

MARI-LIISA PARDER

Communication of Alcohol Consumption
Practices and Situational Abstinence
as a Basis of Prevention:
A Study of Estonian Adolescents



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LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

This PhD is based on four original publications.

- I Parder, M.-L., & Vihalemm, T. (2015).** “..if there is a party, then there is definitely alcohol”: Construction of partying practices and abstinence in Estonian youth forums. *Nordic Studies on Alcohol and Drugs*, 32(6), 563–578.
- II Parder, M.-L. (2018).** What about just saying “no”? Situational abstinence from alcohol at parties among 13–15 year olds. *Drugs: education, prevention and policy*, 25(2), 189–197.
- III Parder, M.-L. (2020).** Possibilities for co-creation in adolescents’ alcohol prevention. Accepted to *Journal of Creative Communication*.
- IV Sutrop, M., Parder, M.-L., Juurik, M. (2020)** Research ethics Codes and Guidelines. In R. Iphofen (Ed.), *Handbook of Research Ethics and Scientific Integrity* (pp. 1–23). Springer Nature Switzerland AG.

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AUTHOR’S CONTRIBUTION

For **Study I** the author was solely responsible for designing the study and collecting the material. The first coding for the material was done by the author; the second author validated the second coding. The paper was written together, the author being the corresponding author for the paper.

For **Study II** and **Study III** the author was solely responsible for crafting the study, collecting and analysing data and writing up the paper.

For **Article IV**, the author was responsible for the literature review and led the writing process.

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INTRODUCTION

Adolescents' alcohol use, the questions on how to prevent underage drinking and how to address the issue have been the focus of many researchers (e.g. Ander, Abrahamsson, & Bergnehr, 2017; Bakken et al., 2017; Hibell et al., 2015; Jørgensen, Curtis, Christensen, & Grønbaek, 2007; Page et al., 2008; Rolando & Katainen, 2014). These have also formed a hot topic in Estonian society (e.g. Inselberg, 2012; Klaus, 2011; Leppik, 2013; Oks, 2012), peaking in 2012, when Estonia stood out for its high alcohol consumption, which was almost 12 litres per capita aged 15 and over (Orro, Martens, Lepane, Josing, & Reiman, 2014). Actions regarding adolescent alcohol prevention have focused on highlighting the risks and hazards of underage alcohol consumption. Estonian adolescents, however, seek ways to minimise the risks and hazards without giving up drinking alcohol (Parder, 2011).

World Health Organisation (WHO) problematises alcohol consumption and has created a systematic overview of scientific research on how to minimise harm from alcohol and what kind of preventive actions connected with adolescents are somewhat effective, emphasising limiting accessibility (WHO, 2009). WHO has agreed on a global strategy to reduce the harmful use of alcohol (WHO, 2010)¹. In this thesis I will highlight the fact that different restrictions on adolescent alcohol consumption isolate, marginalise or suppress either the practice itself or the performers of the practice without addressing the question of the rationality behind this practice and why it is meaningful for the performer. For adolescent alcohol consumption, this means prohibiting access without understanding why the practice matters to them, what role it plays in their lives, why alcohol is important at parties and why adolescents participate in alcohol parties. Adolescents' alcohol consumption and prevention are important to consider as a part of the growing up process, where alcohol-related practices form a rite of transition (Beccaria & Sande, 2003; Glider, Midyett, Mills-Novoa, Johannessen, Collins, 2001). My thesis focuses on adolescents² about 13–15 years of age, which is the most important age for them in alcohol consumption, as determined in my previous work (Parder, 2011). For example, Estonian adolescents believe that by the age of 14 they should start consuming alcohol and by the age of 16 they should have experimented with drunkenness, with the culmination point being the 9th grade graduation party, which they believe to be the last point to test both alcohol and drunkenness in order to not be left behind by peers in the growing up process (Parder, 2011). The party is a context where adolescent alcohol consumption often occurs (see e.g. Anderson & Brown, 2010; Elmeland & Kolind, 2012), which makes the party the quintessence of adolescents' alcohol-related practices.

¹ To my knowledge, these documents have not been updated, and therefore I believe these positions are still relevant today.

² An adolescent is defined as a person aged 10-19 (Csikszentmihalyi, n.d.).

To provide an overview of alcohol use and prevention I have divided the approaches into two parts: a) the socio-psychological approach, including theories focusing on individuals and theories focusing on social influence, and b) the sociological-cultural approach, focusing on the analysis of meaning and understanding alcohol and alcohol consumption³. My thesis integrates these approaches and draws from the theoretical approach of practice theory (e.g. Schatzki, 1996, 2001; Shove, 2010), which views the topic collectively and culturally, as a socio-materially (re-)produced pattern of action. In my thesis I interpret adolescent alcohol consumption as part of other practices as entities (e.g. celebrations). Practice theory focusing on cultural practice as an entity but reaching to concrete actors carrying the practice offers the link between two approaches. I found the practice theory approach most helpful in explaining the logic of adolescent alcohol consumption because in my empirical research I found it to be very closely related to celebration or forms of celebration. Practice theory helps to connect cultural and collective meanings with actions carried out by individuals by offering a way to negotiate cultural inevitability and to find ways to manoeuvre around it.

The aim of my thesis is to **understand alcohol consumption and practices related to it, especially adolescent parties, their role and meaning for Estonian adolescents and possibilities of shaping current practices and their communication**. I propose the concept of **situational abstinence** to indicate the behaviour of not consuming alcohol in some contexts or consuming it much less than peers do, while consuming alcohol in other contexts. Therefore, my thesis is divided into several research questions and I note the studies that help to answer, or create premises for answering, the following questions:

1. How are norms of youth alcohol party culture communicated by adolescents? (**Studies I, II and III**)
2. How and through what strategies is refusing alcohol at parties performed and how does this influence possible repertoires of action? (**Studies I and II**)
 - 2.1. How is the practice of situational abstinence performed and communicated among adolescents? (**Studies I, II and III**)
3. What kinds of stories are told in relation to different options for situational abstinence? (**Studies I and II**)
 - 3.1 What kinds of narratives about non-drinking can be captured and used for alcohol prevention? (**Study III**, and indirectly **Studies I and II**)
4. How can research be conducted with adolescents on sensitive topics considering relevant ethical aspects? (**Article IV**)

³ This is my tentative approach to the different theories conceptualising alcohol consumption. An overview of the theories, approaches and their distribution between the tentative approaches is given in Chapter 1.1.

By answering these questions, my study makes empirical, theoretical, methodological, ethical and practical contributions. On the empirical level, my thesis helps to explain the practices related to alcohol consumption and the meanings behind them for adolescents, and highlights how practices are communicated and spread between adolescents. On the theoretical level, I propose the concept of situational abstinence. On the methodological and ethical levels, I discuss possibilities for inclusive research and the ethical dilemmas emerging from the topic. On the practical level, I propose ideas for alcohol prevention activities and programmes targeted at adolescents.

My approach as a researcher is to try to understand the meanings and everyday rationalities behind adolescent alcohol parties and to contribute to the discussion of necessary critical reflection and new forms of alcohol prevention. In this thesis, qualitative methods provide input for understanding adolescent party practices, and the analysis of the literature and practical cooperation on my master's level and doctoral level when working with the National Institute for Health Development (NIHD)⁴ and the movement Let's drink less by half⁵ helped me to understand preventers' goals.

The qualitative methods I used were forum post analysis (**Study I**), focus group interviews (**Study II**), participatory action research and co-creation of narratives (**Study III**). **Article IV** and ideas from Parder & Sutrop (2015) help to conceptualise ethical dilemmas and perspectives related to studying adolescents and sensitive topics.

Besides the introductory cover article, my thesis consists of four articles. **Study I** analyses adolescents' forum posts regarding alcohol and how adolescents see their possibilities of abstaining from alcohol at parties. It shows how adolescents share different strategies online. **Study II** focuses on Estonian adolescents' narratives about not consuming alcohol at parties where peers consume alcohol. **Study III** used participatory action research together with the co-creation of narratives related to alcohol consumption and situational abstinence to try to develop narratives that could be used in preventive actions.

Article IV and our previous work on guidelines when working with children (Parder & Sutrop, 2015) help to frame the ethical questions and dilemmas related to researching underage people and sensitive topics (e.g. alcohol consumption) and show what roles values and ethics play in preventive studies and actions. **Article IV** gives an overview of the history of ethics codes and guidelines, their role in science integrity today and the importance of universal codes, values and norms in research.

My thesis is divided into four main chapters. Chapter 1 focuses on conceptualising adolescent alcohol use from the public health perspective, explains different approaches to investigating alcohol use and prevention, introduces teenage alcohol situational abstinence practice and the role of narratives, and

⁴ I helped to map NIHD's target groups and their key messages.

⁵ I was in charge of a qualitative study of Estonian adolescents' alcohol and tobacco consumption.

explains the Estonian context related to alcohol consumption. Chapter 2 gives an overview of the methodological framework of the study, the methods chosen, the ethical considerations and the role of the researcher and limitations of the thesis. Chapter 3 gives an overview of the results and empirical findings in connection with the research questions. Finally, Chapter 4 concentrates on an overall discussion of the topic.

1. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK. ADOLESCENTS' ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION AS A SOCIAL PRACTICE

1.1 Conceptualisations of adolescent alcohol use in the public health perspective

From the public health perspective, both alcohol consumption and adolescent alcohol consumption in the European Union (EU) are considered to be serious problems, since the EU is the heaviest drinking region in the world, with one fifth of the population aged 15 and older reporting heavy episodic drinking at least once a week (WHO, 2009)¹. Alcohol consumption is related to ill health and premature death, with proportions being the highest in the WHO European region. For the Baltic states, WHO notes that nearly half of all deaths are related to alcohol and at least a quarter of health problems are due to alcohol (WHO, 2009). WHO has created a systematic overview of preventive actions in regard to alcohol consumption, focusing on the impact alcohol consumption has on health. WHO has also provided an overview of how different parties e.g. policy makers, the health sector and communities, can influence alcohol consumption (WHO, 2009). These positions, together with the global strategy of reducing the harmful use of alcohol (WHO, 2010), highlight how seriously the global organisation takes the harmful effects of alcohol consumption and how important they see alcohol prevention to be.

For adolescent alcohol consumption, this means public health practitioners are creating activities to shift the first drink and first drunkenness to later in adolescents' lives. A pan-European study shows a trend of a decrease in lifetime and previous 30-day consumption in the last 10–15 years in adolescents' alcohol consumption (Hibell et al., 2015). On the other hand, adolescents still have their first drink several years before coming of age and consume alcohol in extensive amounts: almost half of European 15-year-olds reported using alcohol at the age of 13 or younger, and 13% reported being intoxicated in the previous 30 days (Hibell et al., 2015). This means public health practitioners still have a lot of work to do to reduce adolescent alcohol consumption and the damage it causes.

Public health is defined as “The science and art of preventing disease, prolonging life and promoting health through the organized efforts of society” (Acheson, 1988, p. 1). This suggests that the challenge of different public health problems, such as adolescent alcohol consumption, is not limited to the health sector, but includes different agencies, communities and professionals outside the health care system (Green 2018, p. 343). From the perspective of adolescent alcohol consumption, this means parents, families, communities, schools, youth workers etc. are all important parties to consider and include in the issue. The second underlying challenge is whether health is a private or public issue and whether the individual is responsible for self-control, risk management and

choosing healthy options (Green, 2018). This core question applies to other spheres of life as well, leading to the agency-structure debate (Giddens, 1986) both inside and outside of health sociology.

The fundamental question from the public health perspective is whether behaviour determines attitude or vice versa. According to WHO guidelines (2009), the aim of education is to influence attitude in order to achieve changes in behaviour, although there is evidence that attitude is influenced by behaviour, raising the question of where the focus of alcohol interventions should be. This dilemma is closely linked with adolescent alcohol prevention: whether the emphasis should be on educating the individual to make better decisions or shaping the social structure to create better paths of action. Green (2018) describes the idea of three-level individual-centred prevention: primary (preventing the onset of disease or injury), secondary (early detection or treatment of disease or risk factors in order to prevent morbidity or mortality), and tertiary (intervention to minimise disability or morbidity from disease or injury). Contemporary approaches, however, focus on the broader aims of empowerment and community participation (*ibid.*). From an individual-centred perspective, the focus might be on personal responsibility, which opens up the critique of “blaming the victim” by constructing the individual lifestyle and behaviour as the problem and turning less attention to structural conditions or the absence of opportunities to make healthy choices (*ibid.*).

1.2 Different approaches to the investigation of alcohol use

This chapter outlines the main approaches to the investigation of alcohol use and is meant to be a brief overview. I draw a distinction between approaches focusing on individuals and approaches focusing on culture.

Most **socio-psychological approaches** focus on the individual, explaining how the individual is influenced to engage in alcohol consumption. Social-psychological approaches represent the broadest range of explanatory concepts on adolescent alcohol drinking and related principles of prevention. In their comprehensive overview, Lewis, Neighbors, Lindgren, Buckingham & Hoang (2010) differentiate the explanatory concepts related to social influences from individual behaviour. They point out several theories for understanding alcohol consumption, which can be categorised into two groups: theories focusing on individual factors and theories focusing on social influences.

Theories focusing on the **individual** explain that behaviours happen because they are socially learned through the interrelationship between behaviour, environmental and personal factors (**social learning theory** (Bandura, 1969, 1977) and **social cognitive theory** (Bandura, 1986)); the individual has expectations about behaviour through direct or indirect experience and positive or negative reinforcement (**alcohol expectancy theory** (see Goldman, Del Boca, & Darkes, 1999; Jones, Corbin, & Fromme, 2001)); the individual is prone to deviance or unconventionality, which depends on personal, perceived environ-

mental and behavioural systems (**problem behaviour theory** (proposed by Richard Jessor (e.g. Jessor, Graves, Hanson, & Jessor, 1968; Jessor & Jessor, 1977)); individuals have a natural drive to evaluate themselves in accordance with others (**social comparison theory** (proposed by Festinger (1954)); individuals have a common social identity with other individuals because they see themselves as a part of a group, to which they compare themselves to maintain positive social identity (individuals also compare themselves with out-groups) (**social identity theory** (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and other related theories, e.g. **self-categorization theory** (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987)); individuals have the intention of performing a behaviour and the intention derives from the attitudes and subjective norms towards the behaviour (**Theory of Reasoned Action** (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975) and **Theory of Planned Behaviour** (Ajzen, 1988, 1991)); and individuals are motivated to remove threats to their freedom; they want to regain freedom and avoid such threats in the future (**reactance theory** (Brehm, 1966)).

Theories focusing on **social influence** explain that behaviour happens because the individual is influenced by factors that contribute to low self-esteem, self-rejection and rejection of norms and values prevalent in society, and the individual is involved with and accepted by deviant peers (**Self-derogation theory** (Kaplan & Johnson, 2001; Kaplan, Johnson, & Bailey, 1987; Kaplan, Martin, & Robbins, 1982)), because the main motivator is deviance, not conformity, and deviant actions get more attention (**Deviance regulation theory** (Blanton & Christie, 2003; Blanton, Stuart, & Vanden Eijnden, 2001)), or because socialisation between peers creates clusters that support or discourage the behaviour (**Peer cluster theory** (Oetting & Beauvais, 1986)). The theory of the **prototype/willingness model** (Gerrard, Gibbons, Houlihan, Stock, & Pomery, 2008; Gibbons, Gerrard, Blanton, & Russel, 1998) states that there are two paths – a reasoned path and a social reaction path – to risky behaviour. The reasoned path explains actions through deliberate planning, similar to the theory of reasoned action (Lewis et al, 2010). The social reaction path states that behaviour is unintended, less deliberate and happens because a person is in a situation that facilitates that kind of behaviour (ibid.).

Research focusing on socio-psychological elements shows, for example, that family and peer influences shape adolescents' alcohol-related actions (Epstein, Griffin, & Botvin, 2008; Malis & Roloff, 2007). There is an extensive amount of research suggesting parents and family-life play a major role in adolescent alcohol consumption and its prevention. For example, adolescents' alcohol misuse is related to parents providing alcohol, parents approving of adolescent alcohol consumption and parents consuming alcohol themselves (Yap, Cheong, Zaravinos-Tsakos, Lubman, & Jorm, 2017). Parents monitoring their children, a high-quality relationship between parents and their children, parents supporting and being involved in their children's activities (Yap et al., 2017) and parents' being restrictive (Sharmin et al., 2017) prevent adolescent alcohol consumption. Researchers have found that parents' socio-economic status (including household income, parental education level, and parental occupation status) is not

related to adolescents' binge drinking in developed countries (Kwok & Yuan, 2016). Sandra & Emmanuel (2016) thus highlight the importance, in a systematic literature review, of including parents in prevention programmes that target adolescents' substance use.

Researchers who reported the relationship between spending more time on social media and adolescents getting drunk referred to the importance of peer pressure and suggested that this is either because adolescents mimic the behaviour of their peers or because on social media sites they are exposed to alcohol advertisements that influence their behaviour (Brunborg, Andreas, & Kvaavik, 2017). On the other hand, research shows peer pressure can have mixed outcomes: adolescents remain non-drinkers if they have at least some non-drinking friends, also known as a minority influence (Rees & Wallace, 2014). In 2017, however, Hallgren, McCrady, Caudell, Witkiewitz, & Tonigan (2017) found that eliminating a friendship with a heavy drinker or initiating a friendship with a non-drinker had little effect on adolescents' alcohol consumption. Therefore, the effect of a drinking or non-drinking friend(s) is controversial in empirical research.

The semiotic shift in the 1980s in drug and alcohol research (Sulkunen, 2002) and the change to a structurally aware approach from structural-functionalism and the domination of agent-oriented theories in health sociology (Cockerham, 2013) led to the **sociological-cultural approach**, focusing on culture and exploring meaning and understandability (this includes most of the sociological, semiotic, cultural and anthropological approaches). I consider topics related to perceived norms, collective activities and negotiating identities also to be parts of the sociological-cultural approach. While the socio-psychological approach sees alcohol consumption as associated with factors related to nation, gender, social stratification and region, the **sociological-cultural approach** sees alcohol consumption as integrated into modern Western culture, seeing not only those in risk groups but all young people as having to deal with the question of alcohol consumption. The master narrative in Western culture has been the developmental model, which justifies "the 'naturalness' of angst-ridden adolescence" (Moore, 2002, p. 16). Several studies concentrate on how such previous traditions as rites of passage have changed to include alcohol (Beccaria & Sande, 2003). Alcohol consumption is part of cultural capital (Room & Sato, 2002) and opting not to drink may mean social exclusion for the adolescent (Advocat & Lindsay, 2015). The socio-cultural approach thus sees alcohol consumption as related to environment and context.

From the structure perspective, **culture** and its elements play a role in alcohol consumption. For example, in their alcohol consumption research, Beccaria & Sande (2003) have compared northern and southern Europe's wet and dry alcohol cultures. They note that Italy's alcohol culture is evolving towards a northern culture, i.e. a decline in wine drinking and rise in beer drinking, new groups consuming alcohol, i.e. women and young people, an increase in heavy drinking, and an increase in the importance of public opinion. The important effects of European cultures on alcohol consumption and prevention have been emphasised

by Bräker & Soellner (2016). In Chinese culture, for example, alcohol is related to the values of conviviality, sociability and camaraderie, and the sense of commonality is what encourages young people to consume alcohol (Yoon, Lam, Sham, & Lam, 2015). On the global level, the spread of individualistic values and the complexity of the transition to adulthood could lead to changes, for example in Italian young people's alcohol consumption (Rolando & Beccaria, 2018). It is interesting that although the values related to alcohol consumption in Europe and in China are different, the activity itself appears in both.

Measham & Brain (2005) have examined the phenomenon in the UK, analysing the culture of intoxication, and Measham (2006) has proposed the concept of "controlled loss of control" to describe adolescents' and young people's drinking to excess, while Szmigin et al. (2007) use the concept of "calculated hedonism" to describe youth drinking in the UK. Hepworth et al. (2016) also note their respondents described drinking as a culture. Peer pressure and perceived norms are negotiated by both young people and adolescents. Not drinking is a difficult choice for 15-year-olds in Denmark, where Järvinen & Gundelach (2007) describe non-drinkers' limited social capital and the risk of being excluded from parties. On the other hand, discussions of alcohol consumption among adolescents make them believe their peers consume more alcohol than they actually do (Perkins, 2002; Real & Rimal, 2007). Moreover, adolescents who see pictures of parties on social networking sites (Huang et al., 2013) and have friends who have a lot of friends on social networking sites consume more alcohol (Mundt, 2011). Drinking stories provide opportunities to negotiate drinking-related actions and to explore possible identities (Tutenges & Rod, 2009). Identity questions also arise for young people who do not drink (Nairn, Higgins, Thompson, Anderson, & Fu, 2006). For example, alcohol consumption is a rite of passage to adulthood in adolescents' opinions and adolescents believe it shows social maturity and provides experimentation with identity (Demant & Järvinen, 2006). A recent study on Norwegian adolescents indicates that 12–13-year-olds believe that adolescents' alcohol consumption and failure to consume alcohol in a responsible way shows childishness (Bakken, Sandøy, & Sandberg, 2017). Drinking is thus a culture which may change from context to context but still have norms, traditions and material elements that influence adolescents' actions.

Table 1. Overview of different approaches to understanding alcohol consumption⁶.

Approach	Theories	Corresponding interventions
Socio-psychological approaches	Focusing on the individual e.g. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Social learning theory; – Social cognitive theory; – Alcohol expectancy theory; – Problem behaviour theory; – Social comparison theory; – Social identity theory; – Self-categorisation theory; – Theory of Reasoned Action; – Theory of Planned Behaviour; – Reactance theory. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – address refusal skills and moderate drinking; – address attitudes and perceived subjective norms regarding alcohol use; – identify and address risk factors; – give personalised feedback, including a review of risk factors, expectancies and blood alcohol concentration information; – separate individuals from the substance-using peer group.
	Focusing on social influence e.g. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Self-derogation theory; – Deviance regulation theory; – Peer cluster theory; – Theory of the prototype/willingness model. 	
Approach	Theoretical focus	Interventions combining both approaches
Sociological-cultural approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – focus on culture and exploring meaning and understandability (this includes most of the sociological, semiotic, cultural and anthropological approaches); – focus on traditions (e.g. rites of passage) including alcohol; – focus on cultural capital; – focus on hazards of non-drinking; – focus on analysing culture. 	Combining different methods: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – give information and educate; – train different skills (e.g. leadership skills, problem-solving skills, listening skills, communication skills, coping with negative emotions, self-esteem and mindfulness-based skills); – strengthen community; – focus on parents or family; – focus on culture.

Cockerham (2013) concludes that no contemporary theory denies the importance of agency or structure, although theories do debate to what extent one or the other is dominant. For alcohol studies overall, this is evident from real life, for example studies in Canada have shown social situations determine how much people drink on certain occasions (Demers et al., 2002). The main challenge for

⁶ The table offers an overview of my tentative distinction between the two approaches to investigating alcohol consumption: theories focusing on the individual and approaches focusing on culture. To facilitate reading, the references have been removed from the table and are presented in the text.

research has been strategies on the individual level to interact with culture and questions of changing the environment on the level of policies.

Abstinence as a cultural practice (e.g. the “straight edge” subculture: people who publicly refrain from using drugs, including alcohol (e.g. Helton & Staudenmeier JR, 2002; Supski & Lindsay, 2017)) and studies focusing on alternative refusal as a way to build up identity and lifestyle have grown out of the challenge between individual strategies to interact with the culture of intoxication. Abstinence in this context is tightly intertwined with group affiliation and lifestyles. However, there is limited research on abstinence, especially concerning adolescents. There are some studies concerning abstainers over the legal drinking age (e.g. Advocat & Lindsay, 2015; Conroy & de Visser, 2014), and Nairn et al. (2006) have focused on non-drinking adolescents.

The term abstinence has several meanings, varying from life-long abstinence to episodic non-drinking, a measure of the extent to which a person does not consume alcohol in a situation where others do (Conroy, Sparks, & de Visser, 2015). Some research indicates former drinkers and lifelong abstainers have worse health outcomes than current drinkers (Green & Polen, 2001), leading to the methodological critique of including former drinkers among people defining themselves as “abstainers” (Stockwell & Kerr, 2009). Abstainers have also been found to have less satisfying relationships than drinkers (Leifman, Köhllhorn, Allebeck, Andréasson, & Romelsjö, 1995; Walton & Roberts, 2004). Studies concentrating on abstainers show culturally unsanctioned abstainers – those who dislike the taste or effect of alcohol – need to “work” harder to be accepted (Conroy & de Visser, 2014), which in practice means these people usually have to justify or explain why they are not drinking, and they face persuasion efforts to at least try some alcohol. Advocat & Lindsay (2015) have also described young peoples’ inability to engage in not drinking without some socially acceptable justification, and this situation is similar for both adolescents and adults.

1.3 Different approaches for alcohol interventions and prevention

Interventions that are considered promising in focusing on the individual address refusal skills and moderate drinking, address attitudes and perceived subjective norms towards alcohol use (e.g. social norms marketing (Neighbors et al., 2011; Perkins, 2002; Real & Rimal, 2007)), identify risk factors and address them, give personalised feedback including reviews of risk factors, expectancies and blood alcohol concentration information, and suggest separating individuals from the substance-using peer group (Lewis et al., 2010). Several authors have criticised approaches focusing on individuals (e.g. Cameron & Campo, 2006; Merzel & Afflitti, 2003; Shove, 2010), highlighting the neglect of social context and the fact that they have only short term impacts. Additionally, Hallgren et al. (2017) suggest that intervention should be targeted to certain people to eliminate

susceptibility to social influence. MacArthur, Harrison, Caldwell, Hickman, & Campbell (2015) have concluded that peer-led interventions show some promise in preventing tobacco, alcohol and cannabis use among adolescents.

The problem with interventions focusing on individuals and their skills is also that the individual is connected to different social structures, including family, peers, classmates and neighbourhood, which have impacts on the individual but are hard or even impossible to eliminate. Teaching life skills does not solve or only partly solves the inequality connected with social contexts and therefore these kinds of prevention are open to criticism related to their short-term effects. Approaches focusing only on informing and educating or using only class-based education are not effective, while approaches focusing on parenting, social marketing (WHO, 2009), interventions in primary health care settings (Duncan, Pearson, & Maddison, 2018) and school-based approaches (Emmers, Bekkering, & Hannes, 2015) seem more promising. It should be noted that the school-based approach for alcohol prevention has been questioned by several authors (e.g. Hodder et al., 2017; Onrust, Otten, Lammers, & Smit, 2016; Shackleton et al., 2016; WHO, 2009). WHO specifically questions the class-based approach and Shackleton et al. (2016) emphasise that their results are USA-centred and their generalisability is uncertain. Hodder et al. (2017) however have drawn their conclusions from a meta-analysis of several school-based interventions. Onrust et al. (2016), on the other hand, suggest that for this kind of approach to be successful programmes need to be offered at proper developmental stages for the target group.

For **intervention and prevention**, it is suggested that different methods be combined in order to achieve better results. It has been suggested that promising approaches include several elements in one programme: e.g. **give information and educate** (e.g. Aguilera & Plasencia, 2005; Donovan et al., 2015), **train different skills** (e.g. leadership skills, problem-solving skills, listening skills, communication skills, coping with negative emotions, self-esteem and mindfulness-based skills) (e.g. Aguilera & Plasencia, 2005; Beckstead, Lambert, DuBose, & Linehan, 2015; Boyd-Ball, 2003; Butzer, LoRusso, Shin, & Khalsa, 2017; Donovan et al., 2015; Duncan et al., 2018; Kulis, Dustman, Brown, & Martinez, 2013; Moran & Bussey, 2007; Nelson & Tom, 2011; Okamoto, Kulis, Helm, Lauricella, & Valdez, 2016; Sancho et al., 2018; Schinke et al., 1988), **strengthen community** (e.g. Allen, Mohatt, Beehler, & Rowe, 2014; Donovan et al., 2015; Nelson & Tom, 2011), **focus on parents or family** (e.g. Abbey, Pilgrim, Hendrickson, & Buresh, 2000; Allen et al., 2016; Boyd-Ball, 2003; Thomas, Baker, Thomas, & Hons, 2016), **and focus on culture** (e.g. Allen et al., 2014; Beckstead et al., 2015; Boyd-Ball, 2003; Donovan et al., 2015; Kulis et al., 2013; Liddell & Burnette, 2017; Lowe, Liang, Riggs, Henson, & Elder, 2012; Moran & Bussey, 2007; Patchell, Robbins, Lowe, & Hoke, 2015; Schinke et al., 1988).

There have, however, been a number of suggestions that WHO (2009) has noted in order to improve current prevention approaches delivered in school settings: including adolescents in the development of programmes, testing the

programmes with both young people and teachers, adding an interactive element, focusing on skill development, setting goals that are relevant to young people, boosting programmes in later years, and incorporating information young people find immediately practical and useful, including appropriate teachers. WHO (2009) concludes that evidence proves that school-based information and education do not lead to sustained change in behaviour, nor do public education campaigns, that parenting programmes and social marketing programmes in fact lead to sustained change in behaviour, and that campaigns funded by the alcohol industry can have negative effects. WHO (2009) has also concluded that increasing alcohol prices delays the time young people start to drink, slows the progression to drinking large amounts, and reduces both heavy drinking and the volume of alcohol drunk on particular occasions.

Both approaches however – focusing on the individual and focusing on the structure⁷ – are problematic because they both presume that for a change to happen in a person’s actions a bigger change is needed in their social network or lifestyle, which may not be achievable or desired. For adolescent alcohol consumption, Cockerham’s (2013) conclusion about the agency-structure debate in health sociology is suitable. Cockerham (2013, p. 128–129) points out that although lifestyle practices seem to be a matter of individual choice and the result of free will, this does not explain different patterns “reflecting distinct differences by class, age, gender and other structural variables”. He concludes that structural influences shape lifestyle practices from the top down, meaning people can still choose, but from particular structurally shaped pathways. Many alcohol researchers have found the duality of agency and structure fruitful, for example Bourdieu’s⁸ concept of habitus and different forms of capital (social, cultural, etc.), which have been used to conceptualise alcohol studies (e.g. Järvinen & Gundelach, 2007).

Both approaches also have strong explanatory power: the sociological-cultural approach helps to determine why alcohol consumption is available in several cultural rituals, and the socio-psychological focus on the individual helps to explain those mechanisms where cultural influence reaches the individual. Both approaches, however, rely on their own explanations, because they are missing a link to connect them. As was highlighted in Table 1, in theory it is possible to differentiate between approaches to alcohol consumption, but in practice it is possible to differentiate only by focusing on the individual in prevention and by

⁷ Anthony Giddens (1986, p. 55) defines “action” or agency as “a continuous flow of conduct”, not a series of discrete acts combined together. To define social structure, Giddens (1986, p. 62) highlights the fact that it includes two elements that are not clearly distinguished from one another: “the *pattern of interaction*, as implying relations between actors or groups; and the *continuity of interaction in time*” (italics from the original).

⁸ Bourdieu (1990, p. 53) defines habitus as “[s]ystems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them.”

mixing approaches and focuses. This shows the need to find a theoretical approach that does not take away the agency of the individual. Practice theory, focusing on cultural practice as an entity but including concrete actors who carry the practice, offers a link between the two approaches.

Therefore, my thesis focuses on social practice concepts that try to connect the analysis of skills, knowledge and meanings with the cultural environment. I also propose the concept of situational abstinence as a possible way for young people to manoeuvre without tying themselves completely to one lifestyle, social group or identity, which therefore might be less scary and more achievable for individuals.

1.4 Teenage alcohol situational abstinence practice and narratives

Social practice theory (Reckwitz, 2002; Schatzki, 1996), which this thesis is inspired by, strives to resolve the conflict between individual will and social determinacy by emphasising the importance of physical and social routines. Instead of asking what works, public health intervention researchers ask why interventions work (Meier, Warde, & Holmes, 2018). Theories of practice, which have different forms, all take the focus away from individual-level behaviour and explanatory variables, e.g. attitudes (Meier et al., 2018). The focus is on why people do what they do and thus it acknowledges the social construction of practices and how competences are collectively learned (Warde, 2005, p. 140). Practices are performances of routinised behaviours shared between groups of people (Meier et al., 2018). The focus is not on the individual but on the habits, routines and repetitiveness of human activity, tacit knowledge and skilled procedures, and the role of tools and equipment (Meier et al., 2018).

Schatzki's (2002) distinction between practices as performances and as entities is used for this analysis. Practice as entity is defined as a nexus of doings and sayings (Schatzki, 2002), a recognisable and meaningful pattern of action which is maintained and transformed by the interconnected nodes of things, meanings, procedures, rules, technologies etc. (Warde, 2013). Practices as performances are actual occurrences of activities that can be carried out somewhat variedly and still be recognised as manifestations of certain practices, such as collective, cultural entities (Warde, 2013). Individual and collective actors are carriers of both bodily performance and particular "know-how" of practice (Schatzki, 2002). As Warde (Warde, 2017, p. 91) puts it, to change behaviour the development of practice needs to be followed; moreover, he emphasises practices are "dynamic by virtue of their own internal logic of operation". Therefore, the basic units of analysis are practices as entities that are embedded in certain socio-cultural environments, because to understand where to put in the effort to shape the practices related to adolescent alcohol parties, practice as an entity not as a performance needs to be understood.

Adolescents learn culturally shared practical understandings while socialising with peers in different spheres of life (Schatzki, Cetina, & von Savigny, 2001), which also includes learning the different practices of alcohol consumption. Practices recruit actors in these processes: in socialisation with peers, during different transition processes accompanied by alcohol. Adolescent alcohol consumption occurs often at parties (see e.g. Anderson & Brown, 2010; Elmeland & Kolind, 2012). Adolescents' alcohol-related practices are not structurally supported (they are legally prohibited, and access to products and spaces is limited) and have vague borders, and performances are not guided by stated rules. Alcohol consumption is a compound practice, i.e. weakly regulated and coordinated; it is "more a matter of convention than authoritative regulation, neither formally taught nor accredited, occurring mostly in private, not requiring constant and second-by-second coordination with strangers and not ... subject to direction and control by powerful organisations of practitioners or regulatory agencies" (Warde, 2013, p. 25). For Estonian adolescents, this means there is no authoritative organ to teach or control the practice; it instead happens in private settings, for example in homes or friends' homes, and the "rules" of alcohol consumption are not explicitly shared between adolescents but are learned from context and from joining in on practices.

However, there is not one alcohol consumption practice but several different ones, related to each other, even competing with each other and with other type of practices. It is notable that many adolescent alcohol consumption practices are related to parties, although there is no one type of adolescent alcohol party (see Parder, 2011). Moving in different circles of people and encountering different practices of having parties is how adolescents acquire practical embodied skills and the knowledge of proper actions at parties. For example, during this study I noticed different variables of parties as practice and entity, from non-alcoholic juice parties to getting drunk bash parties (see more in **Study II**). Adolescent alcohol-party practices include planning the party, sending out invitations, obtaining alcohol and consuming it at the party. These are all integrative practices: created through outer normative descriptions and situations, where adequate performance is guided by formal rules and openly recognised standards (Warde, 2013), intersecting with each other and constituting the performance of alcohol-party practices.

I argue in my thesis that narratives (both in verbal or textual form) are one way that practices are dispersed. Narrative theory draws on the premise that narratives produce realities (Livholts & Tamboukou, 2015) and social interaction keeps social practices together (Keller, Halkier, & Wilska, 2016; Vihailemm, Keller, & Kiisel, 2015). Narratives, therefore, express and create social order and are thus one way in which practices are circulated between agents, because stories are shared collectively. Being a form of interaction, narratives are both enabling conditions and the products of everyday practices (de Certeau, 1984). There are authors who have studied drinking stories. Drinking stories and drinking performances have been found to be tightly intertwined (Tutenges & Sandberg, 2013); experiences produce narratives and narratives motivate,

guide and shape future actions (Presser & Sandberg, 2015), and drinking stories (e.g. the critical evaluation of consequences and dangers of drunkenness) can challenge the shaping of drinking habits (Tutenges & Rod, 2009). White & Epstein (1990) back this idea up by arguing that storying and re-storying peoples' experiences influence their behaviour.

1.5 Estonian context

As in many other Eastern European countries, alcohol consumption is high in Estonia (Popova, Rehm, Patra, & Zatonski, 2007). Aasvee & Rahno (2015) found that 62% of 13-year-old boys and 60% of 13-year-old girls have tried alcohol at least once and among 15-year-olds these numbers are 83% and 85%, respectively. Almost half of 15–16 year-olds have drunk alcohol 20 times or more in their lives (Kobin et al., 2012). Recent data, however, shows a decline in alcohol consumption, i.e. less frequent drinking, consuming smaller amounts and consuming drinks with less alcohol in them (Orro, Martens, Lepane, Josing, & Reiman, 2017). Data also indicate that the age of the first drink and first drunkenness is rising (Aasvee & Rahno, 2015). Regular drinking is declining, there are more students who have never tried alcohol (Aasvee & Rahno, 2015), and students report alcohol is becoming less accessible to them (Kobin et al., 2012).

The cultural connotation of alcohol consumption is positive and drunkenness is closely connected with freedom from daily routines and duties (Raudne, 2012). Alcohol consumption is related to holidays, vacations and traditions (Trink, 2015). For Estonian young adults there are two socially acceptable forms of drinking: drinking small amounts frequently and drinking big amounts on special occasions (Kobin, 2013). Raudne (2012) argues that alcohol consumption is related to national identity, security and patriotism, and the current alcohol industry re-cultivates these narratives. In recent years, however, alcohol consumption has dropped, although there was a slight increase in 2017 (10.3, compared to 10.2 in 2016 and 10.1 in 2018) (Orro et al., 2019).

In terms of alcohol prevention on the societal level, the main activities have been limiting access via an alcohol excise tax (Orro et al., 2017), anti-alcohol media campaigns and limiting alcohol sales time and alcohol visibility. To limit adolescents' access to alcohol, several limitations are used in Estonia. The legal age for buying and drinking alcohol in Estonia is 18 (Riigi Teataja, n.d.). The Consumer Protection Board monitors how shops follow the law (Riigi Teataja, n.d.). The alcohol policy concentrates on restricting access to alcohol by using penalties, publicly shaming stores selling alcohol to adolescents, and fining adolescents who consume alcohol (Kuul, 2018; Rudi, 2016; Sotsiaalministeerium, 2014).

However, adolescents still begin consuming alcohol at an early age: between the ages of 12 to 15 (Aasvee & Rahno, 2015; Orro et al, 2011; Parder, 2011), with the average at the age of 12 for the first drink and around 13 for the first

drunkenness (Aasvee & Rahno, 2015). Estonian adolescents believe that they are expected to learn how to drink before coming of age (Parder, 2011), which explains the testing period starting around 12 years. Among 15-year-old Estonians, less than one-fifth declared they had never drunk alcohol (Aasvee & Rahno, 2015).

Most alcohol consumption occurs at parties, e.g. various celebrations or weekend binge drinking parties (Parder, 2011). Trell, van Hoven, & Huigen (2013) found in their study in rural areas that the lack of parental supervision leads to experimentation and drunkenness occurring at home. Drug prevention topics are included in the national curriculum and the National Institute for Health Development has developed several materials for drug prevention in schools (e.g. “Noorte alkoveeb,” n.d.; “Õppevideod,” n.d.; “Soovitud uimastienetuseks ja uimastitega seotud juhtumite lahendamiseks,” 2016; “Uimastihariduse õpetajaraamat,” 2017), but 6th graders (12-year-olds) report that there are very few preventive actions (e.g. guest lecturers, seminars and films) dedicated to them (Paas, 2015). An analysis of drug education effectiveness highlights teachers’ perception of drug education and their role in it as one of the key questions in Estonia, although there are few teachers with sufficient training and there are not enough training courses available for teachers (Vorobjov, Abel-Ollo, Part, & Kull, 2011). When alcohol accompanies celebration rituals (holidays, birthdays, school graduation etc.) it is harder for adolescents to refuse alcohol because peers might consider this as refusing to participate in the ritual (**Study II**). There is a lack of academic research regarding adolescent party culture, adult party culture and their relationship. My thesis helps to fill this gap in the academic research.

2. METHODOLOGY

As a researcher, I tried to understand the meaning and everyday rationales behind adolescent alcohol parties, and to contribute to the discussion of why critical reflection and new ways of alcohol prevention are needed. My approach was to focus first on the practical level and collect empirical material from adolescents.

This chapter gives an overview of the methodology for answering the research questions I proposed. I used qualitative methods (forum post analysis, focus group interviews and participatory action research with co-creation) to examine the role and meaning of adolescent alcohol consumption practices related to parties and to analyse adolescent alcohol-party culture and situational abstinence.

To understand the natural setting where everyday activities are explained and negotiated, online forums where adolescents discuss everyday topics were examined in **Study I**. Based on the results of **Study I**, in **Study II** the focus was more on non-drinking stories and thus focus group interviews were conducted with Estonian 8th graders. In **Study III** I used participatory action research with co-creation to facilitate narratives of non-drinking and situational abstinence. Qualitative methods went well with the social constructivist approach used in this thesis, since the aim was to understand how constant social interaction constructs meanings of alcohol-party culture and situational abstinence.

2.1 Methodological framework of the study

This thesis used the narrative approach as a methodological framework of the study. I used Bamberg's (2012) notion of the analytic unit of story-in-context of the narrative. I analysed stories in context and followed how storytelling actively created social practices. This is also explained by Giddens (1984, p. 45) with a football analogy: people actively reproduce the practice in the same way as players in a football game "are actively involved in reproducing the game itself". The same goes for adolescents, their alcohol-party practices and possibilities of situational abstinence; they actively reproduce the practices both by engaging in them and later sharing narratives of the experiences.

In this thesis I collected and facilitated non-drinking stories (**Study III**) to capture what kind of non-drinking stories were shared between adolescents and to determine if it was possible to elicit stories that adolescents were not currently actively sharing. Investigating the narratives shared by adolescents enabled me to capture the elements of the practices, which turned out to be ethically challenging to study. I chose participatory action research to elicit adolescent views on the overall alcohol consumption topic and possibilities of alcohol prevention (**Study III**). The participatory approach, including action research, has been shown to be useful when working with young people to allow them to express their opinions (e.g. Ponciano, 2013) on environmental education (e.g. Blanchet-Cohen & Di Mambro, 2015) and reducing drug and sex risks (e.g. Berg, Coman,

& Schensul, 2009). In action research, informants actively engage in collective problem-solving, making participants co-researchers (Todhunter, 2001). What makes it participatory is the attitude of the researcher, which affects how and for whom the research is conducted (Gosin, Dustman, Drapeau, & Harthun, 2003). The participatory approach draws from the epistemology that knowledge is socially constructed and thus both researchers and practitioners (in this case adolescents) can contribute to the research process with their different forms of expertise (Phillips, 2011). For participatory action research, it is important to note that the attitude of the researcher determines in whose interests' research is conducted (Gosin et al., 2003). For expertise to be democratised (Todhunter, 2001), to bring out the expertise adolescents have in the alcohol topic, sharing power in the project with participants is crucial (Gosin et al., 2003), and researchers need to take genuine learner positions even when they are competent to be teachers in a situation (Swantz, 2013). Therefore, for **Study III** my aim was to empower participating students to take the position of experts and contribute to constructing the knowledge related to alcohol consumption practices. Participants guided the process, decided what they would focus on, and what topics they would choose for the meetings.

2.2 Methods, sample and data collection

Table 2. Overview of data collection and analysis.

	Data collection	Data analysis
Study I	Qualitative research of forum posts	171 online forum posts were analysed via qualitative text analysis.
Study II	Focus group interviews with 8 th grade students (aged 13–15) in Estonia.	Fully-fledged narratives were analysed with thematic narrative analysis.
Study III	Qualitative participatory action research and co-creation of narratives related to alcohol and situational abstinence.	Qualitative content analysis.

In **Study I**, I used qualitative research of posts from two online youth forums focusing on non-drinking and saying “no” to alcohol. The practice theory approach has used texts for empirical study, but instead of starting with interviews I chose a more natural setting where adolescents verbally reflected on their actions and possible alternatives.

In the two forums Lapsemure.ee and Stiina.ee, adolescents counsel each other on different topics, from relationship problems with peers or parents to sex, drugs and suicide. Posts from 2009 until 2012 were included, and earlier

posts were left out of the sample⁹. Every part of the interaction (every post and every comment) was coded separately. The sample focusing on non-drinking and saying “no” to alcohol included 171 posts from this time-frame (more details about sampling can be found in **Study I**).

Most of the adolescents who revealed their ages claimed they were 14–15 years old at the time of posting, although the age of adolescents who reported this ranged from 11 to 24. Although I cannot be sure about the ages of the writers, both those who reported their ages and those who did not reveal their ages, there were reasons to believe they were written by minors (except those who stated they were adults). These reasons included indicating going to school and hobby groups and referring to adolescents as “us” and adults as “them”.

For **Study I**, thematic analysis (Ezzy, 2002) inspired by grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 2008) was used. According to the original framework provided by the authors in **Study I**, textual interactions in the forums were analysed a) as a part of the nexus that holds together and transforms certain practices (text as fact), b) as expressions of what practitioners themselves regard as possible and necessary to say about what they are doing (text as reflection of experience), and c) as representations of the imagined range of repertoires of action that are considered normal and socially possible in a particular context (text as micro-model of social order). The thematic coding was done on two axes, where general meta-level morals were examined (supporting non-drinking; supporting drinking and rejecting non-drinking; supporting situational variations), as well as which elements of alcohol-related practices they reflected based on Shove, Pantzar, & Watson’s (2012) model of meanings, skills (both knowledge and procedural know-how) and things (both material aspects and physical environments). More details about the coding are given in **Study I**.

Although **Study I** was mainly qualitative, a small quantitative aspect was added to the analysis to examine how opinions about alcohol consumption (pro-alcohol, variations/negotiations and contra-alcohol) were divided.

For **Study II**, three entire 8th grade classes (students aged 13–15 years old) were asked to participate in the study. These classes were from three different schools. The schools were chosen from different areas of Estonia that the researcher had access to. Students who agreed to participate and whose parents or legal guardians gave consent were included in the interviews. The teachers of the classes were asked to divide students into natural groups for semi-structured interviews with a researcher. Natural groups¹⁰ were preferred since the topic was sensitive and it would be easier for the respondents to discuss it in safe and comfortable focus groups (Liamputtong, 2011). These natural groups made it possible to capture collectively shared stories. These co-creative stories emerged

⁹ This decision was made in my master’s thesis, where I analysed adolescents’ forum posts, focusing on the time when NIHD experts emphasised the lack of alcohol prevention among Estonian adolescents. My master's thesis was defended in 2011.

¹⁰ These groups included two to five participants, with all boys, all girls and mixed groups, depending on with whom adolescents associated and interacted in their class the most.

in the discussions when participating adolescents confirmed each other's comments or challenged them, making it clear that day-to-day interaction was present. Overall, 49 students (32 boys and 17 girls) participated in 15 interviews¹¹.

The object of analysis was the reflection of non-drinking in social interaction. I looked for and analysed narratives in Presser's (2009) sense. Presser states that narrative is a "temporally ordered statement concerning events experienced by and/or actions of one or more protagonists" (Presser, 2009, p. 178). To analyse the material, I used thematic narrative analysis (Bold, 2012). I coded narratives according to emerging themes and sub-themes, narrators who shared their stories, whether the stories were co-created or not, from what perspective and in what tense the stories were told, and whether the stories involved direct or indirect experience (more details about coding are given in **Study I**).

In **Study III**, participatory action research was used in order to co-create narratives related to alcohol parties and situational abstinence. The second aim was testing how participatory action research and the co-creation of narratives work in adolescents' natural day-to-day interactions. A school¹² I had access to near a big city was chosen for the study. I introduced the project and its aims to the principal and extracurricular activities manager of the school to obtain their agreement and I obtained the ethics committee's approval¹³. The project was then introduced to all students in seventh to ninth grades (70 students overall). Those who were interested signed up with the extracurricular activities manager and when their parents gave consent they were included in the workshops. Overall, 11 students signed up, seven attended the first meeting, five continued beyond the first meeting and two attended all of the meetings. This is in line with what other researchers have noted (see e.g. Sawyer & Willis, 2011), where more people sign up but drop out during the study. Five meetings were held between March and April 2016. During the meetings participants got acquainted with each other and the topic and agreed on what would be done during the meetings. Adolescents got acquainted with principles for audiovisual production, idea visualisation, creating photo stories and creating an animated video. More details about the meeting plan can be found in **Study III**. I recorded all of the meetings and collected the visual drawings and a copy of the final video.

I used qualitative content analysis on the collected material (transcripts of the meetings, visual drawings and the video). After familiarising myself with the material, I worked out four main themes, three themes focused on the content of

¹¹ Since teachers were the recruiters in this study, there is no overview of why and how many students refused to participate or how many students were absent on interview days. This was at the request of the teachers that they send only the students who agreed and whose parents agreed to the interviews and that I as the researcher not interact with the rest of the class.

¹² The school was chosen based on my access to the school. I contacted the school, asked if they wanted to participate, and they agreed.

¹³ From the Tallinn Medical Research Ethics Committee.

the interaction and one theme focused on the evaluation of the method. I also created sub-topics for every theme after a close reading of the material (the coding is more precisely explained in **Study III**).

2.3 Ethical considerations for researching adolescents on a sensitive topic

Conducting research with adolescents is ethically challenging and my position as a researcher in regard to research ethics needs discussion.

The main ethical consideration¹⁴ in any research project involving people is balancing two core values: freedom to pursue scientific knowledge and responsibility (for the research subjects) (*Estonian code of conduct for Research Integrity, Annex 2. Explanation of values*, 2017). Therefore, the main question is how well these different values are balanced by following the relevant principles. Ethical considerations when working with adolescents can be divided into five main topics: aim of the research, informed consent, data protection and privacy, internet safety, and social implications (Parder & Sutrop, 2015). In this chapter I will explain the ethical considerations regarding the first four categories (the fifth category is covered in the introduction), the points of deliberation and my solutions to them.

What made this research challenging was the fact that ethical science involves protecting research subjects from harm and adolescents are in most research integrity and ethics codes considered to be vulnerable because of their age (e.g. All European Academies (ALLEA), 2011; British Educational Research Association (BERA), 2018; *Estonian Code of Conduct for Research Integrity*, 2017; Parder & Sutrop, 2015). Although the historical account of research ethics and its underlying principles and ideas on how to treat human subjects can be traced back to 19th century Norway, the Nuremberg Code of 1947 is considered to be a landmark in medical research (**Article IV**). The same ideas and principles have been adopted by various disciplines, including sociology (youth studies, internet studies etc.). The more global and interdisciplinary the science becomes, the more codes of ethics and guidelines are needed, not to have guidelines per se but in order to discuss, agree and re-agree on the values and principles to be followed in interdisciplinary research (**Article IV**).

Combining the fact that adolescents are considered vulnerable with the fact that alcohol consumption is a sensitive topic, studying the practices becomes ethically and methodologically even more challenging as the researcher has to find a balance between getting sensitive data from the participants and respecting the participants' rights and parental consent. Research integrity codes and guidelines emphasise responsibility in regard to vulnerable groups, their needs and opinions in research (Parder & Juurik, 2019). When testing for ways to research

¹⁴ But not the only one.

adolescents' alcohol consumption in other settings than school, I piloted a small scale study in an Estonian youth centre, but the data collection could not occur because problems with receiving parental consent emerged. Although all of the adolescents in the centre gave their assent to participate (which was renewed each time we met), they were for several reasons eventually unable to provide parental consent (the adolescents reported that either their parents would not allow them to participate or that they had forgotten to take the forms home). Therefore, this study was cancelled and the school as a setting was chosen to carry out the study. School teachers as gatekeepers have personal contact with parents and can help researchers to get access to adolescents, whereas youth centre workers have direct contact only with adolescents and have limited opportunities to help out with parental consent. This creates challenges for the researcher to solve these dilemmas in a way that respects adolescents' agency and gives them voice, while avoiding being paternalistic in the research process.

Why this research is important and why adolescents aged 13–15 are the main target group is explained in the introduction. It is ethically questionable to study adolescents' alcohol consumption via an ethnographic method, which otherwise would be the most suitable method in the social constructivist paradigm and from the social practice theory point of view. There is no special law for scientists in Estonia on reporting crimes discovered during the research period. There is an obligation to get parental informed consent to recruit adolescents for a study and to get ethics committee approval for this kind of study. These limitations make it extremely hard to carry out an ethnographic study, which is why a different approach was chosen: to study what adolescents talk about when they talk about alcohol. However, since I was afraid of the risk of adolescents presenting what they thought adults wanted to hear, online forums were chosen as the first encounter.

The informed consent/assent question was most complicated in the forum post studies. During the research period for **Study I**, there was general understanding that behaviour that happened in the public domain could be researched and observed without consent¹⁵. The forums (Lapsemure.ee and Stiina.ee) are considered public forums, and there is no need for registration in order to read and discuss different topics (although it is possible to register if one wishes to). Whiteman (2012) classifies this kind of area as a public domain since no logging in is required and anonymous users can post materials. It was also noted in the forum terms that adults observe discussions. On the other hand, if adolescents are being researched, ethics guidelines suggest a more careful approach should be implemented (British Educational Research Association (BERA), 2018; Whiteman, 2012). Since the data were publicly accessible, there were no personal data provided by the adolescents posting and the material was anonymous¹⁶, it was not possible to contact adolescents from the forums, and

¹⁵ Personal Data Protection Law (2011); after adopting the GDPR, this principle has changed.

¹⁶ There was no information provided in the posts or by user names that would make it possible for me to trace it back to a concrete person.

since they were anonymous, there was no contact information provided for most writers and the oldest posts included in the study were four years old, I did not engage in the discussions or facilitate them in any way but was a passive reader so the decision was made not to get informed consent from the people active in the forum. As AoIR (Markham & Buchanan, 2012) suggested for special internet forums, I deliberated on how to prevent harm, and to protect the adolescents from any possible unforeseen harm I did not include their usernames in the article and translated the quotations into English, thus making them not searchable.

For **Study II** and **Study III**, the standard procedure was followed for obtaining informed consent from the parents and assent from the adolescents participating. Information sheets for both studies provided details about the purposes of the activities, the right to withdraw, which data would be collected, how the data would be used, how long the data would be stored and the contact information from me as the researcher. In addition, for **Study III** ethics committee approval¹³ was sought, since the meetings involved active participation and the process was also guided by the participants.

Data for the thesis are stored on an external hard drive and will be destroyed after the thesis is defended.¹⁷

In **Study III** an internet safety question also rose, since to create the animated video story a computer and the internet were used. However, all of the activities were done with the researcher and audio-visual expert and thus safe surfing was guaranteed for the adolescents.

2.4 Limitations

Since this is qualitative work the results of all three studies are not representative of the whole country. However, when recruiting schools for the studies I chose schools from different areas of Estonia to solicit their opinions. As a result, one school was in a rural area, one school was in a small town (around 2000 inhabitants) and one school was in a big town (more than 100 000 inhabitants). The school context itself, however, created challenges, because it is a rather normative setting for adolescents and the researcher was probably seen as being similar to a teacher: someone who had authority and whose requests needed to be followed.

For the forums, there might be only one type of adolescent posting (and there was no information provided about whether they were “average” adolescents or not); it was hard to determine how old exactly the writers were; additionally, several writers were not adolescents anymore. Since the focus was on interaction and practice elements, it was not possible to exclude older writers’ comments from a discussion (the original post and responses to it).

¹⁷ The data management principles changed during the eight years it took me to write my thesis. Although the principles became more concrete during this time, there is still a lot of work to be done in order to modernise the data management system for students.

For interviews both in the focus groups and participatory action research, the adolescents knew each other, making it possible that some of the information shared went unchallenged, meaning they might have shared some information and not asked about it or not questioned some premises. It should also be noted that since I was a grown-up it's possible that the adolescents did not tell the (whole) truth.

Finally, only a handful (11 signed up, seven attended meetings and two attended all the meetings) of adolescents were included in **Study III**, meaning it is not possible to draw conclusions, but only to test the suitability of the method and see what kind of data it produced. However, the numbers were expected since participants tend to drop out of activities involving voluntary participation (e.g. Sawyer & Willis, 2011) or only a handful tend to participate (e.g. Guse et al., 2013). The fact that only a handful of adolescents decided to participate in this study might also have been influenced by the researcher and that adolescents are not willing to share experiences on this topic. The implications for the participatory approach are discussed in more detail in **Study III**.

3. EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

3.1 Communication of the norms of the youth alcohol party culture by adolescents

My thesis illustrates adolescents are quite aware of youth alcohol party culture norms, and find various opportunities to communicate them to each other. One way these norms are communicated in their everyday conversation are narratives, for example of previous parties, which also shape visualisations of future parties in the planning stage (**Study II** and **Study III**), although adolescents also spend time on internet forums to find out what is appropriate behaviour for them in different contexts (**Study I**). The studies in this thesis show that alcohol consumption is perceived as a norm for adolescents (**Studies I, II** and **III**).

Study III showed that non-consumption could be a surprising option for 15-year-olds participating in the workshops, although **Study II** dealt with different parties that adolescents engaged in, including non-alcoholic “juice parties” and “getting wasted bash parties”, with non-drinking parties being rich in descriptions of activities and drinking parties being rich in descriptions of social relationships. One explanation for the surprise is that adolescents perceived alcohol-party practice to be a norm.

Adolescents in the forum discussions painted a picture of how drinking alcohol and even binge drinking¹⁸ was a form of transition from adolescence to adulthood. Pro-drinking meaning-making included a fear of not learning skills for self-awareness and self-governance at the right time. Adolescents believed that to become adults they needed to learn skills and their limits before coming of age, meaning there was a “right time” in their minds for starting to experiment with alcohol and drunkenness (**Study I**). Forum discussions showed the “right time” was 12–16 years of age, when personal drinking performance started to form and the amounts were smaller (**Study I**), culminating with the “lõpuläbu” (graduation bash) at the age of 15–16 (Parder, 2011).

Study III revealed two illustrative moments where adult party culture shaped adolescent culture: one was the first drink allowed by the parents and the other one was adolescents participating in parties where adults consumed alcohol. Both were shared via narratives and these shared stories shaped how adolescents perceived related norms. In one narrative, parents allowed an adolescent to drink and the two cultures collided in this situation because in the adolescent party culture the adolescent needed to seem confident and knowledgeable about drinking, while in the adult culture they had to appear innocent and inexperienced. In evaluating this story, the adolescent was hesitant and thought he/she had not followed the adult culture enough, but no consequences followed. In this situation, the adults normalised alcohol consumption for the adolescent.

¹⁸ Drinking a large amount of alcohol in a short period of time.

The second story illustrates how an adolescent participated in a school party organised for adults and how this enabled the adolescent notice extensive adult alcohol consumption. This indicates how the large amounts of alcohol consumed at an adult alcohol party were a surprise to the adolescent but large amounts consumed at adolescent alcohol parties were not (**Study III**).

Alcohol consumption is also one aspect of the transition to adulthood. Interviews with adolescents in **Study II** showed adolescents with no or little experience with alcohol told party stories rich in activities, such as playing games, while adolescents with more experience with alcohol found these activities to be childish and not elements of a real party. **Study III** elaborated on parties that can be considered to be transitions to adulthood; especially meaningful is the “lõpuläbu” (graduation bash), a party held by ninth graders (aged 15–16 in Estonia). The concept of “lõpuläbu” is so widely shared by adolescents that it does not require much explanation for adolescents to understand and anticipate what happens at the party and what kind of script will be followed. What is notable in the transition point of “lõpuläbu” is that this tradition is not “filled” in any other way and adolescents have “filled” it themselves. Since it is such a tightly coordinated tradition, it is the hardest time for adolescents to refuse alcohol or implement situational abstinence. (**Study III**)

Another party practice that incorporates alcohol is adolescents’ birthday parties. **Study III** illustrates how even when the person having the birthday party plans it to be alcohol free, the alcohol party practice still recruits participants and the “usual” script of behaviour is thus implemented. Planning a party during co-creation and participatory action research meetings made it possible to see how the plan to have an alcohol-free party evolves. The birthday organiser stated she would not provide alcohol, but that if someone else wished to bring alcohol, she would allow it. During the party, the adolescents opened her parents’ liquor cabinet and made cocktails out of the alcohol they found there. Later, to hide their actions, they replaced the alcohol with water (**Study III**).

3.2 Strategies for refusing alcohol

While statistics show that Estonian adolescents drink often and large amounts (Aasvee et al., 2012), discussions in the forums (**Study I**) and meetings with adolescents (**Study II**) painted an alternative picture. In one forum post (**Study I**), discussions confirmed that for adolescents, especially aged 16–18, non-drinking¹⁹ was a hard choice and required extra explanations, accompanied by the notion that adolescents at that age are quite knowledgeable about their abilities and skills. On the other hand, young people – both under and over the legal age – seek help

¹⁹ Although the focus in this thesis is on adolescents’ of about 13–15 years of age, it emerged from the forum posts that 16–18 year olds were also discussing possibilities of non-drinking, and that 13–15 year olds were imagining what would be expected of them when they got a little older.

and advice from forums to carry out an alternative form of conduct and not drink alcohol during parties, although the wish to do so runs into the problem of how to carry this out and what to do instead (ibid.).

Study I highlighted different strategies for abstaining that were discussed in the forums. Pro-autonomy advice included such empty statements as “just don’t drink” and “get rid of friends who have negative effects” (ibid.). Some advice was structural: not going to alcohol-related events and leaving if the person did not want to consume alcohol at the party (ibid.). False excuses were also suggested as an alternative, but the problem with this kind of advice is that it strengthens the norm, does not challenge it publicly and does not affect the social practice (ibid.).

Different individual resistance strategies have hazards for adolescents’ social relationships and they warned advice seekers about it in the forums, e.g. abstainers might be excluded from activities to protect the practice itself (ibid.). Collective resistance strategies were believed to be more successful: adolescents said that if there were more people abstaining at a party, pro-sober performance was an easier choice (ibid.). Personal stories of being accepted at a party were told which indicated that non-drinkers attending parties communicates the meaningfulness and accomplishability of abstinence. An important factor was the embodied skill of having fun and socialising while abstaining from alcohol, showing that the performance of abstainers should not differ from that of drinkers if they want to be accepted at a party (ibid.).

Interviews with adolescents in **Study II** revealed that participants believed on the abstract level that it was a person’s choice if they wished to drink or not but on the practical level some of them had not encountered someone refusing alcohol. It also emerged from **Study II** that there were participants who were not consistent in their stories of refusing alcohol: one of them stated that her friends did not drink but later noted that sometimes she ended up being the only sober one at a party. Her story brings up the point that “not consuming alcohol” might not be the same as “being sober”, indicating it might mean just drinking less than peers. Adolescents occasionally admitted consuming alcohol in their stories; moreover, those who did not drink or decided not to drink appeared to change their performance in a given situation (ibid.). However, if a person was invited to a house party and they attended it, that automatically meant agreement to consume alcohol (ibid.). Both previous agreement and previous behaviour regarding alcohol determined whether alcohol consumption was anticipated from the participant. Refusing after showing up at a party was not acceptable. This repertoire of action was limited to those actors who were seen as regular drinkers.

3.2.1 Communicating situational abstinence

The forum post analysis from **Study I** showed personal stories and advice were sought and shared to practise the performance of situational abstinence. Adolescents sought advice on how to negotiate and problematise alcohol consumption at a gathering and how to stay true to their personal conduct. Problems in performing situational abstinence included a perceived lack of skill in refusing due to the fear of resisting implicit collective expectations and lacking the power to change those expectations (*ibid.*).

In **Study II** the adolescents shared how situational abstinence could be achieved, with one strategy being manoeuvring around the norms. If a person who got an invitation to an alcohol party did not want to drink they would weigh the pros and cons of non-drinking. However, they noted people usually ended up drinking some alcohol in order to still engage in the ritual, thus making it clear how difficult and path-dependent practices as entities could be. Participating adolescents also mentioned that the room for the individual performance of situational abstinence narrowed when a person had publicly engaged in alcohol party practice before because adolescents expected each other to be predictable and changing minds attracted negative attention. Participants argued over whether refusing was risky or not and whether a valid excuse was needed, e.g. having something important to do the next day or being the designated driver.

Meetings with the adolescents in **Study III** elicited their belief in personal conduct and strong pro-autonomy views where they were reluctant to believe they had any power to influence their peers' actions. They admitted, however, such strong power figures as the police might have some influence on adolescents' alcohol-related behaviour. Adolescents did say they would interfere if someone was too young to drink, for example if a participant's younger sister tried to drink.

What emerged in **Study III** was that when focusing on alcohol and situational abstinence participants started to notice alcohol more in their lives and positioned themselves in these stories as non-drinkers. One participant shared her experience with an adult party where she did not consume alcohol, but noticed adults consuming too much alcohol in her opinion. The fact that shaped her opinion was her dance partner being unable to hold himself up properly, which made dancing difficult for her.

Both **Study II** and **Study III** revealed that the performance of situational abstinence was shared via personal narratives. If a person had experiences with situational abstinence, they were willing to share stories that illustrated the experience with their peers and adults, thus attaching the notion to youth party culture.

3.3 Capturing narratives about non-drinking for alcohol prevention

What emerged from adolescents' stories was that there were roles that supported abstinence, e.g. the strong leader or caretaker (see Chapter 3.3.1). Stories related to declining drinks at parties were also useful for sharing between adolescents, especially if they were humorous ones that could compete with humorous drinking stories (**Study II**). **Study III**, however, showed adolescents might not consider alcohol to be a problem, i.e. they might not be motivated to share non-drinking stories with peers. Besides not considering it to be a problem for adolescents another explanation for not being motivated is that they had not noticed people declining drinks at parties (in **Study II** situational abstinence stories were told by adolescents who had those experiences). They were, however, motivated to share stories and activities of their everyday lives, such as school-work and exams, and concerning stories connected with alcohol prevention they found narratives showing immediate results to be the most promising ones.

Other stories that could be developed and used were questions and narratives shared in forums (**Study I**). Besides using stories involving non-drinking roles at parties, adolescents' hesitations and advice-seeking about drinking alcohol could also be used to facilitate situational abstinence at parties.

One type of stories did not emerge during these studies: there were no stories related to non-drinking and situational abstinence at "lõpuläbu", which seems to be the most meaningful event and milestone in adolescents' opinions (Parder, 2011, **Study I**). There are several possible explanations for that. Firstly, these studies concentrated on 13–15 year-olds, but "lõpuläbu" usually takes place at the end of 9th grade, which involves 15–16 year-olds. Participants in these studies had not experienced "lõpuläbu" yet. The second explanation is that these stories are extremely hard to find because people attending "lõpuläbu" do not decline to drink and adolescents who do decline to drink do not participate in this event. However, these studies show that if these stories exist, they would be very beneficial in adolescent alcohol prevention strategies for public health practitioners.

3.3.1 Situational abstinence stories of personal conduct for prevention

Study I highlighted that different excerpts of narratives for personal conduct were discussed between adolescents in forums. One type of stories addressed alternative forms of conduct – not consuming alcohol – accompanied by lacking the habits and experience to do so. Adolescents explained that they wished to abstain, but did not know what to do instead.

Another type of stories that emerged from **Study I** was structural: sharing personal experiences of how to avoid alcohol-related parties and how to find alcohol-free parties. In addition, stories about how to find individual opportunities to manoeuvre around these social practices were shared. These included structural separation or deception and not publicly problematising shared norms. Individual

resistance strategies might have long-term consequences, such as not being included in future gatherings and losing some social relationships.

In addition, stories in **Study I** emphasising the feasibility of abstinence showed that pro-sober performance was easier if there were other non-drinkers at the party. An important factor here was skill in having fun and socialising without alcohol. In these stories, cheerfulness and funny comments were the factors that made situational abstinence acceptable to peers.

Study II revealed narratives related to alcohol parties focused on relationships and meaningful experiences stressing intimacy (being with friends) and different celebrations (e.g. birthdays and New Year's Eve parties). Narratives focusing on intimate moments mentioned alcohol briefly as a background element. Narratives focusing on alcohol parties, e.g. "house parties" or "bash parties", showed the important role of alcohol. Intimate narratives and alcohol narratives differed in their time and space settings, where one important factor was the proximity of parents. The further away parents were in these stories, the more alcohol was consumed by the adolescents, and the more alcohol was consumed, the more special arrangements were required for the party: they were pre-planned and adolescents knew from the invitations what kind of party was taking place and what kind of activities they would be engaging in. Stories about "house parties" expressed the normative understanding of the party culture, and intimate stories were told as counter-examples of that normative culture. Adolescents also made it clear that these two types of stories were not opposites; rather, they were scripts of activities shared in order to inspire behaviours at parties.

One type of stories shared in **Study II** claimed that those not engaging in the party practice and who had publicly positioned themselves as (situational) abstainers would be dropped from the group. Adolescents did, however, come up with two roles a non-drinker could have to legitimately not drink alcohol: the strong leader and the caretaker. The strong leader not consuming alcohol and publicly stating so presented strong social capital and a differentiation that was not questioned; the caretaker took care of necessary parts of the party that drinkers themselves were unable to handle, for example taking responsibility, taking care of drunk people and saving them from life-threatening situations.

Although adolescents believed alcohol was forced on adolescents, they shared only one story about forcing drinks on people, although persuasion happened more often. It is possible that some forcing was presented as persuasion in the interviews to show the adolescents as independent and able to cope with difficult situations, and that their actual decisions not to drink were in some cases not discouraged by peers. In manoeuvring, it also mattered what kind of excuses were acceptable and using the wrong excuses might harm relationships and make the user a target of mocking (**Study II**).

4. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

My thesis analysed adolescents' alcohol consumption from the social practice theory perspective. In the discussion and conclusion, I highlight the empirical, theoretical, methodological, ethical and practical contributions of the study.

So far the approaches to alcohol consumption have been analysed from the perspectives of the socio-psychological approach, focusing on individual agents, or the sociological-cultural approach, focusing on structural constraints. The practice theory approach integrates the duality of agent and structure by focusing on practices as entities that are performed by individual agents as carriers of practices. In this thesis, I approach alcohol consumption and abstinence as variants of the performance of partying as cultural practice as entity. Situational abstinence is one way of performing the partying practice. Since it is methodologically and ethically challenging to observe actual practices, I relied on adolescents' shared narratives to access practices. To analyse adolescents' alcohol consumption, I used a qualitative approach: forum post analysis (**Study I**), focus group interviews (**Study II**) and participatory action research and co-creation of narratives (**Study III**). To conceptualise ethical aspects, perspectives and dilemmas, **Article IV** and ideas from Parder & Sutrop (2015) were used.

As the main theoretical and empirical contribution, I offer the concept of situational abstinence as the performance of a partying practice that has good potential in practical prevention programmes. The main results suggest there is a culture of non-drinking and situational abstinence and more emphasis should be placed on non-drinking and situational abstinence stories.

In the following, I present the answers to the research questions, highlighting the **empirical** contribution of my thesis.

1. How are norms of youth alcohol party culture communicated by adolescents?
 - Adolescents are aware of the adult alcohol party culture and the youth alcohol party culture and their contradictions (**Study I**).
 - Adolescent seek help and guidance from peers on internet forums (**Study I**).
 - In some youth groups, the norm of adolescent drinking is such a fixed performance of partying that other possible options for performance are surprising (**Study III**).
 - Fear of not learning the skills for self-awareness and self-governance before coming of age is shared on internet forums with indications of the right time being between 12–16, before the 9th grade graduation party known as “löpuläbu” (**Study I**).
 - Different stories about adult and adolescent alcohol parties are shared among adolescents, indicating that narratives are one way norms are communicated and learned (**Studies I, II and III**).

2. How and by what strategies is refusing alcohol at parties performed and how does this influence possible repertoires of action?
 - For adolescents, especially around the ages of 16–18, it is hard to choose non-drinking at parties, because it requires explanations to peers, but different strategies are shared and advice is given on forums on how not to consume alcohol. Pro-autonomy advice includes suggestions regarding not drinking and changing friends. Structural advice includes not going to a party at all or leaving if alcohol is consumed there. False excuses and lying were also suggested by peers. Collective resistance actions were also discussed and adolescents found pro-sober performance to be easier if there were more people abstaining together (**Study I**).
 - Adolescents in **Study II** indicated that they practised situational abstinence by declaring they did not drink at parties but when sharing narratives, they said they consumed some, although much less, alcohol than their peers did or they consumed alcohol rarely.
 - It emerged that situational abstinence is a harder choice for people who have agreed to participate in a party and who have previously consumed alcohol at parties, i.e. their repertoire of action was limited (**Study II**).
- 2.1 How is the practice of situational abstinence performed and communicated among adolescents?
 - Personal stories and advice were sought and shared on forums for practising the performance of situational abstinence (**Study I**).
 - Personal stories revealed situational abstinence can be achieved, for example, by manoeuvring around norms: weighing pros and cons for drinking and deciding; however, adolescents noted that the person usually consumes at least some alcohol in this kind of situation (**Study II**).
 - Adolescents do not share situational abstinence stories on their own initiative to change peers' behaviour, because they believe it has no effect on their peers (**Study III**). However, if these kinds of narratives are asked for, they are willing to share them to illustrate their experiences (**Studies II and III**).
3. What kinds of stories are told in relation to different options for situational abstinence?
 - Shared stories include addressing alternative forms of conduct: adolescents explain that they wish to abstain, but do not know what to do instead (**Study I**). Structural stories are also told: sharing personal experiences of how to avoid alcohol parties and how to find alcohol-free parties. Also stories related to individual opportunities are shared, for example stories including structural separation, deception and not problematising shared norms publicly. Stories also include the feasibility of abstinence (**Study I**).

- In **Study II** alcohol party narratives either stressed relationships and meaningful experiences (alcohol being a background element) or alcohol consumption (especially in relation to “house parties” and “bash parties”).
- Personal conduct appeared to be influenced by the proximity of parents: the further away parents were, the more alcohol was consumed and the more special arrangements were made for the party (**Study II**).
- For (situational) abstainers, there are different roles that can be fulfilled during parties, which also creates narratives to be shared later in order to communicate both participating in the party and staying true to their own decisions; these include the strong leader and the care-taker (**Study II**).
- Although adolescents believe alcohol is forced on non-drinkers during parties, participants had almost no experiences with this and had not witnessed it; however, stories of instances of persuasion were shared (**Study II**).

3.1 What kind of narratives about non-drinking can be captured and used for alcohol prevention?

- Stories related to different roles abstainers can take during parties (e.g. the strong leader and the caretaker) are promising for prevention, as are stories related to declining alcohol, especially if they are humorous ones.
- Adolescents believe stories showing imminent results are the most promising ones (**Study III**).
- Adolescents’ hesitations about drinking and advice-seeking can also be used to facilitate situational abstinence.
- One type of stories did not emerge during this thesis: situational abstinence at the 9th grade graduation party called “löpulábu”. This is meaningful because adolescents believe this is the last moment to experiment with alcohol and drunkenness in order to be “on track” with the socialisation process and the transition from adolescence to adulthood. (**Studies I, II and III**)

4. How can research be conducted with adolescents on sensitive topics considering relevant ethical aspects?

- Research ethics codes and guidelines emphasise the need to prevent harm and acknowledge the risks related to vulnerability and the sensitivity of the subject (**Article IV**; Parder & Juurik, 2019).
- The main ethical dilemma to be dealt with was how to follow ethical requirements set in the country where the study was carried out and still respect adolescents’ agency, give them voice and collect authentic material.
- There is a risk of dealing with ethical dilemmas only based on the required principles and therefore being paternalistic in the process. In my thesis, participatory action research and co-creation were used to reduce this risk in **Study III**.

- The participatory approach raises ethical dilemmas that need continuous attention in dealing with adolescents' willingness and motivation. Constant acknowledgement of these issues in the research process helps the researcher to be ethically sensitive.
- In conclusion, I recommend a deliberation-based approach for researching adolescents on a sensitive topic for a researcher in a position similar to what I was in, dealing with how to unite the literature and ethics codes and guidelines while also dealing with practical and empirical experience. Categorical normative approaches that enhance vulnerability might prevent giving voice to adolescents and might hinder pursuing scientific knowledge. A deliberation-based approach tries to find a balance between them. A deliberation-based approach is also in accordance with the practice theory approach, because both try to bridge the gap between agency and structure and not treat adolescents merely from a top-down position.

From the **theoretical perspective**, I positioned my thesis between the socio-psychological (theories focusing on individual factors and theories focusing on social group influence) and the sociological-cultural (theories and approaches focusing on culture and exploring meaning and understandability) approaches by drawing on a practice theory approach, which shifts the focus away from the individual and onto the performance of routinised behaviour shared by groups of people (Meier et al., 2018). Practice theory offers a link between the two approaches by focusing on cultural practice as an entity (Schatzki, 2002) that reaches concrete actors carrying the practice. It tries to resolve the conflict between individual will and social determinacy, not focusing on either one but on patterns of actions: practices. My thesis should help to increase the understanding of the challenges of the individual level interacting with culture and how policies can help to change the environment.

The analysis of adolescent alcohol consumption from the perspective of practice theory shows that there are important meanings and rationales behind alcohol consumption and reveals how “sticky” and path-dependent practices can be. In 2012, when data collection for the thesis began, almost all Estonian 15-year-olds had consumed alcohol at least once (Orro, Martens, Lepane, Josing, & Reiman, 2011). This meant looking at the socio-economic background of adolescents was insufficient to capture a wider understanding of the activity, because every socio-economic group engaged in the activity. This fits well with Kwok & Yuan's (2016) findings of socio-economic status not being related to binge drinking in developed countries.

The analysis shows that adolescents' alcohol consumption is characterised by patterns of actions and culturally shared practical understandings (Schatzki et al., 2001). Different alcohol consumption practices recruit actors, in the current case adolescents, and the recruitment happens mostly at parties (e.g. birthday parties and graduation parties); narratives shared later about the parties also had a recruiting aspect since they provided “scripts” on what kind of repertoire was expected at future parties. One clear example of recruitment was a birthday

party originally planned to be alcohol free, which illustrated through the narrative just how “sticky” practices can be (**Study III**). The same emerged from the meanings and stories related to first alcohol consumption: these were important to adolescents (**Studies I, II and III**). **Study II** showed that the repertoire of actions was wider for those adolescents who were not seen as regular drinkers. The more experience adolescents had with alcohol consumption, the more limited their action repertoires were; drinking was considered to be a norm for them and thus their change in repertoire required more social resources (**Study II**).

Moreover, although there are meanings and competences (e.g. the transition to adulthood and being a competent adult) related to practices adolescents find desirable, there are adolescents who find ways to avoid being recruited for the practice. Adolescents searching for alternative possibilities and advice emerged during the data collection and analysis period; they had been hidden from the eyes of researchers and prevention agencies in Estonia previously (**Study I**). Advice given to those actors divided mainly into two groups: 1) pro-autonomy advice, which was rather simplistic, and 2) structural advice, which concentrated either on avoiding parties or situations leading to recruitment. Adolescents also perceived that there was a timeline for recruitment, with recruiting related to first trying alcohol around the age of 12 and recruiting related to first getting drunk around the age of 15–16 (which are tightly intertwined with practices related to graduating from middle school in Estonia) (**Study I**).

Practices related to adolescents’ alcohol consumption are compound practices, meaning they are weakly regulated and coordinated (Warde, 2013), although analysis showed that adolescents themselves are strict in following anticipated scripts, for example refusing a drink after showing up to an alcohol party was not accepted by peers (**Study II**). However, successful strategies for avoiding recruitment were collective ones, hinting at the possibility that counter practices would be successful (**Studies I and II**).

Therefore, I have proposed the concept of **situational abstinence**, which emerged from the narratives adolescents shared in terms of avoiding alcohol consumption at parties. There has been limited research on abstinence or the possibilities of abstinence being situational (e.g. Conroy, Sparks, & de Visser, 2015), so this may be a useful concept in alcohol research. Situational abstinence can vary in several dimensions: from situation to quantity (more to less drinking) and frequency. It is possible to abstain from alcohol consumption only in certain situations or contexts and to drink on other occasions. It is also possible for quantity to vary, e.g. to drink only half of what others are drinking. Therefore, this concept is promising for adolescent alcohol prevention (e.g. public campaigns such as “Let’s drink by half!”, which encouraged people to drink half of what they usually drink). It should be noted that this notion is not compatible with paternalistic approaches to alcohol prevention, but it can be used in harm-reduction approaches to give actors an additional repertoire of actions.

Adolescents would like to abstain but do not know what to do instead, which suggests a lack of alternative practices for alcohol consumption (**Study I**). For prevention, this is a crucial point: suggesting and creating new (party) practices

(or reviving old ones) to fill this void. From the harm-reduction perspective, the practice of situational abstinence can be a useful first step.

The existence of adolescents' situational abstinence means it might not be entirely correct to categorise alcohol consumers in absolute terms, as is currently done in the research literature, especially in the fields of medicine and psychology (e.g. Anderson, Briggs & White, 2013; Madon et al., 2013; Green & Polen, 2001; Leifman et al., 1995), where people are divided into abstainers, light drinkers, heavy drinkers and problem drinkers, which determines how their life and health outcomes are evaluated. The nature of their actions might be much more situational and complex. Moreover, these practices are communicated in society via different stories. This poses a challenge for alcohol research in terms of how to study the topic and ask adolescents questions without the researcher normalising alcohol consumption for adolescents. Even very neutral ways of asking adolescents about their drinking practices carry the message that having this information to share is expected and welcomed by the researchers, while those who do not have this information to share might feel that their contributions are not welcomed.

From the **methodological perspective**, my thesis highlights the compatibility of practice theory and the narrative approach. The results show that storytelling actively creates social practices and that narrative is one way in which practices are dispersed (**Studies I, II and III**). On the other hand, in researching vulnerable groups, as adolescents are because of their age, and sensitive topics, the "usual" methods, e.g. ethnography, are not useful. Therefore, the narrative approach is justified as a methodological approach to this topic and I see opportunities for a similar approach in other sensitive areas in the age of research integrity.

Additionally, in regard to conducting research with adolescents in ethical ways, this thesis highlights the risks and challenges of the participatory approach and action research, which are valued on the abstract level in current debates (e.g. Jansen et al., 2017; *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans*, 2014). Although research ethics codes and guidelines emphasise the importance of the participatory approach with vulnerable groups (**Article IV**, Parder & Juurik, 2019), empirical research shows that there might be different aspects of this approach that do not work even when adolescents show up at meetings and consider the research activities to be interesting. It is possible that the participatory approach works very well with topics that are high priorities for participants, but adolescents' top priorities consisted of exams and school assignments.

From the ethical perspective, my thesis highlights the tensions between different ethics codes and principles behind research focusing on adolescents on sensitive topics. My thesis highlights the points of deliberations and shows how I have solved them for this thesis. One key aspect is the acknowledgement of different issues that might arise in order to solve them in a way that does not hinder doing scientific research and that does not harm the participants. This thesis highlights one possible way to research adolescent alcohol consumption

without using the ethnographic method on adolescent alcohol parties, as that would be ethically questionable. Instead, forum posts that did not include personal data were the entry point for this research to understand from the grass-roots level what adolescents talk about when they talk about alcohol and alcohol parties.

In order to avoid a paternalistic approach to the topic and to give adolescents the opportunity to take the role of the expert, **Study III** allowed participants to guide the process, decide what they wanted to focus on and choose the topics of the meetings. In co-creation, stories of non-drinking were told and captured. However, the study raised the question of how effective participatory action research can be in a school setting (which in Estonia is rather normative) with a topic adolescents do not consider to be a top priority (the top priorities for them in this study were schoolwork and exams).

On the **practical level** and based on the analysis and discussion, I propose several ideas in addition to what is already carried out in Estonia for alcohol prevention:

- Normalising situational abstinence, both in societal discussions and in adolescent culture as a harm reduction approach. Narratives emphasising non-consumption can be used for this purpose.
- Breaking different practices, and reviving others. For example, breaking the collective practice of the “lõpuläbu”. For this, additional research is needed in order to find and collect narratives challenging the practice of “lõpuläbu”, as these did not emerge in this research. One possibility is that schools supervise adolescents’ 9th grade graduation parties to prevent them from turning into “lõpuläbu”. This requires developing materials on how schools can supervise graduation parties. It is possible to find solutions together with students, to incorporate solutions into project learning, and to have an evening reception for graduating students.
- Facilitating adolescents to discuss alcohol and situational abstinence in on-line settings (it is possible to use the already existing platform Lapsemure.ee).
- Parental awareness is needed regarding adolescent alcohol culture and the negative effects of normalising alcohol for adolescents. It is important and meaningful to acknowledge the first experience with alcohol and the need to postpone it as long as possible. One possibility is by restricting adolescents’ access to alcohol, for example rethinking whether alcohol should be kept at home and, if it is, how rules are instituted with adolescents: whether they are allowed to party alone at home etc. Parental awareness is also needed to understand the time axis for Estonian adolescents and the perceived meanings of different ages in alcohol consumption (what are the critical age points and what actions are expected from adolescents at different ages?).
- Besides improving teachers’ and schools’ awareness and teaching skills on how adolescents can refuse alcohol and other drugs, two aspects should be considered in drug education. The first is making adolescents aware of how alcohol appears in their lives. Noticing alcohol in their lives can be used in

health education lessons (e.g. letting students keep diaries for a few weeks and suggesting they keep track of TV, social media, talks with friends, celebrations with family or with friends, and discussing in classes where they noticed alcohol and what they think about it). The second aspect is including real-life questions and stories (with references) in alcohol education materials to illustrate peers' questions and thinking on alcohol. These stories could also include situational abstinence stories in which the adolescent has tried alcohol at parties but does not want to do so any more: what do peers suggest to them in this situation? Along with parents, teachers' awareness is needed to understand the time axis for Estonian adolescents and the perceived meanings at different ages of alcohol consumption (what are the critical age points and what kind of actions are expected from adolescents at different ages?).

- More emphasis can be placed on adolescents considering collective approaches to refusing alcohol consumption. If there are several non-drinkers or situational abstainers attending a party, it is easier for them to collectively refuse to drink. One possibility for implementing situational abstinence is to suggest that adolescents attend parties with non-drinking friends.

Zero tolerance towards prohibited practices might make practices more exciting, and since the action is prohibited and adolescents want to hide it from adults, the code of silence might get stricter to minimise the hazard of getting caught. For this reason and to encourage adolescents to seek help when needed, prohibition alone is not sufficient for adolescent alcohol prevention. This thesis provides support for the argument that merely improving individual skills of abstinence may not be effective in the long term (Scheier, Botvin, Diaz, & Griffin, 1999) if the socio-material and cultural environment remains unchanged. If abstainers do not attend parties and people do not change their repertoire of action between parties, there is no challenge to norms and they are left untouched. For the two approaches to fit into one practice a more "tolerant" partying practice should be crafted by modifying already existing practices. Forum posts (**Study I**) reveal that adolescents are already trying to find ways to develop more tolerant interactions between drinkers and non-drinkers in order to fit them "under the same roof". One possibility is to facilitate virtual environments where personal identities are not revealed to discuss and experience ways to perform alcohol-related practices with dignity. This approach deserves more research.

The parental role emerged as important in normalising alcohol consumption for adolescents, as was shown in **Study III** (the lack of reaction from parents to adolescent alcohol use, and parents losing control over their emotions, thereby creating shareable and memorable stories that adolescents then used as social resources). As previous research highlights, high-quality relationships between parents and their children, parental support and involvement (Yap et al., 2017), and parental restrictiveness (Sharmin et al., 2017) prevent adolescent alcohol consumption. Therefore, in any kind of preventive actions the role of parents needs to be thought through.

My thesis raises the question of how to break the practice of the “lõpuläbu”, which seems to be a very central collective practice in adolescent alcohol consumption and related party practices and its evolution regarding the ages of adolescents and suitable, even expected, actions for them. **Study I** illustrates how adolescents see appropriate ages and actions, where the “lõpuläbu” at age 15–16 (school graduation) is the point they feel is the last chance to try alcohol for the first time in order to not fall behind in the socialisation process and transition to adulthood. This raises the question of who should be the agent to break the practice of “lõpuläbu”: should the solution come from public health professionals or adolescents themselves? One possibility is to unite social movements (e.g. Estonia’s “Let’s drink half!” movement) with the co-creative participatory approach and to find solutions to these questions by involving socially active adolescents.

This thesis also raises the question on how alcohol consumption as a topic is treated in societal discussions. The fact that the focus is only on alcohol consumption, how much, with whom, and in what context alcohol is consumed leaves no room for non-drinking as a practice; therefore, there is a lack of ways to start talking about non-drinking, especially in adolescents’ language. This thesis has revealed the lack of concepts to talk about non-drinking mainly in **Study II**, where the notion of situational abstinence is presented, including non-principled abstinence. To shift the current alcohol culture and discussions, more attention is needed for both situational and principled abstinence for it to have “room” in public discussions and thus also in individual performances, as discussed previously.

I have several suggestions for future research. From a quantitative perspective, it would be extremely useful to know about party types and about the narratives that emerged from this study, what kind of studies work with adolescents and how many adolescents recognise themselves in these different stories. From a qualitative perspective, more information is needed about the “lõpuläbu” type of party. In recent years, Estonian adolescents have started drinking less and they are starting a little later (Oja et al., 2019), so the question arises as to whether this has affected the practice of the “lõpuläbu” or not. However, my research shows (Parder, 2011, **Studies I, II and III**) that the “lõpuläbu” practice is so strong that it is probably still very active. Understanding this practice would be very helpful in developing preventive actions for the Estonian context.

Another topic that was not covered in this thesis was the question of the role of gender in adolescent alcohol consumption. I did not focus on questions related to gender and adolescents themselves did not raise it. This is, however, a topic to be considered for future research: are there differences in Estonian boys’ and girls’ alcohol consumption and does this affect related practices or not.

To conclude, my thesis highlights the additional perspectives practice theory approaches open up. Empirical findings show that situational abstinence is emerging in Estonian youth culture. I suggest more emphasis be placed on the concept in prevention programmes, especially those using the harm reduction approach.

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SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN

Alkoholi tarvitamise ja olukorrapõhise hoidumise praktikate kommunikeerimine kui alkoholiennetuse baas Eesti teismeliste näitel

Küsimused teismeliste alkoholitarvitamisest ja sellest, kuidas alaealiste alkoholitarvitamist ennetada, on huvi pakkunud arvukatele uurijatele (e.g. e.g. Ander, Abrahamsson & Bergnehr, 2017; Bakken et al., 2017; Hibell et al., 2015; Jørgensen, Curtis, Christensen, & Grønbaek, 2007; Page et al., 2008; Rolando & Katainen, 2014). Ka Eesti ühiskonnas on see pakiline teema olnud (e.g. Inselberg, 2012; Klaus, 2011; Leppik, 2013; Oks, 2012). 2012. aastal, mil käesolevat doktoritööd alustasin, oli 93% 15-aastastest noortest vähemalt korra elus alkoholi tarvitanud, 13-aastastest oli vastav number 75% ning 11-aastastest 41% (Aasvee & Minossenko, 2011). Minu magistritööst (Parder, 2011) selgus, et Eesti teismelised usuvad, et peavad alkoholi proovimisega alustama enne 14-aastaseks saamist ning hiljemalt 9. klassi lõpupidu on tähtne, mil alkoholi proovida ning purju joomist katsetada, et astuda täiskasvanuella eneseteadliku ja kompetentse alkoholitarvitajana. Seetõttu on käesoleva doktoritöö keskmes teismelised vanuses 13–15, sest see tundub noorte endi arvates olevat kõige olulisem iga nimetatud sotsialiseerumis- ja täiskasvanukssaamise protsessis.

WHO peab teismeliste alkoholitarvitamist probleemiks ning on koostanud teadusliku ülevaate alkoholitarvitamise kahjude vähendamise ja ennetusstrateegiate kohta, rõhutades kättesaadavuse piiramise vajadust (WHO, 2009). Käesolevas doktoritöös näitan, et erinevad keelavad strateegiad isoleerivad, marginaliseerivad või suruvad alla praktikad ennast või praktika elluviijaid ilma, et keskendutaks küsimusele, mis põhjusel selline praktika eksisteerib või tema elluviijatele oluline on. Teismeliste puhul jäävad seetõttu varju põhjused, miks on alkoholi tarvitamine neile oluline, mis rolli see nende elus mängib, miks see on nende pidudel tähtis element ja miks nad sellistel pidudel üldse osalevad.

Seetõttu on antud doktoritöö eesmärk mõista teismeliste alkoholitarvitamist ja sellega seotud praktikaid, eriti teismeliste pidusid, nende rolli ja tähendust Eesti teismeliste jaoks ning vaadelda võimalusi praktikate ja nende kommunikatsiooni mõjutamiseks. Oma doktoritöös pakun välja kontekstipõhise alkoholihoidumise mõiste, mis viitab käitumisele, kus teatud kontekstides ei tarvitata alkoholi või tarvitatakse seda kaaslastest palju vähem, samal ajal teistes kontekstides alkoholi siiski tarvitades.

Teoreetilises osas jagan alkoholi tarvitamist ja ennetamist kirjeldavad lähenemised laias laastus kaheks: 1) sotsio-psühholoogilised lähenemised, sealhulgas teooriad, mis keskenduvad indiviidile ja teooriad, mis keskenduvad sotsiaalsetele mõjudele, ja 2) sotsio-kultuurilised lähenemised, mis keskenduvad alkoholi ja alkoholitarvitamise tähendustele ja mõistetavusele. Oma doktoritöös püüan nimetatud lähenemisi ühendada ja võtan aluseks praktikateooriate põhise lähenemise (Schatzki, 1996, 2001; Shove, 2010), mis näeb teismeliste alkoholitarvitamist kui sotsiaalmateriaalselt taastoodetud käitumiste mustrit.

Teismeliste alkoholitarvitamise praktikate mõistmiseks on doktoritöös kasutatud kvalitatiivseid meetodeid – foorumi postituste analüüsi (**I uuring**), fookusgrupi intervjuud (**II uuring**) ja osalusuuringut koos narratiivide koosloomega (**III uuring**).

Lisaks ülevaateartiklile koosneb doktoritöö neljast uuringust. **I uuring** analüüsib teismeliste alkoholiteemalisi foorumipostitusi: seda, kuidas teismelised tajuvad alkoholist hoidumise võimalusi pidudel ning milliseid hoidumise strateegiaid nad internetis jagavad. **II uuring** keskendub Eesti teismeliste narratiividele alkoholi mittetarvitamisest pidudel, kus nende kaaslased alkoholi tarvitavad. Pakun välja olukorrapõhise hoidumise kontseptsiooni kirjeldamiseks teismeliste käitumist, kus nad teatud pidudel alkoholi ei tarvita, teistel pidudel seda siiski tarvitades, või tarbides peol alkoholi oma kaaslastest oluliselt vähem. **III uuringus** kasutasin osalusuuringut koos alkoholi tarbimise või sellest hoidumise narratiivide koosloomega, et leida lood, mida on võimalik teismeliste suunatud ennetuses kasutada. **IV artikkel** ja ideed meie artiklist (Parder & Sutrop 2015) aitavad kontseptualiseerida eetilisi dilemmasid ja perspektiive, mis on seotud haavatavate gruppide ja delikaatsete teemade uurimisega.

Käesoleva doktoritöö põhijäreldused uurimisküsimuste lõikes on:

1. Kuidas kommunikeerivad teismelised omavahel teismeliste alkoholikultuuri norme?
 - Teismelised on täiskasvanute alkoholikultuuri ja noorte alkoholikultuuri normidest ning nende omavahelistest vastuoludest teadlikud (**I uuring**).
 - Teismelised otsivad eakaaslastelt abi ja juhatust internetifoorumites (**I uuring**).
 - Mõnedes noortegruppides on norm, et teismelised tarvitavad alkoholi, nii tugevalt juurdunud, et teistsugused võimalused tulevad neile üllatusena (**II uuring**).
 - Internetifoorumites väljendatakse kartust, et enesekohased alkoholi tarvitamise ja selle mõjudega toimetulemise oskused jäävad enne täiskasvanuks saamist omandamata, mistõttu teismelised jagavad omavahel soovitusi, et õige aeg alkoholi tarvitamise testimiseks on vanuses 12–16, enne 9. klassi lõpupidu, mida tuntakse ka terminiga „lõpuläbu“ (**I uuring**).
 - Teismelised jagavad omavahel erinevaid alkoholipidusid puudutavaid narratiive, illustreerides, kuidas narratiivid on üks viis, kuidas praktikad teismelisi haaravad (**I, II, III uuring**).
2. Kuidas ja milliseid strateegiaid kasutades keelduvad teismelised pidudel alkoholist ja kuidas mõjutab see võimalike käitumiste repertuaari?
 - Teismeliste, eriti vanuses 16–18, on alkoholist keeldumine keeruline valik, mis vajab kaaslastele eraldi selgitamist. Sellegipoolest jagatakse foorumites erinevaid strateegiaid ja nõuandeid, kuidas alkoholi mitte tarvitada. Autonoomiat jaatavad nõuanded sisaldavad endas soovitusi alkoholi lihtsalt mitte tarvitada ning sõprade ringkonda vahetada, struktuuri kõnetavad nõuanded soovivad peole mitte minna või sealt lahkuda, kui

peol alkoholi tarvitatakse. Ka väljamõeldud põhjendusi ja valetamist soovitatakse üksteisele lahenduseks. Samuti arutati kollektiivse vastupanu meetmeid ning teismelised leidsid, et kaine käitumine on lihtsam, kui alkoholist hoidujaid on korraga rohkem kui üks. (**I uuring**)

- **II uuringus** osalenud teismelised viitasid, et harrastavad olukorrapõhist hoidumist, väites intervjuudes, et nad ei tarvita pidudel alkoholi. Lugudest ilmnes aga, et nad siiski tarvitasid alkoholi teatud määral, kuid tegid seda oluliselt vähemas mahus kui nende peol osalenud kaaslased või tarvitasid alkoholi väga harva.
- Ilmnes, et (olukorrapõhist) hoidumist on keerulisem valida neil, kes on juba andnud nõusoleku peol osaleda ning kes on varasematel pidudel alkoholi tarvitanud, mis tähendab, et nende noorte käitumiste repertuaar on limiteeritud (**II uuring**).

2.1 Kuidas noorte peokultuuris olukorrapõhist alkoholist hoidumist ellu viiakse ja jagatakse?

- Foorumites otsiti ja jagati isiklike lugusid ja nõuandeid seoses alkoholist olukorrapõhise hoidumisega (**I uuring**).
- Isiklikud lood näitasid, et olukorrapõhist hoidumist saavutatakse näiteks normidest mööda manööverdamisega – peol kaalutakse alkoholi tarvitamise plusse ning miinuseid ning seejärel tehakse oma otsus. Teismelised märkisid aga, et sellises olukorras otsustaja siiski tarvitab lõppkokkuvõttes mingil määral alkoholi. (**II uuring**)
- Teismelised ei jaga (olukorrapõhise) hoidumise lugusid omal initsiatiivil, et kaaslaste käitumist muuta, sest nad ei usu, et see omaks mingit mõju (**III uuring**). Kui aga selliseid lugusid küsitakse, on nad meeleldi nõus isiklikku kogemust jagama (**II ja III uuring**).

3. Milliseid lugusid jagatakse isikliku toimimise erinevate võimaluste kohta?

- Räägitud lugude seas on näiteks alternatiivsete käitumisviiside jagamine – teismelised selgitavad, miks nad soovivad alkoholist hoiduda, kuid ei tea, mida selle tarvitamise asemel teha. Samuti jagatakse struktuuri puudutavaid lugusid – isiklike kogemusi, kuidas alkoholipidusid vältida ning kuidas leida pidusid, kus alkoholi ei tarvitata. Samuti jagatakse lugusid, mis on seotud isiklike võimalustega, näiteks enese alkoholist füüsiliselt distantseerimine, teiste ülekaaldamine ning jagatud normide avalikult välja kutsumata jätmine. Samuti jagatakse lugusid seoses alkoholist hoidumise võimalikkusega. (**I uuring**)
- **II uuringu** lood rõhutasid kas suhteid ja tähenduslike kogemusi (jättes alkoholi tagaplaanile) või alkoholi tarvitamist (eriti seoses majapidude ja läbudega).
- Isiklik käitumine oli lugudes seotud ka sellega, kui kaugel olid vanemad – mida kaugemal vanemad olid, seda rohkem tarvitati alkoholi ja seda rohkem nõudsid peod spetsiaalset ettevalmistust (**II uuring**).

- (Olukorrapõhistel) hoidujatel on erinevad rollid, mida nad alkoholi- pidudel täidavad, mis loovad neile ka lugusid, mida on hiljem võimalik kaaslastega jagada. Need lood illustreerivad nii seda, et hoiduja osales peol, kui ka seda, et ta jäi oma otsusele alkoholi mitte tarvitada truuks. Nende rollide hulka kuuluvad näiteks tugev grupiliider ning hoolitseja (**II uuring**).
- Kuigi teismelised usuvad, et kaaslased suruvad neile alkoholi tarvitamist peale, ei olnud intervjuudel osalenud teismelised (peale ühe) seda isiklikult kogenud või pealt näinud. Küll aga jagati lugusid selle kohta, kuidas teismelisi alkoholi tarvitama veendakse (**II uuring**).

3.1 Milliseid mitte-joomise narratiive on võimalik „kinni püüda“ ja alkoholiennetuses kasutada?

- Paljulubavad on lood, mis on seotud erinevate rollidega peol (nagu tugev grupiliider ja hoolitseja), samuti lood, mis on seotud alkoholist keeldumisega, eriti, kui need on humoorikad.
- Teismelised usuvad, et kõige mõjusamad on lood, mis illustreerivad koheseid tagajärgi (**III uuring**).
- Teismeliste kõhklemine ning nõuannete otsimine alkoholi tarvitamise osas on samuti ennetuses kasutatavad, et alkoholist hoidumist hõlbustada.
- Tuleb märkida, et üht tüüpi lugusid esile ei kerkinud – alkoholist hoidumine 9. klassi lõpupeol ehk „lõpuläbul“. See on tähenduslik, sest teismelised tajuvad seda kui viimast punkti alkoholi tarvitamisel, et sotsialiseerimisprotsessis ja täiskasvanuks saamise teel teistest mitte maha jääda. (**I, II, III uuring**) Küll aga tuleb märkida, et uuringutes osalenud teismelised ei olnud veel 9. klassi lõpupidu pidanud, mistõttu ei saanud neil veel olla isiklike kogemusi sellel peol alkoholist keeldumise osas.

4. Mida tuleb silmas pidada teismeliste ja sensitiivse teema eetilisel uurimisel?

- Erinevad eetikakoodeksid rõhutavad vajadust uurimistööga kahju mitte tekitada ning vajadust mõista riske seoses haavatavate gruppide ja sensitiivsete teemade uurimisega (**Article IV**; Parder & Juurik, 2019).
- Peamine eetiline dilemma, mis doktoritööst ilmnes, on seotud küsimusega, kuidas ühelt poolt järgida kõiki eetilisi nõudmisi, mis riigis, kus uuringut läbi viiakse, kehtivad, ning teiselt poolt austada teismeliste agentsust, anda neile teadustöös hääl ning koguda autentset materjali.
- On olemas risk lahendada eetilisi dilemmasid pelgalt printsiipide järgimisega ning olla seetõttu kogu protsessis paternalistlik. Käesolevas doktoritöös kasutasin osalevat tegevusuuringut ja koosloomet nimetatud riski vältimiseks.
- Eraldi eetilised dilemmad kerkivad kaasava lähenemise rakendamisest, mistõttu on vajalik pidev tähelepanu seoses osalevate teismeliste valmis-

oleku ja motivatsiooni osas. Pidev nimetatud küsimustest teadlik olek kogu uurimisprotsessi jooksul aitab teadlasel eetilisel tundlik olla.

- Kokkuvõtlikult soovitan kaalutlevat lähenemist teadlastele, kes on töö autoriga sarnases positsioonis, püüdes ühendada kirjandust, eetikakoodekseid ja juhendeid praktilise ja empiirilise kogemusega. Kategooriline normatiivne lähenemine, mis soodustab haavatavust, võib takistada teismeliste hääle andmist ja teadusliku teadmise poole püüdlemist. Kaalutlev lähenemine püüab leida nende kahe vahel tasakaalu. Kaalutlev lähenemine on kooskõlas ka käesolevas doktoritöös kasutatud praktikateooriaga, sest mõlemad püüavad ühendada agentsust ja struktuuri ning mitte kohelda teismelisi kõrgemalt positsioonilt.

Doktoritöö põhitulemused näitavad, et praktikateooria keskne lähenemine annab teismeliste alkoholarvitamise uurimisele lisaperspektiivi. Teoreetilises lähenedes pakun välja kontekstipõhise alkoholist hoidumise kontseptsiooni. Praktilistest tulemustest selgub, et Eesti teismeliste seas eksisteerib mittejoomise ja olukorrapähise hoidumise kultuur, mistõttu peaks sellele ennetusprogrammide ja lähenemiste väljatöötamisel sellele suuremat rõhku panema, eriti kahjude vähendamise lähenemiste raames.

PUBLICATIONS

CURRICULUM VITAE

Name: Mari-Liisa Parder
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Education:

2012–2020 University of Tartu, PhD programme in Media and Communication
2008–2011 University of Tartu, Master’s programme in Communication (cum laude)
2005–2008 University of Tartu, Bachelor’s programme in Philosophy

Language skills:

Estonian: native language
English: very good in speech and writing
Russian: beginner in speech and writing
German: beginner in speech and writing

Professional Employment:

2019– Present University of Tartu, Centre for Ethics, junior research fellow in ethics
2010– Present University of Tartu, Centre for Ethics, project manager

Main research areas: alcohol prevention, sociology of adolescent alcohol consumption and social practices, research ethics and research integrity.

R&D related managerial and administrative work:

2019–... University of Tartu, member of Appeals Committee for Academic Affairs
2014–2017 University of Tartu, member of Appeals Committee for Academic Affairs

Science publications:

Sutrop, M., Parder, M., Juurik, M. (2020). Research Ethics Codes and Guidelines. In: Handbook of Research Ethics and Scientific Integrity. Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-76040-7_2-1.
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Additional publications:

Parder, M.-L., & Juurik, M. (2019). *Reporting on existing Codes and Guidelines. Pro-Res D1.1, Tartu, European Commission: PRO-RES – PROMoting integrity in the use of RESearch results*. Tartu.

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Könnussaar, T; Paaver, T; Parder, M-L; Sutrop, M; Veski, L. (Eds.) (2017). *Eesti ja Põhjamaad – Eesti kui Põhjamaa. Kõned, artiklid, esseed*. Tartu: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus.

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Harro-Loit, H.; Kauksi, Ü.; Ugur, K.; Velbaum, K.; Parder, M.-L. (2012). *Draamapedagoogika võimalused. Lühinäidendid. Väärtuskasvatuse abivahend koolidele* (14–23). Tartu: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus.

Involvement in science projects

01.06.2019–31.12.2019 – Estonian Research Council activity RITA4 “Developing the Estonian National System for Monitoring and Supporting Ethics in Scientific Research”, grant holder: Siim Espenberg.

01.03.2016–01.03.2023 – SHVHV16145T Centre of Excellence in Estonian Studies, University of Tartu, Faculty of Arts and Humanities, Institute of Cultural Research, grant holder: Liina Lukas.

01.05.2018–2020 Horizon 2020 project “PRO-RES – PROMoting integrity in the use of RESearch results in evidence-based policy: a focus on non-medical research”. Grant holder: Margit Sutrop.

2016–2019 Horizon 2020 project “ACCOMPLISSH – Accelerate CO-creation by setting up a Multi-actor Platform for Impact from Social Sciences and Humanities”. Grant holder: Margit Sutrop.

2016 University of Tartu development fund “Developing a research integrity code and guidelines”. Grant holder: Margit Sutrop.

01.09.2015–31.08.2018 Horizon 2020 project “PRINTEGER: Promoting Integrity as an Integral Dimension of Excellence in Research”. Grant holder: Margit Sutrop.

01.01.2014–31.12.2019 – IUT20-38 “Acceleration of Social and Personal Time in the Information Society: Practices and Effects of Mediated Com-

munication”, University of Tartu, Faculty of Social Sciences, Institute of Social Studies, grant holder: Veronika Kalmus.

01.01.2012–31.12.2015 – ETF9017 “Change communication and social practices”, University of Tartu, Faculty of Social Sciences and Education, grant holder: Margit Keller.

01.01.2011–31.12.2014 EU 7th framework programme project “Children as Change Agents for Science in Society (SiSCatalyst)”. Grant holder: Margit Sutrop.

Honours and awards:

2015, Kristjan Jaak Scholarship, part-time studies, Aarhus University

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Haridus:

2012–2020 Tartu Ülikool, meedia ja kommunikatsiooni doktoriõpe
2008–2011 Tartu Ülikool, kommunikatsioonijuhtimise magistriõpe (cum laude)
2005–2008 Tartu Ülikool, filosoofia bakalaureuseõpe

Keeleoskus:

Eesti keel emakeel
Inglise keel väga hea nii kõnes kui kirjas
Vene keel algtase nii kõnes kui kirjas
Saksa keel algtase nii kõnes kui kirjas

Teenistuskäik:

2019–praeguseni Tartu Ülikooli eetikakeskus, eetika nooremteadur
2010– praeguseni Tartu Ülikooli eetikakeskus, projektijuht

Peamised uurimisteemad: alkoholiennetus, teismeliste alkoholitarvitamise sotsioloogia, sotsiaalsed praktikad, teaduseetika.

Teadusorganisatsiooniline ja -administratiivne tegevus:

2019–... Tartu Ülikooli vaidluskomisjoni liige
2014–2017 Tartu Ülikooli vaidluskomisjoni liige

Teaduspublikatsioonid:

Sutrop, M., Parder, M., Juurik, M. (2020). Research Ethics Codes and Guidelines. In: Handbook of Research Ethics and Scientific Integrity. Springer. http://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-76040-7_2-1.

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Populaarteaduslikud publikatsioonid:

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Parder, M.-L., & Sutrop, M. (2015). Ethical guidelines. In M. Merzagora, V. Mignan, & P. Rodari (Eds.), *Listening and empowering. crossing the social inclusion and the science in society agendas* (pp. 107–111). Sissa Medialab. (Etise kategooria 3.2)

Käpp, T.; Parder, M.-L.; Roos-Pisuke, T.; Sutrop, M.; Volberg, M (2013). *Eesti ustest-sisse, välja. Kõned, artiklid, esseed*. Tartu: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus. (Etise kategooria 4.2)

Harro-Loit, H.; Kauksi, Ü.; Ugur, K.; Velbaum, K.; Parder, M-L. (2012). *Draa-mapedagoogika võimalused. Lühinäidendid. Väärtuskasvatuse abivahend koolidele* (14–23). Tartu: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus. (Etise kategooria 6.2)

Osalemine teadusprojektides

01.06.2019–31.12.2019 – Eesti Teadusagentuuri koordineeritava Rita 4 tegevuse projekt „Teaduseetika järelevalve ja toetamise riikliku süsteemi loomine Eestis“, grandid hoidja Siim Espenberg.

01.03.2016–01.03.2023 – SHVHV16145T Eesti-uuringute tippkeskus, Tartu Ülikool, Humanitaarteaduste ja kunstide valdkond, kultuuriteaduste instituut, vastutav täitja Liina Lukas.

01.05.2018–2020 Horisont 2020 projekt „PRO-RES – Hea teaduse edendamine uurimistöö tulemuste kasutamisel tõenduspõhises otsuste langetamises: fookuses mittemeditiinilised uuringud“. Grandid hoidja Margit Sutrop.

2016–2019 Horisont 2020 projekt „ACCOMPLISSH – Accelerate CO-creation by setting up a Multi-actor Platform for Impact from Social Sciences and Humanities“. Grandid hoidja Margit Sutrop.

2016 TÜ arengufondi toetatav valdkondadevaheline projekt „Teaduseetika juhendmaterjalide koostamine ja hea teadustava loomine“. Grandid hoidja Margit Sutrop.

01.09.2015–31.08.2018 Horisont 2020 projekt „PRINTEGER: Promoting Integrity as an Integral Dimension of Excellence in Research“. Grandid hoidja Margit Sutrop.

01.01.2014–31.12.2019 – IUT20-38 „Sotsiaalse ja personaalse aja kiirenemine infoühiskonnas: vahendatud kommunikatsiooni praktikad ja mõjud“. Tartu Ülikool, Sotsiaalteaduste valdkond, ühiskonnateaduste instituut. Vastutav täitja Veronika Kalmus

01.01.2012–31.12.2015 – ETF9017 „Muutuste kommunikatsioon ja sotsiaalsed praktikat“. Tartu Ülikool, Sotsiaal- ja haridusteaduskond, vastutav täitja Margit Keller

01.01.2011–31.12.2014 Euroopa Komisjoni 7. raamprogrammi projekt „Lapsed kui muutuste tekitajad ühiskonnas (SiSCatalyst)“. Grandi hoidja Margit Sutrop.

Teaduspreemiad ja tunnustused:

2015, Kristjan Jaagu osalise õppe stipendium, Aarhusi ülikool

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