP 6.318).

Peirce sees that "otherness and meaning are given together in our experience of our self as being embedded in a network of relations – more specifically, enmeshed in the 'semiotic web'" (Colapietro 1989 27–28).

Famously, for Peirce, the self is itself a sign (CP 5.313) and "now you and I – what are we? Mere cells of the social organism" (CP 1.673). Therefore, the question is not about the discrepancy between the individual and the group or society, simply because of the fact that the individual *is* a group or society in some sense. The subject or self is essentially a form of semiosis[38] (Colapietro 1989: 37). Therefore, I assume that the individual is not able to proceed in its semiosis all by him/herself, but needs interaction with society, because the person qua subject possesses the actual form of community (CP 5.421 cf.: Colapietro, 1989: 43), and the society is formed by individuals. Thus, society is, in its turn, also affected by individuals acting alone or together as a whole.

Focusing on the action in the part of the self or the "Interpreting Mind"[39] is needed in the reasoning that attaches the collateral observations/experience and relation of "minds" to the sign. To be able to perform the process of reasoning through experience, which according to Peirce "is that determination of belief and cognition generally, which the course of life has forced upon a man" (CP 2.138) and in collateral observation, the self needs self-control and the capacity to act (cf.: Bernstein 1965: 68–69). Action is a type of conduct and hence belongs to Thirdness. Conduct, in its turn, is closely related to Peirce's notion of habit: "[Readiness] to act in a certain way under given circumstances and when actuated by a given motive is a habit; and a deliberate, or self-controlled, habit is precisely a belief" (CP 5.480 cf.: Bernstein 1965: 77). Thinking is a sort of acting or conduct, hence, it also means according to Peirce, that intelligence consists of "acting in a certain way" (CP 6.286 cited from Bernstein 1965: 78). Habits are essentially general and conditional. The reasoning that is related to the mediation of a sign by the Interpreting Mind or self is essentially deliberate, and self-controlled (CP 5.108).

38 Peirce did not accept James's (1983 [1890]: 221) notion of the insulation of the self. Peirce emphasised limitless infinite interpretation (cf.: CP 8.81). For more specific points of view on individual semiosis, see Colapietro (1989), Kilpinen (2002) and Tarasti (2000).

39 I am using here "Interpreting Mind" to emphasise that the discussion is on the semiosis of the self (see CP 8.179).

According to Colapietro, thought as such is already a form of action, although it would not amount to an actual utterance or physical action. This means that a form of thinking that has established a certain "way of thinking", can be called a habit. In social-psychological terms it would be the "mental structure".[40] Colapietro also notes that if one takes the perspective of semiotics, individuals are always in the midst of others as well as of meanings, which means that otherness and meaning are given to the individual through/by his/her experience of him/herself embedded in a network of relations (Colapietro 1989: 27–28).[41] A habit belongs to the Phaneroscopic category of Thirdness, which cannot *be* without Firstness and Secondness. It means that the emotions arising out of Firstness are in the basis or within Thirdness. Habits[42] and emotions, especially in the Emotional Interpretant, unsurprisingly play an important role. As for semiosis, habits are the outcome of mediation in the individual: the "mind" of the Interpretant mediates between the two parts of the semiotic self.

If one compares the approaches of Mead and Peirce to that of Tarasti, where the self is considered from the semiosic perspective, some similar concepts and ideas may be observed. Tarasti gives an interesting model of the "reflective self" and its journey towards existential values. My aim, here, is not to discuss in detail the concept of values or the semiosis "inside" an individual but to analyse Tarasti's approach from a Peircean viewpoint. Tarasti studies signs from the "inside" and approaches the human dialogue occurring both within a person and between the signs. He bases his existential semiotic theory on a scrutiny of Hegel, Kant, Kierkegaard and Sartre (cf.: Tarasti 2004: 84–102[43]). Tarasti argues that values and the creative inner self (*Moi*) are connected through a certain communal self (*Soi*). These two parts of the self are in dialogue and create the "semiotic self" (in Sebeok's (1991) parlance) or the *Ich-Ton* of Tarasti. The *Ich-Ton* is like a mediator between the two parts of

40 For a well-structured overview of actions, changes and social representations, see Augoustinos and Walker (1995: 165–311).

41 In other words, a "[man] is essentially a possible member of society" (CP 5.402 n. 2).

42 See also Paavola's in-depth writings on abduction and its impact on affections, feelings and tones (Paavola 2004a, 2004b and 2005).

43 See also Tarasti's *Existential Semiotics* for the broader context of the issue (2000: 6–7).

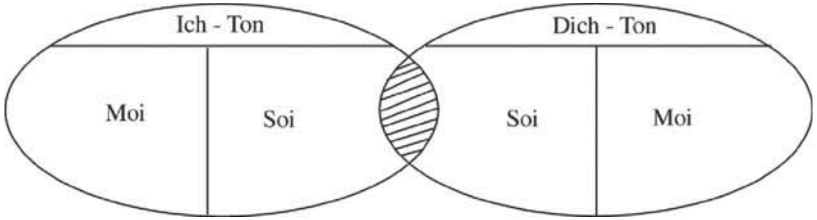

Figure 3. Two organisms are interacting through the Soi. According to Tarasti, only through the Soi, can the Ich - Ton and the Dich - Ton connect to each other. It is due to the fact that only between the Sois, that communication proper is possible. (Tarasti 2004: 96-97).

the self and the Umwelt. To my mind, there are some similarities between Tarasti's approach and in those of Peirce, Mead and partially of Vygotsky who have investigated what the individual is and how the semiotic self is formed. However, there are also differences.

Tarasti transfers Hegel's notion of "*An Sich*" and "*Für Sich*" to the potential/the actual and to the subjective/the objective (from Kierkegaard) and to *Moi*/*Soi* (from Fontanille), respectively. As far as the potential and the actual are concerned, it is possible to use them for the development of the "semiotic self". Tarasti follows Peirce and Mead while explaining the dialogue between the two parts. Thus, the "critical self" (Peirce)/Me (Mead)/*Soi* reflects or controls the impulses of the "deeper self" (CP 6.338)/I/*Moi*. However, where Peirce (CP 5.421), Mead (1934: 178) and Vygotsky (1981: 163) emphasise the essential nature of *sociality*, Tarasti stresses the value of the *Moi*, (deeper self/I/intrapsychological category). In other words, Tarasti proceeds from the "subjective" to social interaction, while the others proceed from sociality to the forming of subjectivity (if it can be called *subjectivity* at all). The difference is important because it changes the perspective on how the individual acts in the Umwelt, how thoughts can be shared between people, and even how the notion of shared meanings and understanding and creative actions originate.[44]

44 Further discussion about the differences is not provided in the present study, but for creative action and knowledge creation see Joas (1990 and 1996), Kilpinen (2000 and 2002), and Paavola et al. (2002).

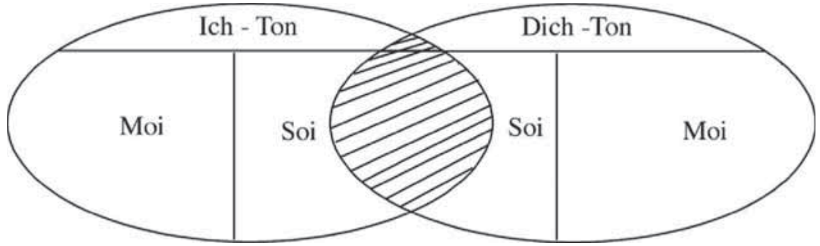

Figure 4. If the interaction is taken as semiosis then the Ich - Ton and the Dich - Ton, that is the semiotic selves, are also overlapping with the other organism and also with the Umwelt.

However, all of the thinkers emphasise the indivisible character of the two parts.

Tarasti has created a well-visualised model of the subject or the individual interactions with the Umwelt or with the other individual:

In the Peircean triadic perspective Tarasti's model could be seen as follows:

To Peirce, the self is social (see CP 5.313 and CP 1.673); concomitantly, then, it is already in/part of the Umwelt; it is social or communal. As Figure 4 shows the communication does not occur only between Sois but also between Ich - Ton and the Dich - Ton. Therefore, practically, it is not possible to separate the semiosis that goes on within the person between the two parts (above) and that which goes on between the person and the Umwelt. As Bergman states "[…] social semiosis emerges simultaneously with internal dialogue, or even precedes it in a certain sense" (2004: 249). For example, critical awareness and reflective thinking (semiosis) are impossible without the social setting.

Since Tarasti explains how values can be mediated from the transcendental, he is mainly concentrating on reflective thinking (Thirdness), using, for example, Greimasian modalities without mentioning the role of emotions in semiosis. Emotions, however, are an important factor when discussing the evolving of the semiotic self, or while interpreting everyday signs or looking at how it is possible for certain groups to interpret signs in a shared manner. Obviously, it means that the group has some kind of a similar way in which its members perceive, select, react and reflect upon signs. As mentioned above, I understand that the emotions[45] (as Firstness) are an essential part in reflective interpretations, i.e., Thirdness. Therefore it is necessary to consider Peirce's and Mead's comments on the way the emotions belong to semiosis.

According to Kilpinen (2002: 6), it can be concluded that Peirce as well as Mead do take cognition, emotion, and conation as separate faculties of mind[46] that clearly. Further, Kilpinen describes how emotion and reason are two sides of the same coin.[47] If the inferential or reflective character of dialogue is based on mental associations (cf.: Kilpinen 2002: 9), growing from sign-action, through relations of sign and Object(s), then it could be seen that associations are determined by Objects, some of which are emotions. This means that emotions lie in the essential ground of the evolving of both the semiotic self and actions within the Umwelt. Mead's theory of mind may therefore converge in many ways with Peirce's theory of signs, especially with regard to semiosis.

First, both Peirce and Mead state that emotions belong to the 'I', but come into being through mediation. According to Peirce, the coming into being, to be a habit, occurs through Thirdness, through triadic relations. According to Mead, the self becomes a self only when s/he can take the attitude of the other (Mead 1934: 171 and 256), namely when the "I" (the expressions, emotions) and the "Me" (the social aspect) fuse together (Mead 1934: 279).

45 Emotions are in this sentence presented in the Damasional sense, as preceding the feeling of emotions (see Chapter III).

46 Peirce differentiates between emotions, sensations and feelings in his article *Some Consequences of Four Incapacities* (see also CP 5.293). However, in many other instances Peirce's use of the terms "emotion", "sensation" and "feeling" are somewhat ambiguous (see CP 1.304, CP 1.311 and CP 5.245). Peirce also attaches emotions and feelings to hypothetic inference (Firstness) explaining how a complicated feeling is replaced by a single feeling of greater intensity, which can be also seen to be an emotion (see CP 2.643 and CP 2.643). Furthermore, it seems that Peirce's use of the term "emotion" comes closer to Damasio's term "feeling of emotion". I am grateful to Susann Vihma for pointing out the need for clarification of the usage of the terms emotions, feelings and feeling of emotions.

47 Kilpinen is not alone in pointing out the role of emotions. For example Daniel Goleman (1996) has emphasised the concept of emotional intelligence, a concept that has been eagerly adopted by the media. A somewhat different point of view has been given by Ronald Sousa (1987) pointing to the rational aspect of emotions.

This occurs in the process of adaptation to large or small social groups in which the ever-changing semiotic self evolves (Mead 1934: 197 and 256). Peirce's Phaneroscopic categories are in some sense also explained by Mead. The "I" holds the emotions and can react to them, but without reasoning (Secondness); only when actions within the Umwelt have appeared to the extent that they enable the person to place him/herself in "the other person's shoes" (Thirdness), will the semiotic self and the consciousness of the "I" evolve.[48]

However, Peirce has been more specific with regard to semiosis, in the sense that through the Phaneroscopic categories he has also explained different (but still indivisible) Interpretants. On the level of Firstness there is the Emotional Interpretant that mediates the feelings and emotions, on the level of Secondness there is the Energetic Interpretant that mediates the actual actions, and on the level of Thirdness there is the Logical Interpretant that requires intellectual appreciation and can cause a change of a habit (cf.: EP 2:209 cited from Bergman 1999: 45, CP 4.536 and CP 5.476). In Mead's terms, the self is capable of adaptation or it is able to change the habits and some of the Umwelt, or a group:

> as a man adjusts himself to a certain environment he becomes a different individual; but in becoming a different individual he has affected the community in which he lives. […] There is always a mutual relationship of the individual and the community in which the individual lives (Mead 1934: 215).

The quotation demonstrates that the individual is intertwined with, and inseparable from, the environment; hence, the individual is essentially social. Moreover, Mead emphasises that attitudes are essential in the evolving of the self, mostly for the ability to "place oneself in the shoes of others". As has been pointed out, the mutual relationship of the individual and the community offers room for a change of attitudes and beliefs. Further, this may provide mutual change within the group interpreting signs. To obtain a detailed view

48 See Chapter III for the possibility of understanding the role of emotions from Peircean and neuroscientific perspectives in the construction of the "semiotic self", especially the difference between emotion and feeling of emotions.

on the semiosis, it is necessary to look at the emergence of groups and the changes caused by semiosis. However, I shall start with the observation of some general notions of groups.

3. Semiosis in groups

Before going into the semiosis of groups[49], I shall describe generally what I mean by "groups"; I shall briefly explain general semiosis sign-action – in specific relation to groups and, finally, I shall introduce a sketch of how semiosis could be adapted to explain groups and changes in the interpretations of signs rising from the groups.

By groups I mean formations that are closely related to target groups (in marketing terms), spontaneous communities (for example, on the Internet), groups that in a way resemble Peirce's notion of scientific community, or groups that are close to the concept of "small cliques", namely communities of a "narrow diameter" in a Meadian sense. These groups can be seen as loosely formed: I have accepted the point of view that a group is a "fuzzy thing" to which persons feel they belong. This is not mean that a person would not be able to distinguish other groups to which s/he is not inclined to belong, and also perceive that others might place him/her in the groups that s/he does not intend to join. I am not concentrating on the so-called broad structures of

49 *Group* has been defined in many ways. According to schema theory, members of a social category share common features. The features are defined by schemas, which are, to put it simply, mental structures. (cf.: Rosch 1975 and Taylor and Fiske 1978). The schema theory has been criticised for being too cognitive in nature and for lacking the dynamical social and contextual aspect (Augoustinos and Walker 1989: 58). For social identity theory the group can be defined with the following characteristics: a group of organisms who have a collective perception of their unity and who can act in a unitary way as a group (Smith 1945: 227), or a group forms where there is interdependence of the members (Lewin 1951: 146), or group members possess a set of values or norms of their own (Sherif and Sherif 1956:144). Also the notion of a group has been based on the interaction of the members (Akert, Aronson and Wilson 1994: 326–7, Bass 1960: 39, Taylor Peplau and Sears 1994: 345 and Sprott 1958: 9). For social representation theory, a group has been defined in many ways, for example, as follows: a group is formed from social representations held by the participants (Potter and Litton 1985: 83).

society, such as institutions based on laws and statements, or on society itself. Groups thus can be seen to be mobile and their "borders" as "fuzzy" (cf.: Augoustinos and Walker 1995: 35). Fuzziness means here that the individuals forming the group do modify or even change their attitudes, opinions, modes of action and habits.[50] Thus the group itself also changes or, in other words, the habits and attitudes within the group change. The borders covering a certain "social space" keep on changing and overlapping with that of other groups. Further, there is no restriction for an individual to feel an affiliation to several groups. The whole space is therefore moving and transforming continuously. Persons within the groups evolve themselves through their own individual semiosis, which overlaps with society and the groups within society, as mentioned above.

Such movement of groups or communities in society can be pictured as follows, in their cloud-like structure (see Figure 5, p. 56).

Since groups are formed of individuals who are social and involved in the magma of sociality, it can be noted that the groups are fused in mediation.

50 The term "habit", in Peircean terms, is more fundamental and broad than how it is generally used. Habit belongs to Thirdness, thus it requires an Interpretant. Habit formation requires a capacity to learn and to reflect. Habit also holds the potential for action. Therefore, a habit is in a sense future-oriented. Another important notion of habit is that through semiosis, it may happen (and often does) that habits have to be discarded, i.e., habits must be given up (cf.: MS 670, 4–7, NEM 142, cited from Colapietro 1989: 88). Furthermore, the mesh of a person's habits forms the notion of personality (CP 6.228). Habits can be created or self-cultivated by the individual through his/her own semiosis, but also through a dialogue with the Umwelt. Peirce also defines habit and belief, for example, as follows "A belief is a state of mind, of the nature of a habit, of which the person is aware, and which would induce him to act, supposing he acts deliberately, in a certain way on suitable occasions. […] We are aware of our belief. A habit which causes us to act in certain way, but of which we are unconscious, so that we cannot directly control and criticise it, ought not to be called belief" (MS 717:2 cited from Bergman 2004: 52). Furthermore, "a habit is not an affection of consciousness; it is a general law of action, such that on a certain general kind of occasion a man will be more or less apt to act in a certain general way […] For our present purpose it is sufficient to say that the inferential process involves the formation of a habit. For it produces a belief, or opinion; and a genuine belief, or opinion, is something on which a man is prepared to act, and is therefore, in a general sense, a habit" (CP 2.148).

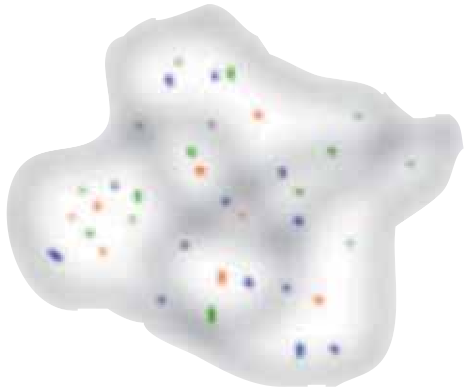

Figure 5. Cloud-like fuzzy groups overlap, and are comprised of individuals who more or less share the elements of one or many groups. Vague borders of groups and their unequal forms imply the constant changing of the groups. The dots inside the groups indicate individuals. Those individuals who are closer to the centre could be said to share most of the features by which the group defines itself, while those who are closer to the borderlines share less of the group's intrinsic features.

Every *cloud* may have certain norms/habits, beliefs and world-views that keep it floating.

Semiosis or sign-action

Before proceeding to discuss semiosis within groups, some basic facts about semiosis should be considered. First, the focus of semiotics is not really a group of things called "signs", but rather the nature and varieties of semiosis, that is, the action of signs (cf.: EP 2:413 [1907]; Bergman 1999: 18). As Peirce himself noted, the most frequently used example (type) of semiosis is a social communication, which can be illustrated by an ordinary conversation (cf.: Colapietro 1989: 38), although it must be noted that signs are genuine triadic relations[51] (cf.: Parmentier 1985: 30–31). This is an important matter:

51 "A sign, or *Representamen*, is a the First which stands in such a genuine triadic relation to the Second, called its *Object*, as to be capable of determining the Third, called its *Interpretant*, to assume the same triadic relation to its Object in which it stands itself to the same Object. The triadic relation is genuine, that is its three members are bound together by it in a way that does not consist in any complexus of dyadic relations" (CP 2.274 and cf.: EP 2:22–273 [1903]).

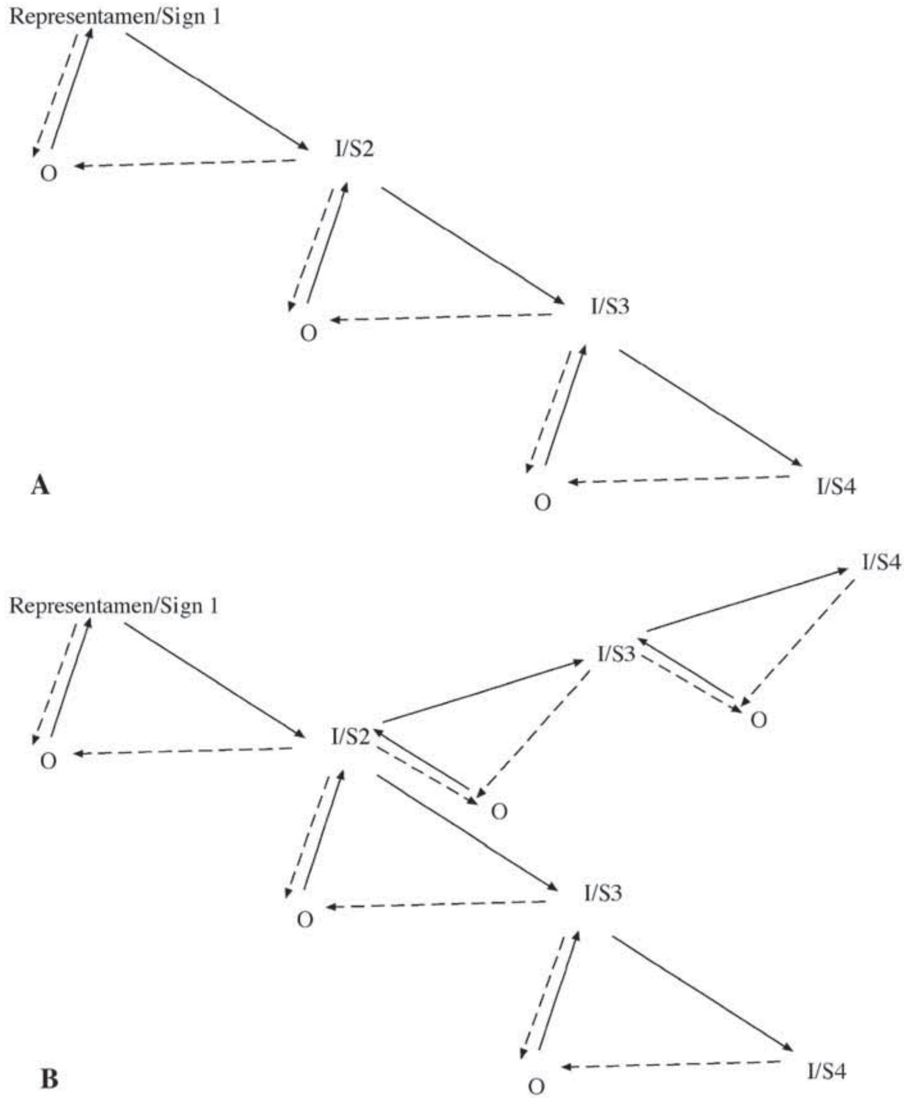

Figure 6.
A – The chain of sign-action modified from Parmentier's model (1985: 28);
B – possible simultaneous chains of signs.

to understand the way in which groups circulate signs requires a proper understanding of how signs work. Processuality and change are the essence of semiosis, thus, semiotic theories that only stress dyadic relations cannot explain semiosis fully (see, for example, Deely 2001: 709). The investigation of communicative and social phenomena in relational terms presupposes studying the triadic relations (Ketner 1993: 45). Therefore, the causal mechanical model of communication, where something is transferred from one point to another, leaves important aspects out, such as sociality, and the processual and purposive nature of actions.

Signs also refer to something and the reference is always understood in some respect. Therefore, a sign cannot be defined by certain characteristics that belong to the entity as such, but can be explained by its relations, i.e., a sign is a matter of acquired triadic form. The processuality of a sign also implies Peirce's notion of continuous semiosis, which, for example, Eco has argued to be "unlimited semiosis" (Eco 1979: 49).

There are two processes going on between the three elements of a sign. These two processes are called *determination* and *representation*. However, representation shows that the interpretation is not pre-given in the full sign-process, but the Object (or multiple Objects[52]) and the collateral observation set some basis for certain interpretations. Because of the different experiences and emphases within groups (different Object dominates the determining) there *might be multiple chains of interpretations* or changes occurring in the process. Below is a sketch (see Figure 6A, p. 57; Figure 6B, p. 57 shows an example of the possibility of two emerging chains) of the chain of on-going spiral-like semiosis taken from "one" perspective. The spiral-like process in the semiosis has been also mentioned by Deely within the sign-action or semiosis (2001: 709), and it can be found in Yrjö Engeström's model of expansive learning (Engeström 1999: 383–4) as well as in Takeuchi's model of knowledge-creating communities (Nonaka and Takeuchi 1995).

52 According to Peirce, "a sign may have more than one Object" (CP 2.23 and CP 2.230). See Chapter I of Peirce's theory of mediation for a deeper insight into determination and representation.

The second basic fact about semiosis of groups is to be found in Peirce's division of the Interpretants. This demonstrates how the emotional aspect appears in the interpretation process.

Interpretants – meaning of signs

Peirce presents two divisions of the Interpretants: 1) Immediate, Dynamical and Final Interpretants, and 2) Emotional, Energetic and Logical Interpretants. Suffice it here to explain the divisions only briefly, since they have been discussed extensively by many scholars (for example, Bergman 1999: 44–49, and 2004: 370–386, Fitzgerald 1966: 76–82, Short 1996: 494–499 and Zeman 1977: 247–249).

The Immediate Interpretant does not carry out any actual interpretation or action but only harbours the potential to do so (cf.: Bergman 1999:44, Litszka 1996: 122). In addition, the Immediate Interpretant holds the common sense of the term meaning:

> In regard to the Interpretant we have equally to distinguish, in the first place, the Immediate Interpretant, which is the Interpretant as it is revealed in the right understanding of the Sign itself, and is ordinarily called the meaning of the sign; while in the second place, we have to take note of the Dynamical Interpretant which is the actual effect which the Sign, as a Sign, really determines. Finally there is what I provisionally term the Final Interpretant, which refers to the manner in which the Sign tends to represent itself to be related to its Object (CP 4.536).

The Dynamic Interpretant is the effect that the sign causes, or it can be a sum of similar experiences.

The Final Interpretant can hold a notion of habit, i.e., the tendency of the sign to represent itself. It may be regarded as a temporally agreed way in a particular group to undertake the sign's representation.

The Emotional Interpretant is an Interpretant's feeling caused by the sign. Some signs are considered to produce only an emotion. Such a type, for example, could be an advertisement that is unable to arouse anything else in the viewer but an emotion – irritation, for instance – rather than an action.

The Energetic Interpretant is an action produced by a sign. For example, seeing a cigarette logo may make one automatically take a cigarette, even though the desire to smoke has not arisen yet. This would not be a habit of smoking as such, but just a reaction. Although in this case the habit of smoking lies behind it; say, a habit of smoking to reduce anxiety. Here, the sign manages to produce a reaction.

The Logical Interpretant can be said to be the conceptual sign that requires the intellectual appreciation of the meaning of the sign, i.e., character of thought (EP 2:209 cited in Bergman 1999: 45). The logical Interpretant also includes the change of a habit (cf.: CP 4.536, CP 5.476). If we use again the *cigarette* example, it could be possible to reflect upon the habit of smoking to reduce anxiety and, in the end, proceed to change the habit in favour of another means of anxiety reduction.

The division definitely belongs to the Phaneroscopic pattern of Firstness, Secondness and Thirdness. Immediate and Emotional Interpretants are cases of Firstness; Dynamic and Energetic Interpretants are cases of Secondness; and Logical and Final Interpretants are cases of Thirdness. It seems that the two divisions are simply different aspects of viewing the Interpretants depending on the research perspective.

Bergman presents three trichotomies. The first trichotomy offers a way of explaining semiosis on a higher level of abstraction, which involves meaningful social structures and a co-operative process of inquiry. The second trichotomy describes the role of the individual interpreter in a particular sign-process. And it also has a normative aspect. Hence, in other words the second trichotomy deals with what is more practical, it can be seen as a habit modification in the individual's semiosis in a particular context. Therefore the first trichotomy refers to societal or group semiosis, and the second trichotomy pertains to the individual and his/her semiosis. The third tricotonomy of the intentional, effectual, and communicational Interpretant, according to Bergman, is the result of a semeiotic examination of the interpretative character of the communicative process (Bergman 2004: 385). The communicative level is different from the others in the sense that it has two parties involved in it, namely the utterer and the interpreter, as is seen from the following quotation:

> There is the *Intentional* Interpretant, which is determination of the mind of the utterer; the *Effectual* Interpretant, which is a determination of the mind of the interpreter; and the *Communicational* Interpretant […], which is a determination of that mind into which the mind of the utterer and interpreter have to be fused in order for any communication to take place (SS 196–197).

The third trichotomy brings forward the aspect of the need for a common ground on which the communication takes place and which makes it possible. The aspect of common ground for any communication to occur is also emphasised by the representation theories. The levels are intertwined and, arguably, both involve intra- and extra-communication. According to Bergman, the categories of Interpretants highlight a new aspect of sign-relation; that is, its function of conveying meaning (Bergman 1999: 47–49 and 2004 385–386).

Since meaning is involved in the process of mediation (which cannot be reduced to mere transferring of meaning, as Parmentier (1985: 42ff) has stated), it is worth suggesting that the mediation process is in a sense communal; in this respect, the Peircean overall notion of meaning has to be recapitulated:

> The Object of a sign is one thing; its meaning is another. Its Object is the thing or occasion, however indefinite, to which it is to be applied. Its meaning is the idea which it attaches to that Object, whether by way of mere supposition, or as a command, or as an assertion (CP 5.6).

Moreover, as Bergman (1999: 53) and Tarasti (2000: 7) have stated, there has to be a halt in semiosis, i.e. a moment of temporal consensus so that semiosis can produce meaningful actions in practice. In other words, for a symbol to be interpreted in the same way within a particular group there must be a consensus on what the symbol is supposed to mean – implying that a change is already taking place. Obviously, signs tend to grow, they tend to get involved in new relations; thus, their meanings are never static. Usually, it is an *experience* that interrupts the seemingly static state and leads to the moulding of the structure.

Meaning through Firstness, Secondness, and Thirdness

In spite of our overview above, Peirce's numerous writings hold different kinds of definitions of the concept of "meaning". Peirce's emphasis shifted in a certain way when he acquired a communicative approach to semiosis. The representation gained less attention and was replaced by mediation; then, the idea of relative determination seemed to move to fundamental issues. In "Pragmatism", Peirce defines the Interpretant mainly as a sign meaning. The definition of the sign relations involves directionality. In other words, the emphasis is on the mediation and on the flow or movement of meaning.

> […] the essential nature of a sign is that it mediates between its Object, which is supposed to determine it and to be, in some sense, the cause of it, and its Meaning, or as I prefer to say, in order to avoid certain ambiguities its Interpretant, which is determined by the sign, and is in a sense, the effect of it; and which the sign represents to flow as an influence from the Object. (MS 318:14/158$_b$–15/159$_b$ cited from Bergman 2004: 252–253)

From the quotation it is evident that the communicative aspect emphasises the mediation and the sign acting as a mediator; it also enables the representation to take place. The mediated influence is then felt to be significant or intelligible (cf.: Bergman 2004: 253). Although the determination is well noted in statements, it must be remembered that determination only gives ground and constraints to interpretation. Determination is a link to the external through the Dynamical Object and to the collateral experience by the Dynamical Object, but it is not necessarily a "real" thing.

Meaning can be investigated from the point of view of the Object-Sign relation, focusing on determination or representation. Or the meaning can be approached as an action of the Interpretant and sign-action, i.e. as semiosis. It should be noted that narrowing the aspect under investigation is only possible for a certain research goal. The different viewpoints mentioned above are not separate in the actual sign-action, thus they occur simultaneously and can be separated only for investigating a certain part for certain goals within particular borderlines. For the present study, the meanings arriving from the Interpretant are more relevant and I shall concentrate on these.

As Bergman notes, Peirce, in his later writings frequently connected meaning with the Interpretant (see, for example, PPM 86 [1903]; MS 318:19/163$_b$, MS 318:15/170$_b$ [1907], cf.: Bergman 2004: 393). There are three nuances of meaning: the *emotional*, existential and logical. The emotional meaning is a mere recognition of the sign, which is associated with the possibility to use the sign adequately (cf.: EP 2:256 [1903], EP 2:496 [1909]). The emotional meaning is an everyday action where familiar signs appear. Examples of these meanings could be communicated by the well-know logo of a favourite beer brand or a soft drink and its name tag, for example, the Coca-Cola's name tag. It will arouse an emotion towards the beverage. The existential meaning can be seen as an actual event or a thing. The sign gets its value by the position it occupies within the other signs. The last, the Logical meaning, is associated with the results that arrive from a particular process of semiosis. The Logical meaning originates when a particular process of semiosis is discontinued by the Ultimate Logical Interpretant. However, it is not possible to end a semiosis without a strict and an appropriate test of criticism. In individual semiosis this would mean "the deliberately formed self-analyzing habit – self analyzing because formed by the aid of analysis of the exercises that nourished it – is the living definition, the veritable and final logical interpretant" (EP 2:418 [1907] cf.: Bergman 2004: 395).

Peirce distinguishes the relations of the meaning nuances more clearly in the following quotation:

> […] "Meaning" is that which a sign communicates. This may be nothing but a feeling or emotion, which is all that a performance of instrumental music, for example, commonly expresses (MS 637:33v–34v [1909] cited in Bergman 2004: 395).

In practical terms the Final Logical meaning does not exist as such. It is viewed as an end in a particular semiosis (individual or societal) where the habits of action or reasoning function well, or have been agreed with the reached temporal consensus. As has been stated before, it is not possible to reach both the first cause or sign in semiosis and the last one. However, it is possible to single out certain beginnings and ends of semiosis if the scope of the examination is limited. The interpretation is connected with Thirdness. Moreover, since Thirdness cannot manifest itself without Secondness and

Firstness, emotions, feelings and experiences participate actively in the self or group forming. Therefore, one can say that interpretation is based also on feelings and emotions. Sometimes, the emotions can be what dominate the process; hence, the temporal halt in the on going semiosis reaches the Emotional Interpretant. The Emotional Interpretant can promote Thirdness and also create a habit. Thirdness cannot exist without the other two parts.

The spiral-like movement fits well into Peirce's theory of signs, because the idea behind the spiral-like movement is that the previous knowledge remains in the process. However, the previous knowledge (sign/artefact) is modified, broadened, deepened or changed according to what comes up in a new semiosic round. The sign-actions are built upon previous sign-actions and previous experiences. It is very similar to Engeström's model of expansive learning (see Chapter IV for further discussion on the issue).

As a conclusion, it can be said that the individual semiosis is the one that builds up the self, namely the semiotic self, even though the self is in a state of continuous change, as semiosis requires. There can be momentary halts, as can be found in societal semiosis. However, the halts, or in Peirce's words, rest[53], are more or less imaginary since the process goes on even though it might not be visible. It could be said that the proceeding is undercover or under the surface. The individual semiosis and the societal semiosis are tightly intertwined, as Joas and Kilpinen have explained in their arguments for creative action (Joas 1990) or reflective habit (Kilpinen 2000) in society. Both ground their argumentation and theories on Mead, Dewey, James and Peirce, among others, all of whom note in one way or another that the individual and society or community are in an intertwined and continuous interaction – the semiosis in both parties and between them is a cyclical circulative process (see for example Kilpinen, 2000: 60). On the one hand, the aspect can be investigated from the point of view of societal semiosis and on the other hand it can be investigated from the point of view of the individual or self. The elements affecting the process are quite similar but the emphasis on them is different depending on the aspect taken.

53 "That is why I have permitted to call it thought at rest, although thought is essentially an action" (Peirce W 3 263; 1878 cited from Kilpinen 2000: 59).

When investigating the changes in interpretation it is necessary to deal with the three parts as somewhat separate because taking into account everything simultaneously (not to mention writing of it) is not humanly possible. Furthermore, from the joint perspective the semiosis rises to be an important action explaining the changes in attitudes, lifestyles, etc. Seeing the interpretation and meaning through semiosis allows the analysis of groups to take into account the emotional component, which is inseparable from semiosis. Even more than that, emotions essentially belong also to the reactions anticipated by the brands, be it a person's irritation or a positive response caused by the brand usage. For target groups, the emotional component has been known to marketers for some time, albeit intuitively. Contemporary semiotics' foregrounding of the emotional in supposedly "rational" sign processes may contain important consequences for the study of groups and subjects within them. I shall therefore concentrate next on an account of the emotions and feeling of emotion from the aspect of the individual and, therefore, also of social actions.

III Damasio's emotional aspect*

One often hears that when approaches or concepts from the natural sciences are brought into humanistic sciences important subject matter is reduced merely to biological reactions. In other words, that everything cannot be brought back to the empirical sciences. As I have understood it, reduction of subject matter does not necessarily occur. The empirical sciences can bring insight to certain issues that are encountered in humanistic approaches only by using new or newly defined concepts without actually being able to explain what occurs or how the processes form (see Valsiner 1998).

This does not mean that I am claiming that one should reduce everything to the models of the empirical sciences, but there are moments when they can bring new ideas and complement the models formed by semiotics or philosophical studies. Furthermore, if there is concordance between observations from different theoretical and methodological perspectives it adds credence to both parties. Therefore, I am introducing here another way to approach the emotions and feeling of emotion in semiosis and interpretation. There also exist further reasons for introducing alternative approaches into the role of emotions in semiosis.

* Permission granted for reproduction of parts from the article of Bauters M. (2007 forthcoming). "Mediation seen through the sensory eye: A alternative to the 'old' and 'new' media paradigm". *International Journal of Applied Semiotics*.

Firstly, it is important to test if the models formed by semiotics conform with the models formed by other disciplines dealing with the same issues. For instance, embodied aspects (bodymind), distributed cognition and representational naturalistic-based models have been brought up in philosophical, cultural-psychological studies for example by Tarja Knuuttila 2005, Andy Clark 2003, and Jaan Valsiner 1998. Therefore, it is worthwhile seeing if different disciplines can complement each other. Secondly, emotions (affects[54]), and feeling of emotion are closely intertwined in thinking, learning and in the relations between individuals and environment, thus knowing how emotions function and what kind of role they have is important for other disciplines to acknowledge also.[55] This chapter introduces an attempt to see how the Peircean approach and neuroscientific approach to the construction of self could fit together or where the approaches have affinities.

As it was mentioned earlier the semiosic process is continuous as are the experiences of Objects. Using Peirce's words, "our experience of any Object is developed by a process continuous from the very first" (W 2.191 [1868] cited from Bergman 2004: 303). The continuous process also means that signs can form habits. For example, if we take a car as an example, when driving a car many signs appear that are interpreted by the driver. Most of these interpretations have formed into habits, thus already reaching the state of Thirdness in the Peircean sense, and have gone back to be autonomous habitual proceedings (see also Misztal 2003: 10). In this sense, one can form only one

54 According to Aboulafia and Bannon the often-used division of the different "levels of emotions" includes affect, emotions and sentiment. "An affect is an intense and relatively short emotional state brought about by a sudden change in any circumstances vital for the person or animal. […] While affects are short-term and directly related to the situation, emotions are able to go beyond the specific situation. They provide an overview of several situations – an episode (corresponding to episodic memory), and may last for several days. Sentiments or attitudes allow a person to be oriented across several episodes (which could be called history)" (Aboulafia and Bannon 2004: 11). The division goes along somewhat with Damasio's emotions (affect), and feeling of emotion (emotion), and sentiment would be the culturally named state of the feeling of emotion (emotion). I thank Sirkka Knuuttila for pointing out this correlation.

55 I am grateful to Harri Veivo for pointing to the need of explicit explaining and for Kaie Kotov for helping me formulate these ideas.

sign from a cluster of signs or go on in processing many signs at the same time, but only some of the signs are processed consciously. The sign clusters are interpreted according to the perceiver's semiosic process, which, again, is a part of the societal semiosis (the group's semiosis) where the perceiver situates him/herself. In the car example, the affect of the social group can also be tied to the perceiver's future oriented goal, namely the perceiver might want to learn to drive even better in order to boast about it in one's "peer group". Therefore, it can be said that the Peircean approach is holistic also in the sense that it takes into account the human as a whole, i.e., the social aspect and the bodymind. To borrow Merrell's words:

> [The] "idea" (Thirdness) is not purely strictly mental, disembodied, abstract, and autonomous of the world: it emerges as the result of a process given a particular direction by some sensation (Firstness), and the sensation was followed by some reaction (Secondness) from some other, whether of the physical world, the community, or the self's own "inner" other. The move from sensation to reaction to idea to action is not marked by ruptures, but rather, it is continuous. Corporeal capacities and tendencies merge into incorporeal capacities and tendencies, and visa versa, ultimately to become one undivided whole (Merrell 2004: 267).

It is obvious that the social context affects us in some way or other, but it is also important to take seriously the idea of bodymind: there is no "pure thought" that could be separated from the body. Next, I shall cover some of the processes of how the embodiment/bodymind comes into the picture.

1. Sensory channels/ bodymind

According to Merrell, we cannot ignore the body, the sense of the inner self and the sensory channels through which part of the self and thoughts are built up in semiosis. I shall construct my point of view by following Peirce[56]

56 Merrell uses for his model of bodymind and its affects on all of our actions and reflections the ten sign classes from Peirce's theory of signs (see Merrell 2003: 52–61). In my point of view, to take into consideration the class into which a particular sign belongs is not

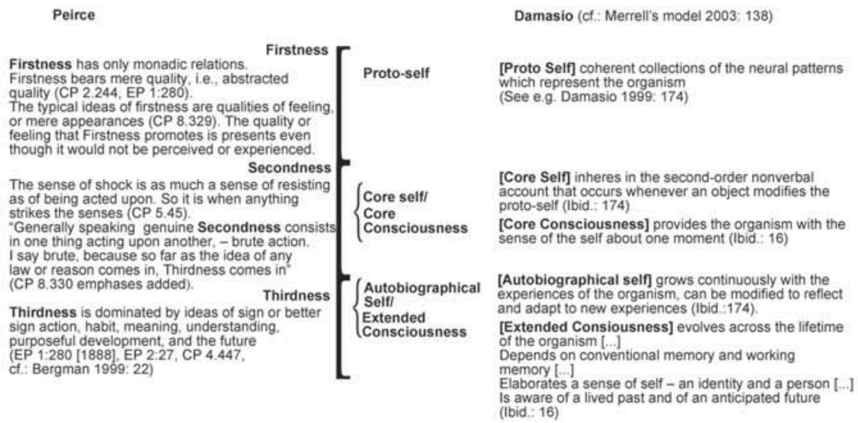

Figure 7. On the left are Peircean categories of Firstness, Secondness and Thirdness and on the right how Damasio's divisions of different stages of consciousness and self may fit into the Peircean categories.

and Antonio Damasio. Both mention the intertwined relationship of body and mind (*bodymind* if using Merrell's terminology) in their theories. The bodymind strives for a holistic experience and mediation. I shall present what kind of model could be formed out of Peirce's and Damasio's combination. As mentioned earlier, it is worthwhile to explore if different theories, approaches and disciplines cohere and/or complement each other, especially when the focus of interest is similar or the same. As it is here, both Peirce and Damasio have thought about emotions and embodiment in the construction of the self (cf.: Bergman 2004: 242).

Peirce's categories of Firstness, Secondness and Thirdness will be the main frame into which, as I see it, the parts of Damasio's neuroscientific and cognitive theories could fit in forming a broader understanding of the essential role of the body in our thinking. The theories have affinities in many areas. As mentioned in the previous chapters, semiosis of the self is intertwined in

necessary, especially since the signs tend to hold aspects of more than one class. Therefore, in this study the sign classes are not considered but instead the categories of experience are focused on more.

the interpretation of signs, namely, there must be a sense of self.[57] The sense of self is one of the main points in Damasio's description.

Figure 7 (p. 69) presents Damasio's division of the different consciousnesses, which express the ongoing process for the sense of self to emerge. It must be noted that as in Peirce's view and also in Damasio's theory the categories or divisions are not clear-cut but rather fuzzy and moving beings interdependent and interrelated.[58]

The semiosis of the semiotic self, namely, when one is aware of oneself, is an essential part in understanding how signs appear to us. Damasio, being a neurologist, elaborates his theory from clinical experience where his patients have had different kinds of brain damage. Damasio's argument is that consciousness, thought and self cannot come into being and cannot be without continuous interdependent and intertwined connections to the chemical and neural systems that regulate the body and the brain (brain as part of the body). Damasio also extends the traditional concept of consciousness and self[59] into what generally could be called the body. Damasio argues heavily against the Cartesian division of body and mind. His construction starts with the Proto-self that is basically the becoming aware/ becoming conscious of oneself as a whole.

In Merrell's words, "Emotions and feelings are inseparable from signs coinciding with or in collisions with expectations and natural signs of action-reaction" (2003: 133). Damasio defines emotion and feeling in the following manner

> The term "emotion" should be rightfully used to designate a collection of responses triggered from parts of the brain to the body, and from parts of the brain to other parts of the brain, using both neural and humoral routes. The end result of the collection of such responses is an *emotional state* […]. The term "feeling" should be used to describe the complex *mental state* that results from the emotional state. That mental state includes (a) the representation of the changes that have just occurred in the body proper and are being signaled to the body-representing structures in the central nervous system […] (b) a number of alterations in cognitive processing that are caused by signals secondary to brain-to-brain responses (Damasio 2001: 103, emphases in the original).[60]

57 See also Jeffrey Prager 1998 for the importance of studying the forming of self in relation to emotions and memory.

58 "It is a difficult question whether the idea of this one-sided determination is a pure idea of Secondness or whether it involves Thirdness" (CP 8.330).

59 The concept of self is defined by Damasio as follows "[Self] as something that denotes stability and continuity over time, as well as singularity" and "[…] self always implies a reference, for example, to an organism, to its behaviour, or to its mind" (2003: 253–254).

Damasio's main interest focuses on the important role of emotions in all human reflections, decision making, problem solving, and learning. To take Damasio's point of view is important since according to him the emotions come first and after that the feelings, namely the feeling of the emotion: "When we have an emotion we alter the state of the body in a variety of ways, and then register the resulting changes in the brain's body maps and feel the emotions. Emotions come first, feelings second" (Damasio 2003a: 49). However, this distinction refers to Damasio's point about the problem that still exists today of research on emotions being considered subjective, which however is not the case from Damasio's perspective, namely "It seems clear now that there is nothing more elusive about emotion than about, say, perception or memory […] and it is equally clear that emotion is also no less objective" (2001: 101). The role of emotions in the construction or emergence of the self is described by Damasio through three different "levels", namely the Proto Self, Core Self and Autobiographical Self (see Figure 7, p. 69).

The Proto-self is the neural and chemical system which scans moment by moment the physical state of the physical structure of the organism in its many dimensions, including the brain. The Proto-self is the pre-conscious biological precedent of both Core and Autobiographical self (Parvizi & Damasio 2001: 138). Core Consciousness aims of ensuring on another level of biological processing the homeostatic balance in a living organism, and represents the current organism's state within somato-sensing structures. Core Consciousness

60 Peirce, however, has some ambiguity in his of terms "emotion" and "feeling" (see footnote 46).

can be seen to be the imaged relationship of the interaction between the object[61] and the changed organism state it causes. The images convey the physical characteristics of the object as well as the reaction of liking or disliking one may experience regarding an object and the plans one may formulate for it, or convey the web of relationships of the object among other objects (see Parvizi & Damasio 2001: 135–137). The ceaselessly maintained first-order collection is the Proto-self and the turning of these neural patterns into explicit mental patterns occurs in the interactions of the Proto-self and the Core Consciousness. Out of these mental patterns the sense of self (Core Self - Core Consciousness) is formed. This awareness of the self and the mental patterns of relationships of the objects, etc., are, according to Damasio, "a specific kind of wordless knowledge" (Parvizi & Damasio 2001: 137). In other words:

> Core consciousness […] occurs when the brain's representation devices generate an imaged, nonverbal account of how the organism's own state is affected by the organism's interaction with an object, and when this process leads to the enhancement of the image of the causative object (Secondness), thus placing the object saliently in a spatial and temporal context. The protagonist of the core consciousness is the core self (Parvizi & Damasio 2001: 137 brackets added).

The above quotation shows how the Core Self, namely the protagonist of the Core Consciousness can be seen to belong to the Secondness. The process is causal and it is spatial and temporal in context. Moreover, the whole idea proved by Damasio through neuroscientific research is surprisingly close to Peirce's idea of how Firstness, Secondness and Thirdness are related in the triadic mediated semiosic process, namely

> […] core consciousness is the process of achieving an all encompassing imagetic pattern which brings together the pattern for the object, the pattern for the organism, and the pattern for the relationship between the two […] the image of knowing (being aware of one self)

61 By the term "object" Damasio and Parvizi mean "entities as diverse as a person, a place, a melody, or an emotional state, by image we mean a mental pattern in any of the sensory modalities, e.g. a sound image, a tactile image, the image of an aspect of an emotional state as conveyed by visceral senses" (Parvizi & Damasio 2001: 136–137).

> originates in the neural structures fundamentally associated with the representation of body states, the image of knowing is a feeling (Parvizi & Damasio 2001: 139–140 brackets added).[62]

When the feeling of the emotions occurs there can be a straight reaction or a thinking process of the particular felt emotion. In Peirce's categories of experience the Proto-self could be seen as on the verge of becoming Firstness. In the category of Firstness "the typical ideas of Firstness are qualities of feeling, or mere appearances" (CP 8.329). The Core Self then is on the verge of moving to Secondness acting along with the Core Consciousness. The Core Consciousness is the mental pattern of the "updated image" of the state of the self at a certain moment, about which the person is aware. Thus the process occurs mainly in Secondness since it gives a sense of action-reactions and an awareness of the changed situations. The process from Proto-self to Core Self is close to intuition, creativity or in Peircean terms, abduction. According to Merrell, it is the bodymind information that we should not ignore. "Core consciousness is essential to reason and logic in creativity, problem solving, and planning and decision making processes. […] All this has to do with bodymind, and bodymind signs" (Merrell 2003: 160–161). Another important aspect of the Core Self is its ability to produce in us the sense of self as continuous "[…] the key to the self is the representation of the continuity of the organism" (Damasio 2003: 254).[63] It means that one is interpreting signs holistically all the time from "inside" oneself and from the "outside".

The Extended Consciousness and its protagonist the Autobiographical Self are Thirdness in the Peircean sense. The Extended Consciousness holds the ability to process time. Thus, past and future come forth with the person's memories of previous situations, outcomes of situations, feeling of emotions related to these and experiences in general. It also holds the capacity of learning. Having in the background and as a base the sense of the continuous

62 Some of the similarities in the choice of concepts and descriptions may also be due to the fact that Damasio is acquainted for example with William James (see Damasio 2003: 254).

63 The support for the feeling of continuity in the self comes from the neural system responsible for the representation of our bodies. Damasio also calls it an intuition (cf.: Damasio 2003: 254). The relationship of intuition to the representation of the continuous self is similar to Peirce's idea of abduction; see Paavola (2004 and 2004a, and 2005) and Merrell (2003).

Core Self (and Core Consciousness), involving the memories – e.g. of past experiences – the Autobiographical Self along with Extended Consciousness form the identity or personality of the semiotic self. However, this continuum of consciousness was already anticipated by Peirce: "My notion is that we directly perceive the continuity of consciousness (CP 6.181)". There is a definite coincidence between the ideas from Damasio's theory and Peirce's views, e.g. the collateral observations/experience[64], and habit formation. By one's different experiences of the signs that the Core Self provides, the individual semiosis can produce habits that become automated, namely they seem as if taken back into the Core Consciousness from the Autobiographical Self. Since the feeling of emotion is needed to be aware of emotions taking place, what does this mean to conscious activity mediated by signs? Next I shall concentrate more on the feeling of emotion and its relations to conscious activities.

2. A closer view of emotions

One reacts to the emotions quite automatically and after that one gets the feeling of the emotions of which one is conscious. However, there is not much one can do immediately about feelings, but after becoming aware of a feeling one can think about it and try to exercise some control over it and towards the actions that it might prompt. The primary emotions are hard-wired, instinctive and bottom-up. These are included in the Proto-self. The image changes under the influence of the change of the emotional state, and the brain creates the feeling of the emotions in the Core Consciousness, of which one is aware. The stimulus can come through the sensations of sound, taste, smell, sight, touch, kinaesthetics, and the vestibular sense. These occur in different parts of brain and are processed as parallel multiprocessing. Somewhat similarly Peirce describes the possibility of having multiple Objects in the sign-action (CP 2.230). The processes are integrated into meaningful combinations over time and combined with the previous experiences (Extended Consciousness) (see Merrell 2003: 165–167). Here is the point where the secondary emotions

64 "By collateral observation, I mean previous acquaintance with what the sign denotes" (CP 8.179; see also MS 717:2 in Bergman 2004: 52 for a definition of habit).

and learned stimulus come into view. This means that if an experience or a particular stimulus promotes the same kind of feeling of emotion and this feeling of emotion is experienced and conceptually processed many times, it becomes habituated or, in other words, it becomes "second nature". In Damasio's words:

> Emotion is in the loop of reason all the time. We have inherited an incredibly complex emotional apparatus, which, in evolution, was tied to certain classes of objects and situations that were fairly narrow […] but now we have added to that repertoire of emotional triggers many other objects and situations we have learned in our lives, so we do have a possibility of responding emotionally to all sorts of situations (Damasio 2003a: 49–51).

It still must be kept in mind that the secondary emotions are products of primary emotional processes and they use the primary emotions as their basis. The difference between the processes of the primary (bottom-up) and secondary (top-down) emotions can be summed up with Merrell's words:

> [In the primary emotions], the body does what it does in interdependent, interrelated interaction with mind in such a way that we have neither body nor mind in separation but bodymind. [In the secondary emotions], the mind does what it does in the same interaction with the body. However, the difference is that the mind mediates and at least to a limited extent monitors what the body does (Merrell 2003: 175–176).

In other words, in the secondary emotion process the signs come to be a part of the bodymind sign processing, meaning that interpretation is embodied.

There is an important difference here: on the one hand, we react to many signs without realising it and, on the other hand, we learn new signs and response to these signs forms into habits. By now it should be clear that the bodymind (embodiment) is an essential aspect in semiosis, namely it is important for realising the holistic manner in which one perceives and uses signs. The cultivation or education or communication with/in our Umwelt is a significant part of the secondary learned signs. It is also crucial to understand that emotions play a role in cognitive processes, in learning, in decision making and in memory and are behind ethics, law, artistic, scientific and technological creativity (Damasio 2001: 102). Next, I shall discuss the Core Self and the Autobiographical Self through Peirce's concepts of inner/critical self.[65]

As the Autobiographic Self is based on the Core Self there is, in Merrell's words, an interdependent, interrelated interaction between the two and they cannot be separated. In other words, the emotions, feeling of the emotions and the changes (Core Consciousness and Core Self) within a dialogue with the Extended Consciousness (memory, past experiences, timeline, e.g. past, present and future) form the sense of Autobiographical Self. These two selves could be seen, in semiotic terms, as in dialogue with each other and they become evident or meet in Secondness[66] but are reflected in semiosis (Thirdness). In other words, it is the semiosis of the semiotic self. The idea of the spiral-semiosis of the Core Self and the Autobiographical Self enables us to see the complicated role of the bodymind in the forming of the semiotic self or individuality within the Umwelt (or community in Peircean terms), let

65 For ideas of dialogue within oneself, emphasising the embodied knowledge (bodymind signs) and the communal aspects see Mead (1934, 1938), Vygotsky (1978, 1981), Colapietro (1989) on Peirce, and William James (1983 [1890], 1902).

66 Peirce has actually expressed somewhat the same idea as Damasio, namely that in Secondness two different consciousnesses meet:

> [There is a category] which the rough and tumble of life renders most familiarly prominent. We are continually bumping up against hard fact. We expected one thing, or passively took it for granted, and had the image of it in our minds, but experience forces that idea into the background, and compels us to think quite differently. You get this kind of consciousness in some approach to purity when you put your shoulder against a door and try to force it open. You have a sense of resistance and at the same time a sense of effort. There can be no resistance without effort; there can be no effort without resistance. They are only two ways of describing the same experience. It is a double consciousness. We become aware of ourselves in becoming aware of the not-self. The waking state is a consciousness of reaction; and as the consciousness itself is two-sided, so it has also two varieties; namely, action, where our modification of other things is more prominent than their reaction on us, and perception, where their effect on us is overwhelmingly greater than our effect on them. And this notion, of being such as other things make us, is such a prominent part of our life that we conceive other things also to exist by virtue of their reactions against each other. The idea of other, of not, becomes a very pivot of thought. To this element I give the name of Secondness. (CP 1.324)

alone the fact that partly one is the same as the Umwelt or community. The individual can be viewed to belong/ be part of the environment in two ways, namely the Peircean way: "Now you and I – what are we? Mere cells of the social organism" (CP 1.673) and the Damasioan way: "[we] share our image-based concept of the world with other humans, and even with some animals" (Damasio 1994: 97). It means that we share our conscious thought with the Umwelt but also that the biological structure is part of Nature.[67] However, as for the semiosis between Core Self/Core Consciousness and Autobiographical Self/Extended Consciousness, the Peircean shared communal mind[68] springs up from the similarity we have with the others of the image-based concepts (the Proto-self), namely we are definitely part of the environment. The semiosis is a continuous process adding new experiences to the already formed self-image/personality.

Next I shall attempt to form a framework of the different aspects brought up in the previous chapters.

67 The development of neural structures, especially in the first years of life, through interpersonal and sensory experiences is already well known. This development has an effect on the way information is selected from the environment (cf.: Wexler 2006: 1–85).

68 Paavola and Hakkarainen (2005: 238) have presented a similar point in relation to abduction, namely that according to Peirce, since man's mind developed under the same laws that govern the universe, man has an "instinctive insight" into the laws themselves (see CP 5.604, CP 6.10 and 7.39–40).

IV Tying the aspects together

In this chapter, I try to present a framework for the different aspects and emphases presented in the previous chapters. The somewhat separate elements that need to be combined are: 1) multiple Objects (or associations) that can produce a variety of interpretation chains and common grounds in relation to the Zone of Proximal Development; 2) The relationship between the individual and Umwelt (or target groups/ communities); 3) the subject matter on the emerging semiotic self, and 4) the importance of feeling of emotion (embodiment).

Some combining has already been carried out in the area of developmental psychology. For example, Jaan Valsiner[69] has formed an interesting and useful theory on the emerging of the semiotic self in relation to the other. Therefore, some referrences to Valsiner's theory of the semiogenetic approach will appear in this chapter.

69 Jaan Valsiner has moved from child development into the psychological development of adults. His recent approach is semiotic, namely the traditional area of semiotic autoregulation and semiotic mediation in human development (see Valsiner 2001 and 2004). The main disciplines or study areas presented as a basis for the semiogenetic approach are social philosophy, sociology, psychology, and semiotics, presenting the ideas of George Herbert Mead (1934 and 1938), William James (1983, 1902), Henri Bergson (1944 and 1988), R. Harré (1980 and 1989), Lev Vygotsky (1978 and 1981), A. N. Leont'ev (1978), James Wertsch (1981, 1993 and 1995), William Stern (1938), Gordon Allport (1938 and 1955), James Mark Baldwin (1906-1911), A. Lang (1993), C. S. Peirce (collected papers), and K. Bühler (1990).

As pointed out in my study, the Umwelt gives the different potentials and possibilities but also poses potential and possible limits for the signs and the meaning creation of the signs. The same is presented in social psychology as a heterogeneous complex of shared meanings, social norms and everyday life practices (social suggestions). This "mess" allows for an individual idiosyncratic semiotic system of symbols, practices and personal objects, which constitute the personal culture[70]. How does this process occur? Here this question has been approached by the notion of semiosis. The description of semiosis is still quite general and abstract, which gives it the power to fit into many disciplines as a framework or basis but lacking the more detailed explanation of what actually occurs in semiosis. In this chapter, semiosis is attempted to be described more in detail in relation to the subject matter, using the ideas of internalisation/externalisation and Zone of Proximal Development following Vygotsky.

The first issue tackled describes the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) in relation to Peirce's common ground, multiple Objects and individual interpreting of particular signs (see Chapters I and II). The second issue is the relation of affect and Damasio's description of the role of emotions in the construction of the semiotic self (see Chapter III). The third issue discussed is the process of semiosis in relation to the commonly used notions of internalisation and externalisation.

1. Common ground, multiple Objects and Zone of Proximal Development

It has been mentioned in this study that a common ground is necessary for sign recognition, interpretation and communication. This means that there are experiences, habits of action and thinking, and familiarity in the Umwelt. As Peirce states, the common ground is the basis for dialogue:

> The universe must be well know and mutually known to be known and agreed to exist, in some sense, between speaker and hearer, between mind as appealing to its own further consideration and

70 See footnote 7 for the definition of the term "personal culture".

> the mind as so appealed to, or there can be no communication, or "common ground" at all (CP 3.621 see also CP 8.179 about collateral observation).

According to Paavola, Hakkarainen and Sintonen, particularly indexical signs enable a relationship to the shared world (2006: 144 see also CP 2.287).

How the common ground works, how it relates the Umwelt to the individual can be explained by the relation between intrapersonal communication (intrapyschological) and interpersonal communication (interpyschological). According to the semiogenetic approach different zones of action exist, one of which is the Zone of Proximal Development[71] that holds possibilities and constraints[72]. The possibilities and constraints are set dynamically. This

71 Valsiner defines three different zones. The Zone of Freedom of Movement (ZFM) organises the intrapersonal communication (intrapsychological) function of persons through the use of mediating signs setting boundaries for (potential) possible ways of thinking and feeling. The second zone is the Zone of Promoted Action (ZPA), which is like a sub-area in the ZFM. The last Zone is the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD). The ZPD can be seen as the zone that realises the new potential and possible meanings provided by the relation between the ZFM and ZPA (See Valsiner 1998: 281 and 59–61). However, for the purpose of this study, the Zone of Proximal Development (which is often used by Activity Theoretical approaches following Lev Vygotsky's definition) is enough to explain the process of semiosis tying together the different aspects of semiosis, namely the aspect of the signs, common ground and multiple affordances. The Umwelt can be seen to cover the objectified species-specific world when the ZPD is the zone where the potential development of an individual or group is possible. Common ground can be seen to be the necessity that any dialogue between parties is possible, thus common ground is more abstract and, for example, the ZPD brings an additional human aspect into the abstract possibility of dialogue emphasising the potential to develop further or broaden one's knowledge and skills.

72 Constraints are defined according to Valsiner as "[...] being a regulator of the move from the present to the immediate future state of the organism-environment system, which delimits the full set of possible ways of that move, thus enabling the developing organism to construct the actual move under a reduced set of possibilities" (1998: 52). The constraint include: fixed ideas, relatively stable personal senses or habitual ways of acting (cf.: Valsiner 1998: 3, 52 and 389, and to the Pragmaticism maxim: "Consider what effects that might conceivably have practical bearings you conceive the objects of your conception to have. Then, your conception of those effects is the whole of your conception of the object." (CP 5.438)).

forms an open system, which enables changes in the boundaries of the zones (somewhat in the Lotmanian manner of periphery and centre of Semiospheres, see Lotman (2001) or how the groups were described to relate to other groups in Chapter II). The zone can be felt to be stable but still keeps transforming. The steady development of an open system can create a feeling of relative stability of the zone. It can be said that the action within the borders (limits) of the zone somewhat determines the feeling of self and the other, somewhat like Mead's "I" and "Me" or Tarasti's "Moi"/"Soi" (See Chapter II). Since the zones are an open system they can be seen to provide multiple affordances for interpretation. The designed clues for affordances to be perceived require that they fall, at least partially, within the space of the ZPD and in abstract terms have a common ground through which the interaction/dialogue can take place. Otherwise, there are no affordances to be perceived – the affordances are too "far" for the persons to perceive them. In other words, the affordances have nothing in common within the common ground or they are not in the space of the ZPD. Due to habit of thought, constraints exist in perceiving the multiple affordances in signs, which limit the potential and possibilities of perceived affordances. The term "affordances" originates from James J. Gibson and has been employed extensively in the user interface design and usability-related approaches (see Norman 1989, and McGrenere and Ho 2000) but is increasingly used by pedagogical approaches and distributed cognition (see Pea 1993, and Paavola and Hakkarainen 2005: 246). Affordances can be seen as the properties and features of things (or signs) themselves that direct how they can be interpreted and/or used. When the elements functioning as the sign have been designed it means that clues are designed into the elements that function as the sign for perceiving certain affordances. However, whether these clues are taken as intended by the producer/designer of the sign depends on the past experiences (collateral experiences) and established common ground from where the Zone of Proximal Development arises.

The intrapersonal communication within the ZPD can be seen to be close to the dialogue between the Core Self/Core Consciousness and the Autobiographical Self/Extended Consciousness (see Chapter III) and the dialogue between the "Moi" and "Soi" that occurs by/through the mediating signs for forming the semiotic self (see CP 4.551 and Chapter II). The semiosic circle (helix) means that within the ZPD some possible meanings are not considered as options of thinking, acting or feeling. These might be ruled out, ignored altogether or they can just direct the action of the person in some way or other. For example, some brands in the grocery shop might not be considered as a choice or they are not noticed at all. Thus, constraints and affordances guide the person's actions, feelings and thinking towards some dominating parts, rather than some other areas. If the constraints and affordances are in the periphery of the ZPD, where the border or limits are approached, the meeting of the challenge of acknowledging the constraints or affordances may bring about novel ways (or altered ways) of thinking, acting and feeling or of creating new signs and meanings of signs. This process somewhat guides a person's personal-cultural reflection upon the world (world-view).

The zone is dynamic in a somewhat similar manner as was mentioned in Chapter II concerning "fuzzy groups". The dynamism is based on the ability of the sign mediators to obtain an attachment to different parts in the ZPD. These "moves/changes" can occur on parallel levels of the hierarchy of the dominant Objects in the sign-action (see Chapter I, multiple associations). This means that social suggestions or representations from the Umwelt do not have a direct impact on the person, but can be reformulated and reconstructed by the intrapersonal world (personal-cultural world) and can create multiple interpretations (cf.: Valsiner 1998: 262).[73] The openness of the semiotic mediation enables both a constant flexible reconstruction of the manner in which the Umwelt is conceptualized as well as an insistent fixation of the way in which a situation's definition forms concepts that lead into a rigidity of understanding/interpretation.

The ZPD can be seen as the zone that realises the new potential and possible meanings provided by the signs. This partial area of the system of the person's intrapersonal communication, as mentioned before, can be seen to have similarities on with model of the relationships between Moi, Soi and Ich-Ton. The Ich-Ton could be seen to be in constant development by/through semiosis when the boundaries of the groups' or individuals' habit of thinking

73 See also the description on the personal uses of advertising signs and codes to build up a person's own needs and lifestyle situations (Bruhn Jensen 1995, Beasley and Danesi 2002, and Danesi 2002).

and acting in intertwined interaction with the Umwelt encounter tension.[74] The changes and the broadening of the boundaries and of the domination of the Objects can create multiple semiosis in the person's individual semiosis or group's semiosis (See Chapters I and II). Therefore, it enables diversity in the person's actions and thinking, which again affects the diversity and heterogeneity of the Umwelt (and visa versa). As Valsiner states "[…] every act of conduct […] is polysemous in its meaning – it constrains the construction of multiple personal senses at the semiotic level. […] it is no surprise that human personality is necessarily heterogeneous in its self-structure and inconsistent between the domains of thinking-feeling and acting" (1998: 76).[75] This process includes the feeling of emotion (in the terms of Damasio) or cognitive-affective schemata (in developmental psychological terms).

2. Feeling of emotion/cognitive-affective schemata

Damasio's studies in the area of neuroscience importantly complement the understanding of the construction of the personal sense and the role that the feeling of emotions play in the process of internalisation and externalisation (semiosis) and of the affordances provided by the signs in the ZPD whose perceiving is dependant on the collateral experiences, and common ground.

The thought that emotions are the basis of all human action including the rational counterpart (Damasio 2001: 102) in relation to the Peircian idea of

74 Sometimes the flow/move can create a feeling of a loosening of the boundaries (feeling of disappearing/melting) between the person and the Umwelt. However, these feelings do not usually last long (see Valsiner 1998: 120 about "zero-distancing" and "fusion" of the self with the context).

75 The diversity/heterogeneity is often dealt with using Bakhtin's notion of multivoicedness, namely the idea of different voices in the novel and how the text is interpreted as a myriad of experiences of the person. Bakhtin lists, for example, the following possibilities, "social dialects, group styles, professional jargons, languages of genre, languages of generations and age cohorts, languages of [ideological] directions, languages of experts, languages of groups of people and passing fashions, languages of social-political days and even hours (every day has its own slogan, its own lexicon and accents)" (Bakhtin 1934/1975: 76 in Valsiner 1998: 280). The idea of multivoicedness has often been broadened to cover society at large.

the necessity of Firstness and Secondness in Thirdness emphasises the role of emotions in all human activities, be they reflective thinking or handiwork.

What seems to be unquestionable is that the recognition or naming of the feeling of emotion occurs by collective, culturally provided emotional terms of experience and meaning, namely the interpretation of experiences. This will provide a temporal hierarchical structure (see Damasio2003a and 2001, Valsiner 1998: 92). Damasio explains the whole process of forming of the self from the emotional aspect.

The sign-action with a neuroscientific approach creates a more holistic system of meaning complexes within any particular setting of the organism. The Phaneroscopic categories of Firstness, Secondness and Thirdness play an important part in understanding the role of emotions in the activities of the individual. As stated in Chapter III, the ceaselessly maintained first-order collection is the Proto-self and the turning of these neural patterns into explicit mental patterns occurs in the interactions of the Proto-self and the Core Consciousness/Core Self. The Core Consciousness is the imaged relationship of the interaction between the object[76] and the changed organism state it causes. The images convey the physical characteristics of the object as well as the reaction of liking or disliking that one may have for an object and for the plans one may formulate for it, or convey for the web of relationships of the object among other objects (see Parvizi & Damasio 2001: 135–137). Out of these mental patterns the sense of self emerges. This awareness of the self is embodied knowledge (cf.: Parvizi & Damasio 2001: 137).

In Peirce's categories of experience the Proto-self is close to the Phaneroscopic category of Firstness (see CP 8.329). The Core Consciousness, then, is on the verge of moving to Secondness. The Core Consciousness is the mental pattern of the "updated image" of the state of the self at a certain moment, about which the person is aware. Thus in Secondness a sense of action-reaction and an awareness of the changed situations are active. As mentioned in Chapter III, Extended Consciousness holds the ability to process time. Thus past and future come forth with the person's memories of previous situations, outcomes of the situations, feeling of emotions related to these and experiences in general. Extended Consciousness also holds the

76 See footnote 61 for the definition of the "object" in Damasio's terms.

capacity of reflection. Having in the background, and as a base, the sense of the continuous Core Self involving memories, (e.g. of the past experiences), from the Extended Consciousness emerges the identity or personality of the semiotic self, namely the Autobiographical Self (Thirdness). The secondary emotions and learned stimulus are possible through this process of the self. This means that if an experience or a particular stimulus promotes the same kind of feeling of emotion and this feeling of emotion is experienced and conceptually processed many times, it becomes habituated or, in other words, becomes "second nature". In Damasio's words:

> […] we have added to that repertoire of emotional triggers many other objects and situations we have learned in our lives, so we do have a possibility of responding emotionally to all sorts of situations (Damasio 2003a: 49–51).

The secondary emotions are products of primary emotion processes and they use the primary emotions as their basis. The difference between the processes of the primary (bottom-up) and secondary (top-down) emotions is in the secondary emotion process where the signs come to be a part of the embodied sign processing. In other words, the secondary emotions can turn into automated habits, while the primary emotions are "hard-wired", instinctive and bottom-up, belonging to the Proto-self. However, to learn and to form learned stimuli into habits (second nature) or change and create new habits requires that the activity takes place in the Zone of Proximal Development enabled by the existence of a common ground and past experiences (and collateral experiences) as well as be altered by the new signs.

Furthermore, the affordances promoted by the mediating signs can be perceived if the constraints are not so strong that they prevent perception of the potential affordances within the ZPD. Since Firstness and Secondness belong to Thirdness, the emotions and feeling of emotion necessarily belong to thinking, reflecting and habit formation. Semiosis requires that the Phaneroscopic category of Thirdness be reached. Since cultivation, education or interaction with/in our Umwelt is a significant part of the secondary learned signs, it means that emotions play a role in cognitive processes, in learning, in decision making, in memory and are behind ethics, law, and artistic, scientific and technological creativity (Damasio 2001: 102).

As mentioned in Chapter II the same idea has been brought up by Joas and Bourdieu. For them, emotions are the basis of actions – creative actions. Peirce and Mead do not separate in such detail the faculties of cognition, emotion and conation of mind (Kilpinen 2002: 6). On the level of Firstness there is the Emotional Interpretant that mediates the feelings and emotions: on the level of Secondness there is the Energetic Interpretant that mediates the actual actions; and on the level of Thirdness there is the Logical Interpretant that can enable a change of a habit (cf.: CP 4.536 and CP 5.476). From a joint perspective the semiosis rises to be an important action explaining the changes in attitudes, lifestyles, etc. allowing for to taking into account the interpretation and meaning-making including the emotional component, which is an inseparable part of semiosis.

At the moment, emotions, feeling of emotions, affordances (multiple Objects), common ground and past experiences in the ZPD in relation to the forming of the semiotic self have been discussed, but the actual description of semiosis is still at quite a general level. Next I shall attempt to shed light on the cyclic process of semiosis through the concepts of internalisation and externalisation.

3. Semiosis (internalisation/externalisation)

What happens in semiosis (in internalisation/externalisation[77])? The mediating signs enable the relationship between the individual and group (the other). Following Peirce, there are two aspects in semiosis and in the different Interpretants, namely individual semiosis and the somewhat abstract social semiosis. As mentioned in the previous chapters, the process is spiral-like (or like a helix).

77 According to Valsiner the basis for internalisation/externalisation comes from Baldwin's (1894) aspect of sociogenesis of the self, Harré's (1970, 1980 and 1989) philosophical perspective on the self, Allport's (1938 and 1955) developmental interactionalist approach, Mead's (1934 and 1938) pragmatic dynamism emphasising the subjective individual embedded in the social world, Vygotsky's (1978 and 1981), Leont'ev's (1978), and Wertsch's (1981, 1993 and 1995) Activity Theoretical studies, and Bakhtin's (1981) discursive thinking.

Internalisation holds two oscillating modes: the distancing and the beinpresent (immediacy).[78] The internalisation process is somewhat reminiscent of Damasio's explanation of the imagetic view of the continuous self.[79] In internalisation as well as in Damasio's description both movements, i.e., distancing and being present (immediacy), are affect-laden, thus bringing along emotions. The distancing enables comparing the diverse experiences of person to the anticipated future and to the here and now content. The process creates tension, which sets the potential reflection (Thirdness – Logical Interpretant, dialogue between Core self and Autobiographical self mediated by signs) into motion. This process of meaning-creations entails constant change in the distancing and immediacy (cf.: Valsiner 1998: 118–119). It also enables symbols to grow (see Chapters I and II) in a person's interpretation of the signs. According to the personal-cultural world, a person can be either open or closed (fixed and holding on to habits) to further developmental change. In other words, s/he can be open to new meaning-creation or discard the possibilities of new/altering meaning-creation depending on the constraints of the person and the perceived affordances of the signs in the Umwelt. For example, for marketing strategies this brings interesting options for investigating consumers' supposed openness to selecting new brands or maintaining habits of consuming a particular brand (brand loyalty). The previously mentioned social suggestions seem to play an important role from the marketing strategy point of view considering consumers' self-construction and the externalisation (communication process) of their own presented image, values, beliefs, social representations, and lifestyles.

The externalisation process includes all processes where ideas, thoughts and actions are shared with others, communicated with others, or projected

78 "[…] description of 'psychical distance' illustrates the contrast between immediate relating with context and the person's subjective separation from the context […] Distancing is possible thanks to the construction of hierarchically organized self- (and other) regulation mechanisms – through meanings" (Valsiner 1998: 117).

79 "[…] the image of knowing (being aware of oneself) originates in the neural structures fundamentally associated with the representation of body states, the image of knowing is a feeling" (Parvizi & Damasio 2001: 139–140). This can also create distancing from the feeling of the self and reflection on it (see Chapter III).

towards others. The main point is the inner/outer tension without which there could not be any internalisation or externalisation.

If considering the different perspectives that can be brought to the issue of the sign-mediated process in the irreversibility[80] of time (Bergson 1911a: 8–9, see Valsiner 1998: 179–181), it is possible to view the process from the perspectives of the society, individual and signs. As mentioned earlier, the process is promoted by tension between past and future or the self and the others (Umwelt). The helix-like process can be expressed in the following way according to Valsiner:

> The sign-constructive process can be viewed at each junction of the functional cycle, which – given the irreversibility of developmental time – functions as a helix that moves constantly toward the future, never repeating its previous construction of signs (Valsiner 1998: 251).

This can be presented as well using Peirce's description of the insistency of ideas from the past to the present, and from the present towards the future (see CP 5.289 and Paavola, Hakkarainen and Sintonen 2006: 144). It is through signs, since signs are the mediating vehicles, that personal past experiences can guide one and be shared with others and also guide other's future conduct. The semiosis of the self or the forming of the self exists in the continuous tension that time creates. In Valsiner's words, "the imagery of the possible future – from most immediate to most distant – creates the contracting pull for the sense of the present. This tension is depicted by the two equilateral hyperbola, which create permanent tension at any present moment" (1998: 243) (see Figure 8).

The tension provides a space for the potential altering of the meaning of the signs or new signs to be created. Tension can arrive for example from different

80 Valsiner describes Bergson's notion of the irreversibility of time in the following way: "If the notion of irreversibility of time in development is taken seriously, no feedback processes are theoretically possible, and all information that is "fed back" (in the manner of speaking) is actually "fed forward" so as to be functional in the *new present* state in which the (already further changed) organism encounters a novel environment" (Valsiner 1998: 28–29, emphases in the original).

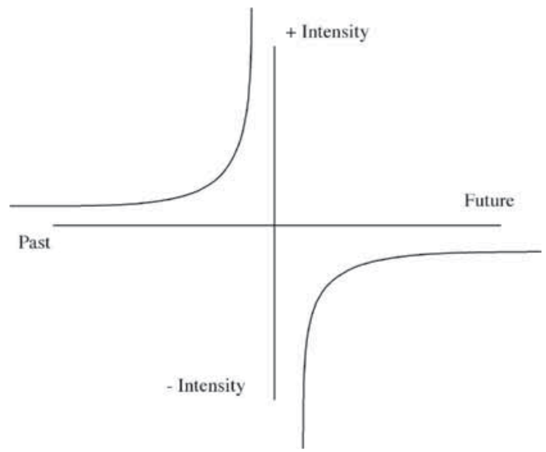

Figure 8. Peirce's description of the intensity of ideas from the past to the present and from the present towards the future (Peirce 1935: 104 in Valsiner 1998: 243).

social suggestions from the Umwelt or due to the sense of the self and others, both of which are in relation to the feeling of time, feeling of emotion and the feeling of continuous self.

Furthermore, this process of meaning-making is somewhat like Tarasti's idea of pre-signs (Tarasti 2000: 33) since the meaning arrives from an emerging feeling, which is not nameable yet, but is still affected by the previous experiences, namely "Feeling which has not yet emerged into immediate consciousness is already affected" (Valsiner 1998: 244). Furthermore, the future is suggested by or rather is influenced by the suggestions of the past (See Peirce, 1935: 104–105; 6.142). As Moss and Damasio has described

> Key value systems are involved, including emotional states and culture, which determine *the memories to be selected* and *the occasions of their recall*. The specificity of experiences can then create a collection of memory stores and modes of recall that are unique to each individual and that *change according to the context* (Moss and Damasio 2001:99, emphases in the original).

The emotional states of oneself and the constraints affect more or less profoundly what is selected and what is not, and in what perspective the

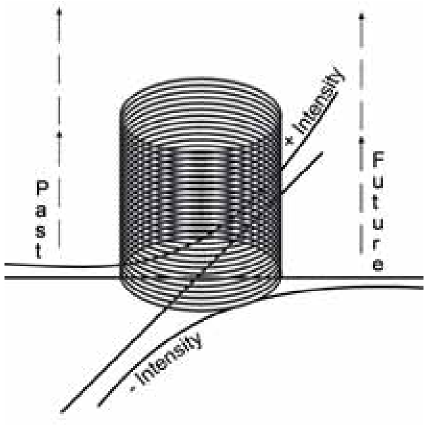

Figure 9. The spiral of semiosis rising from the pull or tension.

issues are perceived.[81] The flow guarantees the constantly active novelty of semiotic processes, thus the sign could not be something repetitive – each time it is taken up it appears in a new act of semiosis (See Ponzio 1985: 16). In other words, there is a continuous cyclic process that is driven by the tension of the time in particular situations. This does not mean that the person necessarily would adapt to the present or to the anticipated future but that it creates novel possibilities of future existence.

The spiral (Figure 9) represents how the space arising from the tension of the time can give rise to a helix-like semiosis, where different aspects can promote new loops into the spiral. For example, the push to construct new semiotic solutions/loops on "top" of the experienced events can arrive from different social suggestions from the Umwelt, from the sense of the self and others or by specific unexpected events that occur in the course of ritualistic organised activities (habituated activities). If ritualistic activities are taken as Peircean habits (beliefs) a collision might arise when the habits/beliefs are placed in doubt. The collision might promote certain kinds of opposition towards the change (the wish to keep the status quo). For example, the unexpected

81 However, one can also force oneself (or to be forced by brute facts) to notice issues that seem to contradict one's beliefs, habits and values, and critically by the Peircean self-controlled manner of pondering some beliefs or habits one has for "correcting" them.

event in the present or in the imaginary future questions the current habits. According to Damasio the process inevitably involves emotions, the feeling of emotion (namely Firstness and Secondness involved in Thirdness). The feeling of emotion could be for instance irritation (Emotional Interpretant) towards the necessity to reflect on one's habits and beliefs. The challenge of questioning one's beliefs (Peirce's Critical self) within the ZPD can promote a novelty in creating new signs (new habits, beliefs). The process can be seen as a dialogue between the selves and Umwelt that is mediated by signs and as a loop in the semiosic spiral. The tension of time between past and future can act, as well, as a space where "tacit knowledge"[82] (embodied signs/Firstness/ Emotional Interpretant) has quite an apparent role. This means that in the present situation the embodied knowledge promotes clues for the anticipated or imaginary future and is "the knowledge" needed for creating novel ideas or activities for the present and future.

Considering Damasio's statements of the emotions' role in decision making, learning, etc., it seems quite probable that in the cases of intensive tension between the past and imaginary future the Emotional Interpretant comes to be the dominant one, maybe promoting not so favourable Energetic Interpretants that could, however, end up into a habit change after intellectual appreciation (Logical Interpretant). The constant circular process unites humans with their Umwelt, meaning that both the external and the internal dialogues occur and feed to each other by semiotic mediation. It can be said that the spiral involves both of Peirce's divisions of Interpretants, namely the individual and the societal level of Interpretants. By this intertwined (independent dependant) process the signs gain new meanings but as well get created and cease to be interpreted. This kind of unity constantly produces diversity at the level of activity in the construction of signs (cf.: Valsiner 1998: 281). The double helix can be examined from different aspects, i.e., from the individual, societal and sign evolvement. However, when one aspect is emphasised it should be kept

82 According to Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995) tacit knowledge is important in creating innovations; it is personal knowledge embedded in individual experience and involves intangible factors such as personal belief, perspective, and the value system. Furthermore, the emphasis on explicated knowledge has resulted in a split between subject and object, and between mind and body.

in mind that the particular aspect never occurs alone (independently of the others).

All the different approaches presented above have one element in common, which is the mediating nature of signs in a dynamic process, but the perspectives on the process differ. On the one hand there are theories taking the aspect of society as counter to the aspects of the individual. The emphasis on only one aspect brings up the notion of dualism[83] that Valsiner argued against by stating that the parts are independently dependent. Peirce and Damasio emphasise the intertwined nature of the parts, although Peirce's theory of signs is more a general theory and not only about individual persons and/or society while Damasio's neuroscientific investigation of the emotions concentrates on humans and their relations to the environment in the forming of the self. The attempt in this chapter was to find the affinities and see if the similarities allow a holistic view of the spiral (helix)-like process, which would enable taking into account or at least keeping in mind the other parts while investigating a particular event or area of interest, as, for example, elements that function as signs in brands, changes in these signs and the interpretation of these signs.

The next chapter present a case study using the framework presented here for investigating changes in the elements that function as signs of beer labels, changes in society (Umwelt) affecting the changes in the signs and the interpretation of the signs. For understanding the evolvement of a beer brand and its labels it is necessary to present the events in history that have had some kind of effect on the brand itself or on the labels. A general historical outline will be presented first, after which the evolution of a brand is examined. I shall include the descriptive and analytical parts within the presentation of the beer brand.

83 According to Valsiner "The persona and the environment are both separate and united; separation makes it possible to study their actual relationship as a process. [...] The very differentiation of the person and the environment makes it possible to study the ways in which they are interdependent. Duality – copresence and relation – of different parts that function within the same whole is not dualism but a form of systematic organisation" (Valsiner 1998: 21).

V Case study: General background and analysis of beer brands

The case study is composed of three parts. The first part introduces a historical background for a better understanding of the changes in the Umwelt. The historical background starts from the New Alcohol Act in 1932, which is a justified beginning because it still takes into account the implications of the Prohibition Act and earlier traditions in Finnish beer culture, but at the same time provides a clear point of change from which to start. Furthermore, the investigated beer labels appeared only after the Prohibition Act. The second part provides a full history of one beer brand named Karhu (from the 1950s until 2004)[84]. However, two labels have been investigated and tracked from the first label until 2004. The other beer brand (Koff) has not been described with a full historical background due the redundancy of the analysing outcomes within Finnish beer brands. However, the Koff brand has been used as one of the brands along with Karhu in the comparison with the Italian Peroni Nastro Azzurro. The third part compares Italian beer labels and Finnish beer labels. The comparison was included in order to observe if the so-called general signs[85] are found in the beer brands from different cultural areas but also to

84 See chapter Introduction for additional details of the choices of the investigated beer brands.

85 The term "general or global signs" refers in this study to visual elements or element combinations that function as signs and which appear frequently across cultures providing similar kinds of meanings. The term "sign" in this context refers to the use of the term sign that implies in itself the triadic relations.

enrich the description of the changes occurring in signs across cultures. The Italian beer brand label was chosen as a comparison point because Italy differs culturally from Finland, thus producing a more fertile ground for comparison. Furthermore, in Italy the context and attitudes towards alcohol are different thus introducing potential differentiation in the label and advertising designs. The difference in the social context has importance since one of the areas of the holistic approach is to take into account the intertwined relation between societal semiosis, signs, and individual semiosis. Therefore the comparison should provide grounds to see how the social semiosis, signs and individual semiosis proceed. The brands themselves are at the time mainstream brands, which provides more material for the investigation. It was essential to have enough material and resources so that it would be possible to construct the context, view the reactions that have occurred, and to have enough artefacts to analyse. The Karhu beer brand was chosen to be represented here because, on the one hand, the brand has been developing similarly to other beer brands and, on the other, it still had some peculiarities in its design history.

The purpose for choosing labels as a case study was the fact that labels are unresearched artefacts especially from the processual and cultural aspect yet they represent the culture they originate from. Another reason was that the visual elements are clear and consist of a limited amount of signs, which is a feasible point from which to start using a holistic approach and a conceptual toolbox. Furthermore, beer labels provide interesting means for comparing signs across cultures.

However, to be able to describe and analyse the changes, other disciplines are needed. Therefore marketing research results have been used whenever available, company documents and interviews have been used as well as research on the historical background. The resources have been employed to find different existing versions of the labels, advertisements and the context of their appearance. These resources have also given insights in to the designing patterns, production manners and the persons involved in the design process. Furthermore, I have not discarded the other semiotic approaches, which have investigated the visual structures and meanings of visual signs in Western society; e.g. Kress and Leeuwen's *Reading images: The grammar of visual design* (2001) gives examples of socially conventional habits of understanding or interpreting certain visual signs.

In the next section basic occurrences that have affected beer consumption, attitudes towards beer, design of the labels and advertisements as well as interpretation of particular signs will be presented.

1. Historical background

Finnish Alcohol politics and attitudes towards alcohol have been influenced by the Prohibition Act, which was in force from 1919–32. Since the label of the case study presented here appeared fully after the Prohibition Act, it is justified to start the description of the historical background from 1932, still taking into account the effects of the Prohibition Act. As mentioned in the theoretical part, the investigation must start from somewhere and here the chosen point to begin is from the first label of the beer brand Karhu.

The new Alcohol Act[86] was enacted February 9, 1932 and came into force on April 5, 1932 at ten a.m. Those substances that contained more than 2.25[87] per cent alcohol by weight were defined as alcoholic beverages. Their manufacturing, import and sale became the exclusive right of the Finnish State Alcohol Company (Oy Alkoholiliike Ab, a government monopoly) (Turunen 2002: 161 and Pekkala 1989: 27).[88] The breweries stayed privately owned but produced beer on the behalf of Oy Alkoholiliike Ab and by the terms stated by Oy Alkoholiliike Ab. The selling of the beer was allowed only in restaurants and in the outlets of Oy Alkoholiliike Ab. Oy Alkoholiliike Ab gave permission to brew excise group II and III beer to 44 breweries and at the time 301 beer

86 The Alcohol Act (VL; 9.2.1932/45) (FINLEX ® - Valtion säädöstietopankki and Pekkala 1989: 21).

87 New excise (tax class) groups were introduced: the first group started from 1.4 per cent alcohol by weight to 2.25, the second was from 2.25 to 3.2, the third was up until 4.5 and porter was allowed to have around 6 per cent of alcohol by weight. Excise group I beer was allowed to be sold in shops if the shopkeeper had been granted a permit to keep a goods shop. In addition, excise group III beer was released for sale in September 1932, by that time it was already obvious that the group II beer did not sell enough (Tikkanen 1999: 53).

88 The definition of producing alcohol at home (83§) was not very clear, thus it was under continuous interpretation and was changed to be more strict in the Alcohol Act and the Medium-Strength Beer Act in 1968 (Pekkala 1989: 31).

restaurants were allowed to operate (Federation of the Brewing and Soft Drinks Industry Internet pages).

The consumption of alcohol had been leaning towards spirits, partly due to the Prohibition Act, which increased the smuggling of spirits and illicit distilling. During the1930s, an attempt was made to redirect consumption to milder alcohol products. This was done by raising the price of spirits higher than the price of beer. Towards the end of the decade consumption of beer increased somewhat partly because of the improving economic conditions. Still, the favourite alcohol drinks were spirits.

The discussion between the temperance movement and the Federation of Finnish Brewers continued all through the 30s. The temperance movement emphasised the hazards and health costs of alcohol and its negative effect on youth, namely, the temperance movement emphasised the port theory (gate theory). The Federation of Finnish Brewers stressed the reduced health costs and the decrease in violence when drinking mild alcohol products and how the selling of malt beverages benefited the national economy more than imported liquor. Still, beer was not that popular due to several reasons: the Winter War (1939–40) affected production, but even more, the absence of transportation equipment made it impossible to distribute the beer effectively. Most of the transportation equipment was in the use of the army/state. Moreover, the brewing of excise group II beer was discontinued. There were only 29 breweries left at the time (Federation of the Brewing and Soft Drinks Industry Internet pages).

The discussion to standardise bottles and crates had come up already in the 1920s. In 1943, the crates were made of wood but the size had to changed because the bottles were going to be standardised to enable easier transport, cycling, and closure of the bottles with new capping machines. The examples for new bottles and caps were taken from Sweden, Germany, Great Britain and Denmark. In the end, Oy Alkoholiliike Ab found a design and the caps were chosen to be corks or metal caps with tearing. However, caps were not preferred because they needed an opener, which was seen to be inconvenient for customers – who would want to buy a tool for opening a beer bottle! The questions of standardising the caps took a long while. One obstacle was World War II, which caused a shortage in cap materials (also in the natural corks that

had been used with the old bottles), therefore for a while the beer bottles were closed with plugs made of wood.

The new bottles were taken in to use gradually from April 1, 1939[89] onwards (see Appendix 1) and the old bottles were supposed to be replaced the new ones by April 1, 1941 (Manner, 1938: 374–379 and 492–497, *Mallasjuomat*, 4/1942: 136–137 and *Mallasjuomat*, 12/1938: 515). The question of caps and bottle shapes had been brought up many times by the media. Later the stress had been on the visual appearance and the obligatory distinction between mild beer and medium-strength beer. In 1940 the magazine *Mallasjuomat* brought up the importance of the labels. It had been obligatory to label the "containers" of beer that had saccharamide in them. The new statement that was announced ordered all containers of beer to be labelled if they were transported out of the brewery. It was also advised not to use names that would mislead the consumers about the quality of the beer (*Mallasjuomat*, 3/1940: 47). The consumers preferred bottles and containers that had a label, for the possibility of checking that the beer was the ordered one.

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89 Interestingly, on the Internet pages of the Federation of the Brewing and Soft Drinks Industry it is stated that in 1938 the half-litre short-necked bottle was standardised for the bottling of beer. However, this seems not be incorrect, the acceptance of the new bottles by Oy Alkoholiliike Ab was announced already in 1938 but the actual taking into use was supposed to start in 1939. (Manner 1942: 319). Some dates, in the standardisation process of the bottles are as follows. The first standardised bottle in the world was implemented by Svenska Bryggeriföreningenin in Stockholm in 1884. It was a 1/3-litre beer bottle. In Finland, the first suggestion was made by Albin Amberger for the Finnish Brewers Association on 21.5.1921. Oy Alkoholiliike Ab accepted the new 1/2 standardised beer bottle on 8.12.1938. Metal caps were introduced in 1938. On 27.4.1944, the bottle was renewed to meet the standards of RI 22 for the ½-litre beer bottle. In the summer of 1948 when medium-strength beer was taken back into the production, this bottle was also included in the standardised version. In January 1953, the standardising committee for the Brewing Industry Association was established. Its first task was to standardise the 1/3-litre bottle. A suggestion for the bottle was made in 17.3.1953 and this was accepted in 20.7.1953. Tapio Wirkkala did some designing of the modified export bottle in 1965. Due to developments in the glass industry, including equipment and materials, a renewed version of the 1/3-litre bottle was produced in 1985. In addition, the beer crate was redesigned to be consumer friendlier and was made of plastic from 1985–87 onward (Orlo 1987: 17–21). The changes in the bottles and caps influenced the way the caps and labels were designed and fixed onto the bottle.

In addition, the magazine *Mallasjuomat* had taken up the task to direct the attitude towards beer to be more favourable. For example, *Mallasjuomat* published many articles about the health effects of beer (as a source of vitamin B), or how beer should be served, kept and transported, gave examples from the alcohol policies of other countries (mainly, Sweden, Germany and Denmark) and objections to views of the temperance movement and milder objections towards the statements of Oy Alkoholiliike Ab. The restaurant magazine had the same kind of purpose in its articles, i.e., defending freer serving of beer, broader opening hours, more choices in alcoholic beverages in restaurants, letting the waitresses take tips and strong objections to the statements of Oy Alkoholiliike Ab (see *Mallasjuomat* 1/1937–42 and *Hotelli – ja Ravintolalehti*, 11–12/1946: 10–11, 6/1948: 23 and 11–12/1948: 8, Hartikainen 1946: 2–3, Oksala 1948: 14–15 and 1949: 8–9).

The main points from the Prohibition Act to the beginning of 1950s are listed below:

- In 1902 the Finnish Brewer's Association was founded.
- In 1917 the temporal Prohibition Act was agreed on.
- In 1919 the Prohibition Act came into force and many breweries went bankrupt.
- In 1921 the Federation of Finnish Brewers was founded.
- In the Depression of the 1930s the temperance movement changed the emphasis from spirits towards mild alcoholic beverages.
- In 1931 the Prohibition Act was rescinded.
- In 1932 the excise marks were introduced beer beverages.
- In 1939 the sales district system was introduced and taxes were increased.
- In 1939 beer was produced only for German troops.
- In 1948 17 breweries were allowed to brew one brand per district and medium-strength beer brewing was started.
- In 1953 strong Beer (A-beer) brewing was started.

The quest for changing the consumption habits of alcohol

The restrictions of the sales districts were dropped in 1960 (cf.: Turunen 2002: 177). Gradually as the distribution techniques and consumption of beer grew, the sales districts of the larger breweries kept expanding (Turunen 2002: 178).

As has been said earlier, the technical aspects were not so well developed in the early 1900s thus keeping the beer fresh and transporting it to faraway destinations was not possible. These aspects changed after the early 60s when transportation, logistics and preservation developed further. These developments caused the breweries to grow in size and to centralise their production. Thus the small breweries were forced out of the market.

From the design aspect of the products, the brewing industry changed from wooden crates to plastic ones. The unifying of the crates was finally achieved in 1987 (ibid: 257–68).

The Federation of Finnish Brewers felt that the brewery industry was not well known enough by the general public, therefore the federation made a short film in 1949 called "Olutta – Öl"[90]. The film was produced by Felix Forsman and three copies were distributed all over Finland. Later in 1952, the federation financed another short film called "Säilytä huolella, tarjoile taidolla"[91]. The film was shown in cinemas. These kinds of short films were supported by the state in an effort to increase Finnish film production[92]

From the brewers' perspective the two films were received well, namely beer consumption increased and the general attitude towards beer grew more favourable. Therefore it was also possible to start developing new brands and tastes of beer. The excise group III beer (medium-strength beer) was not preferred that well, so a new stronger beer sample was tested. It was produced as a celebration beer and the brewing of these samples were given to the two biggest breweries: Mallasjuoma and Oy Sinebrychoff Ab. The beer came to the Oy Alkoholiliike Aboutlets as A-beer in July of 1955 (Federation of the Brewing and Soft Drinks Industry Internet pages).

In the 1959, a campaign for favouring wines began. Once again the goal was to direct the drinking habits towards milder alcoholic beverages. For example, Oy Alkoholiliike Ab started a beer restaurant experiment that lasted from 1963 until 1965. The experiment attempted to guide the consumption of alcohol to the restaurants as opposed to home consumption. The countryside

90 "Beer". Translations of the slogans are by the author of this study.

91 "Preserve well, serve it with style".

92 For more information about the first steps of Finnish film production and its support see Päivi Hovi-Wasastjerna, 1996 *Onnen avain, Mainoskuva Suomessa 1950-luvulla.*

was the focus in the restaurant experiment. It was assumed that the side effects of drinking would decrease when drinking took place in restaurants. Drinking in restaurants was also seen to be more "cultivated", thus, the goal was to "educate" people into a more "correct drinking culture". Twenty-six restaurants participated in the experiment. According to Turunen and Mäkinen, the consumption was directed towards restaurants and milder alcoholic beverages. In addition, the negative side effects were reduced (Turunen 2002: 193 and Mäkinen 1982: 67–68).

Finland and EFTA (European Free Trade Association) signed a free trade agreement in 1962, which meant, for example, that foreign beers were allowed to be imported into Finland[93], which also caused the sales districts restrictions to be gradually dismantled. Strong beer (A-beer) and medium-strength beer (III-beer) were released in 1967 from the sales district system (Turunen 2002: 182 and Martinoff 1985: 27). The list of beers that Oy Alkoholiliike Ab sold increased to 37 different brands. However, the restaurants (pubs) where beer was the main product were rare, for example; in Helsinki there were only two beer restaurants (Federation of the Brewing and Soft Drinks Industry Internet pages).

A new beer campaign for favouring Finnish beer was launched in 1964 and it continued until 1970. The main goal was to show that Finnish beer was as good as foreign beer. In the campaign, foreigners praised the taste and quality of Finnish beers. The other theme that was used was to show Finnish beer brands served with all kinds of exotic dishes. These themes aimed at increasing the value of Finnish beer compared to foreign ones. Foreign beer had a peak in consumption at the beginning, but within a year, its consumption reduced profoundly to become insignificant.

These changes and the release of medium-strength beer to the goods shops in Sweden in October 1965 again raised the discussion for and against alcoholic

93 The foreign beers appeared in Oy Alkoholiliike Ab around 1964. These beers did not sell well and most of them were withdrawn after a year. In 1985 consumers started to demand more foreign beers, therefore Oy Alko Ab decided to take the following beers for sale: Beck, Heineken, Kronenbourg and Pilsner Urquell. For Finnish beers, these few foreign beers were not a threat, since their consumption was still very low (Arkima, 1986: 99–100).

beverages. The discussion continued until the mid 80s, being at its strongest around the mid 70s.

In 1967, on the advice of the Finnish Language Office the term medium-strength beer (keskiolut) was taken into use (Federation of the Brewing and Soft Drinks Industry Internet pages). The naming of III beer to "medium-strength beer" shows quite well the importance that medium-strength beer was gaining in the discussion.

The Medium-Strength Beer Act

The next big step for more liberal alcohol politics was taken in 1968, namely beer was allowed in grocery shops. The parliament accepted the law for medium-strength beer by a vote for acceptance of 137–33. The actual act took place in 1969. It was thought that the rural areas would gain on equivalent position with the towns by the Medium-Strength Beer Act. The other idea was once more to direct alcohol consumption towards milder alcoholic beverages by making them more easily available (Turunen 2002: 199 and Tikkanen 1999: 54). The usage of alcoholic beverages increased from 2.5 litres per habitant into 6.5. The retail sales shops (grocery shops) where medium-strength beer was allowed to be sold grew from 800 to 20 000 within one year (Sirén 2003: 24).

The renewed Alcohol Act (AlkoL; 26.7.1968/459[94]) and the Medium-Strength Beer Act (OlutL; 26.7.1968/462) came into force on January 1, 1969.[95] Medium-strength beer was released to 17, 000 shops. Alcohol was defined to be a beverage that contains more than 2.8 per cent ethyl alcohol per volume. Even though beer belonged to alcohol products, it now had its own law, i.e., the Medium-Strength Beer Act and thus beer (except strong beer) did not belong to the Alcohol Act. However, Oy Alko Ab still had the power to grant permits for breweries to brew beer on the behalf of Oy Alko Ab, for shops to sell beer, and Oy Alko Ab defined the price of beer. The breweries did not own the IV beer but Oy Alko Ab owned it until it was sold to the shops that had a permit

94 Some refined specifications of what is considered as alcohol were stated in 1987 (1§ 6.3.1987/252). One of the changes was the change to use alcohol per cent per volume and not per weight (Pekkala 1989: 20).

95 At the same time, Oy Alkoholiliike Ab changed its name to Oy Alko Ab. (Alko Inc.).

to sell beer. The storage, transport and selling of beer was controlled by the National Product Control Agency for Welfare and Health, under which Oy Alko Ab, police and customs managed the more practical areas. Later the municipal councils were allowed to decide independently how the alcohol should be served and sold in their area. This meant that the municipal councils could either allow beer to be sold and served under the control of Oy Alko Ab or not allow any selling or serving of beer. There were 15 breweries in Finland when the beer was allowed to be sold in grocery shops. (Federation of the Brewing and Soft Drinks Industry Internet pages, Pekkala 1989: 21 and 66, Korell-Pukari 1991: 41–42).

The new law also stated that beer could be served in the mornings without obligatory eating. Moreover, the attitudes towards drinking habits became more liberal in the sense that it was seen as acceptable for women to consume beer, for example, after a sauna. "Sauna drinking" had been mainly a tradition associated with men (Snellman 2002: D5).

The Medium-Strength Beer Act was a clear defeat for the temperance movement but it was also a benefit, since by favouring the Act the temperance movement got legal support from the state to set up temperance boards for different municipalities around Finland. The temperance movement received a state subsidy to support its activities. This helped the temperance movement to try to influence the municipalities to close down the outlets of Oy Alko Ab in their area (Ahonen 2003: 311–312). All the aforementioned changes in society (Umwelt) and in the peoples' attitudes affected the temperance movement to the extent that its actions diminished and members decreased. Finally, the temperance movement had to change its program to cover mainly different kinds of health campaigns and to support people who wished to stay sober (Ahonen 2003: 333).

After releasing the medium-strength beer to grocery shops, its consumption tripled. This was a surprise. It was expected that the consumption of medium-strength beer would increase but not that heavily. However, in the restaurants the consumption of beer was still largely of strong beer (IV-beer). This tendency persisted to the end of 80s.

In the area of technical development, the beer can was introduced as a container for beer. Oy Alko Ab gave permission to sell medium-strength beer and strong beer in 45-cl-cans that had an easy opening lid (a lid that could

be torn open) on November 1, 1970. Permission to use the can for medium-strength beer and strong beer came into force in March 1, 1971 (Mäkinen 1982: 131 and *Kauppaviesti* in Pori Brewery archives collected by Pentti Uusivuori). More technical advances took place in 1976, when the crown cap was fully introduced. Before the crown cap, there was a tearing cap, which was torn around the cap. The cap caused cuts on the hands of the customer thus another kind of tier cap was introduced by Sinebrychoff in 1973. This cap, named the "guarantee cap", (see Appendix 5) was torn upwards (Federation of the Brewing and Soft Drinks Industry Internet pages, *Aamulehti* 8 and 15.7.1973 & *Kansanlehti* 25.7.1973, interviews with Reijo Siipivirta and Lars Storm). Further renewing took place in packaging size, e.g. the six-pack was introduced (Turunen 2002: 220, *Olut* 1-4/1976 and Snellman 2002: D5).

The main events that occurred between 1959 and 1975 were as follows:

- In the 1950's the advertising was supposed to be discreet, namely only the product and ingredients were presented.
- In the 1960s a campaign for favouring mild alcoholic beverages was carried out, e.g. the restaurant experiment.
- In 1962 Finland joined EFTA.
- During the 60s most of the sales district system was dismantled.
- In 1969 beer was allowed to be sold in the grocery shops following Sweden's example.
- In the 1970s, colourful print advertising was prominent, but TV advertising was just beginning to grow.
- In 1973 the Finnish Federation of Brewing began to publish a leaflet called "Olut" to increase awareness of the Brewing industry.
- In 1974 the control of alcohol selling, advertising, and so on increased and eleven temporary controllers were appointed to oversee the regulations.

Advertising of Alcohol

Before any actual law, the advertising of Alcohol had been extensive. The first attempts to form guidelines for advertising alcohol occurred in 1936, when a commission was formed including members from the brewery association, newspaper publishers and the temperance movement. The commission announced that the following terms should not be used in advertising:

"Nauti, Juo, Kysy kaikkialta, Pidä aina saatavilla"[96] (Caselius 1956: 6–7 in Turunen 2002: 213). Furthermore, in 1961, advertisers were advised to restrict themselves to announcing only the origin, production, brands, prices and usage of alcoholic beverages. The Advertising of Alcohol Supervisory Administration managed this. TV advertising of beer nearly ceased, since only soft drinks and mild beer were allowed to be advertised. In 1970, Oy Alko Ab issued warnings to six breweries because they were seen to have broken the advertising guidelines. However, the advertising in Finland at this time was plentiful in comparison to international standards. Magazine advertising was nearly always full-page colour and the visual aspects were well considered (Soikkeli 2000: 36 and Interview with Storm). Due to the excessive advertising and the reasons mentioned above, the administrative council of Oy Alko Ab issued new guidance for advertising in May 1972. Henceforth advertisements were allowed to be only the size of A4. Furthermore, if there were more advertisements from the same brewery the total space could not exceed A4. The allowed images were mostly the bottle and glass, no background picture was allowed (see Appendix 2 "Karhun Kierros") (Turunen 2002: 213). In other words, no lifestyle advertising existed.

Before the final prohibition of advertising alcohol, the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health (AlkoL 70§) set up a commission to investigate if the prohibition of advertising would be against the law of freedom of publishing and of speech. It was not. The government preserved the prohibition of alcohol advertising bill to the parliament in November 1975. The law came to force in March 1977 (AlkoL 59§ and OlutL 35a§). A supervisor from Oy Alko Ab visited the breweries two to three times a year, and also the labels, caps and promotion material were checked. In addition, the breweries had to be able to show from the bookkeeping that the amount of actually brewed beer matched the volumes mentioned in the bookkeeping (Korell-Pukari 1991:45–46 and Pekkala 1989: 150–153 and 282–283).

The consumption of beer increased, beer was well advertised, and in the eyes of everyone, beer was labelled as being the cause of all of alcohol's negative side effects. Therefore, the discussion of the appropriateness of having beer in grocery shops became the main topic of alcohol politics in the media. In 1972,

96 "Drink, enjoy, ask from everywhere and keep always at hand".

the Christian Party put forth the idea of cancelling the law on medium-strength beer. Other religious "circles" believed that the liberalisation of alcohol politics was driving the country to its end. Due to the heated discussion, control of the selling and serving of beer was tightened (Turunen 2002: 209). Another reason for the tightening of attitudes towards alcohol, and beer especially, was that the old pillars of society were breaking down, namely the living conditions of landless people became worse and the temptation to move to the towns decreased because of the oil crisis, and the effects of the recession following that. Therefore there were many reasons that increased condemnation of the old enemy – the medium-strength beer (Virtanen 2000: 1).

Different Gallup polls and studies were performed. However, it was claimed that the presentation of the Gallup polls always took sides favouring either point of view: against alcohol or for alcohol. The temperance movement claimed that the consumption of alcohol increased because beer broadened the consumption sections to youth and women, thus claiming that these groups would then be directed to use spirits. It was also claimed that the negative side effects (such as violence and custody taking) of alcohol increased because of beer consumption. These claims were mainly taken from Swedish research done by the Swedish temperance movement on the alcohol situation in Sweden after beer was released to grocery shops in 1965 (Ahonen 2003: 339–343).[97] The strike of Oy Alko Ab proved that beer's negative side effects were not that strong. Because Oy Alko Ab outlets were not open, the consumption of medium-strength beer increased clearly, but custody taking and violence decreased meanwhile (see Turunen 2002: 210 and interview with Risto Vaissi).

Nevertheless, the temperance movement continued its claims and provided a campaign against beer. The slogan for their campaign was "Olut pois – Stoppa Ölet"[98] (Kaspio 1975: 99–100). Because of all this discussion, the control

97 It is interesting that Ahonen does not mention anything else about the Prohibition of advertising, except that it was on the letter the Friends of Temperance sent to the Finnish Association of Temperance (Ahonen 2003: 339). However, according to Turunen, the temperance movement was the one that strove for the prohibition of alcohol the most (Turunen 2002: 200–220). In any case, the temperance movement had its word on the demand to deny alcohol advertising.

98 "Stop beer".

of medium-strength beer was tightened again. Eleven temporary supervisors were appointed to control the selling and serving of medium-strength beer (Turunen 2002: 212).

The discussion on the positive and negative aspects of medium-strength beer did not cease even after the advertising of alcohol was prohibited. Questions were raised about placing medium-strength beer back into the hands of Oy Alko Ab, abandoning the brewing of strong beer, diluting the beer and whether such decisions should be left to the counties or be made for the whole country in a uniform manner. Due to the heated discussion, the Finnish Federation of Brewing and Soft Drinks Industry published a temporary newspaper to promote their opinions, research results for beer brewing and for disseminating other beer-related information, which otherwise was getting little attention in the public discussion, from the perspective of the Finnish Federation of Brewing and Soft Drinks Industry (Turunen 2002: 217 and *Olut* 1–4/1976). A heated discussion went on also in the brewing magazines, for example *Mallas ja Olut*. Mostly the emphasis in the articles was on the fact that the consumption of medium-strength beer had not grown much; actually, it stayed nearly stable after an upwards statistical spike, or on the fact that most of the violence and arrests were caused by the consumption of spirits and not beer (cf.: *Mallas ja Olut*, 5/1979: 135–136, Saarinen 1981: 203–205, Mäkinen 1985: 107–108). In 1977, an additional restriction was announced: Oy Alko Ab outlets had to be closed on Saturdays. This restriction remained until 1991.

However, the law of prohibiting alcohol advertising did not include the advertising of mild beer. Therefore, the advertising of mild beer increased and it was generally known that the advertising of mild beer was used to promote the consumption of medium-strength beer and strong beer. Nearly one Finnish Mark per litre of mild beer was used for the advertising of mild beer. The breweries had to brew small amounts of mild beer just to be able two advertise it (Korell-Pukari 1991: 91). Because of the excessive promoting of medium-strength beer in the advertisements of mild beer, additions were made to the law in 1983. The mild beer labels, neck labels and caps were to be changed to appear different than the ones for the stronger beers. The attempt was to reduce the associations that the mild beer advertisements evoked, namely the associations connected with medium-strength beer. The suggestive advertising elements had to be reduced. The guidelines went as follows: 1)

the label of mild beer had to be transformed to remind one of the labels of soft drinks and it has to contain an EAN code. The colouring of the labels and caps had to be changed. 2) The words "mild beer" had to be dominant. 3) When advertising mild beer, the words "mild beer" and the excise group mark I had to be shown clearly. 4) Publicly visible material had to be changed to appear as the mild beer labels appeared (if possible); in any case, new material had to follow the guidelines. 5) The slogans used for strong beer were not allowed in the advertising of mild beer. These guidelines came into force on January 1, 1984 (Turunen 2002: 215–216, The National Product Control Agency for Welfare and Health (STTV) Internet pages, Mäkinen 1984: 67–68 and Martinoff 1985: 41).[99]

Certain slogans were banned, such as "Karjalasta Kajahtaa", "Sano vaan reilusti Koff", "Ei oo Lahden voittanutta" and "Tunturipurojen raikkautta".[100] In addition, the question of diluting beer was kept alive in the discussion (and it still keeps coming up – the last time was in 2005) (Martinoff 1985: 40–41). All these rules, of course, had a direct effect on the advertising, labels and caps. The rules also caused changes in the coding of colours and symbols used in the labels (see Chapter V, Case Study Analysis of a beer brand).

A strike at Oy Alko Ab March 29 to April 27, 1985 proved again that by drinking medium-strength beer custody taking and violence decreased. During the strike, that lasted four weeks, the consumption of strong alcohol decreased 30% but the consumption of beer increased 55% (Martinoff 1985: 41). Due to the strike, medium-strength beer was sold from the tap in pubs to replace the usually sold strong beer. The customers of the pubs seemed not to

99 The advertising prohibition has resulted in research in the area, such as Pirjo Laaksosen and Anne Leminen 1996, *Oluen merkitysmaailma*, which clearly showed that Finnish beers taste very similar and that advertising has a great role in peoples' preference for certain brands. Sanna Korell-Pukari's research on the competition in the brewery industry shows well the effect the restrictions had in competition and in founding new breweries. It also pointed out that the fusions of breweries have restricted beer price competition, that the restrictions in brewing, distribution and selling make the founding of new breweries increasingly difficult, and that the prohibition on advertising beer restricts the consumers possibilities to have information of different or new beer brands (Korell-Pukari 1991: 1).

100 "It echoes from Karelia", "Just say cleanly Koff", "Nothing can surpass Lahden beer" and "Freshness from a mountain brook".

mind the change of served beer strength. Before the strike, medium-strength beer was not sold from the tap in restaurants. It was sold from taps only in the "medium-strength beer pubs" (Interview with Vaissi).

At the moment (2005) the advertisement of spirits is still prohibited, but the advertisement of mild alcohol, such as beer, cider and wine has been allowed since 1995, but with many restrictions (see The National Product Control Agency for Welfare and Health (STTV) Internet pages).

Further developments

The government presented suggestions for a new law for alcohol in September of 1986. These statements included that the serving of alcohol could be started an hour earlier and that the percentages of alcohol in beverages should be presented by volume and not by weight. Grocery shops could sell medium-strength beer also on Sundays if they were open. Oy Alko Ab outlets were made to resemble more self-serving shops than service counter shops, as they had been before and the regulation allowing only two litres of hard liquor per customer was removed (Rantanen 2003: D7). The new statement came into force in April of 1987. Obligatory eating with drinking was also removed from the law on April 1, 1987 (6.3.1987/252).

The 1980s brought a change in the attitude towards beer and other milder alcoholic beverages such as wine and cider. People travelled more and were introduced to various cultures. In addition, the economic improvement, the attitude that beer could be more frequently without one being a "drunkard", urbanisation, changes in consumption habits, increase in leisure time, changes in the Alcohol Act, enlargement of the distribution of beer, and the fact that the beer prices were quite stable accellerated in general the change towards consumption of mild alcoholic beverages (Korell-Pukari 1991: 57).

The import of beer increased in 1986, although the wider range of imported beers did not affect the amount of their consumption. The consumption of imported beers was stable but low. The variety of imported beers included the following beer brands: Beck's, Heineken and Kronenbourg and for medium-strength beer the supply kept Pilsner Urquell. Before this change, Oy Alko Ab supplied two Danish beers: Carlsberg and Tuborg. The reason for the low sales was mainly the cost of the imported beers. They cost more and still their

taste was quite similar to Finnish beer. The imported beers were chosen so that their taste would be close to that of their Finnish counterparts.

The arrival of the new imported beers caused a change in counting the cost of producing beer. The pricing policy of Oy Alko Ab changed in 1988. The beers were divided into special and basic beers. The special beers cost more and they could be either licensed beers or seasonal beers. The payment from Oy Alko Ab for these special beers was based on the actual cost that breweries incurred for brewing the special beers. However, the new beer brands still had to be accepted by Oy Alko Ab. The regulations that were checked by Oy Alko Ab included the labels, crates, caps and bottles (Korell-Pukari 1991: 47). One example of the difficulties these regulations caused was the demand for a back label. There were many obligatory statements to be included in the labelling; thus, the breweries demanded a back label. This would have raised the costs of the bottling, which should have been included in the cost of acquisition. This needed Oy Alko Ab's approval. Therefore just to get the back label into use required lengthy discussions and agreements between the breweries and Oy Alko Ab.

The beer restaurants (pubs) obtained an equal position with the restaurants that were allowed to serve spirits. This meant that also the beer restaurants were allowed to serve beer later than ten o clock in the evening. The change in the serving policy came into force in November 1990. According to Turunen, the appreciation of medium-strength beer increased because the imported beers were presented in magazines and newspapers and were introduced in a positive manner emphasising the social aspects of drinking beer and the importance of taste. In addition, the Federation of the Brewing and Soft Drinks Industry promoted the appreciation and health effects of beer. They also disseminated statistics on violence and other negative side effects that spirits caused.

In 1992, medium-strength beer surpassed the consumption of strong beer in restaurants. The new appreciation of beer allowed women and the younger population in the towns to select beer as a possible choice for an alcoholic beverage. Furthermore, the reason for drinking changed somewhat from "getting drunk" to drinking for socialising purposes. In addition, different beer associations were formed, such as the Finnish beer association (founded in 1989). According to marketing research, consumers stressed the importance of taste in their choice of beer. Taste as a reason for choice is very interesting, since most of the beers taste so similar that in blind tests the users are not able to identify their own favourite beer. Therefore the advertising of the brand and the image to be associated with the brand became more central to the choices that the consumers would make (Turunen 2002: 238–239, Laaksonen & Leminen 1996, 67–69 and marketing research studies).

The content and themes presented in beer advertisements changed. Earlier, the main idea had been on masculine connotations and on the theme that beer had to be earned through hard work or hardships in life. In the 1990s, the themes varied from partying, socialising in general, or just enjoying the good taste of beer (Interview with Pirkko Tatarinov).[101]

Main events that occurred between the years 1970 to 1990:

- In 1977 the Prohibition of Advertising Alcohol came into force.
- In 1983–4 tighter guidelines for advertising mild beer came into force.
- In 1985 Oy Alko Ab went on strike.
- In 1986 the variety of imported beer increased. The new imported beers were Becks, Heineken, Tuborg and Kronenbourg.
- In 1988,only three big breweries were left in Finland. These were Oy Sinebrychoff Ab, Olvi and Hartwall.
- In 1988 the pricing policy of Oy Alko Ab changed.
- In 1989 the Finnish Beer Association was founded and Beer Magazine was launched.

Finland joins the EU

Partly due to Finland joining the EU the government gave a presentation to the parliament for a new alcohol law in 1994. The presentation amounted to giving permission for advertising mild alcoholic beverages (maximum 22 per cent volume) from 1995 onwards (The National Product Control Agency for

101 Furthermore, certain Finnish artists and their work promoted medium-strength beer well. Just to mention some: the films directed by Aki and Mika Kaurismäki and especially M.A. Numminen, who even wrote a book, “Baarien mies” (“The man of the bars”) in 1986. The book told of different medium-strength beer bars all around Finland where Numminen himself had been.

Welfare and Health (STTV) 2/02/99[102] 1–66 Internet pages). Some restrictions were stated though, such as advertising was not focus on youth and the consumption of alcoholic beverages was not to be linked with driving (AlkoL 33§ 2 subsection 2) medical relief or sexual success. Positively emphasising of the strength of the alcoholic beverage was not allowed. Especially the word “vahva” (strong) for certain beer brands was forbidden, even though the word would have been used as “a play on words”. The same regulation stands for words like “väkevä” (powerful), “voimakas” (vigorous), etc. (AlkoL 33§ 2 subsection 3). Furthermore, the excess usage of alcoholic beverages should not be presented in a positive light (AlkoL 33§ subsection 4). The alcohol should not be presented in a way implicitly that it heals or gives additional powers (AlkoL 33§2 subsection 5). When judging alcohol advertising it should be kept in mind that it should encourage an attitude of moderate consumption and should not be misleading or contrary to the general social graces (AlkoL 33§2 subsection 7). The new guidelines for advertising were issued by the National Product Control Agency for Welfare and Health. The advertising of spirits was allowed only in the indoors of restaurants, and so that it could not be seen from the outside. This meant that the renewed Alcohol Act took away Oy Alko Ab’s monopoly rights, with the exception of its retail sales monopoly.

All of the parties affecting the alcohol policies have had some affect on the label design, either by placing increased restrictions on the design of the labels and legalising obligatory statements on the label, such as the excise marks, the styles that are allowed, etc., or by adopting general codes that belong to the category of beer labels. Some of these have been taken from other countries, mainly Sweden, Germany, Denmark and the United States. These are partly worldwide signs/codes used on beer labels and partly signs belonging to a specific area where the beer in question has been brewed. It is interesting to note how intertwined such a small artefact can be with the society and how well it reflects changes occurring in that society.

Main events that occurred from 1991 to 2004:

102 The new guidelines replaced the guidelines that were given for alcohol advertising in 1/02/95, for example these statements were added: the gratuitous transfer and gratuitous acquisition of spirits 1/02/97, and giveaway or combined offers 1/02/97 are not allowed (The National Product Control Agency for Welfare and Health (STTV) Internet pages).

- From 1991 onwards Alko was open also on Saturdays.
- In 1993 the first beer festival was launched in Finland and the first brewery restaurant was founded, called Kappeli.
- In 1995 Finland joined the EU.
- In 1995 the new Alcohol Act came into force.
- In 1995 medium-strength beer was allowed to be sold in service stations and kiosks.
- In 1995 other alcoholic beverages, such as ciders, that are produced by the process of fermentation were also included in the medium-strength beer act.

2. Analysis of a beer brand Karhu – beginning

I shall present in this section the Karhu beer brand, the evolvement of its label and refer to some advertisement campaigns connected with the label. In addition, I also present a comparison of two Finnish beer labels (Koff and Karhu) and the Italian beer brand (Peroni Nastro Azzurro), which exemplifies the general signs used in beer labels. As mentioned before, the analysis of the process will be included in the presentation of the labels. The purpose is to attempt to grasp both the societal semiosis and the individual semiosis as well as the sign changes[103].

As Leeuwen states, visual presentations change and visual semiotics should be reconsidered (Leeuwen 2000: 179). Therefore, a description of the social context is required, due to the fact that sociocultural domains have different semiotic modes. This means that in the focus of investigation there is the "image", the producers' initial aim, the relationships between the visual elements of the image, and the relationships between the image and the

103 The analysis does not explicitly discuss the relation of the labels to the bottle or provide a detailed analysis of the affects of perceiving the bottle when holding it or perceiving it in specific context. This type of detailed analysis was consciously left out because it would have required investigating in depth the changes in different contexts (such as shopping, sauna-taking, drinking out, etc.). Furthermore, these kinds of detailed analysis are more worthwhile when the scope of the analysis is limited to a narrower one than in this study, for example perceiving beer bottles in shops from 1980 to 2000.

viewers. It reveals at least three different facets of the communicative act. The "image" sometimes acts as the mediating element between the "image" makers and viewers. The communicative act will be restricted (be constrained) by what is available in the social context, and how it is regulated in different ways (Leeuwen 2000)[104]. As was discussed in the theoretical part, Peirce's theory of signs enables the use of a holistic approach and gives a framework for using the concepts that were discussed in Chapter IV for acquiring the different facets of the communicative act. Notwithstanding, an interdisciplinary approach is implemented to find out the existing codes and to investigate the historical and social context.

At the beginning of the brand under consideration's history, it was not a single brand but three different beers: "Karhu" from Pori[105], "Tähti" from Pyynikki and "Yhdys-olut" from Rauma (see Figure 10, p. 114).

In 1953, colours started to gain more space in the newspapers. The printing machinery that was available ranged from offset printing (the most dominant choice for advertising and labelling) to book, steel and aniline printing (*Mainosuutiset* 1/1957: 8, Tommila and Salokangas 1998: 244–245, 252). The advertising newsmagazine advertising called *Mainosuutiset* (Mainostajain Yhdistys r.y. 1952–65) contained many articles discussing the ongoing and "hot" issues in advertising in Finland and elsewhere, e.g. the United States, Germany and Sweden (cf.: Heinonen and Konttinen 2001). These foreign countries seemed to influence Finnish advertising practice; in particular, TV advertising, photography, and consumer and motivation studies as well as advertising methods are discussed (see for example *Mainosuutiset* 4–5/1955:9 and 25; 9–10/1955: 20; 2/1956: 3; 10/1956: 1; 3/1957: 6; 8/1958: 6; 8/1959: 3 and 16–18, Raula 1961: 53 and 79; *Mainostaja* 5/1935: 283, 4–5/1936: 204–25 and Heinonen, Kortti & Pantzar 2003). Finnish alcohol advertising was also compared with foreign, and it was considered boring, since mainly it presented the bottle, the brand and Oy Alkoholiliike Ab's price of the

104 Leeuwen uses social semiotics and Halliday's functional linguistics (Halliday1978 and 1985). Here, the notion of code is of interest. Code means a specific way of organising the use of signs in a specific context (Leeuwen 2000: 193).

105 The brewery was founded in the town of Pori in the county of Satakunta in 1853.

A

B

C

*Figure 10. The different beers from A – Pori, B – Tampere (Pyynikki) and C – Rauma. All the labels have the same kind of composition and the bear image that resembles a polar bear. The "standing beer" was originally the trademark of Pyynikki (*Porilainen *12.6.1959, © Pori Brewery's archives,* Porilainen *30.9.1960, respectively with the images).*

product (*Mainosuutiset*, 10/1958: 3).[106] Advertising was usually placed in local newspapers and magazines and on outdoor billboards. Still in the 1950s the style was generally simple with drawings, and text only in black and white (see Figure 10).

3. The new label and logo for the Karhu brand

The line drawing logo of the head of a bear appeared around 1961. First, the label retained the same image of a bear that resembles a polar bear. The line drawing logo appeared in the advertising and announcements in the local newspapers (Figure 11, p. 116).[107] The container form was a can. Pori Brewery was the first brewery in Finland to start bottling beer into cans. The beer that was sold in grocery shops was mild beer, i.e., excise group I.

Figure 11A advertises Karhu export brand. This was the time when the emphasis on strength and full taste started to appear as well as the emphasis on "manly/man's" beer. In addition to the text stressing masculinity this emphasis also appears in the visual elements e.g. the man in the forest with his chain saw is having a break. The text also mentions the convenience of cans compared to bottles, for example by stating that a can is easier to cool, is light to carry, does not break, does not take up that much space and does not need recycling.

On November 1, 1970, Oy Alko Ab gave permission to pack the excise groups III and IVA beer in 45-cl-cans with an easy opening lid (Figure 12, p.117). For medium-strength beer the permission came in 1971.

106 In the late 1950s outdoor billboard/fixture advertising developed fast. The first Finnish outdoor advertising company "Oy Suomen Ulkomainonta Ab" was founded in 1946. It was later named Oy Ulkomainos Ab. At the present moment (2006), the company that mainly provides space for outdoor advertising is JCDecaux, which belongs to the worldwide French JCDecaux chain (JCDecaux: a)).

107 According to Storm, Oy Alkoholiliike Ab denied the selling of the drummer boy can. It was not yet allowed to sell mild beer in cans (interview with Storm).

A

B

Figure 11.
*B – The top of the can had the future line drawing of the bear's head (*Porilainen *28.1.1961).*
*A – The head of the bear appeared also as a sort of company logo at the bottom of the advertisement on the left (*Porilainen *11.2.1961). In 1965, Pori Brewery registered a slogan into the "slogan register list". The slogan was "Porilainen on maltaan pehmeä olut"*[108] *(*Mainosuutiset *2/1965: 42). Many companies registered at the time their slogans for advertising campaigns or for labels and trademarks.*

The design of the drum theme can uses the shape of the can to its advantage well. However, the design idea is not common in beer brands. For example, heraldic themes are more common. The drum-like design was short-lived. It could be said that it was like testing the appropriate design and signs for the brand.

The line drawing of the head of a bear was first more of a company logo, namely as a brewery logo than the sign of a particular beer brand. The idea to use the bear's head as an emblem for the brewery and somewhat for the beer brand had come partially from the heraldic sign of the county – Satakunta, and/or Pori town, where the brewery was (and still is) situated. Both the

108 "Beer from Pori soft as malts".

Figure 12. All the cans have award stamps in their design. The award stamps were introduced into the labels after Karhu won its first award for quality in an international beer contest in 1962 (see below section "the promotional campaigns in 1930s until the early 1970s) (© Nyberg 1997).

county and the town of Pori use the animal bear as their "symbols"[109] (Figure 13 A – seal of Pori town and B – the coat of arms of Pori town, p. 118).

Soon after the appearance of the line drawing, the first attempts to have Karhu brand's own label appeared (Figure 14, p. 118). The archives of Pori Brewery still have the original plates of these first versions for the new label. These metal plates date from July 3, 1961 and were manufactured in Gothenburg, Sweden. The idea in these first attempts was to keep the oval shape and other layout elements of the old label (see Figure 14 A, p. 118).

The final result was quite different, though. The line drawing with the crown was kept but the shape of the labels was changed, as were the layout and composition. Some of the colours, mainly the gold and red, were retained. The shade of the blue colour changed to a fuller (more saturated) blue. The composition and layout for the new label were kept, and for the other two brands as well which still appeared in 1961, i.e., "Yhdys-olut" and "Tähti" (Figure 15, p. 119). However, the colour coding was clearly different in the three beer brands.

109 Symbol rather than icon or index. The bear has many old connotations that were apparently associated with the town of Pori (see Pentikäinen 2005).

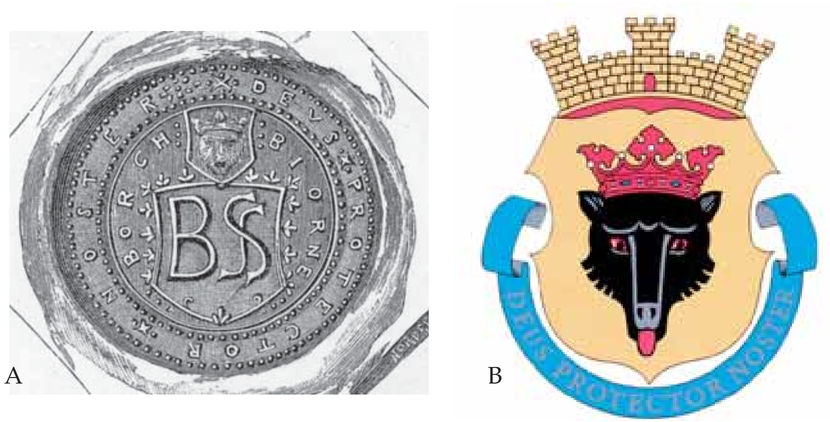

Figure 13.
A – the seal of Pori town and
B – the coat of arms of Pori town (permission granted from © Pori museum).

Figure 14. Two plates manufactured in Gothenburg (© Pori Brewery archives). There is a circle drawn (the drawn circle is in the original image) in the left version, A, showing the place where the head of the bear should be placed. In the right version, B, the head of the bear has been placed in the centre of the upper part of the label.

Figure 15. Three beer brands with a new label from around 1961 onwards (© Pori Brewery archives). The labels B and D are the Karhu brand labels probably dating after 1962 (see the awards stamps on the design). The reason for the change in the colouring most likely was that later version strove for more consistent colour coding within the brand (see Figure 16, p. 120). The Label version D also appeared without the award stamps. Label A is the brand Yhdys-Olut and C is the brand Tähti. The bottles were half-litre bottles at that time.

The above versions (Figures 15 and 16, p. 120) were the first to have a somewhat documented design strategy behind them. This became apparent from the interviews and from the effort that was made to realise the label versions. The design also approached the more general signs that were (and still to some extent are) associated with beer brands, namely award stamps, coats of arms or heraldic elements, gold as one of the colours, and the founding year of the brewery, just to mention some of the elements beer labels.

A

C

D

E

B

Figure 16. Karhu beer labels from 1961. The designs were executed by the firm Topi Törmä (now 2007, Publicis Helsinki Oy). The image shows the sketches for designing the correct relations and colour values. Image A presents the whole design of the bottle; B presents the logo and its relations to the composition of the label, C presents the colour values of the label, D presents the excise groups IVA and III, and E presents the original label of the excise group AIII-beer (© Publicis Helsinki Oy).

A

B

Figure 17.
A – the striped-like label from 1971 (© Publicis Helsinki Oy and © Pori Archives) and
*B – an advertisement with a striped-like label (*Hämeen Yhteistyö *26.3.1971). The label in this image did not match the consumers' taste. It was withdrawn and 12 millions labels were destroyed. The event took place around 1971, according to Ketonen.*

The first original print for a new label was produced at Oy Tillgman Ab[110] in 1961. It was for the Extra Karhu (archives of Pori Brewery collected by Pentti Uusivuori and interview with Kalevi Ketonen). The designer of the label is unknown, although Lars Storm mentioned that it might have been the owner of the brewery who provided the ideas or did the actual designing in cooperation with the advertising company. In the labels above, the designer might have been Erik Salmelin[111] himself. However, the previous "polar bear" like design (see Figure 10, p. 114) appeared in the newsmagazine, "Mainostaja" and there it mentioned that the advertisement was designed by Erva-Latvala Oy for the Yhdys-olut brand (*Mainostaja* 1/1935: 33). It might mean that Erva-Latvala Oy designed the advertisement or both the advertisement and the labels.

110 Oy Tillgman Ab was also used to print the labels on a continuous basis and not only for the new designs (Siipivirta and Elo). Oy Tillgman Ab did not design.

111 Erik Salmelin was the owner of the brewery. See more information from *Porin Oluttehdas Oy* (1963).

Figure 18. Some of the cans produced for the "striped-like label" (© Nyberg 1997).

Figure 19. Half-litre tier-shaped bottles from 1948-53. Even though the new standardised bottle was already in use in 1961 the old bottles persisted until they broke or were no longer in condition for recycling. The labels date from 1961-71 for "Tähti", "Karhu" and "Yhdys-olut" beers. (© Satakunnan museo, archive paper of 56871). The tearable/ripable cap is also visible in the image.

Often the breweries had their own "section" for design issues. This involved the recent changes of the so-called "striped-like" version that lasted only for a short while (see Figures 17, p. 121 and 18, p.122) (interview with Storm).

The squared labels (see Figure 15, p. 119; 16, p. 120 and 19, p. 122) were in use also after the Medium-Strength Beer Act. After the Act, the label was quickly renewed three times.

The promotional campaigns from the 1930s until the early 70s

The campaigns in local newspapers from the 1930s were mostly announcements for beer beverages such as Kalja and Pilsner. These campaigns had large amount of text and some line drawings. A few photographs of men drinking beer, a bottle, a glass or comic strips started to appear somewhat later. After the new Alcohol Act in 1932, which ended the prohibition of alcohol production and consumption, advertisements of medium-strength and strong beer appeared. Some of the advertisements emphasised the possibility of ordering beer straight to the home from the brewery or from Oy Alkoholiliike Ab. These kinds of announcements continued until the 1950s when more elaborate advertising appeared (*Satakunnan Sanomat* 30.6 and 23.6.1931 and 5.4.1932, 15.4 and 6.9.1936). On June 18, 1939 the crow cap appeared on some beer bottles (*Satakunnan Sanomat* 18.6.1939). After the world wars there was a shortage of everything, for example, bottles and even caps were collected (until 1957) and recycled, and service was reduced to a minimum. All of this affected the less prioritized design issues as well. In the late 1950s and in early 60s the situation had improved as society progressed. The advertising campaigns grew. Important events were used for advertising purposes, as can be seen in Figure 20 (p. 124) where the 1952 Helsinki Olympics were used to advertise Pori Brewery. In 1958, the emphasis in the advertisements was on the health aspects of beer, such as beer as a source of vitamin B for the whole family (*Satakunnan Kansa* 23.11.1958 and *Porilainen* No 1 1958: 8). The PR activities of the breweries increased, for example, Pori Brewery donated grants for scholars to study and conduct research in the United States (Pori Brewery archives). In addition, in from December 1, 1959 to June 19, 1960 Pori Brewery organized an international exhibition of beer posters. The posters were from South Africa,

Figure 20. Pori Brewery used the Helsinki Olympics in 1952 for promotion (© Oy Sinebrychoff Ab Internet pages a).

Brazil, Switzerland and Puerto Rico, to mention a few of the participating countries (*Porilainen* No 23: 23).

When a change in the label appeared in 1961, a couple of film advertisements were ordered. Mainoskuva Oy did a small "mainospala" (as the short advertisements or "spots" were called in Finnish) for the Karhu brand with the slogan "Porilainen"[112]. It lasted for 30 seconds and 10 copies were made of the "film". These were to be shown all over Finland during October 2 – 8, 1961. Another small film sample called "Mex" was distributed during November 1 – 23, 1961. This film lasted for 155 seconds and again 10 copies were made.[113] These films were shown in cinemas ahead of the movies and were among the first beer-promoting films (Oy Sinebrychoff Ab had produced an advertising film for the Sinebrychoff 's Sff brand already in 1932). The films made Pori Brewery somewhat better known in the other parts of Finland. However,

112 "From Pori".

113 The two films cost 156.000 and 29.600 Finnish Marks, respectively (currency at the time) (Pori Brewery archives).

Figure 21. The above images present the award document that the Karhu brand acquired from the Beer Olympics and the actual medals along with Karhu medium-strength beer (© Porin Oluttehdas Oy, 1963: 18-20).

the sales district system was still somewhat in use, and therefore the overall benefit of the films was not felt straight away.

In 1961, Extra Strong beer for export was advertised in newspapers as a "masterpiece" of brewing including text describing the good quality of the beer. The talent of brewing was compared to the art of building ships inside a bottle (see *Uusi Aika* 15.11.1961 and Appendix 3). Quality started to be an important feature in the advertising of beer.

The Karhu brand received its first international award for quality in 1962. The contest took place at the European Beer Olympics, i.e., "Europe Selection, Brussels, 12th January 1962". Getting awarded was used by the Karhu brand to bring the general signs of tradition and quality into the design, namely, the award stamps, which were prominently shown at the top of the cans. According to Storm, there were 18 medals/award stamps on the neck label of the bottle (interview with Storm). As it is possible to see later, the number of award stamps diminished in the coming years, due to many different changes in the values of society. The award granted to the Karhu brand was also used to promote the value of Finnish beer compared to the foreign beers that were entering the Finnish markets. The Finnish Brewers' Association decided to launch an advertising campaign in favour of domestic beer in the spring of 1964. This seemed necessary since Finland had joined the European Free Trade Association and the import of foreign beer had to be allowed (Turunen 2002: 201). In addition, the beer restaurant experiment had started in 1962 and

Figure 22. Two advertisements from the 1960s that utilised the award stamps for promoting the Karhu brand (© Oy Sinebrychoff Ab Internet page a). The advertisement with the woman and the glass appeared in Aamulehti *on September 12, 1970 and* Uusi-Aika *October 27, 1970. They both belonged to a series of advertisements utilising the award stamps (*Satakunnan kansa *1.3.1962).*

the dismantling of the sales distribution system continued with strong beer (A-beer) gradually being including in the 1967 dismantling of the system for medium-strength beer (Österberg 1974: 34, 55–59 and 102). Attitudes shifted towards a more liberal view of mild alcoholic beverages, especially beer.

In many of the advertisements, the medals that the Karhu brand had acquired from the beer contest appeared in a glass or somewhere else in the composition. Some of the advertisements were full-page adverts, or in horizontal bars covering the bottom or top of the page; others were the often-used 1/4-page advertisements (*Kauppaviesti* 31.10.1968, *Porin Teatteri Sanomat* 8.11.68, *Apu* and *Hymy* 1.12.1968, *Aamulehti* 3.12.1968, *Kankaanpän Sanomat* 13.12.1968, *Itä-Savo* 5.10.1968, *Savonmaa* 28.9.1968, *Osuusliike* 18.12.1968, *Hämeen yhteistyö* 20.2.1969, *Vaasa* 14.2.1969 and *Lahden Kunnallislehti* 31.6.1969).

The printing technology had improved and more colours could be implemented in the coloured advertisements in magazines and newspapers (*Mainosuutiset* 8/1965: 16–21). The additional colours enabled the use of more gold and other "full colours", which also belonged (and belong) to the prominent codes of beer labels. The development in the caps was used in advertising for increasing the consumption of Oy Sinebrychoff Ab's beer brands (Interview with Storm, *Kansanlehti* 25.7.1973, *Aamulehti* 8 and 15.7.1973).

After the "award – stamp" campaigns, new campaigns were introduced. These included sponsoring events and exposition tickets and tickets for concerts (*Satakunnan Kansa* 13.6.1965 and *Uusi Aika* 1965). This campaign had the slogan "Pojat Porilaista" [114]. The campaign was large and included outdoor billboards, busses, local newspapers, and national magazines. It lasted until 1969.

The next advertising campaign was "Karhun Kierros"[115]. These campaign advertisements played with the idea of surprise. The advertisements stated that they would inform in certain places of what "Karhun Kierros" was about, but did not tell it in the advertisement. The advertisements appeared on outdoor billboards, fixtures, busses and in newspapers and magazines. In addition, the mild Karhu (excise group I) was presented in 30 TV commercials in 1969 and 20 in 1970. The cap for beers was the tier around cap. The award stamps of the Karhu brand were emphasised once more. In 1970, the "Pojat Porilaista" campaign was also on, thus overlapping the other campaigns (*Ravintolahenkilökunta* 15.5.1970, *Kotimaa* 19.10.1969, *Aamulehti* 29.10.1969, *Helsingin Sanomat* 9.10.1969, *Pirkka* 8.10.1969, *Kymen Sanomat* 22.2.1070, *Etelä-Suomi* 20.2.1970, *Osuuskauppalehti* 11.2.1970, *Aamulehti* 17.4.1970, *Me Naiset* 24.4.1970, *Kauppa ja Koti* 14.4.1970, *Tekniikan maailma* 8/1970, *Apu* 8.5.1970 and *Hymy* 1.51970). The campaigns concentrated on the locality theme, although the brand was increasingly using general signs of beer labels and advertising. The contradiction of general versus local themes is an often-used theme in advertising and promotion of beer brands, which will become more apparent in the section "'Global'/general (Western) beer signs".

114 "Boys, beer from Pori".

115 "The Karhu circuit".

Advertising of medium-strength beer had become possible since the Medium-Strength Beer Act had come into force. However, Oy Alko Ab still controlled the label designs and the packaging forms. According to Storm, the breweries had to show the labels, advertisements' campaigns, packaging and caps to Oy Alko Ab for permission to use them. If there were complaints or additional changes regarding the campaigns they were also directed to the National Research and Development Centre for Welfare and Health, for further investigation (Interview with Storm).

4. Symbols grow…

Firstly, it is necessary to underline the fact that due to the natural historical course of development there is a lack of material. However, there are magazines, newspapers, company newsletters, company histories, articles, and some versions of the old labels and interviews with people who have been related to the labels. I have used all available sources as a starting point for the analysis of possible societal and individual semiosis. Furthermore, I shall also analyse the labels[116] in basic terms. Undoubtedly, they nowadays reveal somewhat different information than for any contemporary observer. Besides, the previous results of visual semiotic studies and, especially, the researches on different categorising and on the systems of visual elements of so-called "Western culture" have relevant information for conventional interpretation of certain general signs. [117]

116 For an approach that some could define as iconographic in the tradition of Panofsky (1993), see for example Dryer 1982: 93).

117 For visual semiotics from the social aspects, see Messaris 1997, Kreus and Leeuwen 2001, Leeuwen 2000, Mick et al. 2004, Dryer (1982), Williamsson 1988, Danesi 2002, Bruhn Jensen 1995 and for semiotics deriving from Hjelmslev 1961, Greimas 1987 and Barthes 1973 and 1983, who have been employed by Floch 2000, 2001 and Tarasti 2004; see Groupe µ 1992 for rhetorical analysis of visual semiotics; see for example Graddol 1996 for semiotics of wine labels and Scott 1995 for stamps. For example, Bruhn Jensen and Dryer have brought up the interdisciplinary (marketing research results, social sciences etc) research that is needed in the investigation of advertising or mass communication in general (see Dryer 1982: 87 and Bruhn Jensen 1995). However, Dryer (1982: 88) for example states that the analysis is basically subjective, which is true to a certain extent, but it also is misleading. If we consider the analyser as part of the society in the light of what I have expressed in the section of societal semiosis, s/he can express the intertwined knowledge of the society, which is not possible to the same extent for someone outside the context.

I shall start from the "Polar bear" labels (see Figure 10, p. 114). However, before this label there were other labels that had a similar image of a bear but the brand name was not "Karhu", it was only "Pilsner" or "olutta" (beer), but the brewery was the same. It has been assumed that the "polar bear" label was designed by Erva-Latvala[118] or the designer was the owner of the brewery (*Mainostaja* 1/1935: 33). The polar bear label is oval-shaped, which has value in itself since oval shapes are not as easy to handle on the bottling line as square labels. Furthermore, the oval shape has become one of the enduring signs for beer labels. With its reference to natural shapes it can also be taken as familiar, close to so-called "warm" values (see for example Kress and Leeuwen 2001 and Messaris 1997). The choice of having a bear on the label has at least three well-known reasons: 1) the bear as a logo or a trademark tended to be used extensively with all kinds of products from candies to tobacco (see Hovi 1994: 17–19), 2) the county of Satakunta had a bear in its coat of arms (see Figure 13, p. 118), 3) the town of Pori had a bear in the town seal. The bear was positioned differently: standing full size or only its head. Some versions resemble the polar bear on the label[119] (see Figure 10, p. 114). The full-size bear image suggests an impersonal and distant atmosphere (See Messaris 1997, Bruhn Jensen 1995, Bignell 2002, Kress and Leeuwen 2001, Dryer 1982). Although the bear is a line drawing, I would argue that the idea of long shots and close-ups can also be attributed to drawings, and not only to photographs and films, as is supposed (Kress and Leeuwen 2001). Neither the label nor the advertisements have any textual emphasis on the location of the brewery,

118 Erwin & Wasey & Co. Ltd. changed the name to Erva-Latvala in 1933 (Heinonen and Konttinen 2001: 61). Erva-Latvala was one of the two biggest advertising companies at the time as Heinonen, Kortti and Pantzar have stated in their report of how lifestyles became feature in advertising in Finland (Heinonen, Kortti and Pantzar 2003: 6).

119 The description on the label "a polar beer" appeared during the research process. Many people kept on referring to these labels with the full bear as "a polar beer". However, there is no proof that the association has or could have been the same for the people of that time.

namely Pori, except by stating that the beer is a product of Pori Brewery. Since the sales districts were still in effect, the Karhu brand was sold only in Pori's surroundings, thus, there was no need to mention in other ways the origin of the beer – it was obvious to consumers that the beer came from that district. Later in the 1960s the emphasis on local area and on masculinity started to appear, as seen in Figure 11 (p. 116).[120]

The gold colour in the background of the label was a style of the time. For example, the labels of the Koff brand used gold in the background in the 50s. As mentioned before, gold was a symbol and index of quality. Partly the associations with quality arise because it was not so easy to print metallic colours and thus metallic colours were valuable. In addition, the fact that metallic colours featured strongly in heraldry added to the sense of quality. In recent years the printing machinery has allowed for increasingly better printing of metallic colours. As will be seen later, the colours gold and red will come up again in later design phases. Nevertheless, even this brief description of labels shows how the label elements are tied to the society, time and context (Umwelt).

In semiotic terminology, the bear can be perceived as an icon of a bear, or as an icon referring to the coat of arms of the county of Satakunta and/or the seal of the town Pori, or as a symbol referring to the myths concerning the animal, referring to its strength, its relation to humans (the bear as an ancestor), to its heavenly characteristics in belonging to the sky as Ursa Major or as the king of the forest.[121] The motto in the advertisement (Figure 10, p. 114) "voimakas,

120 In general the occurances taking place in the Umwelt around the 1950s and 1960s were a liberating moment in Finnish alcohol policy: the sales districts were abolished (Turunen 2002: 178), and Oy Alkoholiliike Ab started a restaurant experiment that lasted from 1963 to 1965. The experiment attempted to guide the consumption of alcohol towards milder beverages, especially towards beer, and to move the consumption of alcohol from the home to the beer restaurants (Turunen 2002: 193 Mäkinen 1982: 67–68). A beer campaign favouring Finnish beer began in 1964 and continued until 1970; in 1969 beer appeared in grocery shops (Medium-strength Beer Act). This contributed to extensive advertising campaigns for beer brands.

121 See Riku Hämäläinen (1996), a study on the myths associated with bears: *Karhunpeijaiset*. Uskontotieteenlaitos, University of Helsinki and Pentikäinen (2005).

todellinen ykkösten kuningas"[122] can push the sign-action forward. The sign could be taken as a symbol, thus, the Logical Interpretant at the individual level could promote the following interpretations (that is "second signs"): "the beer is strong" but also gives "mythical strength" and "the beer and/or the drinker is the king".

This example displays that the Object-Sign relations (icon, index, symbol) are not clear-cut. The same sign can function as icon, index and symbol, or it may grow to be a symbol. Furthermore, there might be many Objects promoting different sign-actions. As an icon, the Object might be an animal or all of the bear figures presented in the area where the consumption of the Karhu brand occurred; as an index the Object might refer to the town itself or the local area, and as a symbol the Object might be the traditions of beer hunting or an abstract idea of locality. This example expresses how, depending on the common ground, collateral experiences within the ZPD and the perceived affordances of the signs may promote different interpretations of the signs. As will be seen, new experiences alter the interpretation of the perceived affordances of the signs. The societal semiosis is present in many forms: in the renewing of the printing, in the producing and use of metal caps and standardised bottles, which caused a change in the design and bottling line process[123], in the form of the sales districts and in the traditions of the county that relate quite heavily to the bear.

As Sirkka-Liisa Hakala (2005) notes when explaining the origin of the coat of arms of Satakunta county and the town of Pori, the coat of arms (thus, also heraldic signs) was highly valued already from 1500 onwards.[124] When analysing the signs of beer labels and recognising their connection to the coat of arms it becomes clearer how the values of quality and tradition have been associated with signs similar to heraldic ones. It also means that the values have been internalised in the semiosis and externalised in the label design.

The technical aspects were important also because World War II was over and the re-building of society was proceeding: the technical renewal in beer brewing reflected these processes in society as well. The restrictions on

122 "Strong, a real king of the mild beers".

123 These innovations were presented in beer advertising.

124 See also Hovi-Wasastjerna (1995), Hovi (1994) and Heinonen and Konttinen (2001: 39).

advertising in the 1940s were still not that strict and well formulated. There was, however, the suggestion not to use provocative phrasing.

Consideration of individual semiosis and the interpretations of individual semiosis are no easy task. The Emotional Interpretant could be a feeling of warmness and security, because the brand is local, possibly from the consumer's home town. However, it might also bring up a feeling of irritation, for drinking causes problems and is not totally socially accepted. The sign of the bear, the colour, etc., could evoke a feeling of pride through the connotations of the heraldic signs of Satakunta county. On the level of Energetic Interpretant, the outcome, in the first place, could be to buy that particular brand of beer. Secondly, it might produce a choice of some other beverage, but still a local one. The Logical Interpretant could, for example, produce a habit change in evaluating the town's value or the beer's value, in consuming the beer brand, in changing the drinking occasions or in extending the consumption to other occasions, etc. Since the health aspects of beer had been presented in advertisements in the late 1950s and due to the campaign of directing alcohol consumption towards mild drinks, the increase of advertisements could have determined the Emotional and Energetic Interpretant to favour beer. Thus the feelings towards the different possible Objects of the signs could be dominated more by the positively associated Objects of the individuals' experiences.

In the social or group aspect (social level), the Immediate Interpretant, according to Peirce, is common sense, thus in the case of the bear it could be just a bear. The Dynamic Interpretant brings along the context and the sum of similar experiences that could be derived from the Karhu brand, which also can have a common nominator (denotation). In the earlier experiences there are previously seen labels, local advertisements, and all the other existing signs that use the bear as a logo, etc. Therefore, in this particular case the sign of the bear in the label would have a prominent experience basis (it would be in the ZPD) for the consumers (a common attitude, value base), which is related to a broad area of experiences. In a sense, it would be also the temporarily agreed way of this particular group to undertake the sign's representation, i.e., the habit of interpreting the sign. Continuing with Peirce's terminology, the Final Interpretant could be the local beer, appreciated because of its history, familiarity and pride in it. It might also include the idea of quality and of the particular taste of the beer evoked by the local advertisements. By drinking

Karhu the consumer might want to communicate (externalise) his/her sharing of the commonly taken meanings of the beer.[125]

On the Communicative level, the Intentional Interpretant is represented by the brewery acting as an utterer. However, the utterer in actual life is a whole group of people who belong to the chain of persons involved in designing the labels. These people are: the brewery owner (later also the marketing managers), the designers, and people in the printing department. The Effectual Interpretant is the audience who see the label and who react to it – intentionally or not. The Communicational Interpretant could be the ground on which the meanings urged by the Intentional Interpretant and the meanings arrived at by the Effectual Interpretant meet. This kind of indirect communication, however, makes it more difficult to see where the common ground is between the two parties, if any. In this case, it seemed that some common ground existed, as was explained above. Conventionally it is the marketing and consumer studies that try to find the common ground, and often fail.

Next, I shall concentrate more on the changes in the sign appearance caused by possible changes in the societal semiosis, which brought about changes in the meanings of the signs. For some target groups some meanings remain the same, even though there are changes in the appearance of the signs and/or in society.

Before the actual change of the full-size bear image to the bear's head, there appeared a design that mixed the two elements. The reason for the change cannot be stated explicitly. However, there are possible explanations. The brewery changed owners in 1959. Rosa Salmelin handed over responsibility to her sons M. Erik Salmelin and Matti Salmelin. As often occurs, the changes in ownership or in the marketing management changed the marketing strategy and, thus, the influences on the labels themselves.

New attitudes coming from abroad at that time, as well as a general tendency to be more open-minded towards everything foreign put forward different ideas such as more liberal attitudes towards beer and wine. The aforementioned tendencies raised the issue of locality, which is reflected, for instance, in the

125 The Karhu brand was also the most sold brand in the 1950s in the area around Satakunta county (Ranta Bo and Väänänen Jari 2003).

motto "Porilainen"[126]. It was also emphasised in the advertising text as seen in Figure 11 (p. 116). The text describes that "our friends have baptised the new product [the can] as 'Porilainen'". The emphasis was on the ideas of hometown and locality. An extended slogan for the brand was registered. The Slogan was "Porilainen on maltaan pehmeä olut"[127] (*Mainosuutiset* 2/1965: 42). The label change was extensive and involved many details, and was tested using a mixed design. The evolution of the design still exists, as can be seen in Figures 11 (p. 116), 14 (p. 118) and 16 (p. 120). In the end, the oval shape was let go and the final design of the overall square-like label was quite different from the first versions. However, the bear's head remained. Earlier, the brewery (and the beers of the three breweries Tähti, Yhdys-olut and Karhu) had separated the different colours in the composition of the labels for distinguish to different beer brands that were brewed in the different locations. Later the different colours were used to specify the different strengths of the beers (see Figure 16, p. 120). The colours red and gold were preserved, and blue, black and green were introduced. Still, gold meant the same as before – it was a symbol of quality.

The bear's head and the crown are presented in the Pori seal and coat of arms. The model for the Pori seal and coat of arms originated most likely from Duke Juhana's coat of arms. They both had a bear's head and on top of the head, there was a crown. According to Hakala, it was not so common to have a crown on the bear's head. If this fact had been known at that time, it could have acted as proof of the speciality of Karhu beer also. In any case, the new design emphasised locality, quality and tradition. Thus the has iconic, indexical and symbolic aspects to it. The sign 1 holds multiple Objects. As an icon, the sign represents a bear as before, as an index, the sign directs thoughts to the town of Pori, and as a symbol the sign of the head of a *bear with the crown* is evaluated in terms of tradition, quality, and locality/familiarity.

On the Communicative level, the change had the intention to establish a new status for the brewery, by possibly also announcing the change in ownership and emphasising the values of locality and tradition. From the Effectual Interpretant's point of view, it is somewhat difficult to envision how

126 "From Pori".

127 "From Pori, beer smooth as malts".

the label was taken by consumers. According to the newspapers of the time and the historical documents of Pori Brewery, the sales increased. However, the Karhu brand was also advertised more than before, e.g. in the 1961 film advertisements ordered from Mainoskuva Oy with the slogan "Porilainen"[128]. Most often these kinds of short advertising films were presented before movies. These activities should have had some kind of effect on consumers. It is impossible to say if the common ground between the Intentional and the Effectual Interpretants was found. However, definitely, the changes in the label and in the strategy reflected the societal semiosis. For example, the small advertisement films had been show increasingly from 1948 onwards – they could be said to be a sort of trend (Heinonen & Konttinen 2001). The drawing style and simplicity in the design were still prominent in advertisements as can be seen from the advertising of Karhu and from the Karhu brand's label. The label of the Karhu beer brand is exceptionally graphic in its style.

Exhibitions were popular and as was mentioned above, Pori Brewery organised an international beer exhibition. Furthermore, the marketing strategy followed other important events occurring in Finland, for example, by using the Helsinki Olympics in 1952 (see Figure 20, p. 124) in their advertising. Thus the Karhu brand's marketing strategy including the label design followed the contemporary style in advertising and used in its design ideas the occurrences and attitudes of society. It can be said that the design strategy internalised the attitudes and values of society in some sense.

When the beer Karhu III won the "Prix d'Honneur "in 1962 at the European Beer Olympics, the fact was instantly used in the label by introducing the prominent beer label signs – the award stamps. From the societal aspect it was a welcomed occurrence to emphasise the quality of a local Finnish product, especially since the EFTA agreement was already anticipated.

All of the above-mentioned issues must have been known to people, thus the individual semiosis and the Emotional, Energetic and Logical Interpretants most likely were quite close to the social level. It can be assumed that, the Emotional Interpretant has been dominated by patriotic feelings (cf.: Heinonen and Konttinen 2001: 87). However, also foreign attitudes penetrated into Finland, thus there had been two different and intertwined emotional aspects

128 "From Pori".

at work, namely the patriotic local aspect and the adapted foreign cultural aspect (cf.: Heinonen, Kortti & Pantzar 2003 and Heinonen & Konttinen 2001). Whether the Emotional and Energetic Interpretants proceeded to the Logical Interpretant and caused a habit change can be only guessed. Evidently, it increased the consumption of beer in the Pori area. On the social level the semiosis proceeded towards accepting (internalisation) the mild alcoholic beverages, like beer and wine. One result was the change in female drinking habits i.e., women began to consume more mild alcoholic beverages (altering meanings occurring in the ZPD achieving a habit change).

The multiple associations become clear when focusing on the bear's head as the icon of a bear or as referring to the seal of the town of Pori. The Object can thus be a bear, the town of Pori, or if the sign is taken as a symbol, the Object might be locality. It is important to note that all of these can be there simultaneously and the way the sign-action proceeds depends on the context, the situation of the perceiving (selection of the perceived affordances), and using the product, as well as the previous experiences of consumers. The same consumer or a consumer group may proceed on a different semiosis from the same sign (the logo – the head of a bear) depending on the context, situation, etc. Furthermore, as we will see, the Object can change with time. For example, when the sales districts were still valid (from 1943 to 1967) the Karhu brand was sold only in the Pori district, therefore the iconic and indexical connection of the bear sign to the seal or coat of arms of Pori was clear. Later, the sign of the bear will grow increasingly into a symbol which has no connection to the coat of arms or the seal; the idea of locality is preserved in the interpretations but through the slogans that emphasise the brewing place, e.g., "Porin olutta" and "Porilaista".

Although women consumed Karhu beer more than before, it was still considered to be exclusively masculine. According to interviews and marketing research, the Karhu brand was targeted towards men. In the light of the former statements, it was no wonder that the "striped label" (Figure 17, p. 121 and 18, p. 122) was not a success and had to be withdrawn from the market. According to the company documents and interviews, the label was too feminine. In Kress and Leeuwen's (2001) approach there are many elements pertaining to soft and feminine aspects, for example, the curved frame around the logo and the name tag, the curved font of the name tag and the extensive use of

stripes that soften the gold colour. Therefore, on the Communicative level there was no or little common ground between consumers and designers, or between consumers and the label. On the Individual Imperative level, the label seemed to evoke the Emotional Interpretant (e.g., disliking) and also the Energetic Interpretant in sense that the consumption decreased. Furthermore, the social level supported the individual level because the general tendency was to take the Karhu brand as masculine and not feminine and in general beer was a beverage for men. It is interesting that the label alone could affect the consumer's behaviour that strongly. The label probably also evoked an emotional response as the design clearly broke from the previous line of design, thus provoking consumers to resist (showing constraints of the consumers in their thinking modes in the ZPD).

Taking a cross-perspective on the design and changes, it is interesting to note that the can for the Extra Strong beer with its bluish black background and simple design (see Figure 12, p. 117) resembles a recent design where the black background is also prominent and the bear's head is the main element. Although the bear's head is more naturalistic nowadays, the compositional elements are similar. In the case of the Karhu brand the connotations of strength appear on three levels, indicating the strength of the bear, the beer and the taste of the beer. Therefore the black that is frequently used for strength is a symbol of strength and the bear's head is an icon of the bear, symbol of the strength of the bear and/or beer and a symbol of the brand.

5. Design after Oy Sinebrychoff Ab bought Pori Brewery

The next design change resulted in the so-called "Golden Karhu". This appeared on February 15, 1972. The advertising company that Pori Brewery used, before Pori Brewery was bought by Oy Sinebrychoff Ab, was Turkama & Kumppanit Oy. After the Pori brewery ownership change, the advertising company changed to Topi Törmä (Interview with Storm, *Åland* 28.1.1971, *Lalli* 17.2.1972 and *Mainosuutiset* 8/1965: 2–3).[129]

In general, advertisements presented women increasingly as the central element, and they were also presented as active and independent actors, not

129 Later on the advertising company Topi Törmä changed its name to Publicis Törmä (in the 1990s).

only as symbols of beauty for the viewer's pleasure.[130] The Karhu brand, however, kept its themes that were directed mainly towards male consumers, e.g. see Figure 24 below for the theme of a "closed season".

Figure 23. The new label versions from 1972-3. A presents the mild beer label and B presents the medium-strength beer label (© Archives of Pori Brewery and © Oy Sinebrychoff Ab).[131]

130 See details in Mari Soikkeli (2000) "*Olutmainokset 60-luvun alkolipoliittisen diskurssin ilmentäjänä*" and Heinonen and Konttinen (2001: 186 and 203).

131 There was also a label II B excise group. It was never sold, though. In Sweden, the excise group II has been preserved. Some of the imported beers went to Sweden, thus it is possible to find versions of the different beer labels that contain the excise group II symbol.

Figure 24. These advertisements were presented around 1972 employing the theme of "closed season", presenting work related to the countryside (© Oy Sinebrychoff Ab Internet site a).

The label was advertised with the slogan "Tippaakaan ei ole muutettu – paitsi etiketti"[132] (see A & O *Myyntineuvoja* 10.2.1972 and Appendix 4). Oy Tilgmann Ab still issued the labels as it had been doing with previous versions from 1961 onwards. The advertising campaign was large, including print advertising, outdoor advertising and since the Medium-Strength Beer Act had come into effect also advertising in grocery shops (*Kansan lehti* 15.2.1972, *Lalli* 17.2.1972, *Tamperelainen* 18.2.1972). Shortly after, the theme of a "closed season" was introduced (see Figure 24). The campaign presented different kinds of colour images of situations where a man needed a break from hard physical work and where beer was the welcomed refreshment. All the campaigns that the Karhu brand had run underlined the masculine aspects. The marketing strategy has continued along the same lines up to recent times

132 "Not a drop has been changed – only the label".

(2005). The campaign contained five different themes of a "closed season" (e.g. advertisements in magazines: *Seura* 10.3.1972 and 16.2.1972, *Kotiposti* 10.3.1972, *Hymy* 10.3.1972, *Valitut Palat* 7/1972).

Some technical developments in printing and a new label

In 1968–73, aluminium folio was introduced into the printing of labels. Aluminium folio created a shinier look and was more durable. Soon after, spray folio was introduced and from the 1980s onwards the golden parts of the labels were imprinted, which gives a stronger impression of the metal gold (Siipivirta and Matti Elo, interview with Ketonen).

Oy Sinebrychoff Ab changed the label of Karhu to create a new continuous look for the brand. The change was carried out by the atelier head of Topi Törmä[133], Olli Saukko, in January 1975. The design elements somewhat resembled the old label where the line drawing of the bear's head appeared with the name tag KARHU in capital letters (see Figures 25, p. 141 and 26, p. 143). The slogan "Porilaista"[134] was changed to "Porin olutta", which virtually has the same meaning as "Porilaista" although the slogan of "Porin olutta" points more directly to the brewing place. Thus the main signs of the label were preserved and the emphasis on locality continued.

The colours that were chosen for the labels were red as the dominant colour and black as the supplementary colour for the medium-strength beer and black and red for the strong beer. The black colour was (and is still) used to connote meanings of strength, and belongs to the "general" beer signs (see cans, Figure 31, p. 159). Black is also used in many other places and with a similar meaning. Both beer types had a golden rim around the label. According to the personnel paper Lekkeri, the campaign succeeded (*Lekkeri* 1/1976).

It has been stated that the problem that the label with the line drawing of a bear's head (Figure 15, p. 119; 16, p. 120 and 19, p. 122) had was that the drawing was used as the logo for both the brewery and the beer brand.[135] To

133 Former Topi Törmä advertising company.

134 "Beer from Pori".

135 The problem was somewhat similar with the Koff brand, since the word "Koff" is also associated with Oy Sinebrychoff Ab itself. The Olvi brand has the same concept, namely, Olvi is the name of both the brewery and the beer brewed by it.

Figure 25. The new label designed by Olli Saukko of Topi Törmä in 1975. (© Oy Sinebrychoff Ab archives). The brown Karhu label A was used only for a short while, for advertising purposes around August 1984. Labels B 1 and 2 were used in 1975-1979. The colour of the mild beer labels had to be changed to differ from the rest. Labels C 1 and 2 show greater differences in the colouring; pay attention to the neck label. These labels were used around 1980-1983. However, in the Karhu label, only the name tag KARHU and the background colour were changed as well as the neck labels. In addition, the die cutting was dropped from the design. Label D presents the IVA – label from 1980-1983. There were no award stamps on the labels. Later, award stamps were reintroduced.

have the same sign for the logo of the company and for one of the company's brands may have caused difficulties in creating separate images for the company and for its different products. The idea of a bear's head was still maintained but it was transformed somewhat to be more masculine in order that it not to be confused with the old label of the Karhu brand but still to have a continuous look from one version to the next. The red label had many of the elements that traditionally belong to beer labels, such as award stamps, crown (crown as a heraldic-like sign) and the year the brewery was founded.

When the Prohibition of Advertising Alcohol Act came out (1.3.1977), the mild beer (I) label's background was at first brown. This was later changed to red, thus the appearance of the labels in terms of its strength became more uniform (see Figure 25, p. 141). The difference between the excise groups are indicated by the colour of the name tag, by the colour behind the name tag, by the background colour (for IVA-beer) and by the different design of neck labels. The die cutting was dropped from the refined versions of the 1980s labels (Figure 25 C and D, p. 141) (Siipivirta and Elo, and interview with Roni Bensky).

New designs in the 1980s

On the red mild beer label of the Karhu brand, the ingredients are indicated (malt, *Humulus lupulus* hop shoots, water, and substances like ascorbic acid). It was a new obligatory element to be added to the label. Martti Lönnqvist redesigned the label for the celebration of the 125th and the 130th anniversary of Pori Brewery (see Figure 26, for the 125th anniversary and Figure 27, for the 130th anniversary). The beer for the 125th anniversary was launched in 1978. The new label did not have many changes in design. There was the mark of the anniversary, and the slogan "Porin olutta" was introduced on the neck label. The award stamps were introduced back in the early 1980s (Figure 27). The label also had the new obligatory elements on it. Other design elements that had been introduced to the label were the banderols around the anniversary year and the name tag Karhu with the word "Juhla" (celebration, see Figure 26).

Figure 26. The new label of the Karhu brand in 1978 for the 125th anniversary (1/2-short-necked bottle), designed by Martti (Mara) Lönnqvist. (© Oy Sinebrychoff Ab archives).

Figure 27. The label of the Karhu brand in 1983-84 for the130th anniversary. A presents the medium-strength beer and B presents the strong beer label (© Oy Sinebrychoff Ab archives) designed by Lönnqvist.

Figure 28. The advertisement that was made for the campaign in 1983. Layout by Jouko Roponen (© Publicis Helsinki Oy).

New bottle sizes (a half-litre bottle, with a short neck was introduced for the celebration)[136] became the main design introduction (Interview with Bensky). In Finland the beer bottles are standardised, and the only way to include a new bottle design into the overall format is to create different celebration beers and have these beers bottled in different bottle sizes and sometimes also in different bottle shapes. The celebration beers are brewed only in restricted amounts and only for a particular occasion. The bottle shape does affect the other signs presented on the bottle, for example, the shape of the label, which again in its turn affects the label composition and the signs that fit into the design of the label, not to mention how the bottle shape already itself provokes different interpretations. However, for the Karhu brand the bottle sizes did not

136 The half-litre short-necked bottle was standardised in 1938 and the 1/3-litre bottle replaced it gradually after 1953.

change the design composition that much. Bigger bottles had a larger sized label, which enabled emphasising certain features e.g. the celebration year.

In the early 1980s, small advertisements were published in local newspapers in Satakunta, Pori, Rauma and Turku. The campaigns changed when Oy Sinebrychoff Ab bought Pori brewery. With the change of the advertising company, advertising campaigns became smaller, i.e., the advertising of Karhu appeared only in the print media and on outdoor billboards. According to Matti Jaakola, Karhu was strategically positioned as the second brand of Sinebrychoff products (interview with Jaakola).

In the early1980s, an experimental campaign for the Karhu brand was launched. The campaign included outdoor and print advertising with the image of a real bear in nature. The advertising campaign series to which the advertising with the real bear (see Figure 28) belonged was designed by art director Jouko Roponen. Roponen also designed many of the small print advertisements (interview with Bensky).

The campaign (Figure 28) in 1983 presented the slogan: "Karhussa on luonnetta"[137]. The idea was to emphasise the strength, purity and the myths that are associated with the bear. Thus the connotations work here on multiple levels, through language and through the visual elements. The images of nature were rather popular at the times e.g., the advertisements of Lapin Kulta and the new Koff TV advertisements, Camel boots, etc., used nature elements largely in their advertisements (interview with Tatarinov).[138]

137 "Karhu has nature/character".

138 In the advertisements of the 1980s, the idea that women would drink beer or that women could be the target group was ruled out all together. The advertisements were directed mainly towards men. Some subjects were not even thought to be possible to show in advertisements. These included drinking beer without earning it. It was not possible to think of beer as a source of pleasure or enjoyment. Another unacceptable theme was having beer exclusively for fun or using beer in a social context for enjoyment (cf.: Soikkeli 2000 and Tigertstedt 1985). Thus the advertisements made for TV consisted of a series of men struggling against the forces of nature. The men ventured over rapids and through forests, climbed mountains or crossed rivers with a rope, etc. After the men had managed to overcome these hardships they were *allowed* to enjoy beer as a reward for succeeding in their ventures. It was also important that the men drink the bottle of beer in a sideways position. The sound of drinking had to be heard. Sideways drinking was

Consumers' attitudes were not as positive as had been expected by the brewing company and the marketing company involved in the advertisement. Consumers (especially "city people") could not relate the image to the brand (interview with Vaissi).

In the 1980s, children were also accepted with parents in restaurants. Moreover, at that time Oy Alko Ab reduced its extensive intervention of the atmosphere of restaurants. Earlier it was thought that if the restaurants and pubs were not comfortable people would not spend that much time in there and would not drink so much. Oy Alko Ab reduced its control of the restaurant business, the restaurant design became cosier and more enjoyable and the amount of restaurants in the municipalities and cities increased (around 1986) (*Helsingin Sanomat* 3.2. 2002, D4). The general attitudes were changing again to be more favourable towards mild alcoholic beverages. This did not affect the Prohibition of Advertising Alcohol, though, or the themes that were used in the advertisements. The themes in advertisements began changing only at the end of 1980s and early 1990s.

In 1984, the Prohibition of Alcohol Advertising was specified. The labels of I-beer were to be changed to remind of the labels of soft drinks and had to contain the words "mild beer" in a visible place (Turunen 2002: 216; see section "Advertising of alcohol"). It is an example of the effects of a societal semiosis on the used signs and the sign interpretation.

Foreign beers did not rival Finnish beer; on the contrary, they promoted the sales and sampling of different tastes, which also helped the breweries to start creating different seasonal or special beers (interviews with Storm, Jaakola and Keijo Suila). Furthermore, interaction between the breweries became common. The increasingly international atmosphere increased the following of foreign marketing strategies and advertising campaigns by Finnish advertising

taken to be masculine. This kind of advertisement follows the narrative rule where one has to overcome obstacles and in the end, a gift or prize is given. A man alone with only one bottle of beer without connotations of getting drunk or having fun suited well the new advertising guidelines in 1984 (see also the section "Advertising of alcohol") (interview with Tatarinov). The tendency to earn one's beer is clearly shown in the Karhu brand's advertisements from the 1970s (see Figures 24, p. 139 and 25, p. 141).

companies (*Mainosuutiset*, 1952–65, *Mainostaja*, 1934–1972 and interviews with Storm and Bengt Hällsten). [139]

6. Pressure from the Umwelt forces changes in the signs and interpretations

In the early 1970s, three quick changes in the labelling were introduced. Two of them were due to the Medium-Strength Beer Act in 1969 (the medium-strength beer was allowed in grocery shops). Nearly all beer brands in Finland underwent changes. Moreover, Pori Brewery was bought by Oy Sinebrychoff Ab. During these societal changes a new design was created. The change was significant. The bear's head and the award stamps were omitted and the colours were changed. The label was called "golden bear" (see Figure 23, p. 138), because the standing bear was in a gold colour. The design resembled the first oval "Polar beer" (see Figure 10, p. 114) labels where the standing bear was presented. The iconic aspect of the sign (bear) became a dominant one again. It is hard to explain why the labels were changed so often, but such fast and frequent changes were experienced by the other brands as well, one of which was Koff. In addition, the uniform colour background was also introduced in other brands. Thus one reason for the design can be that in the particular context (Umwelt) these kinds of design issues had become dominant also in broader terms than only beer labels. It was acknowledged that the change was significant, thus the advertising campaign[140] emphasised

139 According to Suila, in early 1980s Finnish marketing strategies were still far behind in contrast to global companies such as Unilever, from which Suila came to work for Oy Sinebrychoff Ab as marketing director. In addition, the local beer brands were increasingly disappearing because the larger breweries were buying the small local breweries. Keeping small brands going was hard in Finland where the consumer pool is not that large. Still, Suila saw it as reasonable to keep the Karhu brand in production (e-mail discussion with Suila). Pirkko Tatarinov stated that American research about advertising and marketing was followed closely in the 1980s. Unilever began to educate in the marketing of everyday commodities already in the 1930s in Finland (interview with Tatarinov, see also Heinonen and Konttinen 2001: 53, 119, 165 and 184).

140 See also Danesi on the issue of connecting design changes to advertising campaigns (2002: 95).

"Tippaakaan ei ole muutettu – paitsi etiketti"[141] (see Appendix 4). It seems that it was admitted that full transformation might bring about resistance in consumers. Constraints that consumers held might have had an influence on the acceptance of the label and thus on the acceptance of the beer, namely promoting a feeling of inconstancy and unfamiliarity. Maybe the signs were even too far in on periphery of the consumers' ZPD or too strongly connected with other themes and brands (creating constraints for an altering of the meaning of the signs).

With the change, a new campaign with contemporary themes was launched. The campaign attempted to keep up with the values associated with beer before, such as masculine beer, which fulfilled the demands of hardworking men who earned beer. More than before the design emphasised the notion of a lifestyle (Leiss, Kline and Jhally 1997) in advertising and it was also more explicit in the design, namely by presenting straightforwardly the idea of hardworking men having a break (see Figure 24, p. 139). It was a prominent attitude in the 1970s and 1980s that beer (as well as cigarettes) had to be earned (see also Heinonen and Konttinen 2001: 227 and Tatarinov above footnote 138).[142] Furthermore, foreign ideas were used increasingly in Finnish advertising strategies. One of these ideas was target group segmentation. This can be seen in the campaign – it is not directed towards women but rather emphasises the masculine values of men in the particular target group of working men. Changes in labels and in the marketing campaign undoubtedly

141 "Nothing has changed – except the label".

142 The alcohol politics in Finland with its alcohol Prohibition Act (1919-1932), the prohibition of advertising alcohol (1977–1995) and liberation campaigns favouring mild alcoholic beverages reflect two different directions that have affected the general attitudes, labels, marketing strategies, etc. For example, in the 1950s it was possible to advertise the health effect of alcohol (beer as a vitamin B source), and beer was advertised by celebrities (e.g. a popular actor, Tauno Palo, advertised Koff emphasising the joy of drinking and the quality of Finnish beer in the 1960s). However, after the medium-strength beer act the consumption of beer increased and different (negative) attitudes came into the picture, amounting to the idea that beer had to be earned. It was not possible to advertise beer in a joyful socialising context. Later, the attitudes became even stricter, only to be liberalised later again (see below).

followed the societal semiosis (social level). It can be said again that the social attitudes were externalised in the label and advertising designs.

The other change occurred due to the new ownership. Oy Sinebrychoff Ab wanted to create a more continuous look for the Karhu brand. Topi Törmä's atelier's head, Olli Saukko, designed a new label. The bear's head was re-introduced, tilted slightly to the left (see Figure 25, p. 141). The bear was more "natural looking" (see for modes of naturalness in visual elements Kress and Leeuwen 2001: 163–167). Again, the iconic level prevailed. The head of the bear also asks for interaction since it is a close-up and looks straight at the viewer. Therefore, the viewer has to react in one way or another (Emotional and Energetic Interpretants) (Kress and Leeuwen 2001: 122).

There were different versions of the mild beer label. The most distinct versions were the brown background and the red background versions. The mild beers (the brown and white background versions – Figures 25A, p. 141 and 30A, p. 158 respectively) were brewed most likely only for marketing reasons, since after 1977 only mild beer was allowed to be advertised. The name tag had gained more value in the new design, namely the letters were larger and positioned in the middle and the shape was no longer curved. The overall design was stronger, which was one of the objectives of the new design (interview with Bensky). The composition had a border in a coat of arms style. Die cutting was introduced, but after a while was dropped (see Figure 25 B and C, p. 141). However, it was re-introduced for the 125th anniversary (see Figure 26, p. 143).[143] The later red version of the mild beer and the medium-strength beer had the colour gold on the border rims. This was used more on the strong beer labels. For the extra strong beer of the 125th anniversary, the background was solid black as was customary with strong beers. As has been stated, black is predominantly used to represent strength, thus the colour depth corresponds with the beer strength. Since gold is taken most often as a symbol of quality, it is interesting to consider if the gold colour having more space in the strong beer label was intended to mean that the quality of beer increases with strength. It is important to note that the award stamps were brought back

143 Die cutting is expensive and created problems in the bottling line, therefore it was not often used. Most often it was used for special beer to promote its value and status.

and positioned in a prominent way, thus emphasising the acquired prize and therefore underlining even more the quality of the brand.

The marketing strategy was set to a minimum. However, the reason for this was not a conscious idea of how to best promote the brand but was due to the marketing strategies of the time, namely breweries had one main brand and the rest of the brands of the brewery were not given that much attention (interview with Jaakola and e-mail discussion with Suila). This meant that most of the restrictions[144] that the other brands had to struggle with because of the prohibition of advertising alcohol in print and television advertising[145] did not affect the Karhu brand's minimal marketing strategy that much. The restrictions on what to include on the label though, did affect the Karhu brand s well. The brand was advertised in small advertisements (the size of the label) in local newspapers and later on in outdoor and shop advertising. Outdoor and shop advertising increased somewhat during 1980 (Heinonen and Konttinen 2001: 239).

The attitudes towards alcohol and beer kept tightening and in some sense medium-strength beer came to symbolise the negative effect of alcohol (Turunen 2002: 209). That being the societal context (Umwelt), it was no wonder that the signs for the advertising of mild beer and the labels of mild beer were interpreted as presenting medium-strength and strong beer. Therefore, the colours, the compositions and, in the case of the Karhu brand, the bear gained importance as signs. The issues were consciously made indirect and implicit in textual form (for indirect communication with the use of visual elements see Messaris 1997: 226–231). This is a good example of the social context which sets up the restrictions/constraint, the different ways of sign use, and suggestions of possible somewhat interpretations, but also determines interpretations.

144 For example the following restrictions: advertisements were allowed to be only the size of A4 and if there were more advertisements from the same brewery the total space could not exceed A4; allowed images were mostly of the bottle and glass, no background picture was permitted, Oy Alko Ab oversaw the checking of the labels, caps and promotion material (Korell-Pukari 1991:45–46 and Pekkala 1989: 150–153 and 282–283).

145 See Merja Salo (1997) for the advertising of tobacco and the prohibition of advertising tobacco.

The sales district system had been eliminated and the various beer brands were sold across Finland. This resulted in a different competitive situation between the brands. Karhu as the second brand of the brewery did not receive support for broad distribution, as well as for large campaigns. Therefore, the Karhu brand was not so well known until the 1990s. However, generally the consumption of all beer brands increased. The main brands in the 70s and 80s were Karjala, Koff, Lahden Erikoinen and Lapin Kulta. In semiotic terms, this means that in the social context particular brands and signs were more prominent than others. For example, the Karhu brand had not been sold everywhere and since it was not advertised on a large scale it remained unfamiliar and consumers were not yet well acquainted with some of the signs used by the brand. As mentioned before, the bear head can be taken as icon, index or symbol and in the local area all of the multiple interpretations were possible, and the common ground and experience base of the signs were dense. It seems that other signs or prominent codes of beer brands, such as the heraldic-like signs and compositions, the colours (red, white, gold and black) and the award stamps did not create enough common ground, for the larger consumer groups, at least in the beginning, for the communicative act. Internalisation for the broader consumer groups did not occur, maybe because the affordances of the signs that were designed to promote were not perceived by the broader consumer groups, or the designed affordances were not interpreted in the way intended by the designers.

From 1970 to 1980, there was a tendency to resist new "things". Consumers tended to be brand faithful once they had found a brand to their liking. In semiotic terms, this would mean that on the individual level the habit changes, namely the Logical Interpretant was hard to acquire. In beers this meant that there were large target groups that were faithful consumers of their local or habitually used beer brands, something still revealed in marketing/consumer research on the "older generation" (interview with Vaissi). In terms of semiosis, at the social level the Immediate Interpretant had the potential for interpretation but in iconic and indexical aspects of the sign (e.g. head of the bear) rather than the symbolic ones. The Dynamic Interpretant tended to be directed to take the beer and its signs as an unfamiliar brand, since the sum of similar experiences was lacking (the signs did not fall well enough in to the ZPD of the broader consumer groups). Thus, the Final Interpretant was in the process of forming. As will be discussed later, there were multiple interpretations of the beer brand.

On the Communicative level, the Intentional Interpretant promoted possibilities for multiple interpretations and semiosis but the common ground and experience base were missing, thus the Effectual Interpretant (the consumers) can perceive only little of the potential offered (affordances). Therefore the Communicational Interpretant did find only few aspects where the "mind could fuse", namely having a common ground for communication. Local individuals saw means in their social context for interpreting the sign that were different than what consumers in the other parts of Finland saw. Thus, most of the non-local consumers tended to rest on the Emotional Interpretant having only an emotion derived by the sign (for example, uncertainty or resistance) or ignoring it altogether. In the local area, the Karhu brand was taken as a good beer during the 1960s and 1970s. Later, it was seen to be a sort of "underdog" by the broader consumer groups (interview with Vaissi).

Just when new restrictions for advertising alcohol were introduced a new campaign for the Karhu brand was set up. The brand was presented on outdoor billboards advertisements featuring a "real bear" in nature (see Figure 28, p. 144). The advertising tried to connect the iconic sign of the bear's head more to a real bear and the values derived from nature images. Images of nature were used increasingly in this context (Umwelt) and were already used successfully for the Lapin Kulta brand. For some reason, the attempt did not resonate with consumers and the campaign was terminated. It might be that although nature issues had a societal base, the ways of presenting and connecting this to the beer brand were not the right ones for that particular moment in the social context. As Leeuwen (2000: 187) states, how the signs can be used is regulated in different ways in a given context. The reasons could have been the direct connection with the nature images and beer, or nature was felt to be connected already with other brands. In any event, it seems that the signs employed and their relational network were not yet ready to be accepted (Immediate Interpretant).

The new restrictions for advertising and presenting mild beer labels gave birth to new designs in labels and advertising. The Karhu brand also renewed itself, to some extent, although it's advertising was quite untouched due to its already plain and unassuming design style.

The new alcohol advertising guidelines were added to the previous one in 1984. For example, the mild beer labels, neck labels and caps had to be changed to look different than the ones of the stronger beers (see Figure 25 B1 and 2 and C1 and 2, p. 141). The attempt was to reduce the associations that the mild beer advertisements evoked, namely the associations with medium-strength beer.[146] Since the Karhu brand was considered as the secondary brand of Oy Sinebrychoff Ab, the advertising was not extensive and mostly it was local advertising presenting the label or outdoor advertising, and advertising for the celebration beers. The Karhu brand remained the silent "underdog" to the broader consumer groups, and the familiarity of the brand and its signs increased only slowly.

7. The last changes in the Karhu label

A change in the budget occurred when the new Karhu design was launched in 1989. The idea for a change came from Max Alfthan[147]. He asked for more aggressiveness in the appearance of the Karhu label.

Alfthan's strategy was based on the strategies used by the cigarette companies. The colours red, white and black continued to be the colours of the Karhu brand. Furthermore, the advertising of the beer followed somewhat the style of cigarette advertising.[148] Bensky also notes this similarity and brings it

146 The suggestive advertising elements had to be reduced. The guidelines went as follows: 1) the label of mild beer had to be transformed to remind of the labels of soft drinks and had to contain an EAN code. The colouring of the labels and caps had to be changed. 2) The words "mild beer" had to be dominant. 3) When advertising mild beer the words "mild beer" and the excise group mark I had to be shown clearly. 4) The transport and other publicly visible materials (packaging etc.) had to be changed to appear as mild beer labels appeared (if possible), in any case the new materials had to follow the guidelines. 5) The slogans used for strong beer were not allowed in the advertising of mild beer. These guidelines came into effect on 1.1.1984 (Turunen 2002: 215–216, The National Product Control Agency for Welfare and Health (STTV), Mäkinen 1984: 67–68 and Martinoff 1985: 41).

147 Max Alfthan was a marketing manager from 1989 to 1994 at Sinebrychoff after which he was appointed as marketing director from 1994 to 1998.

148 Alfthan renewed the whole strategy of Oy Sinebrychoff Ab beer brands. The beer brands were positioned into different segments, which were associated with different lifestyles.

even further; i.e., according to Bensky the advertisements of beer and cigarettes have the same kind of appearance and associations. For example, one must earn the pleasure of smoking or drinking, and the enjoyment is experienced in good company when relaxing.

Martti Lönnqvist designed the new label. This label designed in 1989 is still in use (2005) with only minor changes that depend on the used campaign. The full (saturated) black background was one of the biggest changes. The black background appeared in the stronger beers, i.e., Extra Strong, and can already be seen in the label of strong beer for the 130-year celebration and on the can of the Extra Strong beer in the 1970s. As the colour gold was now imprinted onto the label, it gave an intense impression of the metal gold.

The new design dropped the award stamps and the crown. The head of the bear was changed to stare straight into the viewer's eyes, a tongue was added and the fangs were more visible in the open mouth. The visual elements were arranged to create a general effect that resembled a heraldic-like shape. All the visual elements were surrounded by laces or banderols (see Figures 29, p. 157 and 30, p. 158). More traditional signs of beer labels were added with the image of barley around the banderols. This particular label has persisted up to 2005 (See Appendix 9 for the changes in design from 2005 and 2006). It is important to acknowledge that the signs for quality and tradition remained, although in the new design these signs were associated with heraldic-like signs. The heraldic-like impression was created by the closed shape of the banderols, the image of barley, the inscription of the words "olut - öl" (beer) at the bottom part of the banderols, a more natural looking head of the bear and the metallic colours. Therefore there were changes but still the overall look and atmosphere remained the same. The heraldic-like signs kept the label closer to its origins, i.e., to Pori and to the county of Satakunta.

Alfthan used as a metaphor the segmentation of cigarette brands, i.e., Karhu was associated with the same lifestyle as "Nortti" cigarettes (for silent, strong, hard-working men); the Koff brand was associated with the same lifestyle as Marlboro (youthful, urban, mainstream) and Light beer was associated within the same lifestyle as Belmont (youthful, feminine, students). Koff was red, Karhu A (the strong beer) was black, and Light beer was blue. Within this marketing strategy framework the Karhu label was renewed to be the one that it is now, with only small changes afterwards (2005) (interview with Alfthan).

The new version of the label did not go through the usual marketing research test. It was launched in the area of Pori (the triangular area of Turku, Pori and Tampere). The launch consisted only of small advertisements in local newspapers.

More celebration beer promotions were carried out, for example in 1993 when Pori Brewery reached its 140th year of operation. To celebrate this a restricted amount (200 000 litres) of half-litre bottles with a screw cork was produced. The bottle was an Oy Marli Ab's juice bottle and the bottling was done in Oy Marli Ab's factories. These bottles came to be a success and the half-litre bottling was repeated the following year (Publicis Helsinki Oy archives and interviews with Bensky and Vaissi).

Bottle size and packaging changes have been the main marketing strategy for the Karhu brand since the late 1980s. The next packaging change occurred in 1995 when the first one-litre bottle was introduced. The new packaging introductions continued in 1995 with the ½-litre can (from 1997 onwards the ½-litre can stayed in production) and at the same time ½-litre bottle also remained. The marketing strategy of frequently introducing new packaging sizes increased the consumption of the Karhu brand. This increase partly proves the importance of the bottle design that should complement the design of the label, thus having a uniform look for all the signs that belong to a specific brand.[149] However, there are many other reasons behind brand success or failure; the bottle itself and the signs (sign 1) on the labels that accord with the target group (societal semiosis of particular groups) belong to these reasons.

Even without specific bottle shapes, it can be said that Karhu managed to present all its signs in a uniform way. The beer was felt to taste differently than the rest of the beer brands, to be local and unknown, and to be the consumers

149 The standardised shape of the bottle seemed to be a problem in designing a coherent look for a brand. Sometimes tests had been done with different shapes of bottles, but because this is not allowed in Finland except for special beers, such as celebration beers, these tests remained only tests (interviews with Alfthan, John Zetterborg, Henrik Kylander and Tatarinov). If we consider beer (and also other beverage) bottles abroad, they tend to have different shapes that suit the brand in question. The Coca-Cola bottle is probably the best-know example of a specific bottle shape associated with the brand itself.

own choice (consumer and marketing research). However, the Karhu brand's consumption kept on increasing. By far, the category experiencing the greatest increase was the standard (1/3 litre) bottle. Thus, in reality it could not have been an "unknown" brand. Karhu was felt to be strong in nature and independent. The aforementioned elements appeared in the design of the label but also in the advertising strategy, which was to promote beer only in local newspapers using small advertisements. The advertisements pictured only the label, at the size of the label; moreover, they were black and white.[150] The same theme was used again in advertising but in colour and a bigger size after 1995. However, the slogans changed. The main slogan was "Täyttä olutta"[151] (consumer and marketing research and interview with Bensky). The first "launch" of the label and advertising included a process of introducing the brand first into the countryside and small towns and then the larger centres and finally Helsinki. The advertising strategy achieved its goal i.e., the advertising only on outdoor billboards (Appendix 6), print advertisements in local newspapers, shop promotions and festival campaigns (Appendix 7). All of the campaigns were run in a simplified manner. The idea behind the advertising strategy was to act as a bear was seen to act in nature, i.e., being careful to whom it shows itself. The advertising strategy was worked out in close co-operation with Oy Sinebrychoff Ab's managing director Kaj Forsell.

The design elements emphasised the same ideas, the colours were dark and saturated in order to be associated with a strong and full taste, which was how Karhu beer was taken to taste. The slogan "Täyttä olutta" underlined these aspects (see Appendix 6 and 7 for the campaign on outdoor fixtures and another campaign at the Pori Jazz festival, as well as Appendix 8 for Karhu labels that were sold in Sweden for a while around the year 2003). The heraldic elements pointed to the county tradition of brewing beer and to the traditions and quality of the brewing. The bear head looked strait into the viewer's eyes, contacting the viewer, and giving an impression of strength. The elements are tautological in many respects (see also Dryer 1982; 151–82). The visual elements emphasised the same issues and meaning but in different manners

150 Art director Risto Miettinen from Publicis Törmä created the small advertisements for the local newspapers (interview with Bensky).

151 "Full beer".

and the text expressed it further (see Kress and Leeuwen 2001, for salient features, composition, close-up, framing, "symbolic" saliency). In addition, the design of the packaging followed rules similar to the advertising; they were simplified with a black background and presented only the full head or half the head of the bear.

In the new labels, the slogan "Täyttä olutta" was placed in the back label of the beer bottle. At the beginning of the last change, the prohibition of advertising was still in force, thus the I-beer label was first introduced with a white background inside the heraldic-like banderols (see Figure 30, p. 158). Just before the Prohibition of Alcohol Advertisement was revoked (1995), the I-beer label background inside the banderols was changed to be red as well. The caps of the different excise groups had colour coding (and still do; 2005). The mild beer had a yellow cap, medium-strength beer had red with the name tag Karhu in golden letters and strong beer had a black background colour (marketing and consumer research, graphical guidelines for Karhu brand from 1996, Hämäläinen 1996, and interview with Bensky).

Figure 29. The new label that was in use from 1989 to 2004. A presents the strong beer and B presents the medium-strength beer label (© Oy Sinebrychoff Ab archives). From 1992-93, the feature "Parasta ennen"[152] was introduced for the first time. In September 1993, the ½-litre bottle was produced for the 140-year celebration (C) (bottle by Oy Marli Ab; Oy Sinebrychoff Ab).

152 "Best before".

A B

Figure 30. Two different mild beer label versions of the Karhu brand from 1991 -1994 (© Oy Sinebrychoff Ab archives).
A – label with white background inside the banderols in use in 1990-1991. It is uncertain if this label form was ever bottled or only used for marketing purposes.
*B – the new version with a red background anticipated the changes to come when joining the EU (*Oluttiiviste *1994: 5 and* Oluttiiviste *1994: 3).*

The period after joining the EU

The next change in packaging, and the last in this case study appeared in March 2002, when the pint-sized can (= 0.568) was introduced in an outdoor campaign. It followed the same line in its appearance (Figure 31).

Some Karhu advertising campaigns appeared over and over again. JcDecaux[153] chose the outdoor advertisements of Karhu to be the best in the year 2001. At the turn of 2003 the Karhu brand's advertisement company was changed; from that time on it was PHS[154] (e-mail communication with Vaissi). The Extra Strong beer somewhat resembles the old can, which also had a full bluish-black background and the bear's head as the only element, including the name tag of the brand (see Figure 12, p. 117).

153 JcDecaux arranges and maintains the outdoor advertisements. For more information, see JCDecaux Finland Oy.

154 Advertising company *Paltemaa, Huttunen, Santala.*

A B C

Figure 31.
A – the can in the size of a pint (© Oy Sinebrychoff Ab).
B – advertisement for Karhu Extra Strong beer (© Oy Sinebrychoff Ab Internet site a). The can in the size of a pint was launched in March 2002 (Nyman 2002a)[155]*.*
C – later version of the background of Extra Strong beer.

This Karhu version called "Tosi vahva"[156] was launched in May 1999. It was sold in restaurants and in Oy Alko Ab outlets in 33-cl bottles (Jääskeläinen and Vuorimaa 1999). The low-key advertising strategy persisted.

155 To conclude the last packaging developments: in 1998 the six-pack appeared (6x33-cl bottle) for the Karhu brand; in 2000 the twelve-pack was introduced (12x33-cl bottle); in 2001 cans were packed in a six-pack, and in 2002 a new way of arranging the twelve-pack, having 2 rows of six bottles, was introduced (Nyman Stefan 2002a).

156 "Really Strong".

8. Towards further abstraction in the meaning of the signs

In the early 80s, the labels and advertising campaigns were further restricted, which amounted to changes in the design and the design process. For example, colour coding was required to clearly separate mild beer from the rest of the beers. This meant that the uniform look of the brand through colour coding was more difficult to achieve. Acquiring a uniform look and feel for a brand was especially important in Finland since the different excise groups (and strengths) were (and are) sold in different places i.e., mild beer and medium-strength beer are sold in grocery shops and strong beer is sold in Oy Alko Ab outlets. Therefore, within one brand there are, at least, three different beer "categories" to differentiate, while still keeping them within the brand image. The new obligatory markings on the label took space from the other design elements, and the composition had to be rethought. In the case of Karhu a new design was requested by the marketing manager Alfthan. Alfthan wanted to create a conscious marketing strategy for Karhu. Despite the restrictions, Alfthan wanted an integral look for Karhu and a holistic marketing strategy that would also reflect the values of the brand in the advertising. The guidelines for the strategy followed the strategies of tobacco brands, which were the forerunners of marketing strategies in Finland. Colour coding and defining the main colours were seen to be important (cf.: e.g. Heinonen and Konttinen 2001: 143 and 265).

The new design of the Karhu label was launched in 1989 (see Figure 29, p. 157). The awards stamps and the crown were dropped and new design elements were added, such as the image of barley, heraldic elements (for example, banderols), and tying the composition together with a coat of arms style. Thus some of these elements that functioned as signs of locality were reduced but nonetheless still kept (e.g. the neck label had the text "Porin olut"[157], emphasising the brewery in Pori – a local brewery, although Karhu beer was already brewed also in Kerava) while some of the more general global elements that functioned as "general signs" were introduced. This created an interesting tension between the local and the global. On the one hand, the elements functioning as signs in the label referred clearly to the local place and, on the other, the label had elements that functioned as signs that

157 "Beer from Pori" or "Pori's Beer".

were generally known all over Europe and America. Furthermore, some of the elements functioning as heraldic signs could be interpreted in both ways; namely they could be symbols of the town of Pori and also as the general signs of heraldic representations. However, this is not a unique case for this particular brand; it can be found in beer brands all over Europe, which will be seen in the comparison between beer brands from Finland and Italy. The main colours of the Karhu brand were red, black and white, following somewhat the lines of Marlboro and the brewery Anheuser-Busch's Budweiser beer brand advertising. The bear's head was turned straight towards the viewer. It still was a close-up and had a graphical style[158]. The intention was to create a more masculine-looking bear and for this reason, for example, the fangs and tongue were shown more clearly. The new obligatory statements were added on the side of the label and on the back label. The signs used in the Karhu label managed to emphasise on many levels the supposed full taste (the saturated colours used, the slogan itself). There were the signs for strength such as the black background (in 2004 matte colour was introduced to the label), the more masculine bear and the solid composition. After Finland joined the EU, the restrictions were mostly lifted, which enabled more freedom in designing the labels and in advertising campaigns.

On the communicative level, the producers aimed (the Intentional Interpretant) at increasing the feeling of masculinity and the power of the label through a new design of the bear as well as the whole composition. Furthermore, an attempt was made to distance the label from being seen only as a local one, but at the same time retaining the values of locality. All this was created by the visual elements, rather than explicitly by the text (see also Messaris 1997: 225–228). According to consumer and marketing research the intentions of the producers met the consumers' expectations (Effectual Interpretant), thus common ground of communication was found in this case (the spiral of internalisation/externalisation was established with the intentional meaning). The values and interpretations found in the consumer and marketing research were as follows: masculine, aggressive,

158 The term "graphical style" does not refer here to any art or design style in a strict sense. The term is used in a common way to refer to a picture- or drawing-like style with a reduced amount of elements to distinguish it from photograph-like styles.

frank, self-confident. The common ground achieved can be explained by the long-term uniform process: the marketing strategy kept presenting the label in similar ways from the end of the 1980s to the beginning of the 21st century. In addition to this, the marketing strategy also reflected the similar frank, plain and masculine design. This strategy included outdoor advertising (Appendix 6) with the bear head and the slogan "Täyttä olutta"[159], and grocery shop campaigns. From marketing and consumer research, it becomes clear that the Karhu brand had a steady increase in consumption; it increased after every campaign (for example, after the campaign that promoted a new package and bottle types and sizes). However, there was no decrease after the campaigns as there usually is; consumption kept steadily increasing.

On the social level, it seems that this kind of advertising and stable design gave the potential to associate the signs of the label with the values of the segmented overlapping target groups/consumer segments. The demographic factors were no longer interesting. The interest lied in the social values, attitudes and lifestyles (see Heinonen and Konttinen, 2001: 299).[160] It could be assumed that the multiple interpretations that the label provided enabled a reflection of the changing attitudes and lifestyles of the consumer segments. The signs of the Karhu label were able to follow the changes of the habits and activities of consumers (or it can be said that the perceived affordances of the signs were interpreted in different ways enabling the changes of the dominating Object in the sign-action). It might also be that choosing Karhu enabled consumers to communicate to other people indirectly that they shared some attitudes and values associated with the beer, a certain social status within the loosely formed groups (see social status in Messaris 1997: 225).

It seems that the essence is the multiple associations/multiple Objects in the sign-action that enable many potentials for the Immediate Interpretant,

159 "Full beer".

160 For example, individuality, ecology, authenticity, communality, experimentation (cf.: Heinonen and Konttinen 2001: 300) RISC (Research Institute on Social Change), VALS (Values and Lifestyles), and specific methods for particular campaigns: Likert Scales, different kinds of interviews, Questionnaires, open questions, collage, and drawing methods (psychodrawing). See more information on the overall methods of consumer research behaviour in Askegaard S., Bamossy G. and Solomon M. (1999).

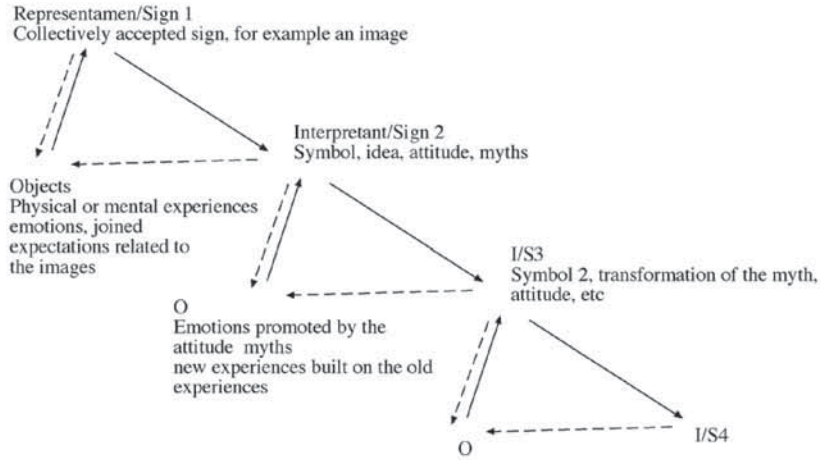

Figure 32. The chain of semiosis from the group perspective.

which may come to actual actions (Dynamic Interpretant) and promote similar experiences, thus creating at least a temporal consensus on a particular habit (Final Interpretant). On the individual level, the above can mean that, for example, the bear's head can have many Objects depending on the time, situation and context as mentioned in the previous sections. The Emotional Interpretant can be, for example, a fear of the aggressive look of the bear, or a feeling of self-confidence, a feeling of strength giving rise to the Energetic Interpretant, for example, acting more confidently, being more outward, going beyond ones capacities. If any of these brought a habit change or formed a habit, this may be possible gathering from how people tend to act, but some of these acts lack the intellectual appreciation of the meaning of the sign, i.e., character of thought (Logical Interpretant) -– they can be just acts without reflective thinking.

Next I shall provide some insight into one sign – the bear's head – using Peirce's theory of signs.[161]* Figure 32 visualises semiosis as a chain, that also has

161 * Permission granted for using this part of the analysis, which can be also found in Bauters, M. (2006). "Semiosis of (target) groups: Peirce, Mead and the subject". *Subject Matters* 2(2): 73–102. See the previous sections to relate the below Peircean approach to the formed framework.

Figure 33. The image of the bear head used on the label and in the advertising campaigns.

the form of a spiral in which the previous knowledge remains in the process. However, the previous knowledge (sign) is modified, broadened, deepened or changed according to what has come up in a new semiosic round. The sign-actions are built upon previous sign-actions and previous experiences.

Individual semiosis and the semiosis of groups show that a group selects the perceived sign according to its Umwelt, namely, according to those attitudes and world-views that a group supposedly shares. Therefore some signs can go unnoticed by part of the group. On the other hand, society on the whole (Umwelt), individuals in or outside the group, or other groups can force (cf.: Peircean "brute force") a particular group to change its point of view on some aspects by a new round of semiosis. Figure 32 (p. 163) displays some ideas possible in the semiosic process.

A sign from the Karhu label fits well as an example of the semiosic process (see Figure 33, for the sign). The bear's head is a dominant element in the label, and it alone is used in the advertisement to represent the Karhu brand. The image of the animal may refer to the old myth about bears or just to the beer brand, or associations related to the brand and beer as a general product.

Some background information also affects the interpretation of the sign. The sign may present an image, and its Objects may be the experiences shared by the group who possesses certain feelings and emotions, and stimulates certain mental or physical activities. How the Object is perceived or what Objects dominate the sign-action within the group depends on the common ground of the group, i.e., on the collateral experiences of the group – their shared and agreed historical background.

In the 1980s, beer was seen to be a masculine product and the most accepted way of its consumption was after hard work, often hard physical work. The different beer brands were still sold around the vicinity where the brewing occurred, and not throughout Finland. In the case of the Karhu brand, the area was Satakunta and the brewing took place in the town of Pori. The bear was considered to be strong, the independent king of the forest, but also protective and seen to give power to people. The meaning (Sign 2) can be what the image is associated with, or attitudes that are related to it, or a symbol of the group's world-view.

According to different Interpretants on the *individual level* the sign 1 could promote only an emotional meaning.[162] It could be, for example, a fear, or warmth towards a local and familiar image. In the Phaneroscopic categories it would be FIRSTNESS, i.e., an Emotional Interpretant. The emotions or affections are underlined as important factors when activation of attitudes, stereotypes, prejudices, and expectations are concerned (see Figure 32, p. 163, for expectations; cf.: Augoustinos and Walker 1995: 243–44).

On the *group level,* Firstness is the Immediate Interpretant, which is the "sign itself", and "is ordinarily called the *meaning of the sign"* (CP 4.536). For example, the sign 1 is the image of a *bear* on the Karhu label; the meaning could be just local beer.

162 Presuming the fact that an Object can be a "non-physical object", we may say that it could be a feeling of emotion. Sign 1, or Representamen, can refer to a feeling of emotion known through collateral experience. The determination aspect presupposes that the emotion determines the Representamen or Sign 1. I would even go further to state that feelings of emotions are involved in every sign-action, assuming also, that the degree of "emotional" domination power in relations to other Objects may vary. Thus the contribution of the "emotional" Object varies in different sign-actions. Even in inferences or rational thinking the feelings of emotions are involved (cf.: CP 2.227 [c.1897]).

In SECONDNESS, on the *individual level* there would be an Energetic Interpretant, perhaps, the sign 2 of a *bear* promotes an action of association to locality, associations to private local experiences. On the *group level* it would be a Dynamic Interpretant, namely, the total of previous similar experiences; for example, that the beer brand has been popular among hard-working local people and belongs to the traditional products of the area. The meaning would be the impulse to act accordingly, to choose beer instead of milk or water or to choose this particular brand, thus, to represent the joint emotions towards the traditions associated with the consumption of the Karhu brand.

Finally, THIRDNESS for the *individual* would be the Logical Interpretant, for example, a thought that the sign 3 promotes, or even a habit which the sign 3 causes to change. Maybe consuming beer after a sauna or after hard physical work is the habit that the individual ties with this sign. On the *group level*, it would be the Final Interpretant, for example, that this beer brand has an agreed meaning for the group, it symbolises a lifestyle or a world-view of the group, that "we are strong, and appreciate locality", for instance. In this example the group would be loosely formed, not sharing planned activities together. The shared belief, attitudes and lifestyles, such as drinking beer after a sauna, and particularly that brand, is as an earned pleasure after hard physical work.

As stated above, the former attitudes also reflect the general attitudes towards beer in society. Moreover, the themes of consuming beer after hard work or after a sauna were presented in nearly all of the beer brands' advertising campaigns[163] in Finland in the 1980s (with the addition of some campaigns emphasising a nature theme or experimenting with beer as product for social situations). The group's lifestyle or world-view could change, though, by virtue of the habit changes of the members or by the impulse from the society (Umwelt). There might be a change in the Object domination within the triadic relation, namely, the Object could be an emotion, thus the Emotional

163 As an example, the themes the Koff brand had in its campaigns in the 1970s and 1980s can be mentioned. In the 1970s the theme was "Rankan päivän päälle" ("After a hard day") and in the 1980s the theme was "Miehen mittainen olut" ("Beer is as good as the man"). Both campaigns emphasised the idea that the beer had to be earned. The theme "Beer is as good as the man" also had a strong nature aspect to it.

Interpretant could also change, to be for example, strength, and a feeling of independence. For the loosely formed group "independence" may present a symbol of the group's world-view, like positive attitudes towards making one's own decisions and to the stereotype of "independent men walking their own paths". This might cause a change in the habits of drinking, for example drinking beer together at the weekends, joining others to watch ice hockey, etc.[164] A change in the habits and attitudes towards beer and its usage is again intertwined with attitudes in the society.

Attitudes towards beer have been liberalised even further for many reasons: 1) Finland joined the EU in 1995; 2) people increasingly travel abroad and pick up new attitudes and habits there; 3) drinking beer is accepted in social situations, for fun, for the taste of the beer, etc. Again, these changes appear also in most of the beer brands advertising in the 1990s. Still, every individual has his/her own personal traits in beer consumption even though consumption on the general level would appear to follow the themes of consumption of a certain group or of larger consumption tendencies. For example, a private experience may flavour the meaning of the sign and the meaning of the consumption. The Emotional Interpretant could be awe with respect to the sign and for the beer brand after encountering a real bear in the forest when picking berries. Thus the change described above could display the social self, reflecting the change both in the society and at the same time in the group, which in its turn reflects the change in the individual.

The description of an occurring change clearly shows how the social self overlaps with the group one. In other words, they are partly the same. However, Thirdness includes Firstness and Secondness: the emotional part is involved in Thirdness, as an energetic or an action part. The action is not necessarily a physical action; it can also be a mental or emotional action that springs up from the sign. Further, due to the fact that there can be more than

164 It might seem paradoxical to feel independent and yet start to share activities with others, but contradictory acts occur frequently in consumers' actions. For example, when the Karhu brand was the most consumed beer in Finland according to marketing research consumers still felt that it was their independent choice, that they had found the brand themselves and that they did not belong to the general large consumer group of the beer (Marketing and consumer research from 1990 to 2000).

one Object (CP 2.23 and CP 2.230), one sign could simultaneously produce different kinds of meanings and Interpretants. As for the given example, on the one hand the individual belonging to a group shares the interpretations and meanings with other members, and on the other, it can be that the individual interpretations differ from those of the other group members, but still he/she feels a sense of belonging to the group.

In the next section, I shall present a comparison of Finnish (Koff and Karhu) and Italian (Peroni Nastro Azzurro) mainstream beer brands. The purpose of the following section is to see if the general signs do appear and have similar meanings in different cultural areas. General signs mean those signs that enable consumers to know from the label (sometimes also from the shape of the bottle) that the particular product is beer and not, for example, cider, and which should hold similar kinds of meaning and values. As mentioned earlier, a group of signs exist that are recognised as signs for beers around the Western world. The section below compares and presents some of these signs. Furthermore, it also brings up the intertwined aspect of the Umwelt, signs and individual and social semiosis despite the fact that not all the countries have as strict alcohol policies as Finland, which as has been shown above, have had a quite a strong effect on the signs as well as the attitudes towards alcoholic beverages.

9. "Global"/general (Western) beer signs: A case of Italy and Finland*

In this section, mainstream (Koff, Karhu and Peroni Nastro Azzurro) labels from Finland and Italy are compared.[165] The Italian brand was chosen because stereotypically[166] Italy is not taken as a beer country and it also differs culturally

* Permission granted for reproduction of parts of Bauters, M. (2006a). "'Global'/general (Western) beer signs: The case of Italy and Finland". In Martinelli Dario and Navickaite Lina (eds.), Finland – Italy: a few comparisons. Helsinki: Umweb.

165 For other beer brand analysis see Bauters (2004 and 2004a).

166 Despite the common belief that Italy has no beer culture, this is untrue. There are many microbreweries in Italy. Furthermore, the beer brands vary a lot and many special tastes can be found all over the country (for further basic information on Italian beers see Faraggi

from Finland. The difference provides an additional view on the ways the Umwelt intertwines with the signs and interpretations. The attempt is also to see if the same general signs that have appeared in the Finnish beer brands appear in the Italian one and whether the meaning of these signs is similar in the different countries. As mainstream brands, they rate among the best-known and most consumed beer brands in the respective countries.

The main objective of this section is to describe the similarities in the labels. Emphasis is placed on the meaning of the signs and some reference is given on the background of how the signs have evolved. The approach taken is interdisciplinary, meaning that some historical knowledge is essential to be able to grasp the meaning of the signs and to compare them. However, due to the repetitive nature of the descriptions, the full development of the signs or an analysis of the aspects of societal semiosis and individual semiosis is not tackled here.[167]

The beer brand labels described here are Peroni Nastro Azzurro (Italy), and Koff (Finland).[168] These brands belong to the lager beers and are thus mild in taste. Before going into the signs it is worthwhile to state the basic facts of these beer brands.

Peroni Nastro Azzurro comes from Vigevano. The brewery was founded in 1846. Peroni Nastro Azzurro is directed somewhat more to young adults than to the whole population. In a similar manner, the Koff brand is directed towards youth. Both the Finnish brand Koff and the Italian brand Nastro Azzurro have a divided role to represent tradition/history and mainstream young adults' lifestyle. Koff is a product of the brewery Oy Sinebrychoff Ab, which was founded in 1819.

The main attitudes and values that beer brands in general attempt to represent are: quality, tradition, and taste. Some values and attitudes relate to certain kinds of beer brands that have segmented the consumers in a different manner. For example, the brands that emphasise young adult segments

Massimo, Internet site).

167 For further information on the growth of signs and on the aspects of societal semiosis and individual semiosis see Bauters 2006.

168 For further information on the brands see, for example, Peroni Nastro Azzurro, Internet site and Sinebrychoff, Internet site.

stress sociability, sports and fun related attitudes and lifestyles. The brands mentioned above have stated the following lifestyle-related concepts: being cool, being the best[169], being on the front line of action and style (creating new traditions like pizza beer), bearing similarity to Ferrari and Prada, and so on (Peroni Nastro Azzurro, see Figure 34 A). This way, they give an idea of high quality, creativity and a leading role. The Koff brand has similar divisions in its lifestyle concepts. For example, youth culture is emphasised in their adverts by pub-related themes (sociability and fun), being on the front line of creating new youth culture "styles", and sport, namely, ice hockey, while Nastro Azzurro supports football. Both sports can be seen to reflect the so-called "national" sport of the country. As well as, Koff bears the other aspect of tradition by representing the oldest brewery in Finland, thus, emphasising a long tradition as well as quality.

Both of the brands follow a marketing guideline that states that the closer the product is to the act of consumption, the more respectable, reliable and traditional it should be. Therefore, these labels present the general signs and codes of beer labels while the advertising campaigns concentrate on the latest trends and can at times become close to obnoxious.

Design elements of the bottle and the labels

Bottle The bottle designs of the beer brands have a clear difference. In Finland, the bottles are standardised.[170] Therefore, there are no specific designs for different brands. However, this is not the case with Italian beer bottles. The bottle of Peroni Nastro Azzurro is designed specifically for the brand and it is even mentioned in their campaigns (see Beer company Peroni, Internet site). The delicate curves of the bottle fit well the shape of the label and the overall style of the design. The bottle design has two embossings, one above the label and one below. The above embossing has a slogan of the brand "Birra superriore" and the one below has the foundation date of the brewery. The bottle design serves two purposes: 1) it adds an additional flavour to the

169 Nastro Azzurro means "Blue Ribbon" according to the Peroni campaigns. "Blue Ribbon" is related to a race over the Atlantic, being the name of the prize won by the fastest ship.

170 See footnote 89 for a brief history of the development of standardised bottles.

Figure 34.
A, a bottle of Peroni Nastro Azzurro and
B, a bottle of Koff (© Oy Sinebrychoff Ab Sinebrychoff Internet site a).

overall design and creates its own signs that can grow into symbols, as the Coca-Cola bottle shape has grown to be a symbol of Coca-Cola itself; 2) the embossing and the shape that fits into the hand give an additional sensory input creating a more holistic feeling, namely, the Emotional and Energetic Interpretants. Similar sensory-based signs have been experimented within cans in Finland. For example, the Karhu brand has a can with a black matte surface, which feels smooth in the hand. This emphasises the slogan of the brand "Täyttä olutta"[171] that refers to the claimed full and smooth taste of the beer.

The problem that these kinds of sensory signs have is that in order to be interpreted (to reach the Logical Interpretant, namely, Thirdness) they need

171 "Full Beer".

a strong common ground that is shared by the consumers. Otherwise, the semiosis stays at the level of Emotional and Energetic Interpretants. For habit change or for shared interpretation of meaning, the signs need to have reached the level of habit in the Peircean sense, namely, the Logical Interpretant at the individual level and the Final Interpretant at the societal level. If the common ground and the habitual nature of the communication are missing, the interpretation of the signs remains weak. It means that at the Communicative level the mind of the utterer (Intentional Interpretant) and the mind of the interpreter (Effectual Interpretant) do not "fuse" and proper communication does not take place.

Main signs The main signs that frequently appear on the labels are as follows: the name of the beer brand in a prominent place (usually in the middle of the label), heraldic elements, (such as banderols, seals or coats of arms), barley, award stamps, signatures of the founder, images of men (the founders of the breweries or other men who are strongly related to the beer or brewery), and various animals.[172]

On the label of Peroni Nastro Azzurro it is possible to find nearly all the general/Western beer signs. There are the banderols forming a closed shape that reminds of the shapes of coats of arms (heraldic signs), and the imitation of a seal that includes an eagle inside a heraldic-like shape (emblem). Inside the circle, the barley can be found in an arrangement that looks like a garland with a tankard of ale inside it. The sign conveys a meaning of tradition and quality (see Figure 35). This seal-like sign on the label is a good example of how symbols grow and how icon (Firstness), index (Secondness) and symbol (Thirdness) appear in the same sign. Usually, one of the sign-type relations dominates. In this case, it would be a symbol. As the eagle and barley no longer

172 For example, Birra Morretti has the image of the stereotyped Birra Moretti drinker. The story behind the image has developed into a myth and is frequently used in the Birra Moretti advertising campaigns. For more information see, for example, *Star brand Imports* © 2007 Star Brand Imports, Internet site. In Finland, a similar kind of myth behind an animal image (the bear) is found on the label of Karhu beer; just to mention one; one can find more examples by taking a glance around beers in any good shop (for more information see Bauters 2006).

Figure 35. A seal-like sign on the upper part of the Peroni Nastro Azzurro bottle.

convey a meaning of eagles and barley, neither does the seal-like shape refer to the seal or coat of arms of the local town or to the county where the original brewery was located. Instead, the visual elements form a symbol of tradition and quality. This does not mean that the iconic and indexical aspects would have disappeared from the sign; no, they are there in the background, while the symbol dominates the interpretation process. The former is a nice example of semiosis (both individual and societal), where the meaning creation process has formed, at least, a temporary habit.

In the Koff brand, the heraldic sign has been reduced to minimal. The reminders of heraldry are the horses and the crown above them. Before the renewing, these elements were more in the style and shape of a coat of arms. Furthermore, the curved lines above and below the name tag Koff used to be banderols and they enclosed the area in a similar way that is now possible to see in the Peroni Nastro Azzurro label. The composition of the Koff label has still been kept in a somewhat similar form to coat of arms styled compositions (see Figure 34 B, p. 171).

The Koff label gives an example of the latest renewing of the label to meet the needs of keeping up with new styles arising from global marketing processes. It also reflects the change in the societal semiosis towards directing the beer more to youth. However, the renewing for meeting the needs of global signs is nothing new or exceptional for our time (2006). Going back in history, it is possible to see phases where the unifying attempts are stronger, and others where the emphasis on the local aspects is stronger. Without the attempts to unify, combine, expand, diverge and so on the signs and codes, there would not exist these so-called general beer signs that we have discussed. The tension between past/future and global/local is essential to the process of creating new meanings with existing signs, or existing meanings with newly formed signs.

Both beer labels have a "founder's" signature below the name tag close to the bottom of the label. Both of the signatures are in italics, thus representing handwriting. The sign of the signature promotes the ideas of authenticity and tradition; both of these values are also mentioned in the marketing strategies of the beer brands. It can be assumed that most of the consumers of these beers are not aware of the founder. It is most likely that the signature is not representing an icon of the original handwriting but functions more as an index and symbol directing attention to the tradition of the brewing and to the authenticity of the brewing manner. The symbol might be the sign relation that dominates the interpretation process, depending on the societal commonly agreed meanings of the authenticity aspect of the signatures. For example, in the case of the Koff label, the signature was added to the label in the renewing because so many of the aforementioned heraldic signs were simplified, but still there was a need to create the possibility for the associations and interpretations of authenticity and tradition to occur.

Furthermore, both beer brands also have award stamps to remind consumers of the quality and good taste of the beer. The award stamps can be acquired from different kinds of beer contests, and there was a time when the companies tended to exhibit all their achieved prizes on the labels. The Koff brand used to have at least four award stamps[173], but with the simplifying of the label the number of award stamps was reduced to one, which is situated on the neck label, as can be seen in Figure 34 B (p. 171). With Peroni Nastro Azzurro, there are still two award stamps left, both of which are in a more prominent place than with the Koff beer brand. It seems that Nastro Azzurro emphasises more the quality of taste than does Koff.

The name tags in both beers follow the general code of presenting the name of the beer in the middle of the label. Thus the name tags are in a prominent place in order to catch the eye, to be easily seen and recognised. The font style of the name tag can be sans serif or serif, but it has to be clear and big enough to meet the aforementioned needs of recognition. Most often, the background and the name tag create a strong contrast, as can be seen in both Koff and Peroni Nastro Azzurro. Peroni Nastro Azzurro has the name tag in red on a white background and Koff has it the other way around.

173 The Karhu brand had 18 award stamps on the label in the early 1970s. However, this was an overstatement, the brand had acquired only one honorary prize in 1962.

The name Nastro Azzurro is interesting. As mentioned above, it does have an intended meaning, which is supposed to create an association of "being the best". For this association to reach the state of Thirdness, e.g., the habit of the interpretation, the sign (name tag) requires that there is a strong common ground in the societal semiosis that is shared by the segment of the consumers the beer is targeted to. However, to reach such a state takes time. The ship race should be known among consumers, and the ship race should be something that is valued by consumers in such a way that the Blue Ribbon prize receives its due appreciation. Connecting all the aforementioned issues through/by the Italian translation should be something that is taken to give value also to the beer. Peroni Nastro Azzurro is about 35 years old as a brand, and from my previous studies it seems that 35 years is about the time that is needed to create a symbol of this kind. A similar kind of example can be found from the Finnish beer brand Karhu, with its bear's head sign. The name tag "Karhu" also means "bear" in Finnish. For the bear's head to grow into a symbol, it took more than 40 years. Firstly, the bear was taken as an iconic sign of the bear animal, and of the seal and coat of arms of the town of Pori and the county of Satakunta respectively. It slowly grew to be an indexical sign pointing towards locality by the associations to the seal and coat of arms and by directing thoughts towards the myths of bear hunting. Bear hunting stories were told quite often in the area where the beer was sold. Finally, the head of the bear took the form of a symbol associated with strength, individuality and a strong full taste. The myths of bear hunting, the symbolic signs towards the seal and the coat of arms went into the background and dominance was achieved by the another symbolic sign, being tied to values that had arisen from the bear (strength, being independent/individual) and were now related to the beer itself (see Figure 36, p. 175).

Figure 36. A bottle of Karhu beer.

The often-used colours in beer labels are red, white, blue and yellowish-gold. The gold colour, as in so many other places, is used to signify quality. Both of the labels under discussion have gold in their rims around the label. The Koff brand has a more abundant and stronger use of gold than Nastro Azzurro. Black is used when the strength of the beer or strong taste of the beer is emphasised. Black is used in this manner on the above-mentioned Karhu beer label. The rest of the colours (red, white and blue) have often their own brand-related or history-related meanings that are communicated through the particular colours. For example, the dominant red colouring of the Koff label has achieved its position through the use of red in advertising campaigns and by the restriction of advertising alcohol (1977–1995) in Finland. The restriction required an obligatory colour coding of the different excise groups of beers, for example, the Koff brand had red colour coding for mild beer and blue for medium-strength beer.

Caps The caps of beer usually have a design that emphasises some of the main signs presented in the labels. The cap designs have a reason to use the main sign: when holding the bottle and opening it, the cap is the one element that is clearly seen by the consumer. In Peroni Nastro Azzurro, the cap has a seal (emblem) in the middle – the same that is presented on the label. In the case of Koff, the cap has the name tag, and with Karhu, the cap has the head of a bear. Most often, the colour of the cap also follows the salient colour of the label. This also applies to these brands: Peroni Nastro Azzurro has a white cap and Koff's is red (see Figure 37 A and B). However, before the renewing of the label to the current one, Koff used to have a similar kind of emblem as Nastro Azzurro has on the cap (see Figure 38). The Karhu beer brand has a black cap for strong beer, a golden cap for very strong beer and a red cap for medium-strength beer. The colour coding of cap has been a prominent feature in Finland, which is due to Finnish alcohol policies and the Prohibition of

Figure 37. The caps of A, Peroni Nastro Azzurro; B, Koff and C, Karhu.

Figure 38. The Koff emblem from the 1990s.

Advertising Alcohol, which made it obligatory to have different colours on the labels for different excise groups (strengths) of the beer (Turunen 2002, The National Product Control Agency for Welfare and Health (STTV) Internet pages, Mäkinen 1984 and Martinoff 1985). The caps followed the label colour coding. Therefore it could be said that the current cap colour coding in the case of the Finnish beer brands is a reminder of the societal semiosis values and attitudes.

As a summary it can be said that the beer signs are quite uniform in their main signs. The variation of the local cultural sign is often designed to fit into the uniform beer signs, as was the case with the beer brands signs from Italy and from Finland. They did not differ that much.

The comparison illustrated that the labels presented here had many of the so-called general signs. Koff and Peroni Nastro Azzurro had an emblem, award stamps, and representation of the signature, and die cutting was used in the labels to have a different form for the label. All of the brands had banderols (Koff in plain form), the name tag in a prominent place, gold in the rims and the main visual sign presented in the cap. Furthermore, some signs of the labels in every brand had gone through the process of icons growing into symbols. These symbols were the dominating ones while the icons and indices were in the background in semiosis.

The Karhu and Peroni Nastro Azzurro brands had the barley presented in the label while Koff's label did not have barley at all. Further, Koff and Peroni Nastro Azzurro had similarities in their marketing strategy. Both directed their advertising towards youth with lifestyle themes, while the closer the proximity of the product to consumers the more traditionally it was presented (e.g. beer glass label – close proximity). In addition, all of the brands employed some events or features from their history to raise a feeling of locality. For Peroni Nastro Azzurro it is for example, the name that can be associated with a famous boat race, for Koff it is the horses and carriage tradition that are now reduced into the emblem-like presentation of the heads of horses, and for Karhu it is the head of the bear itself.

However, there also exist differences. One of the most prominent different elements is the use of the bottle. Peroni Nastro Azzurro has used the bottle fully, having a specific shape for it. The bottle of the Peroni brand had embossing above and below the label. Thus the Peroni brand uses the tactile sense. The Koff brand does not have anything similar but the Karhu brand has a black matte colour to its can, which does involve the tactile sense.

A unifying aspect (currently called globalisation) has been discernible all through the histories of the labels. In Finland, the peaks of the unifying tendency have occurred with the societal changes related to the opening of the Finnish markets. To mention a couple of instances, the EFTA (European Free Trade Association, 1962) agreement enabled imported beers to come to Finland, and Finland's entry into the EU (1995) liberalised even more the transfer of goods.

These unifying tendencies are not all negative, since they bring along a tension between the past and the future. Thus the unifying tendencies lead one to ponder about the signs employed and the local cultural values that are wished to be preserved, but the signs are also intended and expected to be internationally acknowledged, as general signs usually are. This can provide some new and refreshing ideas and promote changes in the style of the signs. The problem with renewing is that it is hard to know which signs should be preserved, to keep the meanings the Utterer (Intentional Interpretant) prefers, which signs should be changed to acquire new meanings, or which signs should be changed in order to keep the same meaning for the Interpretant (Effectual Interpretant) to perceive and understand the signs.

This section has illustrated that the brands Peroni Nastro Azzurro, Karhu and Koff have preserved some of the signs that refer to local cultural values, attitudes and habits, while some were general and global, and that some fusion of the local and general/global has occurred. It seems that the beer brands

are able to promote their own values of locality, and of pride in their brewing culture, taste and habits. It might be said that interesting designs come about exactly through the tension that exists between what has been generalised in the signs and what has been preserved and how this was achieved.

10. Wrapping up the case study

In this section, I shall give an overview of the main points of the previous sections. Mainly I shall concentrate on the head of the bear since this sign complex has been the most interesting in relation to the interpretation changes and attitude changes in society. The other signs appearing and disappearing will be mentioned briefly as will also the results found in the comparison of the beer brands from Italy and Finland.

According to the marketing research, the dominant concepts and values attached to the last label version of the Karhu brand (Figure 39 D, p. 180) were that Karhu beer was the consumers' own, independent choice (communicating the consumers' feeling of individuality). In Finnish society, the bear has been a symbol of strength, divinity, magical powers, and yet it has been related to humankind. The bear was, hence, felt to be close but at the same time strong and self-sufficient. The research demonstrated that, as I may put it, in the societal semiosis (target groups/segments of consumers in marketing research terms) the values of independence, locality and tradition were dominant. The tendency to use signs (even the same sign for both meanings) for locality and for the general signs was found with the labels of Peroni Nastro Azzurro and Koff.

In the label of Figure 39 A (p. 180) the bear is presented more or less as an iconic sign – more or less in the sense that this iconic sign approaches a symbolic sign. When investigating the process more in detail it is noticeable that there also exists oscillation back and forth between the iconic, indexical and symbolic sign dominance in the interpretation. As mentioned in the previous section, the same tendency appeared in the labels of the Koff and Peroni Nastro Azzurro brands.

Within this first label version of the Karhu brand (Figure 39A, p. 180), the gold colour, oval shape and name tag can be categorised into the general beer signs. The bear itself is connected more to the local values, namely to the bear

Figure 39.
A, the first label with the iconic image of the "polar bear" dates to the 1950s;
B, the second label with a symbolic sign of the bear dates from 1961 until 1972;
C, the third label presenting a more iconic sign of the bear was a short-lived label from 1972 until 1975;
D, the last more or less symbolic sign of the bear has remained nearly as it appears in the above label until 2004 (© Pori Brewery archives and © Oy Sinebrychoff Ab archives).

appearing in many trademark signs due to the fact that Pori and the county of Satakunta were related to the bear for example through the seal of the town of Pori and the coat of arms of the county of Satakunta. Thus local values and attitudes were strong in the first label version. Furthermore, at that time beer was sold only in the vicinity of the brewery so it was not necessary to have signs that would conform to the common ground of larger consumer groups. The signs used in the first label version were familiar to potential consumers, i.e., the communication between the label, designers and consumers was most likely achieved.

The second label (Figure 39 B, p. 180), which presents a more symbolic sign of the bear's head, probably appeared because there was a need to emphasise the quality of Finnish beer, and to distinguish the three beers (Karhu, Tähti and Yhdys-olut). The three beers needed clearer signs (colour codes) to make the difference apparent. Another reason could have been the change of owners. The EFTA contract had been agreed on, thus, foreign beers were allowed into Finnish markets, which increased pressure for changes in Finnish beer signs.

The signs in the label were transformed to be somewhat more general/"global", i.e., to the kind of visual elements (signs) that are now considered the traditional signs of beer brands. Such elements, just to mention some, are award stamps (tradition and quality but also quality in relation to foreign beers), and on emphasis on locality, for example, slogans such as "Porin olut"[174] and the bear's head itself, since it reflected closer than before the seal of the town of Pori (see Figure 13, p. 118) and the coat of arms of Satakunta county. These kinds of signs can act in two ways: as a general sign and as a particular local sign (see the section on Finnish and Italian beer brands). Other general signs are the heraldic-like signs, i.e., bordering the main elements with rims, award stamps, the bear's head, and the arrangement of the colours and signatures. Nearly all of the mentioned general signs were found in the brands of Koff and Peroni Nastro Azzurro. Furthermore, the same kind of locality theme was found in the Peroni Nastro Azzurro brand of which, for example, the name Nastro Azzurro refers to a boat race; for the Koff brand it is the emblem-like heads of horses referring to the Koff horses and carriages.

174 "Beer from Pori".

Furthermore the changes in the Umwelt have had an apparent influence also on Koff and Peroni Nastro Azzurro. For example, the tendency to separate the marketing strategy towards youth and towards loyal consumers appeared in both brands. In addition, in Koff's label the style changed to be more plain by reducing the banderols into curved lines. The meaning and values have been attempted to be kept by introducing a signature into the label after the change to the plainer style.

The bear head was kept on the Karhu label (Figure 39 B, p. 180) because it is the main element associated with this particular beer brand. The signs agree on both levels, i.e., on the individual level of semiosis and the social level of semiosis. This particular phase can be seen as an adaptation of "general signs" into the local ones. However, the transformation did not a rise from local societal semiosis but through the more or less forced interaction with a larger societal semiosis, namely interaction with Europe and North America. It can be said that there was a semiosic process between different areas in Finland (extending the consumer area around the brewery), and between Finland and other countries. The attitudes, lifestyles and values that were intermingled were not always well positioned in the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD). Thus the internalisation/externalisation process (semiosis) was long in some cases of sign interpretation. The individual and societal semiosis that took place created new meanings or at least altered some meanings and attitudes. For example, the attitudes towards beer or, more generally, attitudes towards milder alcoholic beverages slowly proceeded in a more liberal direction ending up with the release of medium-strength beer into grocery shops (1969). In the end, the fusion of signs proved to be successful according to company documents, marketing research and newspapers.

The third label, Figure 39 C (p. 180), presenting a more iconic sign of the bear, was an attempt to establish closer relations to the bear as an animal and also tie the bear and brand to nature. It was assumed that the valuing of nature would grow stronger in the societal semiosis (target groups). However, the relation of the brand to nature was found to be difficult. The consumption statistics showed that the label was not accepted that well, as consumption decreased.[175] According to the marketing research data the label was perceived

175 There were also other reasons causing a decrease in consumption of this particular brand,

as too "naturalistic" and "old-fashioned" in its visual presentation. It seems now, looking back, that the tendency of the forming values and attitudes of the target groups (societal semiosis) was interpreted somewhat misleadingly. It can be said that the estimating of the values of the target groups was one step behind the actual attitudes the target groups had. The communication between the producers (designers) and the consumers did not find a well-established common ground. The affordances designed in the signs (the possibility of multiple objects) were not perceived and interpreted as the designers anticipated. Despite the fact that the bear was a familiar sign, or just because it directed associations to the old beer trademarks, it was felt to be "old-fashioned". The dominant colour changed greatly from red, to dark full blue, to green[176], which might have made a difference in the feeling of familiarity (Emotional and Energetic Interpretants; the Logical Interpretant would have been the habit change in consumption).

Similar kinds of broad changes in label design can be found also in the history of the Koff label. Some have been caused by the same social changes that influenced the Karhu brand. For example, when the beer was released in grocery shops the Koff label was changed fully. The new label was square shaped with rounded corners and had a gold background with red rims. The name tag and the excise mark were presented in a large black typeface in the middle of the label.

Figure 39 D (p. 180) presents the next change in the Karhu brand emphasising even more the widely agreed on signs of beer brands, but still stressing the locality and the continuous design of the label since the 1980s. For example, elements belonging to general beer signs included the colours red, gold and black, the image of barley, the banderols and the heraldic-like composition of the elements. The bear and the heraldic-like elements were associated with the locality of the Karhu brand. The bear's head can be taken as an symbol referring to the town of Pori but also as a symbol of strength, of individuality,

but to these are outside the scope of this dissertation.

176 However, most of the beer brands in the early 1970 changed their background colours to one dominant colour. Therefore the colour change was not the only reason but could have been one more reason, along with the rest, to bring about the feeling of unfamiliarity and rejection.

of independence, etc. The conventional values that are attached to the heraldic elements, barley and gold colour are signs of *traditional* brewing of beer, *good quality* and *smooth and full taste*. They are also emphasised by the slogan used for the Karhu brand, “Full beer”. It can be said that the common ground was established in this label design. It seemed that the potential and possibility of the signs to represent multiple objects was acquired. Which also made different interpretations possible to match both different individual semiosis and societal semiosis.

As has become clear, the marketing data is not enough for understanding the changes in the interpretations of the signs presented in the artefacts. One reason is the lack of context (see social semiotics Kress 1993). Thus the research results may be misleading or can misinterpret some of the attitudes of consumers when the background is not known. It is important to acknowledge the context and history when analysing the appearance and meaning (and the changes in the appearance and meaning) derived from the artefact. The temporal consensus of the societal semiosis affects the individual interpretation (and the other way around). The previous studies on the visual sign systems help to describe semiosis on both levels, the individual and the societal. An interdisciplinary approach is necessary for acquiring a holistic overview of the changes in interpretation on both social and individual levels.

It seems that when renewing a beer brand, the attitudes, lifestyles and values that are well established and agreed on in the environment – Umwelt (more narrowly in the temporal consensus of society) – are the ones to be preserved in some sense. The analysis showed that the presented framework enables to take into account more holistically the changes in the signs and the changes in the interpretation of the signs. The holistic approach also allowed describing a better base for understanding the position the signs have within the target group/consumer segments and the potentialities and possibilities to design future versions of the signs that would fall into the ZPD of the attempted consumers segments. It is an important fact that the elements functioning as signs match the attitudes and tendencies found in the societal semiosis for the communicative level to have a common ground in the process.

Conclusion

In this dissertation an interdisciplinary approach was adopted. The attempt was to form a framework and a conceptual toolbox for analysing and describing changes in signs and their interpretation. The forming of a useful holistic approach was acquired by finding affinities across the disciplines and by pondering upon how these different disciplines could complement each other.

The topic studied has been considered important, as the enterprises involved (and also other areas of social life) increasingly face the challenges of “global” communication. Many times it is asked if there is a way to justify why locally used designs should be different from what “global headquarters” demands. The need to change the designs that have been meant to be employed globally or to preserve the existing local designs has been acknowledged but without a way to justify this need. My choice was to approach this from the perspective of signs and interpretation of signs focusing on their dynamic and processual nature and emphasising their embodied aspect of signs and interpretations. The embodiment demanded pondering upon the role of emotions in the process. The issue of embodiment was approached from a neuroscientific perspective. However, these matters are broader than just the issue of global companies and their marketing strategies. The change in presentation of the local signs is related to the felt identity of the area or culture. Therefore, being able to distinguish what attitudes and values are dominant and enduring is important. It is also worthwhile to be able to analyse the potential and possible changes needed in the signs that are to be preserved/employed so that they keep up with the shifts in the Umwelt and to acknowledge what are the values that are seen to be important. One of the often-neglected aspects has been the embodied nature of humans and signs within the Umwelt.

The main binding element in forming of a holistic approach and conceptual toolbox has been Peirce's theory of signs. To achieve a holistic framework many disciplines were studied, such as sociology, social psychology, semiotics and neuroscience. The main issues covered in the dissertation where as follows:

i. There are many Objects involved in Peirce's definition of sign-action and these promote multiple semiosis arising from the same sign by the same Interpretant depending on the domination of the Objects.
ii. The relation between the individual and Umwelt.
iii. The dynamic, mediating and processual nature of sign-action (semiosis) describing the individual, societal and sign semiosis.
iv. The fundamental role of emotions and embodiment in the process.

Chapter I described elements of Peirce's theory of signs in relation to the question of multiple associations. The main elements covered were the sign-action, and the dynamic relations of the elements in the sign-action. The Object(s) that enable the multiple associations (or interpretations) to proceed were presented in detail. The possibility of changes in the domination of the Objects in sign-action (semiosis) is somewhat dependent on the Interpretative mind, on the common ground and on the collateral experience. It brings heterogeneity and diversity into the interpretation and into the social context (social suggestions/representations) as has been acknowledged long ago in psychology and the social sciences. However, it was also necessary to investigate this heterogeneity from the aspect of signs. The changes in the dominating Object also bring up the potential and possibility to perceive different affordances that the signs promote. The potential to perceive different affordances is an important factor when designing the intended clues for perceiving the wanted affordances.

In Chapter II the relation between the social and the individual were considered. Many different disciplines were presented that have tackled the relation between individual and environment/society. During the study it became increasingly apparent that the forming of the self or the emerging

of the semiotic self is important to consider as well. In addition to the other disciplines, Peirce's theory of signs, especially the notion of semiosis and the different Interpretants, was found to be applicable and useful in specifying the intertwined/ inextricable relation between the individual, mediating signs and the Umwelt.

Although the attempt seemed vast and it was impossible to fully investigate all of the presented theories, it became clear that different theories and approaches had affinities and did complement each other. In addition, the affinities in different disciplines somewhat provide credence to both sets. For instance, social-psychological studies presented well the different perspectives that have discussed the place and role of the individual and society (Umwelt). Through an interdisciplinary approach it was possible to explain how the determination[177] of the Object appears in practice. In other words, the constraints from the Umwelt and from the personal-cultural world give certain potential and possibilities for perceived affordances and interpretation, meaning-making and sign creation. The Zone of Proximal Development also proved to be a useful concept in investigating the potential changes in the signs and how far or close the changed or new signs are from the common ground or conventions and habits within the group or culture.

Internalisation and externalisation were seen as parts of the process of semiosis. Internalisation enables the adaptation, altering, and reinforcing of habits, attitudes, values, etc. by the tension of time – past, present and the anticipating future. As Barbara Misztal has aptly mentioned "[…] present influences the past" (2003: 14). Externalisation enables the communication of attitudes, habits and values. It can be said that Internalisation and externalisation are two intertwined parts of the semiosic process in a helix-like spiral.

177 I have followed quite dutifully the terminology of the authors' writings I have used. Therefore there are moments when some of the terms seem to be odd; such is the case of using Peirce's term "determination" and Valsiner's term "suggestion". Determination in Peirce's theory of signs does not have such a strong affecting meaning as it has in ordinary language, therefore it is not far from, for example, what Valsiner's term suggests, both try to explain what kind of role the Objects have in the interpretation process. However, since Peirce's theory of signs is my main basis I have attempted to see the similarities through Peirce's theory, thus trying to keep Peirce's terms running through the study.

On the one hand, semiosis can be investigated from the societal point of view and on the other it can be investigated from the individual point of view or from the point of view of signs. Furthermore, this means that social suggestions/representations from the Umwelt do not have a direct impact on the person, but can be reformulated and reconstructed by the personal-cultural world[178] to then create multiple interpretations. An example of this is the paradox of feeling independent and yet starting to share activities with others, as when consumers felt that choosing a particular beer brand was their independent choice, that they had found the brand themselves, but still shared and agreed on the supposed taste and image it brought to them – they communicated the attitudes and values to others (externalisation; as was described through the brand Karhu).

In Chapter III, the role of the emotions in the process of construction of the self were described. A neuroscientific approach was chosen for many reasons. One was the necessity to increase attention to the embodiment – the essentiality of emotion in all human activity. Another reason was to see the role of emotions in a holistic perspective, which is acknowledged in social and memory studies, as Misztal states: "by exploring the embodiedness and embeddedness of memory […] the study of remembering should include the concept of self, and any such research should view emotions, gestures and the whole body as vehicles for memory" (2003: 98). The embodiment aspect was conjoined to the holistic approach. It was fundamental to see if these different approaches would fit together in any respect.

From the combined approach described in the this dissertation it became apparent that by the semiosic process, the emerging semiotic self intertwined with the Umwelt including emotions, can be described and used for empirical case studies. Seeing the interpretation and meaning-making through semiosis allows the analysis of groups to take into account the emotional component – Emotional Interpretant (individual level) and Immediate Interpretant (social level). The emotional component has been known to marketers for some time, albeit intuitively. It was concluded that emotions have a crucial role in all human activity including so-called reflective thinking, and that emotions and embodiment should consciously be taken into account in analysing signs, in

178 "[…] personality is based upon a 'bundle of habits'" (CP 6.228).

interpretation and in changes of signs and interpretations from both the social and individual level.

The marketing and consumer studies were consciously left out of this study, because the focus was not on how to develop marketing strategies, but to find out how the changes occur in signs, in the interpretation of signs and what are the underlying reasons for these from the theoretical point of view and from the empirical case study results. However, the research also did give a means for marketing departments to justify their design and marketing strategy decisions.

The case study (Chapter V) was executed in a descriptive and explorative manner, thus a qualitative approach was adopted in the data collection and analysis. The analysis of the beer labels showed well the intertwined nature of the relationship between signs, individual consumers and society (or more narrowly, target groups, or in other words segments of consumers). Furthermore, the signs, their changes and the changes in the meaning appeared well in the case study. In all of the brands (Karhu, Koff and Peroni Nastro Azurro) it was possible to find the growth of the icons and indices into symbols, but also icon, indices and symbols were apparent in one sign simultaneously. Often one of the sign divisions is the dominating one.

Many direct influences from society on the label design were found (e.g. restrictions and guidelines for the label design by the Prohibition of Advertising Alcohol), but also some indirect attitude changes that became apparent in the interviews and through magazines, company reports, etc. For instance, one such attitude changes appeared through the way the "health" effect of beer was employed or not employed in beer advertising. An example of the direct influences from the Umwelt is the changing of the colours of mild beer to be different from stronger beers and to present the excise group and words "mild beer" clearly in a prominent place. These changes were clear in the Karhu and Koff brands. The changes in signs and interpretations deriving indirectly from attitude changes came up most clearly in the advertising themes, for example, in the change from beer that is earned to the possibility of showing people enjoying beer in social situations. Another example of the indirect changes is the marketing strategy change, namely the division into youth segments and loyal consumers, which promoted "youthful advertisements" while the label was still to reflect the existing and agreed on values such as the tradition, quality and history of brewing and of the beer. This was presented in the comparison of Koff, Karhu and Peroni Nastro Azzurro.

The case study also revealed the general/"global" signs used in beer labels, which were presented by the example of comparing beer labels from different countries (namely, Italy and Finland). Such general signs were, for example, banderols, emblems, seals, composition of the elements, metal colours, signatures, barley, cap designs and obviously the name tag in a prominent place, most of which were found in the brands of Koff, Karhu and Peroni Nastro Azurro.

The flow of meaning-creation from the so-called "other" to the "we", and *vice versa*, came up well in an extreme situation, i.e., in the events that "forced" Finland to open her door to products from other countries (e.g. EFTA agreement and joining the EU). In addition, it brought up the issues of unifying the visual artefacts of the different cultures, but also showed that although this is an ongoing process (sometimes more apparent and sometimes nearly invisible) and has been going on all through the timespan of the case study, the visual artefacts are able to hold the local signs and meanings and sometimes are able to represent the local meanings although the signs have changed in the "unifying" process, which was apparent in both of the Finnish beer brands and also in the Italian one. Descriptions of some of the developments of the labels presented here were possible only by the information acquired from the interviews and other confidential material.

1. Possible applications

As was mentioned above, the need to be able to justify the choices of local marketing strategies and the signs used in them has become more important in recent years due to "globalisation". Although the localised advertising and labelling is often acknowledged, there still exists ignorance of the issue. Furthermore, there does not exist a well-formulated manner to investigate what signs to use, how to use them or which signs to change and which to preserve. The designing is relies on the implicit knowledge of the designers and can succeed well, but does not provide means to explain and justify why the choices are valid. Marketing and consumer research provides some aid, but lacks the social context, historical aspects, as well as embedded intertwined

and embodied perspective of signs, humans and the Umwelt. The approach presented here, namely using Peirce's theory of signs as a framework for analysis the history and the changes of the signs of the artefacts, was employed in the case study. The analysing gave worthwhile results for the enterprises to justify some of their design choices. However, the model is still cumbersome, since it needs extensive knowledge of the history of the context, of the artefacts and requires that the analyser is familiar with Peirce's theory of signs. Moulding the use of the framework presented here would need close collaboration with future analysers (e.g. marketing departments and designers). In a collaborative manner it would be possible to distinguish how to best explain the analysing process and how to use and define the necessary concepts from the conceptual toolbox without loosing the holistic picture of the embodied interaction of the different parties (individual, signs, and Umwelt). It would be important to be able to define with less academic terminology the main concepts such as Sign, Object, Interpretant, Semiosis, Affordances, Zone of Proximal Development, and Common Ground, just to mention some of the necessary terms used here. The process should also be described in steps of how it can be put into actual practice.

On the other hand, the model already helps to acknowledge the importance of how the artefacts are designed and presented in relation to the context in a holistic way. The framework brought up the importance of the emotions and embodiment. Thus the emphasis on the use of all senses and the explicit thinking on how the senses can enhance the emotional part and how the embodiment and mediating nature of signs is related to design should be thought about more, for example, in the marketing strategies.

Traditional additional cases could be, for example, the demand to change the wrapping of the candy "Fazerin Lakritsi". The image (signs) that the wrapping has, has given rise to a discussion of its appropriateness. It has been claimed that it is not neutral enough for different cultures. The graphical figure on the wrapping that has raised these questions is a face of a black boy/girl (see Figure 40, p. 192). Fazer used to be a Finnish chocolate and sugar confectionery company but in 2000 through the merger of Cloetta of Sweden and Fazer Konfektyr of Finland, Cloetta Fazer was formed. This means that the candies are sold more than before outside Finland in addition to the broader consumer sections in Finland. The case is exactly a question of what are felt to be local

Figure 40. The wrapping of the liquorice candy of Cloetta Fazer Makeiset Oy.

signs and about the attitudes, feelings and values tied to these signs against signs that would fit the "global/general" needs. The more neutral signs may not have the connection to provide the same values, feelings and attitudes. It is a meeting of different cultures and histories with their own mediating signs and embodiments. Whatever will be done with the "Fazerin Lakritsi" wrapping, it would benefit from a thorough analysis especially taking into account the embodied aspects.[179]

Another case could be the presentation material that is used by the pharmaceutical companies. Often the presentation manner – the appearance, signs and media to be employed – are given with strict guidelines from the global headquarters. However, the local needs are more than often different. Changes in the presentation practices, signs and media are not often granted. The need to have a way to define why different manners, signs and presentations are required is lacking. Therefore, it would be helpful if a detailed analysis of the context (Umwelt) and signs in the area could be carried out. In this case the embodied issues are even more apparent since the presentations of the pharmaceutical products are done often face-to-face and emotional aspects are very apparent in the interaction.

The embodied matters are not new, though. In recent years there has appeared an increasing amount of research on the subject. For example in marketing, the olfactory and tactile senses have been integrated into the marketing strategies. Such cases are, for example, olfactory signs used in airlines, retail stores or cars. This subject matter has been discussed by Martin Lindstrom (2005) in his book *Brand Sense: Build Powerful Brands through Touch,*

179 For more information see the company Cloetta Fazer Confectionery Ltd Internet site; for news and discussions *Iltasanomat* 19.1.2007, *Taloussanomat* 15.1.2007 and Adressit.com Internet sites.

Figure 41. Karhu beer cans with matte black colour background. A, very strong beer and B, strong beer (© Oy Sinebrychoff Ab Archives).

Taste, Smell, Sight, and Sound. Lindstrom has presented how Singapore Airlines use hot towels with a certain smell, or how new cars are stripped of the odour that production of the car itself brings forth and how a branded odour is implemented afterwards. The tactile sense is more generally used. For example the Karhu brand introduced at the start of 2005 a can of beer that has a matte black as the background colour, which can be also felt when the can is picked up (see Figure 41). Most of the bottles that have a specific shape rely also on the tactile sense as well as the visual. In the section that discussed the Italian and Finnish beer brands, the Italian brand Peroni Nastro Azzurro (see Figure 34, p. 171) had embossed writing on the bottle that emphasised the tactile sense. Another example would be the Coca-Cola brand with its well-know bottle shape. Obviously the material used for the bottle makes a difference also.

Another quite a different area for testing and developing further the framework and conceptual toolbox could be interaction design, especially in connection with activity theory. Victor Kaptelinin and Bonnie A. Nardi (2006) in their recent book *Acting with Technology: Activity Theory and Interaction*

Design have proposed that using activity theory as the framework would make it easier to take into account the context, the change of tool use and modification of the tool by users as well as the change in the practices of the users through using the tools, in the interaction design. The main concepts are similar in the activity theoretical approach, namely, the mediating artefacts, context, continuous change and relation between individuals and community afforded clues for interpretation and acting as well as the role of emotions and embodiment. However, to holistically take into account the emotions and sensory system, and being able to position these into the framework to help consider how emotions and senses in a holistic manner and embodiment can be taken into account in interaction design and evaluation, have reminded a challenge. Therefore, it might be worthwhile to investigate the potential to extend and develop further the framework presented here with the activity theoretical approach to enable emotions and embodiment to be taken along in the interaction design process as well as in the evaluation.

In industrial design, the above aspects have already provided new research. For example, in the design of cars the tactile and olfactory senses have been discussed in relation to security. For example, Cristy Ho et al. (2005 and 2006) from the University Oxford Department of Experimental Psychology have been investigating how vibrating parts in contact with a driver's body as warning signs can make drivers react more quickly to potential road dangers. Ho et al. concluded that such multisensory warning signals were effective if they came from the appropriate direction. One test situation concerned the seatbelt vibrating on the driver's stomach when the car in front suddenly brakes. In addition, Charles Spence and Ho (2005) have researched how a peppermint odour could be used to improve concentration. Somewhat sceptically thinking, it is interesting how first these multisensory signs were removed from cars (just think of old cars – older that 30 years – the smell that came from their motor signalling its condition, the intense vibration that could be felt in the steering wheel and bench from the road, the grip of the tyres on the road, and so on), making cars increasingly silent, scentless, vibrationless and increasingly reliant on the visual sense alone, and how now these multisensory signs are added again, but artificially.

2. Further research

This study was explorative and descriptive and has therefore raised new questions concerning the complex nature of interpretation and sign development. A variety of themes were found for further research efforts.

An interdisciplinary approach was adopted for the theoretical part and for the empirical part. The theoretical part gave an overview of theories that have been tackling the issues of signs, the relationship between individual and environment (Umwelt), and the construction of the self. The empirical part combined a historical approach, the results of marketing and consumer research, a qualitative use of the semi-structured interviews and an analysis. However, a more profound use of a wide variety of case studies would make it possible to redefine and modify the framework model further, so that it would be easier to use, for example, by marketing departments for purposes of justifying their marketing strategies and design decisions. In addition, the wider range of cases in design areas other than beer labels would make it possible to generalise some of the findings on the manner in which signs evolve and how the interpretation and meaning-making occurs in semiosis.

From a theoretical perspective, a variety of aspects exist that could be deepened in the sense that the differences could also be covered. For example, emotions and feeling of emotions, namely the embodied nature of human activity, could be clarified more deeply in relation to Peirce's concept of abduction. This could also bring more insight into semiosis from the aspect of how the "tacit", intuitive the new meanings arrive through/within the common ground and collateral experience (constraints-suggestions). In addition, the critical remarks expressed towards Damasio's theory on emotions could be dealt with taking into account for example the criticism mentioned by Maxwell Bennett and Peter Hacker (2003) in *Philosophical Foundations of Neuroscience* and the different descriptions of emotions found in the book *Philosophy and the Emotions* edited by Anthony Hatzimoysis (2003). Furthermore, a deeper investigation on the Zone of Proximal Development in broadening the possible activity area of the person by/through the internalization - externalization process in relation to Peirce's notion of semiosis and the Interpretants could be carried out. In particular, the developed view on the tension between past and present that was seen to enable the reflective attenuating of the constraints or creation of new signs and new meanings would benefit from deeper insight into the actual space of the tension. However, these interdisciplinary studies would require scholars from the different disciplines to work together, namely to develop the aspects in a collaborative manner.

In relation to embodied intuition it would be essential to contemplate how Damasio's theory of the construction of the self differs and conforms Peirce's theory of signs. For example, Colapietro's well-formulated description of the self focuses more on the conscious part of the construction of the self and personality. Therefore studying deeper the Proto Self, Core Self/Core Consciousness and Autobiographical Self/Extended Consciousness part of the construction of the self could enlighten the process further. This has been somewhat initiated by Sami Paavola in his impressive research *On the Origin of Ideas: An Abductivist Approach to Discovery* (2006), from the perspective of the discovery process and knowledge creation.

Last but not least, the notion and role of history in Peirce's theory of signs would need more discussion. The historical aspect was brought into view from the need of the empirical part, but Peirce's notion of continuous semiosis and the need of a collateral experience base and common ground was also interpreted as indicating a need to know the history of mediating signs, and the history of the context (Umwelt) of the interactive participants. However, the interpretation taken in this study might be said to stretch Peirce's writings to too great an extent, from a Peircean purists' perspective.

I hope that this study promotes new ideas and attempts to tackle the issues of the dynamic nature of signs and their interpretation change as well as embodiment in relation to all human activities. This research established the first attempt to form a holistic approach using Peirce's theory of signs emphasising the dynamic, processual and embodied nature of signs and human activities, and not only the categorising of signs. However, this exploration and description is still a new departure.

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Oy Sinebrychoff Ab archives. Keravan tuotantolaitos, Sinebrychoffinaukio 1, PL 87, 04201 Kerava, Finland.
Confidential: Marketing and consumer researches.

Interviews:

Alfthan, Max 26.01.04. Time: 11.00–12.00, Place: Amer, Mäkelänkatu 91, (Marketing Manager and Marketing Director at Oy Sinebrychoff Ab during 1989–94 and 1994–98 respectively, lately Vice President, Communications at Amer Group Plc).
Bensky, Roni 10.2.2004. Time: 10.00 –11.40, Place: Väinämöisenkatu 21. (Deputy Managing Director at Törmä).
Hällsten, Bengt 16.12.2003. Time: 14.30–15.28, Place: Paulig, Leikosaarentie 32, Vuosaari, (Product Manager at Oy Sinebrychoff Ab 80–85, lately Managing Director at Teriaka).
Jaakola Matti 26.01.04. Time: 8.30–9.30, Place: Ekberg cafeteria, (Marketing Manager and Sales Director of restaurant sector at Oy Sinebrychoff Ab since 1982–87; he was acting also in various other positions such as Export Manager, lately President Nordic Areas at Georgia-Pacific).
Ketonen Kalevi 18.12.2003. Time 10.00–11.20. Place: Pori, Hallituskatu 18 Pori Brewery (1962–).

Kylander, Henrik 22.12.2003. Time: 11.00–12.30, Place: Hasan & Partners, Pursimiehenkatu 29–31b, (Deputy Managing Director at Hasan & Partners, 90–04, lately Vice President at Hasan & Partners).
Storm, Lars 24.03.2004. Time: 12.30–14.30, Place: Turku, Tarkk'ampujankatu 29 B 4 (Marketing Director of Pori Brewery and Oy Sinebrychoff Ab since 1969 until early 1980s).
Tatarinov, Pirkko 5.2.2004. Time: 10.00–11.30, Place: Stockmann cafeteria. (Creative Director at Lintas).
Zetterborg, John (Joni) 5.2.2004. Time: 14.00–15.30, Place: Nuotiotie 19, Leppävaara, (Lintas 87–89).
Vaissi, Risto 31.8.2003–23.1.2004. E-mail discussion and interview on 25.09.2003, Kerava, Sinebrychoff, (Research Manager Marketing at Oy Sinebrychoff Ab).
Suila, Keijo 2.12.2003. 13:53:46. E-mail discussion (Marketing Director at Oy Sinebrychoff Ab 80–84, lately President and CEO of Finnair).
Uusivuori, Pentti, (Uusivouri was acting in various position such as Marketing Manager, Advertising Manager, Sales Promotion at Pori Brewery).
Siipivirta, Reijo and Elo, Matti 03.03–30.03.2004. Letter discussion and interview 30.3.2004, Place: Munkkiniemen Puistotie, Helsinki, (were acting in various positions such as Marketing Manager before 1980).

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Apu 1.12.1968; 8.5.1970
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Itä-Savo 5.10.1968
Kankaanpän Sanomat 13.12.1968
Kansan lehti 15.2.1972; 25.7.1973
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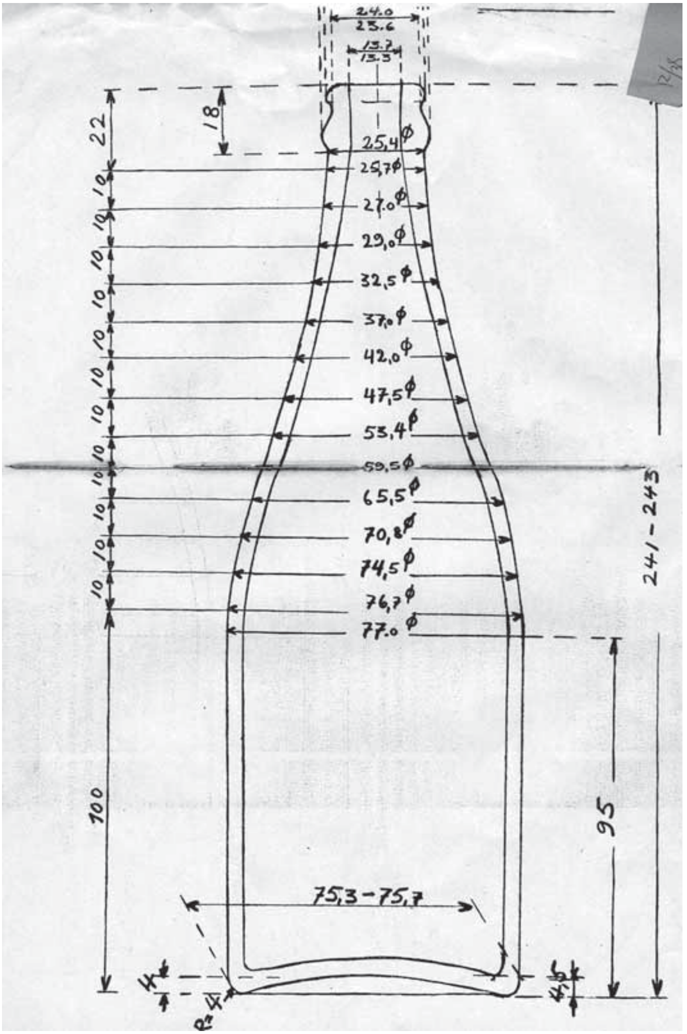
Porin Teatteri Sanomat 8.11.68
Ravintola henkilökunta 15.5.1970
Satakunnan Sanomat, 30.6 and 23.6.1931; 5.4.1932, 15.4 and 6.9.1936; 18.6.1939
Satakunnan Kansa 23.11.1958; 1.3.1962; 13.6.1965
Savonmaa 28.9.1968
Seura 10.3.1972 and 16.2.1972
Tamperelainen 18.2.1972
Tekniikan maailma 8/1970
Uusi Aika 15.11.1961; 1965; 27.10.1970
Vaasa 14.2.1969
Valitut Palat 7/1972
Åland 28.1.1971

Appendices

Appendix 1. Sketch of standardised bottle from 1938



The sketch of the 1/2 standardised beer bottle in 1938 in Mallasjuomat 12/1938.

Appendix 2. Advertising of Karhun Kierros from the 1960s and early 1970s

Print advertising in the magazine of Ravintolahenkilökunta (15.5.1970) from the advertising campaign "Karhun Kirerros".

Appendix 3. Advertising about the talent of brewing from the early 1960s

The advertising in Uusi Aika 15.11.1961 about the "talent of brewing", its traditions and history in comparison to the mastery of building ships inside bottles.

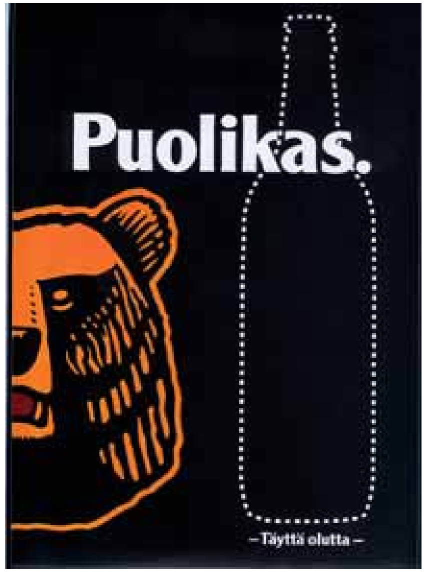
Appendix 4. "Tippaakaan ei ole muutettu" campaign from the 1970s

The Advertising of the new label in 1972 with the slogan "Tippaakaan ei ole muutettu – paitsi etiketti". The advertising was presented in A & O Myyntineuvoja 10.2.1972.

Appendix 5. Guarantee Cap

The "guarantee cap" that was introduced by Oy Sinebrychoff Ab in 1973. The cap in the image is from the Koff brand (© Oy Sinebrychoff Ab).

Appendix 6. Different example of outdoor campaigns from 1996-2000



Outdoors campaigns from 1996-1997 (© Publicis Helsinki Oy)

Appendix 6. Different example of outdoor campaigns from 1996-2000

Outdoors campaign from early 2000 (© Oy Sinebrychoff Ab).

Appendix 7. Labels of Pori Jazz campaign

Pori Jazz campaign back labels of Karhu brand 23-27/2001 and 20.5. - 20.6.2002(© Oy Sinebrychoff Ab).

Appendix 8. Karhu beer sold in Sweden

The cap of Karhu strong beer sold in Sweden, 2003.

The back and front labels of the strong beer Karhu sold in Sweden. The interesting point in these is the keeping of the Finnish slogans "Aito Karhu olut" ("Genuine Karhu beer") and "Täyttä olutta" ("Full beer") (© Oy Sinebrychoff Ab).

Appendix 9. Labels of Karhu brand from 2005 and 2006

In 2005, the IV beer changed into A beer (© Oy Sinebrychoff Ab).

New design from 2006 (© Oy Sinebrychoff Ab). Both of these changes are not analysed in this study (The changes had not yet appeared.)

Appendix 10. The semi-structured questions /themes for interviews

The questions, also called "themes", were kept as a reminder to ensure that all the potential information was acquired from those interviewed. Those interviewed talked in a free manner. The questions were raised only when something seemed not to come up.

In the interview the labels I had found by that time were available.

1. Background information
   a. Name and status at Oy Sinebrychoff Ab, Pori Brewery or advertising company
   b. Time period of working in relation to the brands
   c. The relations more specifically (especially if work was not in the breweries)
2. Description of the work
   a. What kind of tasks the work included
   b. With whom those interviewed collaborated (i.e., connections)
   c. Relations to other breweries – own connections (advertising agencies/companies)
3. Questions on the labels
   a. Design time/period of the labels
   b. Knowledge about who designed, the reasons, and connections to the campaigns
   c. Are all the labels there or are labels missing?
   d. Restrictions (laws guiding the design/advertising) and their effects in actual practice
4. Other related topics
   a. Renewal within the breweries/advertising agencies/companies, i.e., administrative, technical, ownerships
   b. General situation of the time period on which those interviewed were working for the breweries, advertising agencies/companies, i.e., trends, "hot topics", and other issues that those interviewed wanted to express

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