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Making Social Citizenship.
Conceptual Practices from the Finnish Poor Law to
professional social work

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The roots of this book go back to the academic year 1982S1983 which I spent at the University of New York at Stony Brook, studying social welfare and sociology. It was the fall term course “*Self and Society*“ taught by Stephen M. Rose that exploded both my professional identity and understanding about social work and social welfare. After returning to Finland to a post of a social work lecturer at the university of Lapland, the confusion inside forced me to tackle a research task that would help to fill the vacuum created by the loss of previous certainties. It was Jorma Sipilä who first encouraged me to take the history of Finnish social work into my agenda. When Heikki Lehtonen simultaneously lectured on the art of writing history in social policy, and Kyösti Urponen as my supervisor was always willing to write recommendations for research grants, I had little difficulty in getting started.

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1 Introduction

In recent Finnish academic debate on social work, it has become a common understanding to regard social work as a field of study and professional practice whose task is to interpret and name the emerging social problems, and to modify methods of intervention in them in the light of growing knowledge in the social and behavioral sciences (e.g. Eräsaari 1995; Granfelt et al 1993). In other words, social workers are increasingly understood as a group of professionals whose duty is to convert ongoing social processes, the realities of people's daily lives, into the language and documentary categories of professional discourse. In a study of the professional reality of Canadian social work, Gerald deMontigny (1989, 53) describes the same phenomenon as follows:

“...in a very practical way social workers act as a ‘bridge’ linking particular local situations with extra-local policies...”

It is common in both North America and Finland that neither the scholarly texts of social work nor social workers as a profession have paid the kind of intellectual attention to the conceptual ‘bridging’ that it deserves. Thus social work is not familiar with the extended relations in which a social worker's activities are organized and embedded. The insiders rather tend to conceive the profession and themselves as actors and subjects in their own right. It is this contradiction that has bothered me both as a social worker and as a social work researcher (see Satka 1994c), and it has made me curious: what is social work really about? How does social work in its texts end up saying something else than it actually does in its daily practices? And finally, what has caused this rupture to emerge?

The social worker has not existed *ad infinitum*, but emerged in the same processes in which the social relations and the apparatus of modern ruling developed (see e.g. Donzelot 1980; Green 1983; Rose 1990). The forerunners of social work were preceded by the birth of several activities and institutions which together formed a heterogeneous field that was hardly distinguishable as a whole for the actors themselves. In what follows, I will call it the “social sector of case interventions” (cf. Satka 1994a). Initially the above-mentioned developments did not resemble a modern institution at all. They emerged slowly as a result of various coordinated activities connected with women's associations, church charities, and communal forms of poor relief, when these institutions made internal efforts to coordinate their activities in relation to the poor and the lower classes in general.

The next phase of development followed when the civil servants of the Finnish state became interested in organizing the field. They developed the administration of poor relief and demanded that the different bodies of actors start to follow the organization they advocated. The aim was a coordinated social intervention in newly discovered ‘social ills’. In addition, this meant an effort at a rational division of responsibilities between the various voluntary actors and the state. Nevertheless, at that time the rudimentary institutions remained vague organizations for

coordinating the social efforts at hand, and there was still a long way to go both in time and in the ways of organization before modern institutions would emerge.

However, at this stage some of the foundations of modern Finnish relations of ruling and modern institutions were laid down. The early efforts at coordination between voluntary activities and the state took place in textually mediated forms of organization that were increasingly becoming available via acts, documents and statutes resulting from the developing state administration and the growing written knowledge in general. Beginning from the first written pieces about Finnish poor relief investigated in this study, these texts had several important functions from the point of view of the institutional and organizational development in the future. For example, their forms and stated procedures provided the actors with a new language, concepts and facts, aiding them to realize the contents and order of the texts in their daily practices of interpreting and intervening.

The modern ruling apparatus consists of institutions of administration, management, and professions, and of intellectual and cultural discourses which organize, regulate, and lead our society. In them the organizational processes that control, regulate and order become loosely coordinated as a complex of ruling relations and apparatuses. In this study *the relations of ruling* are understood as forms of specialized and distinct organization and relations mediated by texts. They are characterized by a capacity to realize the same forms, relations, and courses of action in the local settings in which they operate and which they regulate. The governing of modern societies is carried out in the abstract, i.e. in textual concepts and symbols. We are governed through them, and at the same time we participate through them both as citizens and professionals in the daily practices of ruling. (e.g. Smith 1990a, 2S3, 212S214).

The textually mediated organization did not exist in societies two hundred years ago. In pre-print societies, the concentration of meaning in a form not subject to the temporality of the lived social process was vested in ritual, habit, tradition, that is, in local knowledge (see Geertz 1983). Local knowledge developed in the course of generations on the basis of experiences in everyday life. By contrast, the spread of print culture provided an effective means to gradually transform and displace dependencies based on local knowledge, and replace traditions of relief provision became standardized. At the same time it was an effective means to knit particular local settings to an extra-local universalized order, national or international, in the forms of organization that this process produced. This Finnish development of modern and textually mediated relations of ruling during the nineteenth and twentieth century is the focus of this study. The result is, if you like, a study of the history of ideas which departs from the traditional approach. What follows is not an empirical story of concepts and theories as ideas in people's heads or on paper. Instead, it is an exploration of concepts and theories in practice, that is, as organizers of actual practices and coordinates of exercising power in people's daily lives.

1.1 The active text as data

This study aims to discover the development of prevailing conceptual practices from the first statutes of poor relief to the emergence of the Finnish professional doctrine of social work. Hence, various texts of the social sector serve as the self-evident research material. The choice of the particular texts that have been selected for detailed investigation from the extensive resource pool of all the textual documents of the Finnish “social sector of case intervention“ since the late nineteenth century was based on the following considerations.

First, the analyzed texts are a matter of personal choice. That is, as a member and insider of the changing discourses and debates in social work since the early 1970s, I have gained an insider’s competence in reading them. In selecting the texts for investigation, I have consciously utilized that experience by reading through all the material published on various national forums from 1850 to 1960, material aimed to inform, educate or advise those who were dealing with activities like poor relief and the ones that followed. For a closer analysis, I have chosen texts (or a group of linked texts) which, according to my best understanding, clearly bring in a whole new conceptual practice or begin to use the existing conceptual apparatus differently.

Second, the final choice of the analyzed texts has been influenced by the concept of conceptual practice, and the method of investigating texts as active constituents of restructuring institutions and people’s daily lives. I have learned and reconstructed both the concept of conceptual practice and my method of investigating texts from the exciting scholarly work of Dorothy E. Smith. In the following I will be trying to explain why, after a long exploration, the above-mentioned approach to texts and documents of public institutions as active organizers of people’s everyday lives has been a source of constant fascination to me, as a researcher and insider of social work.

What is needed first is a brief discussion of the concept of *conceptual practice*, as I use it here, and the methodological gaze that follows. Conceptual practices belong to the elementary processes of modern ruling (e.g. Smith 1990b, 83S104; Smith 1990a, 212S224); they take place in these processes; and they are just one form in which ruling ‘works’ in the societal activities of people. Here I use the term ‘conceptual practice’ as a concept for the processes in which the administrative, managerial and professional texts of social intervention are read and sometimes also written, and interpreted by actors (professionals, volunteers, common people, etc.) in time and place. It follows that the ways in which the concept manifests itself in the following are many. I am going to analyze the conceptual practices, for example, as integral to institutional ideology, individual consciousness, and the professional mode of intervention.

An important ontological move follows from adopting this method of analyzing texts as active contributors in the relations of ruling. The method avoids reproducing the traditional theoretical and methodological split of social work into theory and practice. Thus, in my approach reading a text, for example, brings the reader into an active relation with the discourse or another organization mediated by the text, such as the order of an administration; it means entering a

mode of knowing with others, and sharing with them a mode of knowing. Thus, if the text is activated by a competent reader, the structuring effects of the text are to put into practice.

“We move away then from the conception of the text based on our apprehension as readers, that treats the text before us as a source of meaning to be, in a sense, lifted off the page“, Smith (1991, 159) writes.

She goes on to compare the operation of the structuring effects of texts to a prism that bends and breaks up the light that passes through it. In the same way texts can be grasped in time, and their reading at a certain moment in a course of action organizes what happens next. According to Smith (1991, 160), texts make magic things possible; that is, a text “put into practice“ makes meanings and relations appear that could never occur in events where texts play no major role.

The interpretive practices of the researcher are also always a relational process. To capture the relational nature of texts in practice, Dorothy E. Smith has developed the term and methodology of *social relations*. Consequently, she speaks about social relations differently than sociologists are accustomed to do (e.g. as abstracted norms of normative structures held to link positions or roles). In her work social relations refer to an organization of actual sequences of action in time. The concept identifies how individuals’ actual practices are articulated and coordinated in the social courses of action. Thus, social relations enable the researcher to locate particular analytic sites, particular evidence of a social process, as constituents of sequences of action in which many individuals play a part. (See e.g. Smith 1990a, 92S97, 221S222; Smith 1990b, 148S151.) That is also the mode in which the often vague concept of social relations appears in this study.

From the methodological approach illustrated above, it follows that I do not investigate the selected texts as sources of linguistic meanings (e.g. Riley 1988; Scott 1988) or tacit powers (e.g. Foucault 1986). Thus, an essential difference between my project and the above-mentioned ones is, first, that I am neither a historian nor a philosopher but a social scientist, and second, that I am personally deeply involved in the substance of my study. From that standpoint I have chosen to analyze the texts as a part of the socially organized and organizing practices, and to struggle for a reflexive method of writing a history of intellectual development that rejects neither the agency of individual actors nor the power of texts. This has led me to anchor the following analysis outside and beyond institutions (cf. Foucault 1982, 222), to the discursive agents who in the various institutional contexts participated in the making of the analyzed texts. Locating the authors in the local social relations of their daily practices and in the extended relations of their time, enables me to reconstruct and reinterpret the processes of selecting, evaluating and articulating in which they were involved in producing their texts. Actually, that has given me an opportunity to get a vivid picture of knowledge in practice, that is, to understand something of the development of social work knowledge in the social relations of actual actors, local and national government, state formation, professional powers, and institutional ideologies.

From the anchorage of the analysis in the embodied actor or actors in their historical social relations follows that the research material must include detailed data both about the individuals

concerned and the social relations of their time. The first-mentioned data come from various sources that include not only published memoirs and unpublished statements and reports, but also more than 20 interviews with the analyzed authors, their spouses, friends or contemporary colleagues (see Appendix 1). I noticed that the interview data (or detailed personal memories like those of G.A. Helsingius) considerably improved my chances to understand and interpret their texts in both the local and extended social relations of the period in question. The data turned out to be a necessary precondition for an interesting investigation (cf. Smith 1990b, 11S28). I have reconstructed the social relations of the time mainly from studies of Finnish history¹ but also from several heterogeneous sources, such as state committee reports, documents of civil organizations, social work curricula, newspapers, and the analyzed texts and textbooks themselves.

1.2 The task of the study

In the course of their history, disciplines, professions and institutions have constituted their own systems of abstracting from actualities into text. In that abstracting, the facts of contemporary discourse (like *the eligible poor, a decent citizen, a rejecting mother*) play a major role. What are they? Facts are neither the statements themselves about what is there, what happened, etc., nor the actualities these statements refer to. They are not ‘social facts’ but refer to an organization of practices of inscribing an actuality into text, and they are properties of a particular discourse² or another organization mediated by texts. The essential character of discursive facts as transformers of actuality into text lies in their dual mode of being. Facts exist both at the level of statements and as events or states of affairs “in the world“ that such statements refer to. Finally, facts are essential mediators of the above-mentioned modern objectifications and universalized modes of knowing which cover the moves from theory to practice and vice versa.

I have found the above approach to texts as active constituents of social relations exciting particularly because it offers an access to the ontological ground of the institutional processes which for their part organize, govern³ and regulate the social institutions in focus. Additionally, the attraction of the approach for a discipline like social work, the essential task of which is to interpret and intervene in the real world, lies in the fact that it enables one to analyze simultaneously both the text and its practical effect. I consider this kind of epistemology essential to the further development of social work as a social practice and discipline, if it wishes to

¹ The last few years have seen the publication of several social histories that have had crucial influence on the present study. In particular, I would like to mention *Naisten hyvinvointivaltio* by Anttonen et al. (1994), *Perheen vuosisata* by Kai Häggman (1994), and *Armeliaisuus, yhteisöapu, sosiaaliturva* by Jaakkola et al. (1994).

² By discourse I mean a particular social organization of people’s activities, reproduced and mediated by texts. Thus the notion of discourse does not displace the subject or reduce the subject to a mere carrier of institutional processes but underlines discourse as an active social process with concrete participants.

³ When I use the concept “govern“, I do not refer to governing or *governementalization* in the same meaning as Michel Foucault and those who draw on him. In the vocabulary of this study, governing always takes place in actual social relations and is the work of concrete social actors.

survive in the increasingly reflexive conditions we seem to be living in (see e.g. Beck & Giddens & Lash 1994).

Several scholars of social work have strongly argued that (the Scandinavian) “social work as professional practice and as a scientific discipline“ (e.g. Soydan 1993b, 204) must clarify its theoretical, methodological and societal role and identity by anchoring itself to the (international) development of social sciences, and especially to that part of them that have been historically concerned with social action (see also Soydan 1993a). I disagree with these scholars on theory, but I share their view of history as an important mirror of professional self-understanding. I believe that our good understanding of history can contribute to constructing a picture of a reflexive practitioner consciously acting over the break that the social and material reality and the texts thematizing it create (Satka 1988). However, this does not happen if the picture of the past is only reconstructed from the objectified forms of knowledge cut off from their practical context and uses. If we, social work researchers, want to advance critical reflection in our field, we need to find methods of exploration that do not fall into the objectifying mode in which we work. We need to look for a method of inquiry where the inquiry itself is a critique of socially organized practices of knowing. Therefore, it is essential to search for a method that helps reconstruct the post-professional identity from the past until today, a method that is sensitive to both the history of ideas and local practices. Thus, the method I have derived from Smith’s work and adapted for this study is also one way to overcome the epistemological and methodological dilemma common in the theory of knowledge that social work academics tend to rely on.

In the study that follows I am particularly concerned with the active ways in which particular texts started to organize people’s relations, and how that organizing was shaped in time and from debate to debate in the context of the developing relations of ruling. Empirically, I aim to discover the formation of the conceptual (and practical) history of Finnish social intervention over the period of time when it was transformed from a local and communal tradition of delivering relief into a textually maintained professional practice, that is, when it was transformed from local knowledge into textually coordinated international forms of functioning. I am reconstructing the way the then authors were writing and reading the texts in the social contexts of their daily lives, and I am asking what were the restructuring effects in the context of the modern relations of ruling which followed from their everyday practices and from the institution that started as poor relief. My assumption is that disciplinary and administrative texts are crucially important mediums of institutional action, communication, and shared consciousness. Thus, the above-described materialist method of interpreting⁴ the texts related to Finnish social

⁴ Dorothy E. Smith borrows theoretical, methodological and ontological tools from Karl Marx’s and Friedrich Engels’ historical materialism in *German Ideology* (1970), and the idea of text as a constituent of social relations originates from the ethnomethodology of Harold Garfinkel. The foundation of her method is materialist ontology, which emphasizes the importance of exploring the actual practices of actual individuals as socially co-ordinated and co-ordered practices. This co-ordination is mediated by texts and documents of various kinds. Smith expands the terrain of the original method to cover both the social relations of knowledge and forms of consciousness in the social institutions. (see Smith 1988, 133S135; Smith 1990a, 6S8, 92S97).

intervention approaches these texts as active contributors to the institutional processes of development (cf. Smith 1990b, 45S57).

In the course of this study I have noticed that in discovering the conceptual trajectory from the Finnish poor relief to social work, I am partly also working against the rules and self-evident assumptions that I have internalized and been perpetuating. Despite the fact that the research material far antedates my personal history, I have discovered how I am and have been reproducing many of their truths. This is because professional and scientific texts seem to have an endless capacity to reproduce the discursive social organization they were originally intended to produce (cf. Smith 1990a, 167S170, 212). Consequently, the structuring effect of a discourse is maintained and reproduced as long as the texts are read, implemented and rewritten in a new generation of texts. Therefore, a professional analyst of texts doing her/his work within a certain tradition of thought (e.g. in sociology; see Smith 1989) is tied to the constitutive intellectual conventions of the field (e.g. how to write the social into texts, how to apply discursive consciousness in analyzing unexpected events), the roots of which go far back in history. In this light, understanding the extended relations in which I am involved in my thinking about social problems — or as an acting social worker when intervening in a family problem - inspires me to ask: how was our knowledge once put together, by whom, and of what kind were the social relations that emerged? My belief is that a careful investigation of how the Finnish social intervention in ‘social ills’ has been put together in the course of its history would tell us quite a lot about what it is.

1.3 About the book

The general strategy of the book is to illuminate, via the chosen actual actors (including myself), the role that texts and conceptual practices have played in the social relations of their everyday lives in history. The book begins with an introduction into Finnish society in the late nineteenth century, when the Finns were both at the local and national level involved in intensive social processes of creating new identities — or modern social citizenship — for themselves. This constitutes an important aspect for the analysis of the conceptual practices that follow.

The conceptual practices are interpreted on a number of different sites in subsequent chapters. I have formulated the particular research question of each chapter by taking into consideration both the extended social relations of the time and the texts and data that were available for my investigations.

Thus, Chapter Three follows the transformation of one man, the first poor relief inspector in Finland, from a civil activist into a civil servant in the emerging social relations of the developing state. The analysis suggests what follows when one becomes an actor in the developing relations of ruling and a member of an administrative discourse. Chapter Four introduces the first Finnish textbooks of poor relief in the extended social relations at the beginning of the 20th century and evaluates the methods used in writing them. Chapter Five focuses on the aftermath of the bloody

Civil War in 1918; it examines the textual practices of reorganizing poor relief as a national institution of social integration and follows its restructuring effects in practice.

The four chapters that follow introduce three different discourses on social intervention and the societal context in which they originated. The analysis follows the chronological order in which they emerged. All three discourses on welfare law, welfare work, and social case work were closely connected with a new or old profession that was simultaneously involved in efforts to reorganize the field more effectively. In Chapter Six the focus of investigation is the practices of lawyers in the Ministry of Social Affairs and the reorganizing influences of welfare law on the institution of poor relief. Chapter Seven illustrates the break in the overall social developments that Finland's two wars against the Soviet Union brought about. In the postwar circumstances the new professional forms of social intervention were in many ways encouraged both by the state and voluntary organizations. The new forms included two new professions, welfare workers and social case workers, whose conceptual practices and methods of knowing are analyzed in Chapter Eight. Chapter Nine interprets a unique Finnish doctrinal dispute concerning social work from the viewpoint of the extended social relations of the 1950s. Finally, Chapter Ten reflects on the research process and the results from the perspective of teaching and doing research on social work in the 1990s.

It follows that this study does not intend to present a continuous empirical story of Finnish social history, but a story whose plot revolves around the interpretation of the chosen conceptual practices from a reflexive materialist viewpoint, with the aim of demonstrating how they were an integral part in the formation of Finnish relations of ruling. Taking into consideration the varying quality of the research materials as texts, the continuously changing societal stage in the course of history, and the largely lacking social historical research on the phenomena of Finnish social intervention with which this study is concerned, the task of interpreting the selected texts as organizers of social relations has been to me a long and eventful journey of exploration. It has taken place in the world of the old texts of poor relief and social work and the forms of social intervention that preceded them, but also in my personal consciousness and archives of memory. In the research process, both the old texts and my knowledge have become objects of reinterpretation and restructuring.

2 State, citizenship and poor relief

This chapter discusses some of the first documents concerning poor relief published by state administration in the macro context of the project of building the Finnish nation, and in particular, the idea of its citizen. Therefore, I will first make a brief introduction into the thoroughgoing societal transformation processes that the then predominantly agrarian country and the collective consciousness of its inhabitants went through. This meant considerable changes both in class relations and in the social organization of people. As a result, the identities of the various groups started to become restructured, and an identity of a female and male citizen as an individual appeared.

In the eighteenth century, Finland was part of Sweden and the Finns subjects to the Swedish king. Under the Swedish crown, the civil administration of the country was only minimal. The state administration was organized in 1809 when the country became an autonomous Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire. The Tsar promised to keep the existing laws, and granted his Grand Duchy extensive autonomy in its internal matters. The Tsar wanted loyal allies; he disbanded the Finnish army, and recruited the previous army officials, members of aristocracy, as civil servants of the state, thus guaranteeing them means of living and preserving their existing high social status. The result was that many of them became faithful servants of the Tsar for the rest of their lives (Konttinen 1991, 110). This transformation in the status of the Finnish elite has been regarded as the decisive starting point in the creation of the Finnish state and Finnish national identity (e.g. Sulkunen 1986, 17S18).

In addition, in the following sixty years the number of the state's civil servants grew from 500 to 1500, and simultaneously the proportion of aristocrats among the civil servants rose from 7 to 78 percent (Peltonen 1990, 91, 99). Soon the high status of the civil administrators was legitimated by a civil servants' university examination in law, which became compulsory in 1817 (see Konttinen 1991, 102S146).

The result was a most bureaucratic state administration the main concerns of which included defense of the old and new privileges for the aristocracy (Alapuro 1988, 25). For these purposes, as well as for the defense of national autonomy, the legal discourse was most appropriate. The end of the century saw the beginning of Russification campaigns, aimed to bind the country more tightly to the Empire (cf. Klami 1977).⁵ The Finns considered the new policy oppressive as well as a violation of and real threat to their autonomy. This, again, strengthened the role of enlightenment and popular education as upper classes' strategy of dealing with those below them.

In the European context, Finnish civil society developed late. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the social relations in the country were typical of an estate society. Pre-capitalist Finland had a

⁵ The high descent of state administrators, together with their early legal education, led to a rise in the status of both; legal discourse and education became the official vocabulary of Finnish governing, and the legal examination became a criterion for the post of the state administrator. On the other hand, the status of state governors was extremely high; it became privileged and socially intact.

rigid system of four estates, in which ancestry defined the social status and lifestyle of a person. Beginning from the 1830s, the dawning nationalism and the idea of nation state, together with the efforts of the new intelligentsia to gain a more powerful position in politics, in the emerging public forum (e.g. Alapuro & Stenius 1987, 26-30; Pulkkinen 1987; Konttinen 1991, 180S189), put the old social relations into motion. When masses also started to organize themselves around various activities, Finnish civil society as a non-ignorable counterforce of the state bureaucracy was born. However, their contrast was only relative; actually, there was a close co-operation between the Finnish state and civil society throughout the century (cf. Alapuro 1990; Stenius 1990).

In the middle of the nineteenth century there emerged several groups willing to gain their share of the power that the aristocratic state bureaucracy was used to holding. On the other hand, among the governing elite there were groups who saw a nationalist ideology and an alliance with the common people as a means to support the State, the seat of their governing (Alapuro & Stenius 1987, 14). Nevertheless, the most enthusiastic alliance seekers were the educated classes, who organized themselves under a movement called Fennomania. Typically, members of this movement were representatives of the educated classes who after first having criticized the elite and the existing forms of governing turned towards the common people as a support group in their struggle for hegemony (cf. Häggman 1994, 148S172, 220S223; Pulkkinen 1987; Alapuro & Stenius 1987, 14S17).

In the framework of people's nationalist education, the locally practiced activities of charity as well as some aspects of poor relief and child welfare fitted particularly well into the nation-building program of the Fennomans. Its chief aim was to civilize every individual, and in particular everyone among the lower classes, into the new moral qualities of a citizen, the leading designers of whom the Fennomans considered themselves to be.

2.1 The transforming relations of the social classes

From the point of view of the ruling class, the micro level of the society as a whole was becoming unstable and unpredictable towards the end of the nineteenth century. Old moral rules, traditional responsibilities, and the organization of everyday life were disappearing in the slow transformation of the society of four estates to a premodern democracy. Among other things, it meant that the earlier unknown and collective mass of subjects were turning into free individuals who had their own as well as collective will and strength. This being the case, the ruling class and the relatively new educated class became considerably concerned about the state of the masses of their society as part of the activities which aimed to create a replacing social order for the already crumbling patriarchal order. The working class was heterogeneous, but it was plentiful, and thus its strength as a forthcoming group was going to exceed all the other social classes.

From the first signs of the changing characteristics of the masses, the educated classes were able to connect the change with what they had been reading from the European literature of recent decades. In particular, the members of the well-educated groups at a very early state were able to name the different social phenomena, and to predict the possible social outcomes

according to the foreign examples. Hence, they discovered themselves at quite an early state of the change in the middle of a social transformation in which the characteristics of the common people were undergoing a radical change from loyal subjects to free citizens and workers. When the severe suffering of many lacking the means to support themselves became evident, the upper classes saw in it a potential sign of workers' social unrest, and even revolution, which they certainly wanted to avoid. Furthermore, the educated were aware of foreign solutions: of an alternative social organization and corresponding ideologies; of the means that had been used to educate the poor and to bring social order among the growing underclass; and additionally, of the increasing importance of educated people as intermediaries of class relations in general.

When the Russian Tsar made efforts to limit the Finns' autonomy towards the end of the nineteenth century, the upper classes turned to the lower classes with the aim of changing the object of the Finns' loyalty; in place of the Russian Tsar they put the nationalist movement which they themselves led, and instead of people pleasing the Tsarist Court, they emphasized the protection of the existing legal order of the country (e.g. Klinge 1975, 48S52). The purpose was to create an atmosphere of confidence which they considered the best national protection against the Tsarist threat and beneficial for their own status. Regardless of the framework and shape of the forthcoming social order, the elite and intelligentsia wanted to secure the continuity of their own status and power (e.g. Häggman 1994; Konttinen 1991; Sulkunen 1986). One of the main purposes was to direct the masses to a new way of life, which in practice meant creating a new social order for the everyday lives of both the common people and the members of the elite (cf. Häggman 1994; Markkola 1994; Ollila 1993).

Basically the upper classes put their reorganizing "program" into effect on two levels. First, the educated classes produced ideologies, ideals and facts which coordinated their contemporaries' understanding by interpreting the impending social reality. The ideals in particular gave direction and norms for the ongoing changes in everyday life. Secondly, the ideas, ideals and morals needed to be introduced to the uneducated as part of the natural order of their daily lives in order to be materialized as both internalized qualities of the common people and, consequently, as friendly relations between the classes.

The forums and contents of the idea production for the nationalistically oriented "program" as well as the strategies and means of introducing them to the masses were as many as were the diversifying target groups. Just to mention some of those that have so far been studied in detail, the most important ideals include the idea of *a decent citizen* (see Alapuro et al. 1987; Sulkunen 1986), the idea of *the nuclear family*, including the particular responsibilities and organization of the social relations of gender and generation (see Häggman 1994), and the idea of *domestic economics* (see Ollila 1993; Markkola 1994). In a society where textual communication was constantly available only to the upper classes, the chosen way to disseminate the new ideals and models was enlightenment and popular education of the masses. Some members of the concerned groups started to organize masses around temperance (Sulkunen 1986, 47S67), labour issues (e.g. Jaakkola 1994, 92S98), and hygiene and domestic economics (Ollila 1993, 19S33; Markkola 1994, 173S192). The activity often included direct encouragement to local grass-roots enterprise,

in which the new ideals and facts were presented as enlightenment from person to person and from home to home. Common to all these strategies was an effort to educate the lower classes to become citizens, as workers, mothers and individuals, who are able to take care of themselves and their offspring according to the norms and moral ideals of the advocated social order.

However, my argument is not only that the founding fathers and mothers of the conceptual practices of social intervention into social ills and interpretation of the time were the concerned upper classes. In addition, I am insisting that the emergence of the conceptual practices of poor law and charity, and their transformation into a discourse of poor relief at the turn of the twentieth century has to be analyzed as part of the wider societal transformation and reorganization. The change concerned both people's everyday life and class relations; in particular, the relation of the working class and the new interest groups of the newly educated groups.

Finally, the new identities and organizations of everyday life were not a one-way effort from top to bottom. In the mass organization that followed towards the end of the century, it was the common people themselves who, in the collective activities which they in some cases even took over, produced their new individual identities themselves (as women, men, workers, housekeepers, etc.), and started to adopt the model of the nuclear family as part of their daily lives (cf. Alapuro et al. 1987).

2.2 The ideals of a Finnish citizen

One Finnish theory about the state and its citizens in the nineteenth century was developed by J.V. Snellman, a philosopher and academic in the first half of the century (e.g. Snellman 1928, orig. 1842). The theory was based on the contemporary German theorizing about the state. The three important elements of the theory were the family, civil society, and the state. Its starting point, like Hegel's, was the individual as a moral being, and society as a community of norms. According to Snellman, social integration depended on the relationship between an individual and society. In the actual societal practices, however, it culminated in the relations of the family — the new micro unit and organization of everyday life — and the state. Snellman considered the nuclear family, a civilizing unit of parents and their children, as the institution that actually maintains the whole society by taking care of teaching its children proper habits and values. According to the theory, the family's main function was to civilize the future citizens for the state, and to guarantee the morality of social life. The family and the state were interdependent; they needed each other's functions. Therefore, Snellman concluded that in fact the whole society was based on the nuclear family, and in particular, on its child-rearing practices.

On the level of everyday life, children were to be reared in happy homes and in the daily practices of appropriately organized mothering. For this reason, women were given their own important responsibility in the nation-building project (e.g. Ollila 1993; Sulkunen 1987). The male intelligentsia responsible for developing the ideas of the new society was quite unanimous

that women's sphere in social life was to be limited to the family; her citizenship⁶ was realized particularly through it. They considered the familial labor and love as "real" emancipation for women against the "ultimate" emancipation that the suffragettes demanded (Häggman 1994, 169). Meanwhile, the male citizenship was to be practiced in the spheres of the state and civil society, in which the husband represented the family and was responsible for economic reproduction. The basic idea was that men and women are different since birth, and that this difference needs to be developed further by means of education. In addition, men's and women's characteristics were considered contrasting and complementary at the same time. It was believed that only together can men and women create the organic whole necessary for the well-being of humans, state, family and society in general. (see Häggman 1994, 162S195).

These ideas about the state and its citizens became crucial in the nineteenth century, during the development of the Finnish relations of ruling. From the middle of the century on, they started to organize the thoughts and practices of the recently educated classes. The theory considerably influenced the views and identity of the educated, and in particular, the Fennomans' ideology and program. In the light of this theory, they understood their social responsibilities in the following way: to civilize the ignorant masses to become supporters of nationalist ideals, and to promote the realization of the reformed social order until every corner of the country was covered (e.g. Ollila 1993, 46S50; Ollila 1994; Sulkunen 1986, 29S41; Sulkunen 1987). For the Fennomans, education and qualified morality were the appropriate means to cure every social ill and to elevate people from ignorance, bad habits, drunkenness and poverty. (cf. Alapuro 1994, 303).

The ideal Finnish citizen was different according to gender and class. A good citizen was defined as a sober, honest, sparing and hard-working member of the state (e.g. Alapuro et al. 1987; Sulkunen 1986). Motherhood and motherliness were self-evident characteristics of an ideal female. She was responsible for a happy and clean home, in which a morally disciplined nuclear family organized its daily functions in mutual understanding. As mentioned before, the upper classes, the holders of the reform discourse, defined themselves as shepherds and guides of the common people, who were meant to become their loyal allies as subjects. The duty of the upper classes was to deliver enlightenment, while the responsibility of the masses was to be obedient learners, and to show their gratitude to their instructors. The subjects were expected to adopt proper ways of life in accordance with the moral code that was given to them.

Irma Sulkunen (1987, 165S167) gives an example of class- and gender-divided citizenship. On the basis of the temperance movement's documents, she argues that there were three different ideals for a female citizen. One was the elite women, who demanded for themselves the right to participate in politics. They insisted that their participation was going to bring the point of view

⁶ Women's citizenship was not a new theme in Finnish public discussion. As early as the turn of the century, when German educator Campen's and Swiss educator Pestalozzi's ideas about women's education became known, concepts like *cosines* (*huslighet, kodikkuus*), happy home, motherhood, and woman's calling, became familiar. In that debate what were considered women's duties included the "familial matters" both in the family and society (see Häggman 1994, 145S152). These were the ideas that e.g. Snellman later applied in developing his theory. However, as Kai Häggman (1994, 169) points out, the later definers of the Finnish woman's role limited her sphere only to the home.

of motherliness to decision making. Then there were the middle-class women, who defined their femininity predominantly through social mothering, i.e., through the task of educating the mothers of the working class and the women on farms. The third female ideal included those groups whose duties and moral responsibilities were limited to their homes and farms, to housekeeping, and to child rearing. But this categorization was not exhaustive, since in everyday life, which was increasingly organized around nuclear families, the unmarried, educated women were becoming a problem. As a solution, they were expected to dedicate themselves to social motherliness. This being the case, they were specifically allowed to act in the public area by being defined in a limited sphere which was simply an extension of women's duties at home. Nursing, teaching, and caring were considered suitable activities for them since in these tasks women were not regarded as functioning in a regular public job, but as realizing their female calling in the family. (Häggman 1994, 196S200; Ollila 1993, 25S32).

In the nation building process, Finnish citizenship became established on a communitarian type of understanding. It emphasizes the predominance of the nation over the individual. From this follows that it is the responsibility of each individual not to pursue her/his own interests, but to serve her/his nation. (cf. Pulkkinen 1987). How this ideal was intended to be accomplished depended foremost on one's social class and gender, and in the case of women, also on the marital status.

2.3 The regulation of the increasing poverty

In the nineteenth century Finland was an agrarian country, as over 90% of the population earned their living from agriculture and forestry. As the population had been increasing since the eighteenth century and acquisition of land had been restricted, especially the number of landless groups like tenant farmers, cottagers, farm workers and itinerant workers grew. Their share of the population in 1825 was 7.8%, and by 1875 it had increased to 17.1%. Simultaneously, farmwork changed into less labor-intensive field work, and groups emerged whose labour was no longer needed in agriculture. The development of Finnish industry was slow; by 1900 it employed only 11% of the Finns (e.g. Jaakkola 1994, 73S76). Thus, industry was unable to absorb the free labour. Especially in the wintertime when the shortage of work was common, those who had no means to support themselves turned to the local authorities of poor relief, causing an increasing economic burden on municipalities and townships that from the 1860s and 1870s instead of church were responsible for them. The problem was at its worst during the years 1866S1868 in the most 'overpopulated' areas of the country, as the crops were lost and a great famine ensued (e.g. Häkkinen 1990), causing the death of about 100 000 people. (Pulma 1994, 51S55, 67; Piirainen 1958a, 13S17; Haatanen 1968, 22S127).

The state bureaucracy was unable to overlook the increasing rural population and poverty since it was responsible for the loyalty of the Finns to the Tsar. On the contrary, some governors, who were the civil servants locally responsible for the public order in the Grand Duchy, were

actively promoting the matter of the poor and means to intervene in poverty beginning from 1810 (cf. Piirainen 1958a, 223S227). It was the governors' memorandum about the increasingly disparate state of the rural, landless population that led the Finnish Senate to establish a State Committee to prepare an administrative reform of poor relief in the 1840s.⁷ (Piirainen 1958a, 62S63).

The Committee Report was published in 1843. During the eight following years, before it ended up as the Poor Law of 1852, it was thoroughly discussed; first, many concerned groups gave their written opinion about the proposal to the Senate, and second, the discussion was alive in the press. It happened to take place soon after the Finnish press was born (Jaakkola 1994, 84; cf. Pulma 1987, 37). This meant that the administering elite, clergy, as well the educated classes, had increasing opportunities to develop their common understanding, to coordinate their interpretations of the social issues of the time in a new textual forum, and to concentrate on what needed to be done, how, and by whom (cf. Piirainen 1958a, 67S79; Pulma 1990).

In his detailed study of the nineteenth century's poor relief reforms, Veikko Piirainen (1958a, 49S50) describes the two frontiers on which some of the governors' activities took place: for example, as early as 1810s, the Governor of Southern Finland advised the municipalities of his region to organize their poor relief practices according to the written regulations of the state. He also required that separate municipal boards of laymen be established for the administration. On the other hand, the governor was an active practitioner and supporter of private charity, which emerged in Finland in the eighteenth century (see Pulma 1994, 42S43). He is a good example of the then common opinion that an adequate social intervention in social ills necessarily needs to be built on two main strategies (cf. Piirainen 1958a, 203S204): one led by state bureaucracy, and a supplementary one carried out by the various actors and segments of civil society.⁸ The hard side of the treatment — control of the poor and the regulation of social order by the poor law — was considered to rest with the state, while individual treatment, the moral education and practical advising case by case, was considered the matter of the organizations of the developing civil society. This division was the basis on which the Poor Law of 1852 was built, after years of vivid public discussion.⁹

In the eighteenth century, poor relief was understood as a matter of Christian mercy. Thus its local practitioners were priests, while state administration concentrated primarily on the control of vagrancy. Along with increasing rural poverty and the change of thinking in which poverty was no longer seen as God-given, but as a fault of the person in need, the priests found that poor relief was too time-consuming and felt that it was in contradiction with their principal duties. The priests started to consider it a matter of public administration, and therefore, by the middle of the

⁷ These administrative efforts were preceded by several statutes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for regulating the poor. However, the problem with these statutes was that they were never applied to the same extent in the various parts of the country; the practices varied considerably. (See Pulma 1994, 41S50, 59S67).

⁸ By civil society (*kansalaisyhteiskunta*) I simply mean the sphere of society in which those social and public actions take place that do not fall within the state's functions.

⁹ Keisarillisen Majesteetin Armollinen Asetus Yhteisestä waiwaishoidosta Suomen Suuriruhtinaanmaassa 22.3.1852, cf. Piirainen (1958a, 80).

century, the clergymen were willing to get rid of their formal responsibilities with paupers (Pirainen 1958a, 69S71). Their wish came true in the next reorganization of local administration.

In 1879, the Senate passed a new, more liberal Poor Law.¹⁰ While the old poor law had emphasized maintenance according to the existing patriarchal responsibilities and social relations, the new one was designed to transform and replace the old order with the social responsibilities of a nuclear family. In the new Act, the maintenance liability was for the first time based on family relationships by blood:

1 § “Jokainen työhön kykenevä mies tahi nainen olkoon velvollinen elättämään itsensä ja alaikäisiä lapsiansa, niin myös mies vaimoansa; jota vastoin kunnan tulee omia työhön kykenemättömiä, hädänalaisia jäseniänsä varten järjestää vaivashoito, niiden perustusten mukaan kuin tästä alempana säädetään...”

4 § “Niiden, jotka keskenänsä ovat sukua suoraan etenevässä tahi takenevassa polvessa, pitää, tarvetta myöten yhdeltä ja kykyä myöten toiselta puolen, huolta pitämän toisistansa.” (Keisarillisen... 10/1879).

1§ Every man or woman who is capable of working shall be obliged to support him/herself and his/her under-aged children, as a husband shall be obliged to support his wife. A municipality must arrange poor relief for those of its members who are destitute and not capable of working, on the grounds that are prescribed below...

4§ Those who are related to each other in direct descent must take care of each other. Those who are in need must be helped by those who are capable of doing so.

Also, the organization of poor relief administration from top to bottom was again implemented. From 1879 on, poor relief clearly became a public, administrative, and economic matter of the recently established municipalities. In addition, every municipality was due to prepare its own regulations of poor relief, which had to be checked by the governor. These regulations defined in detail, according to local circumstances, the actors, forms and practical work processes of local poor relief. Nevertheless, the Poor Law prescribed not only the framework and organization of poor relief, it was also a detailed collection — covering seventeen pages and forty-seven sections — of administrative prescriptions.

In the years that followed, state administration was again and again informed that municipalities here and there resisted the implementation of the law. They continued their local traditions, or made the principles of relief delivery even harder, instead of reorganizing their local practices according to the letter of the law. From the point of view of governing, an additional difficult problem of the Senate was that it was not well enough informed and aware of the contemporary state of poor relief in its territory, since it did not have adequate data collection procedures. An often repeated complaint of the leading administrators was that municipalities

¹⁰ See Keisarillisen.Majesteetin Armollinen Asetus Yhteisestä waiwashoidosta Suomen Suuriruhtinaanmaassa, 10/17.3.1879.

were not active in setting up poor houses, institutions which they considered necessary for achieving cuts in the increasing costs of poor relief.

Soon the Senate made two important efforts to increase its own resources for governing and to make poor relief a functional part of the developing ruling apparatus. It established a state committee to investigate increasing rural poverty (Komiteanmietintö 1884:4) and gave a travel grant to a young engineer for investigating the state of poor relief in various parts of the country. A third effort of the state involved launching important reorganizing acts, which saw daylight between the years 1888 and 1893. These acts were partly a result of previously mentioned data gathering, investigating, and proposal making.

One of the above-mentioned acts¹¹ stipulated to those other than married women over 25 a right to become elected as full members of a municipal board of trustees for poor relief. This board was the local, grass-roots unit in the organization of poor relief. The act was a result of an initiative that came from the estate of bourgeoisie (Talousvaliokunnan mietintö 1888). Its women had for tens of years already belonged to the activists of charity associations (e.g. Ramsay 1993; Saarinen 1994), and in many townships they had constantly, and for a long time, also assisted the local board of poor relief (see Chapter 3.2.2.). The two other acts¹² established a new temporary civil servant whose duty was to control municipalities and to inform governors whenever there emerged local neglect.

The number of charity associations was increasing considerably as a result of the limited assistance by the liberal poor law (e.g. Åström 1956, 267), and hence the Chief Inspector of the Poor Law was, in addition to his other duties, due to see that the functioning of these associations “do not cause difficulties for the practicing of poor relief“ (2§1888; 3§1893). In other words, these acts subjected the local charity associations, in which the women of the upper classes materialized their moral responsibilities towards the poor (see e.g. Ramsay 1993; Saarinen 1994), to the state’s control and governing. Literally, the textual control was limited in cases where the association was not following the ideological scheme of poor relief, and did not adapt its functions to it. However, if one reads the statute, keeping in mind the contemporary relations of gender, its social consequences were much wider than that. I will return to them in the following chapters.

By 1893 the civil servant had proved his worth as an effective leader of the institution of poor relief; the post of the Chief Inspector of the Poor Law became permanent. In the following years he got three assistants, called inspectors of poor relief. Each of them was a regional representative of the State and responsible, in co-operation with the Chief Inspector, for giving advice as well as seeing that the prescriptions of the Poor Law were followed. (e.g. Pulma 1995).

¹¹ Keisarillisen Majesteetin Armollinen Asetus naisen valitsemisesta jäseneksi vaivashoitohallitukseen. 27/ 6.8.1889.

¹² Keisarillisen Majesteetin Armollinen Julistus vaivashoidon tarkastuksen järjestämisestä Suomessa. No 33/ 2.10.1888; Keisarillisen Majesteetin Armollinen Julistus vaivashoidon tarkastelijalle Suomessa. 34/ 9.10.1888; Keisarillisen Majesteetin Armollinen Johtosääntö vaivashoidon tarkastelijalle. 22/ 16.8.1893.

2.4 The textual foundation of poor relief

In the Poor Law of 1879 and the following statutes, there emerged some constitutional ideas and principles of organization that are important to discover and connect to their origins in order to understand the nature of the developing Finnish “social sector“ properly. A wider contextualization of the main ideas also helps considerably to open up the contemporary and forthcoming texts of “case intervention“. The ones that will be discussed next are the ideas and ideals of citizenship, family and gender. The gender system belongs to the most uncovered ideological and practical principles of the institutional order of the Finnish social sector (cf. Anttonen et al. 1994). Yvonne Hirdman (1988; and 1989), a historian who has widely studied Swedish social policy, *folkhemspolitik*, in its history, considers the gender system fundamental in relation to other principles of organizing in society (cf. Smith 1990a, 159S163; Smith 1988, 4S8, 213). In the following inquiry into some of the constitutional principles of organizing the social sector, the focus is on gender order. By gender order I understand the principle of organizing societies and their institutions by gender (cf. Hirdman 1988; Rantalaiho 1994).

2.4.1 The social citizenship and the statutes of poor relief

Hannu Soikkanen (1966, 298) concludes the underlying ideas of the Poor Law 1879 about citizenship as follows: The act was meant to educate an obstinate and lazy individual to a decent citizen. It is grounded on the belief that poverty depended primarily on personal carelessness and indecency. This interpretation is easy to agree with when the constitutive ideas of the act are first discovered and the method of putting them together discussed. I will read the text as an active constituent of emerging social relations. The question is: What were the written and thus reproducible discursive facts that started to coordinate the concept of poor, and the social interaction that the act established between the municipal board of poor relief and the poor?

Firstly, there were two kinds of poor¹³: eligible poor according to the defined categories like children without parents, sick elderly, and disabled; and poor whose eligibility had to be investigated by the board in detail and referring to the local regulation of poor relief, which were subject to the governor’s approval. Those who were classified as eligible to either outdoor or indoor relief lost their individual freedom, the principal modern right to govern themselves as free citizens (e.g. Pulkkinen 1987).¹⁴ For them, every municipality was due to build a workhouse,

¹³ This division of the poor into two contrary groups: the able-bodied — the impotent, or the worthy — the unworthy, was originally expressed in a textual form in the English Poor Law Reform Bill of 1834 (e.g. Webb & Webb 1913, 1S20). Its ideas replaced the mercantilist philosophy that underlay the previous Elizabethan Poor Law by the idea of free and unlimited exchange, i.e. a self-regulating market economy. As a prerequisite for the new kind of economic order, this punitive attitude towards the poor soon spread all over the industrializing world (e.g. Trattner 1974, 42-50; Wendt 1985, 115-116). The Finnish Poor Law of 1879 was copied from the Swedish Poor Law of 1871 (Piirainen 1958a, 155S161).

¹⁴ The Poor Law of 1879 prescribes as follows:

§ 2 To ensure care and support, a municipality is obliged to help those who are under-aged, mentally handicapped, crippled, and those who suffer from chronic diseases or are weak from old age and are in need of care.

a highly disciplined, completed institution. Those classified as poor (in both categories) became patronized by the municipal board of poor relief, and in case the need of assistance turned out to be continuous in a workhouse or in home-care, the person even lost the ownership of his or her belongings and property to the municipality.

A picture of the contemporary concepts and ideas of citizen, morality and individual freedom are important in order to fully understand the idea of blaming the poor themselves as well the harsh poor relief measures that were introduced. In the nineteenth century, the individual was primarily considered a citizen who has moral responsibilities for the nation depending on class, gender, generation and so forth. Good morality was everyone's virtue, and thus individualism and individual freedom, the basic value of modernization, was not in the Finnish circumstances so much freedom of action as it was e.g. in England, but *freedom of moral self-government*. The freedom of the individual, and consequently, autonomous citizenship was a result of one's moral self-control and behavior, which again was a result of proper education in a decent family. In the 1860s, it was a common view of the upper classes that right virtues and knowledge enable troublesome individuals and families to lift themselves up from social problems to decent citizenry (Ramsay 1993, 114S127). (Pulkkinen 1987; cf. Häggman 1994, 179S180, 196S200; Ollila 1993, 61).

In the nineteenth century, the state made efforts to draw clear limits to its functions in relation to social questions. Instead of the existing, vaguely defined responsibilities it started to emphasize control and coordination as its functions (cf. Pulma 1994, 62S64; Jaakkola 1994, 110S123). In other words, the State showed an increasing interest in advancing its governing.

By the Poor Law of 1879, the state defined a poor relief policy in which its duties followed the general line it had adopted for its people. The act produced the necessary textual means to establish coercive measures for those individuals who were difficult or impossible to get on the right moral track of a decent citizen only by means of mass education or individual enlightening and counseling. Thus, the underlying basic ideas of the act came to support the growing nationalist civilization project of Finnish citizens.¹⁵ To put it briefly, *the Poor Law of 1879 was the State's contribution to the national project of educating the masses to become decent citizens*, a task which in other respects was largely in the hands of the various associations and groups of interested people.

In the light of contemporary thought, the following chain of argument becomes possible in order to reconstruct the birth of the despised underclass of the poor¹⁶ as a consequence of Poor

§ 3 Help shall be given to others who are destitute, but only after the inspection of the municipal board of poor relief and then according to its prescription.

§ 31 The municipal board of poor relief exercises the rights of possession of the representative and the master in relation to those who are fully and continually taken care of by the municipality. The municipal board of poor relief has also the rights of possession over anyone that receives poor relief for himself, as well as over those whose wife or children receive full and continual poor relief. This right of possession shall last for the duration of poor relief.

¹⁵ The Act was also one among the constitutional regulations of the ongoing liberalization of the Finnish economy (e.g. Jaakkola 1994, 111S112), and an effort to regulate the rural 'overpopulation' problem (e.g. Piirainen 1958a). Practically it forced people out of their communal support nets, and industry got the labor it needed, who were free and either willing or forced to move.

¹⁶ On the local level the birth is described in detail in Veikko Piirainen's (1958a) study.

Law of 1879 and the following governmental acts of the state. When the new individual was seen as a moral being, potentially able (e.g. with the aid of the right knowledge) to self-government, and society as a community of norms in which each individual has moral responsibilities, being unable to support oneself meant the worst possible immorality. A poor was not going to be able to fulfill the citizen's responsibilities to the State. This kind of person was considered completely useless for the purposes of the nation, and moreover, his/her vice and immoral habits were causing trouble and expenses for the functioning of the apparatus of ruling. The act knew two basic strategies to handle this moral underclass. One was a careful but simultaneously disgraceful *investigation* of their status as moral beings. The other was to send the person to a *workhouse* or *poorhouse* if he or she was proved morally questionable. A workhouse was meant to frighten the potential applicants into decent citizenry, and by the harsh means of the institution isolate, control and educate the person in question. The inmate was to be kept until he/she showed signs of a "citizen in potentia".

In the contemporary class relations, in which the common people and their families were in general the object of the upper classes' responsibilities for education, the practices of the harsh poor relief reveal themselves in an interesting light. Among other things, they functioned as a differentiation mechanism between non-citizens and "citizens in potentia", who were appropriate targets of educational measures by the various groups of civil activists.

2.4.2 Gender in the statutes of poor relief

When poor relief practices started to become organized in the nineteenth century, some gaps and problems in the textually designed organization began to emerge. The case of Jyväskylä provides an illustration and describes the local means to solve it.

Jyväskylä was in the 1850s a tiny inland town surrounded by large rural areas. It was an active center of educational activities; the first college for teacher training was established there. The local Women's Association was founded in 1855. It was the very first association of the town. At the beginning, its main concern was to run a school for poor children who did not attend school.

In 1865, the local Poor Law Board requested the help of the association. The problem the Board had run into concerned a separation of a mother from her child. The Board wanted an evaluation as to whether this mother was able to take care of the upbringing of her younger child, because she had already failed in the moral upbringing of her elder one. (Brummer 1916, 634S637). Probably the reason for the request was the same as the inspector of the poor law describes in his memoirs: men were insecure in dealing with children's education, which was women's responsibility (Helsingius 1918, 194; cf. Häggman 1994).

Experiences of this "case counseling" must have been encouraging since before the next meeting, the Chairman of the Board asked the Women's Association to inspect the upbringing of all children that were in foster care. At one of the meetings that followed the Board went further by establishing a new policy for practice: foster care contracts were reformed so that it subjected foster homes to continuous

inspections of caring. This inspection was implemented by the representatives of the Women's Association, and it was the members themselves who decided when and how often to make them. (JyVhk ptk 18.4.1865 and 23.5.1865; Brummer 1916, 636S637.)

In the decades to follow, the co-operation of the Board and the Association continued in different forms. In the next decade, members of the Association delivered food and other means of material support to the poor on behalf of the members of the Board (JyVhk ptk 28.6.1866 and 17.1.1868 and 31.5.1868). Thus the practice of poor relief was actually largely in the hands of the local women as early as the 1860s. In the light of the contemporary statutes it was, however, only a male business, and women's doings, with few exceptions, needed the confirmation of the Board, which consisted only of men.

Other examples of the importance of women for the early practices of poor relief can be found in the memoirs of the Chief Inspector of Poor Relief. As soon as there was available information and experience about running workhouses, the Inspector paid attention to the manager's gender. His conviction was that women in general succeeded better than men as poor house managers. He underlined to municipalities that he considered men recommendable managers only if the task is mainly limited to keeping order. His firm opinion was that women are in all other respects better to take care of the necessary duties of a head of a poor house, and in addition, to care for those she is responsible for (e.g. Helsingius 1891, 122). Later on, supported by the male advisors of poor relief, he made several suggestions to get a female inspector of poor relief for issues like women's poor relief and probation, child welfare, and nursing (e.g. Helsingius 1918,194-195).

The examples speak concretely for how the men controlling poor relief discovered that some parts of its activities were simply unfamiliar to them, and that they, in the end, did not even want to consider taking them over because these tasks were so closely connected with the matters of the home. An educated man's calling was limited to the public area (see Häggman 1994,193) to which women had very little access. Women's expertise and responsibilities were, by contrast, limited to the home (e.g. Saarinen 1994). The social divisions and responsibilities by gender were difficult to overcome for men and women alike. The problem challenged the existing gender order and called for an exception or confession that meant a renegotiation of the existing divisions and relations between men and women.

The confession was made both on the level of ideas versus ideals and the texts of poor relief. At first, the legal regulations were reformulated so that independent women became full members of the municipal boards of poor relief. Secondly, the ideas of woman's responsibilities and of the female sphere were slightly modified. Female calling, the ideologized concept of woman's familial responsibilities, were enlarged to cover the familial matters in the public as well. In particular, the new woman's calling was directed to educated, unmarried women. The poor house was going to be their home and their seat from which to fulfill their responsibilities as citizens of the Finnish nation. Thus, women's activities in the social field were included in their calling for motherhood, and many of the educated agreed that whenever a woman acted in them, she did not in fact step over the familial sphere (Häggman 1994,198). Women were thus included in the public via an exceptional citizenship status. As a result, the necessary redefinition of the gender

relations was complete. (See also Satka 1990; Satka 1994a, 261S264; cf. Häggman 1994, 182S199.)

The wider ideological context of the solution that was chosen can be uncovered via the contemporary organic conception of society (Häggman 1994, 189) and the gender order that were put together from the eighteenth century on. As already mentioned (chapter 2.2.), women and men were considered different and contrasting, but simultaneously necessary complements to each other. This way of thinking was enlarged to include society as a whole and it became a principle in constructing the Finnish relations of ruling. It follows that on every level of society, well-being was to be considered to be derived from the reciprocal co-operation of the female private sphere and the male public sphere. In the above redefinitions of the gender relations for “the social sector of case interventions“, this idea took one of its forms.

In conclusion, beginning from 1888, the documents of poor relief no longer unanimously introduced the field as a public male world, but as an interesting mixture. In the ideals, experiences, reasoning, and knowledge of the social field, the private female sphere and public male sphere were to be combined. Their relations from the beginning became defined as hierarchical; women’s knowledge and work was subjected to male control. Personal caring and education had proved a necessary function in the social sector, but when they were combined with control and administration, according to the logic of gender order, they became secondary. They were not less important, but different activities. On the other hand, educated women’s work, even with the highly despised poor, was ideologized and underlined as their particular responsibility, as a continuation of mothering. Thus it became separated from the activities that were reserved only for men in public. Therefore, my last argument is that the crucial principle of the organizing of the emerging social field was analogous with that of the contemporary gender order. *The social sector was actually built on the dual logic of the gender order*: it was based on distinctive separation of male and female activities, and the male and masculine as norm was the priority (cf. Hirdman 1988; Rantalaiho 1994). Hence, gender became a powerful but largely invisible structure of the institution (cf. Smith 1988, 4S7). The issue that follows is: what were the consequences of this combination to the social organization and relations of power in the developing “social sector of case intervention“? The construction of an empirical answer to this question is one of the tasks of this study.

3 The making of the poor relief organization

When nominating the Chief Inspector of Poor Law, the representatives of the Finnish Senate considered the system of poor relief backward, and emphasized that a better discipline and control of the sector was his primary task (Keisarillisen ... 33/1888 and 34/1988). Actually, he was invited to continue the task that the Senate with its governors had started: to reorganize poor relief into a governable field of public administration (see Piirainen 1958a, 203S204) with necessary concessions and distance to charity, which was reduced into a supporting sector.

The Inspector's principal duty was to conquer local ungovernability and to create a functional administrative order in its place. In other words, his first task was to discover and implement the necessary textual measures and means of administering to bring a better organization to the complexities of the "social sector". The textual measures and means of governing included both very practical administrative measures, like forms of gathering data, forms for a treatment procedure, accountability measures, model drawings for workhouses, models of local regulations, and a written discourse which connects the above measures to each other and introduces a coherent institutional order for the particulars of the practice. This administrative discourse emerged from practical efforts to organize the sector; it introduced an institutional ideology, which Dorothy E. Smith (1988, 160) in general terms describes as

"...systematically developed to provide categories and concepts expressing the relation of local courses of action to the institutional function providing a currency or currencies enabling interchange between different specialized parts of the complex and a common conceptual organization coordinating its diverse sides."

In this study, the ideology is referred as *the ideological scheme of poor relief*.

In the following sections I will at first explore the transformation process that the Inspector of Poor Law evidently went through when the civil activist became an actor in the increasingly textual social relations of a state bureaucrat. It means a change from one consciousness to another; from experiencing actual time and place to an objectified non-personal form of knowledge and forms of reasoning characteristic in the relations of ruling. The transformation from knowing by experience to knowledge becomes an extremely exciting site, if one views it methodologically as a "rupture" that enables, for example, the discovery of how the introduced concepts and categories express social relations, and how the institutional ideology and organization is put together in time and place (cf. Smith 1988). In the following examples, my underlying purpose that goes far beyond the case of the person, who in this chapter is the Poor Relief Inspector, is to problematize the objectifying form of knowing society. On the other hand, I have chosen the case of Helsingius also on empirical-historical grounds. That is, to illustrate what a textual membership actually means to an individual, and what kind of processes the historical actors of

this study (including myself and my contemporaries) again and again go through when they (or we) come to know a social phenomenon through an objectifying discourse.

The second target of the following investigation is the acts and, in particular, the texts of Helsingius in the making of the poor relief institution since they have undoubtedly a kind of “constitutional“ status in its development. My questions to the texts are: How did Helsingius construct the constitutional texts? And what characteristics common to a modern objectifying discourse of ruling do this first generation of texts of poor relief work already have? In putting these texts together, the Inspector, in addition to his own experiences and knowledge also took advantage of those of many others involved in poor relief (see Helsingius 1899, Foreword). Thus, his texts have to be read not just as the products of his personal creativity, but as results of and products for the various coordinated activities that took place in the contemporary efforts to establish institutional foundations for the regulation and education of the poor masses.

3.1. The Inspector as a conceptual practitioner

3.1.1. Who was he?

For the purposes of the following analysis the person of the Chief Inspector of Poor Law needs to be discussed more thoroughly. The same question, who he (or she) really is, was also asked in 1885 by the General Governor of Finland, the highest representative of the Russian Empire in the country, as a consequence of a series of newspaper articles written under a pseudonym. Those articles described the status of rural overpopulation (e.g. “Frågan om förbättrande av den lösa befolkningens i landet tillstånd“), and underdevelopment in caring for dependent poor in rural areas (e.g. “Auktionsbarnen“; “De försvarslöse“), critiqued the recent State Committee’s suggestions and knowledge in poor relief, and suggested other alternatives. (Helsingius 1927, 212; Piirainen 1958a, 182-184). In them, the writer describes the poverty he had noticed among the common people. He emphasized that according to his observations, the main reason for the miserable state of the rural masses was simply the lack of work. He admitted that the poor often have themselves to blame, but insisted that society is also morally responsible for aid. He spoke warmly about educating masses in various handicrafts as a means to maintain themselves over the recurring unemployment of wintertime (Söderling 1974, 99S100; also Helsingius 1909, 5S19). According to the author’s own words, his articles had two objectives: to improve local means of maintenance and to humanize the harsh poor relief practices (Helsingius 1929, 29).

As soon as the State government came to know the author, he was asked by a member of the Senate to apply for a travel grant to study poor relief in more detail. Under the pseudonym the General Governor discovered a thirty-year-old engineer, Gustav Adolf Helsingius, who had experiences and insights of social circumstances in various parts of the country, and who was an outsider in relation to the various interest groups represented in the Senate (Pulma 1995). Again, he had a burning moral and personal conviction that Finnish poverty and immorality needed

intervention both by the better-off and the State. According to his conviction, they were necessary measures for the best of the nation, for its people, and for the economic development of the country (e.g. Helsingius 1927, 204S205). His altruistic attitude towards Finnish people grew from the soil of old Christian patriarchy according to which taking care of the weakest was an important moral virtue and responsibility of the better-off.

Helsingius was born in 1855 as a fourth child of a priest's family, and spent his childhood in a parsonage of a relatively affluent region in south-western Finland. From the years of his childhood, when hunger was a common plague, he became personally familiar with the poor who attended his family and home asking for bread or asylum. At the same time, he became familiar with the methods and principles his morally punctual family used in aiding the poor. Usually, wandering paupers were given a little work, and afterwards they were rewarded with a meal or overnight accommodation, he remembers. (Helsingius 1927, 18S23; Helsingius 1918, 9S12).

Helsingius was among the first who got a civil engineer's training in Finland; technical education was in the 1870s still in its early stages. Thus he was one among those who were trained to push agrarian and backward Finland via technical advances into modernization. Consequently, he became a foreman in the large railroad construction projects of Northern Finland. To him, people's different and often tough living circumstances of Ostrobothnia became a window into another Finland that he did not yet know. Now he met rural poverty face to face; instead of individual fates, he was now facing severely suffering masses. Faced with this scene, his religious-patriarchal moral conviction and middle-class responsibilities forced him to write in order to improve the miserable living circumstances of these people (cf. Pulma 1995, 103S105). Supported by some progressive journalists, he had no problems in getting his radical social thoughts published under a pseudonym. (see e.g. Helsingius 1927, 197S205).

Helsingius' nomination by the Senate as an investigator was based on reasons which had little to do with the opinions and suggestions he had himself expressed. It was more likely, perhaps, that he just proved suitable for the State administration, for the work that needed to be done effectively and without major conflicts. Jaakkola (1994, 115) interprets the relatively exceptional employing process of an outsider of the power elites as a manifestation of Senate's strong will to maintain the leadership of poor relief solely in its own hands, and as an effort to maximize the realization of its will in the measures taken. According to him, the Senate did not want to share the leadership of poor relief with the various groups of the civil activists, nor did it want these practices to become connected to the politically more sensitive social issues, like that of the working class (also Pulma 1995).

3.1.2. From a civil activist to a state administrator

A nine-month travel grant, recommended by the General Governor himself, was awarded to Helsingius for additional studies of poor relief both in Finland and abroad. On his excursions in foreign countries, he was due to study work houses, and in particular, issues in their creation and the results that had been achieved by the means of a workhouse. In a year from the travel grant,

he was then due to prepare his suggestions for the Senate concerning the reorganization of Finnish poor relief. (Helsingius 1927, 212; Piirainen 1958a, 182.) Since this mission, and as a result of various administrative processes, the civil activist G.A. Helsingius became a tool in the Senate's administrative machinery for the following twenty-nine years. Thus, he became himself (according to his own suggestions; see Helsingius 1887) the main measure in building up the ruling apparatus for the control and caring of the poor and disabled. In this post, he was able to realize his moral calling, and even his technical know-how, but not in the way nor along the lines of thought he had planned in his writings as a civil activist.

At first, the additional assignment given to him was mainly limited to issues of institutional care and control in workhouses and poor houses. The central administration's main concern in the field of poor relief and charities was a better system of control and discipline, which could in the future guarantee permanent and stable control. Therefore, the Senate and its representatives stressed the importance of the workhouse system, which municipalities had neglected, although it was the method prescribed by the poor law. Moreover, Helsingius himself was well aware that if he wanted the possibly forthcoming post of Chief Inspector, as he had suggested, his views needed to sufficiently fit in with those of the ruling apparatus.

He was also given a lesson in the relations of ruling in terms of criticism, when the travel accounts and suggestions of his study trips were discussed by the central administration. Among other things, the senators blamed his accounts for not following enough the form and order of the administration. Their opinion was that Helsingius' study reports resembled more an emotionally loaded description of a morally dedicated activist than a report that concludes the results of objective data collection. (see Piirainen 1958a, 188S204). I believe that this public blaming by some of the members of the Senate effectively taught Helsingius how essential the administrative facts and the social organization that they created actually were for successful communication in the textually organized administration (cf. Smith 1990b, 84S88).

There are two previous studies which have investigated the development of Helsingius' ideas in poor relief work. They both point out that since his study trips, Helsingius started to gradually reformulate his suggestions concerning the reforms of Finnish poor relief (see Piirainen 1958a, 200S201; Söderling 1974, 110). For example, by his nomination as a leading civil servant of the field, the workhouse as a method of poor relief work went through a total transformation in his writing: it changed from one alternative to the most recommendable method of poor relief that involved many good promises. Thus Helsingius became an eager reproducer of the European workhouse debate, and started to advocate it throughout the country. Simultaneously, he came to prove to those in power that in spite of his past opinions, he as a person was able to change. He was able to become a functional part in the contemporary relations of administration.

The change in Helsingius' written argumentation has been explained by referring to his personal interests in gaining the Inspector's post (see Piirainen 1958a, 191S192). This might be true, but I consider this a highly simplifying explanation, if his actual, uncertain relation to the State administration is taken into consideration. What actually happened? Piirainen points out that Helsingius became a sincere advocate of the workhouse system only with his trips abroad

and in Sweden, where he spent most of this time. In 1886, the Swedes were just beginning their workhouse experiments, and thus the visitor was unable to learn about long-term observation of the institution. In the short time available, the traveler was hardly introduced to the wider context of the policy. However, the trip was long enough to allow him to get acquainted with the contemporary European workhouse debate. It consisted of a liberalist ideology, particular facts¹⁷, strict classifications of relief receivers, and formally defined work procedures (cf. SVT XXI B 1). In addition, the workhouse debate was born to organize the struggle against poverty in the much more urbanized and industrialized societies of Central Europe.

Undoubtedly, the workhouse policy was a textually and factually mediated practice. In other words, it carried at least some essential features common to such activities as the disjuncture of local and textual: it rejected the common knowledge that poverty was primarily a consequence of unemployment, and the idea on which poor relief was based was that the needy were lazy and immoral. Another proof of its textually mediated character is the universalized order the workhouse method that was produced whenever and wherever it was applied (cf. Jaakkola 1986; Dean 1991, 38S46, 63S65).

When Helsingius entered its “textual time“, the institutional order of the workhouse debate was a ready-made entity, and he hardly got references to the sources of its making. To an enthusiastic learner, there were two alternatives: either to adopt or reject the facts, the introduced ideological scheme of poor relief, which included e.g. procedures for interpreting social ills, and collecting and organizing the complexities of “real life“. However, being a potential candidate for membership in the State government, the two alternatives put him into a difficult contradiction. As a result of that, I believe, he ended up abandoning his personal knowing about the realities of the everyday lives of the Finnish rural poor. He came to agree that in the textually and factually constructed world of the more urban workhouse debate, his personal knowing of the circumstances of the Finnish rural poor lacked all authority.

It is a common feature of textual debates that views adopted through experience are not recognized in the light of objectifying texts. The presence of the knowing subject is discarded. The other characteristics include the fact that this knowledge starts to reorganize both people’s social consciousness and their relations to each other and the social phenomena they deal with. The facts of the discourse start to condition the acting and thinking of those involved. (see Smith 1988, 220S222; Smith 1990b, 70S80). It follows that the newcomer in a particular discourse of ruling enters a relationship where he or she is at first a learner and soon a practitioner who is more or less consciously reproducing the discursive or administrative organization of the text. This being the case, the relations between people, like Helsingius’ personal relation to the poor, started to appear as textually mediated instead of personal knowing. It follows that his earlier

¹⁷ In addition to what was said about facts in the introduction, it is important to notice that when a fact of a discourse is constructed in a definite institutional context, its organization reflects this context. A fact belongs to a particular written discourse, and therefore, a fact is again and again, whenever it is recalled in a qualified practice of reading, writing or acting, able to reproduce the organization it maintains. (e.g. Smith 1990b,78-79).

immediate relation to the poor and poverty became textually mediated and organized by the facts of the European workhouse debate, the Poor Law 1879, and later statutes.

3.1.3. The coordination of the institutional processes

An assignment both to complete an institutional order and to accomplish a constitutional coordination of administrative processes of an organization is a duty with exceptional significance. In this work Helsingius' alternatives were in principle many. However, in practice he was bound by the existing statutes, ideological scheme of poor relief, and forms in which the modern relations of ruling in general manifest themselves.

The Chief Inspector started this challenging job by trying to produce the basics for establishing the lacking institutional order of poor relief in the local communities and municipalities. His first major task was to make sure that every municipality prepared adequate local regulations of poor relief in accordance with the statutes of the Poor Law and started to apply them in the daily practices of poor relief. At the same time, he prepared, published and delivered various models of local regulations, and advised municipalities case by case towards, in his own words, a "more humanistic" poor relief. Furthermore, he did local supervision by drawing models for workhouses with all details and by designing printed forms for the various purposes of poor relief practice (see Jaakkola 1994, 132S142).

For an effective realization of the control of municipalities, he also needed to follow up their achievements and negligences. Hence, the Chief Inspector's next emphasis was on creating and regularizing local statistical data collection procedures. Municipalities were not only addressed as receivers of orders and advice, but they were also made accountable: they were due to have inspection books for the remarks of those (doctors, governors, inspectors of poor relief) responsible for controlling the quality of poor relief. Furthermore, the Inspector advanced both by rewards and by force the establishment of municipal workhouses. In this, the resources of his advising were effectively increased by an inexpensive state loan system, which again involved various channels to guide and control municipalities by economic means.¹⁸ (e.g. Helsingius 1918, 70S75; Piirainen 1958a, 218S222).

Finally, by the end of the 1890s, the available administrative measures consisted of a relatively coherent body of tools to maintain the newly established organization.¹⁹ The institutional order with the necessary hierarchy of responsibilities was at first defined and then mediated to the municipalities and to people's everyday life by means of these tools in textual form. On the other hand, the central

¹⁸ Since Panu Pulma (1995) has recently published an illustrative article about the Inspector's reforms in relation to municipalities which in detail describes the measures taken by Helsingius and his relation to municipalities in implementing them, I do not want to repeat his findings of which my following analysis has benefited.

¹⁹ Max Weber (1968) theorizes about the same modernization in organizations in terms of the changing bases of legitimating authority, from traditional authority identified with the person to rational legal forms epitomized by bureaucracy. He also stresses the differentiation of organization from persons as a hierarchical ordered set of offices.

administration thus achieved functional means to control the ongoing expansion of administration in “the social sector of case interventions“, which used to be backward. On the local level, however, the introduction of this kind of ruling and execution of the institutional processes was by no means unproblematic: The Chief Inspector’s affairs were pathbreaking in establishing a completely new kind of relation between the central and local administration, between the state and municipalities (see Pulma 1995). Thus far, municipalities were used to extensive local self-government that was based both on the framing statutes and the varying local beliefs, traditions, and habits (e.g. Helsingius 1927, 202S203); that is, on predominantly local knowledge.

Local practices were in the hands of municipal boards settled by voluntary laymen elected on trust. In municipalities, these male boards were used to exercising the traditional patriarchal authority and thus became the severest opponents of the reforms. There are plenty of documents (e.g. Helsingius 1929, 50S55; Jutikkala 1934, 724S725; Pulma 1995; Piirainen 1958a, 231S252) which speak for the inspector’s reforms of poor relief that did not make sense to “the old guys“, as Helsingius calls them. They insisted on arguing: Why should we use the scarce resources to collect information? Why should we give up a well functioning local poor relief system? From the standpoint of the local actors, who often personally knew the poor and their caregivers as well, the reforms involving the replacement of the well-functioning communal care by an expensive poor house were irrational. The emerging problem of administration had at least two sides: on the one hand, it was a question of redivision of power, but on the other hand, it was also an issue of rationality, consciousness and knowledge. Thus the Inspector did not only have “the old guys“ as his opponents. In order to succeed, he needed to discover ways to gain control over the local forms of control and knowledge that “the guys“, living and acting in the local time, prioritized. He had to subdue the local form of consciousness by the facts of the workhouse debate.

Along with increasing experience, Helsingius developed particular treatment methods to persuade the municipal boards to transform their understanding of the proper order of things. Dealing personally with the resisting “old guys“ was one of his methods. In meetings with a few of them at a time he underlined the importance of delivering positive information and experiences of the results of the reforms he advocated in poor relief. He wrote that he wanted to avoid ordering “the old guys“ face to face. Rather, he applied the formal, i.e. textual, channels of bureaucracy to municipalities in order to force and threaten them by the letter of statutes (e.g. Helsingius 1929, 94S95; Piirainen 1958a, 219; Pulma 1995).

The coordination and control the Chief Inspector of Poor Relief was responsible for was not limited to municipalities, but included various forms of charity as well. At the turn of the century and long afterwards, Finnish poor relief was understood as a system consisting of two major parts: public poor relief organized as an integral part of the state administration and the bureaucratic order (with variously organized parts in it), and the various private associations (cf. Juusela 1921, 312S313). The latter was a free zone with a difference; its status was different, and its principal duty was to assist and supplement public poor relief.

Helsingius (e.g. 1918, 193) himself considered these two parts equally important in his task, and produced several initiatives to create a permanent organization for the relations of public poor relief and private charity. Among them was his initiative in 1893 to set up a central

when the second and remarkably corrected version of Helsingius' handbook of poor relief came out in 1917.

The first Finnish journals of poor relief work saw the light of day in 1912, when Suomen köyhäinhoitoliitto, a newly organized voluntary association for poor relief, founded a journal "Köyhän ystävä" (A Friend of the Poor). However, by the end of the same year this journal was taken over by the state authors of poor relief (Piirainen 1974, 33S34; Jousimaa 1987, 34S36). The journal was renamed "Köyhäinhoitolehti" (Poor Relief Journal; later "Huoltaja" and eventually "Sosiaaliturva"). In addition, a journal for child protection was published in 1909S1910 by the name of "Suojelukasvatus" (Child Protection). In 1922 it was followed by "Lastensuojelulehti" published by the state authors of child protection.

I have made the distinction between the first and second step of development mainly on thematic grounds. It was only from the turn of the century onwards that the knowledge of poor relief discovered the family and childhood as its major objects of education and reorganization in the name of the future of the Finnish nation. This second phase was also significantly contributed to by texts of civil activists both in Finland and abroad. Thus, I can conclude that *köyhäinhoito-oppi*, the constitutive knowledge of Finnish poor relief, was actually initiated by 1916. However, its decisive elements (e.g. self-maintenance, family, childhood, mothering as a target of intervention), were put together as texts by 1908, that is, in twenty years from the beginning of Helsingius' career as a civil servant.

Having defined the developmental phases of poor relief knowledge according to the handbooks of one male author, I want to emphasize that I do not advocate a hero approach to history (see Satka 1994c). Neither do I consider the writing author a marionette in the developing relations of ruling, but a conscious subject who is able to modify the contents of his or her writing within the limits of the particular relations of his or her everyday functioning. It is characteristic of these relations that matters become publishable issues because of their relevance for administrative practices, or practices of ruling, not because they are painful for the authors themselves or for those of whom they write.

In the following, Helsingius and the later developers and pioneers of the texts on Finnish poor relief and social work act as entry points for the emerging relations of ruling of their time in the social dynamics in which the texts were written. Hence, the author comes to represent an actor in particular historically constructed social relations. The view of this research is that the author wrote his or her texts as active and operative pieces in them and for them. The writing practices of the pioneer took place within his/her particular relations to the institution²¹ of poor relief (or another institution), and the necessary precondition of the writing was that the author was him/herself governed by the same social relations as the example of Helsingius illustrated. Thus their texts are social products whose interpretation can take place only after first examining them

²¹ By institution I understand a complex of permanent social relations and actual sequences of interactions which is organized around a distinctive function inside the ruling apparatus (cf. Smith 1988,160).

Finally, what are the invisible but objectifying ground rules of the conceptual practices of Finnish poor relief? In the next section I will make brief comments on Helsingius' method of writing by taking the first Finnish handbook of poor relief as an example. In his writing, the author had foreign, especially Swedish examples of knowledge in poor relief and charity (e.g. Söderling 1967). He took the texts of Poor Law, the statutes that had been decreed after it, and the relevant administrative orders by the Senate as representative of objective data, and collected experiences of those who on the grassroots level had applied the new ideas. (see e.g. Helsingius 1918; Helsingius 1929; Piirainen 1958a, 212S222). In writing the textbook he necessarily made many new connections — for example, he fitted the legal definitions of the poor together with the contemporary moral ideals of a state citizen, men, women and children. By organizing everything in a coherent presentation, the author was able to write for Finnish poor relief the first textual discourse which I call poor relief knowledge.²²

Now I will introduce two examples of the text of the first handbook (its second edition was reprinted in 1917 with few additions) which reveal something about the author's methods of writing. The examples show how some of the above-mentioned methods of writing were put into practice, and how the ideological scheme of the Poor Law of 1879 and the following statutes were modified further in order to produce knowledge for modernizing the poor relief practice. In the following, I will be reading them solely from the point of view of the objectifying ground rules of sociology (see Smith 1989).

The first quotation divides the needy poor into two main categories repeating the discursive facts of the Poor Law about the poor, but adding to them moral characteristics. The moral aspect makes it easy to recognize the principle of separation, and the classification makes it easy to recall it even without the presence of the text. From this follows that at first the introduced organization makes the adoption and reproduction of both institutional consciousness and the other necessary prerequisites of the institution simple, similar to transformed thinking about the poor and poor relief in general. The second quotation presents the main principles of poor relief work. It extends the ideological schemata of the institution to a program, or to an ideal model for the institutional processes of working with the poor, and it also declares the goals of poor relief.

(1)

“Man kan skilja emellan tvenne olika slag af fattiga, nämligen: sådana fattiga, hvilka förskaka och lida, men trygga sin utkomst vid Guds hjälp och idogt arbete, samt sådana, hvilka sakna lust och viljekraft till självförvärv och därför i lättja utsträcka sin hand mot allmosans nådebröd.“

(Helsingius 1899, 2; cf. Helsingius 1917, 14.)

²² *Köyhäinhoito-oppi* was printed in the following forums: three handbooks, tens of advising articles and official letters of the Chief Inspector, his case by case advising letters to municipalities, and since 1895, when the local courses for training and advising in municipal poor relief work started, it was also reproduced by the means of formal education (Piirainen 1958a, 220-221). (Helsingius 1918, 122-134).

It is possible to separate two different kinds of poor, namely: those who suffer but who leave their livelihood in the hands of God and work hard, and those who lack the eagerness and the will to support themselves, and therefore raise their hands lazily towards alms and the bread of charity.

(2)

“1. Mideråriga, vansinniga, vanföra samt af sjukdom och ålderdomssvaghet lidande böra utan afseende å kostnaden erhålla ändamålsenlig vård; särskildt bör barnens uppfostran afse att utan åtskillnad från andra barn dana dem till redbara menniskor, och dugliga medborgare.

2. Arbetsföra hjälpsökande böra, så vidt möjligt, tvingas att försörja sig själva och sina familjer, och bör förty understöd åt dyliga endast undantagvis beviljas och i regeln blot under iakttagande däraf, att fattigvårdsstyrelsen betjenar sig af sitt husbondevälde öfver den understödda. Hvarken regelbunda eller tillfälliga understöd må beviljas utan föregående grundlig undersökning af den begärandes verkliga behov.

Grundad på dessa principer blir fattigvården mer än en hjälp för stunden. Den afser att försona lidande medmenniskor med sitt oblida öde samt att föra arbetssamhet och goda seder till fattiga kojor, där elände förr varit rådande. Den afser slutligen, att befria samhället ifrån en mängd orättmätiga understödstagare för att i desto högre grad kunna egna sin uppmärksamhet åt verkligt behöfvande.“

(Helsingius 1899,16; cf. Helsingius 1917,25-26).

1. Those who are underage, mentally handicapped, crippled or suffer from illness or are weak from old age must receive appropriate care in spite of the cost. Especially, in the case of children, it must be ensured that they are brought up the same way as all the other children and that they will grow into trustworthy human beings and good citizens.

2. Those who are capable of working must be forced, if possible, to take care of themselves and their families. Help must be given only exceptionally and generally the municipality should only observe the situation. The municipal board of poor relief gains the master's rights of possession over those who receive poor relief. Neither continual nor temporary help must be given without preceding thorough inspection of the true need of the applicant.

Based on these principles, poor relief will become more than just a temporary relief. It means compensating fellow citizens for their hardship, but also directing employment and sowing good seeds to the houses of the poor where misery used to reign. It means freeing the society of those who receive help for no reason and giving more help to those who really need it.

The handbook states that poverty has two basic main causes: it is either a natural consequence of the existing circumstances (like weather conditions or discontinuity in one's employment), or it is caused by the moral characteristics of the person. The strategic division goes along with one's willingness to work combined with one's fear of God, which always go together in Helsingius' thinking. On the other hand, this division can also be characterized as a lack of morality which is

to him a consequence of sin, especially drunkenness and adultery. (Helsingius 1899, 2S3; see also Helsingius 1913, 39S40; Helsingius 1917, 14S15, 170S172).

Accordingly, there are two ideal types of poor: a hard-working believer in God, and a lazy and ignorant person. These categories are not nouns to apply in investigating and reporting a relief applicant. They are abstractions necessary for the ideological building of the institutional order, not discursive facts or diagnoses that one can use for working with the poor at the grassroots level of practice. In his second handbook, Helsingius presents a more completed classification of children's moral status in the following hierarchical order: the neglected (*laiminlyödyt*), the poorly cared for (*huonosti hoidetut*), the ill-mannered (*pahantapaiset*), and juvenile delinquents (*nuorisorikolliset*; see Helsingius 1907, 7S11). This classification is a precise quotation from the Scandinavian discourse of social defense at the turn of the century (cf. Pulma 1987, 105S111; Stang Dahl 1985, 85S99).

Nevertheless, the following working procedures are not a result of these facts, but a result of the previous classification on moral grounds (see the second quotation), or, alternatively, they are a result of the available measures like nurseries, Sunday schools, and enlightening and advising of mothers (Helsingius 1907). Again, this kind of conceptual practice is more likely a part of the ideological building procedures of the institution than a serious effort to develop a precise interpretive method for categorizing social ills. By this I mean that in the above quotations the ideological scheme of the institution is also present. It says that the main aim of poor relief to children is not only to maintain, but to educate them to become good citizens; not only to aid, but also force and threaten the able-bodied to support themselves, and to promote the proper way of life in poor families. Thus poor relief work was not an activity meant for the best of the poor as such, but its primary aims were connected to the success of the Finnish nation. The poor were to be made useful for the purposes of the nation, and simultaneously for the interests of those who held power.

The only "hard" tools for the interpretive activities of social ills in the handbook are the ready-made forms (e.g. Helsingius 1899, 146S148). They are meant to be filled out by a "tillsyningsman", a local volunteer, in general a member of the municipal board of poor relief (or municipal administration), in each meeting with a relief applicant and relief receiver. The first meeting, when the need is investigated, includes a description in the words of the visitor about the family conditions, relatives, housing conditions, money, debts, state of employment and health, and the applicant's moral status. In the following meetings, the emphasis of visiting is on control; on how the given dole has been spent, and on advising. Thus, my conclusion is that the method of interpretation and representation of the first handbook was only poorly developed from the standpoint of textual governing. It missed both a theoretical model and the particular procedure of interpretive practice that derives from the former.

Despite the primitive status of the Helsingius's interpretive practice, the text makes it clear that the particular individual whom the investigation concerns, is not as such the starting point. The particular everyday life of a poor person is simply not the main issue. In fact, the presence of the poor becomes consciously disregarded in the following administrative process. In the "textual

time“ that he advocated, in the meeting with the board the written description of the case is the only legitimate basis for aid. On the other hand, this was how relief giving became in practice connected with the administrative ways of documenting, and with the mode of the institutional organization of the ruling apparatus in general.

Finally, in the light of the above analysis, the constitutive texts of Helsingius reveal themselves as capable of organizing the documents that mediate and interpret the institutional order of poor relief. However, at the same time the method of interpretation that is really important, e.g. for a practitioner who reads the text and whose duty is to mediate in the chaos of people’s everyday problems and their administrative processing, is inadequate and poorly developed. Thus, his texts left plenty of room for the common know-how and particularized knowledge against which Helsingius had been fighting successfully in some other respects.

4 A Fennoman's contribution to poor relief

At the beginning of the new century, it became evident that the Poor Law and the related statutes from the late nineteenth century were not sufficient as such for the statutory basis of poor relief. The number of practicing volunteers was increasing, and the target of the intervention was specialization on individuals, homes, quality of home life, child rearing, housekeeping, and mothering.²³ State committees were set up to get suggestions for the reforms (cf. Jaakkola 1994, 118S121).²⁴ However, the political relations prohibited government bills from becoming accepted by the Russian Tsar. Hence, the necessary reforms were forced to take place in local practices, and primarily by the civil activists, whose efforts were often supported by the Chief Inspector of Poor Relief.

In voluntary poor relief and enlightenment, there were then at least two main groups of civil activists who were influential partners of the public authors in poor relief. At first, there were the local women's associations in towns. Besides almsgiving, their focus since 1890s was increasingly on the homes of working-class families (see Markkola 1994). The second type of local interest group in the matters of the poor also emerged in towns in the 1890s. They consisted of young intellectuals, men and women, who were somehow connected to nationalist ideology and in particular to the movement called Fennomania. Their main reorganizing influence on the poor relief institution took place via a new discourse, that of *shepherding*. It was imported from Germany especially by one of the activists, Konrad Fredrik Kivekäs.

Jouko Jaakkola (1984, 128S131) describes illustratively the occurring transformation of tradition in the poor relief practices in Tampere, a developing center of textile industry. The educated groups started to gain a foothold in local poor relief from 1894 when a new board of laymen was elected to administer and run the local poor relief. The board consisted of academically trained persons, teachers, and young intellectuals, some of whom were known as active Fennomans. Since 1894 the chairmen came from the educated class and they were socially enlightened, and some of them were even familiar with the new European ideas of social policy. The result was that the poor relief work of Tampere also started to be transformed: it was paying more attention to individual treatment of the poor. However, at the same time it carefully took into consideration the family, e.g. children's familial upbringing, and, on the other hand, class-relations and the old responsibility of the upper classes to those groups in society who lived in poverty. In a few years a new organization of poor relief work, Elberfeld's system, which coordinated the

²³ Dispersing families was a common and recommended practice of poor relief work as long as the workhouse debate and the Poor Law were the dominating knowledge base. From the 1890s on, Helsingius started to emphasize a new principle. One indication of this is that whenever his texts deal with women, one elementary characteristic discussed is always motherhood or the quality of mothering. His firm opinion since then was that municipal poor relief should never break down families, since they are invaluable for children when growing up. In particular, the bond between child and mother was inviolable to him. (Helsingius 1907, 15).

²⁴ See e.g. Ehdotus suojelukasvatuksen järjestämiseksi I. Komiteamietintö 1905:9a; Ehdotus suojelukasvatuksen järjestämiseksi II. Komiteamietintö 1905:9b; 17.3.1879 annetun köyhäinhoitoasetuksen tarkastuksesta. Komiteamietintö 1907:9.

above-mentioned ideas into a coherent system, was introduced. It invited plenty of new volunteers, and combined the efforts of the new and old civil activists and the public poor relief into a flexible local network in every community of the town.

The following analysis leaves the women's associations as developers of the Finnish poor relief out of focus. This is not accidental but more a consequence of the fact that in Finland there were no such female authors like Agda Montelius and Ellen Key in Sweden, who wrote extensive texts for common people interested in social intervention, and were often quoted by the Finnish men and women engaged in poor relief. The Finnish charity ladies published from 1890s to 1910s only a few articles on their work with the poor (e.g. Yrjö-Koskinen 1913). The analysis of these articles in the social relations of their time exceeded my resources for this study, since so far there has been only little previous research concerning the Finnish female charity work during these particular decades (cf. Markkola 1994; Ramsay 1993; Saarinen 1994). Thus it was Finnish men who dominated the voluntary textual world, the starting point of this study.

The first textual contribution that grew from local, voluntary activities and eventually became an important source and medium in the reorganization of public poor relief and the developing relations of ruling is the texts of Kivekäs. My questions to them and their author are these: Who was this volunteer? What were the extended social relations he was involved in? How was it possible that the texts of an outsider in the public administration were able to become so influential? In addition, I will explore what were the new social relations that the discourse of shepherding introduced in the actual practices of poor relief. At the local level the new discourse was not meant to replace the workhouse discourse, but they both were believed to be valid and used simultaneously (cf. Kivekäs 19.9. 1894).

4.1 The reformer and his reform program

Konrad Fredrik Kivekäs was born a member of the estate of clergy in 1847. As a young student in the 1870s he became an enthusiastic supporter of the Fennomian ideology and an enthusiastic activist of the temperance movement since its inception. He translated his Swedish surname into Finnish. Among Fennomans this was a common habit, and a sign of one's real dedication to the nationalist ideology, the Finnish language and Finnish culture.

Kivekäs was a journalist and publisher. His small publishing company, Oman Kannan Kirjapaino, had a nationalistically oriented newspaper, and it was translating and publishing educational foreign literature. Being the head of the company and knowledgeable in foreign languages, he had access to the contemporary European discourses of social intervention. Thus his company translated and published, for instance, enlightening temperance literature into Finnish.

In 1894 Kivekäs as a layman was elected head of the municipal board of poor relief in his home town Oulu in northern Finland. He immediately started to enthusiastically improve local poor relief. In the same year Kivekäs visited Elberfeld, a small town in Germany. It was known for its innovative system of poor

relief. As a result of the visit, in 1910 he published an extensive handbook, “Elberfeldin järjestelmä, sen synty ja kehitys“ (The system of Elberfeld, its birth and development). The book introduced in detail the German novelty. It was a collection of the local documents related to organizing poor relief. Put together, the German documents give a very precise textual inscription of its functioning. According to the foreword (Helsingius 1910; Kivekäs 1910), the book was published for the enlightenment and advice of charity associations and municipal boards of poor relief for developing their practices. The author did not think that the German model and organization should be applied to Finnish conditions as such, nor did he think that the “need“ for such an organization was the same as in the society of its origin. (cf. Kivekäs 1910, Foreword).

From the point of view of this study, the contribution of Kivekäs as an originator and editor-in-chief of a northern Finland newspaper, *Kaiku*, from 1877 to 1906 is also of interest. The newspaper has been described as a local advisor and inspirer in nationalist thought as well as in the matters of culture and economy. One feature common to Kivekäs’ texts as an editor-in-chief, and the Fennomans in general, is an active criticism of the non-nationalist state bureaucrats.

My sources of Kivekäs’ life events mention the activities of Kivekäs in which Mrs. Kivekäs constantly assisted him — namely, editorial and clerical work. This brief detail is an illustrative reminder of the daily relations of men and women in the family, and of the contemporary gender relations in general, under which Kivekäs developed the influential reform of Finnish poor relief. (*Kansallinen elämäkerrasto* 1930, 168S169; *Kuka kukin oli* 1961, 248).

The reasons that Kivekäs presented publicly for the local reform of the poor relief in Oulu were the following:

“1. Köyhäinhoitohallituksen jäsenet eivät jouda isosti muuhun kuin almujen jakoon; köyhyiden syitten tutkiminen ja köyhyiden juureen käsiksi ryhtyminen jää heiltä enimmäkseen toimittamatta.
2. Useimmista satunnaisen eli väliaikaisen avun saajista tulee vakituisia kunnan elättejä.
3. Avun saajain luku karttumistaan karttuu ja vähenemisestä ei näy merkkejä.
4. Heidän röyheydensä käy yhä sietämättömämmäksi, kiitollisuudesta ei puhuttakaan.
... Vika on pintapuolisessa köyhäinhoidon käytännössä, siinä niin sanoaksemme virkavaltaisessa hengessä, jossa köyhät kohdellaan, melkeimpä yhtäläisellä tavalla kaikki, niinkuin olisivat todellakin pelkkiä vaivaishoitoasetuksen esineitä, eikä eläviä henkilöitä, joilla on eri tarpeet itse kullakin...” (*Kaiku* 2.7.1894)

1. The members of the poor relief committee do not have time for anything other than delivering dole; evaluation of the real causes of poverty as well the work regarding the roots of poverty is often not done.
2. Most of those who get temporary dole become constant dependents of the municipality.
3. Day by day the number of relief receivers increases, and there is no sign of any decrease.
4. Their impudence and requests increase to an unbearable extent, and gratefulness is out of the question.
...The problem lies in the superficial practice of poor relief, so to speak, in the bureaucratic attitude with which poor are treated as routinely as if they only were mere objects of the Poor Law rather than living persons with individual needs...

His first reform point concerns the undeveloped method of investigation as part of the immediate relief work with the poor. For him, an adequate method of investigation is the starting point of an improved system of poor relief. According to him, the ultimate goal should be a detailed study of the root causes of poverty: both how it emerges and develops, and what the causes are, case by case. His opinion is that by becoming aware of the causes, relief work might be able to win “the sickness of poverty“. His new “method“ for the improvement of municipal poor relief centered on personal investigation.

The applied “medical“ gaze to poverty was typical of many of the late nineteenth century European philanthropists (e.g. Donzelot 1980; Palmblad 1990). The term “social ill“ and the idea of an individualized “method“ were both derived from the advancing science of preventive medicine. Thus, Kivekäs writes as follows:

“Tauti ei poistu varsinaisiin taudin syihin kajoamatta; niinpä jos ei köyhyyden syvempiä syitä kaiveta esille, turha on avunanti; köyhä vajoo siitä vain syvemmäs kurjuutensa kuiluun.“ (Kaiku 19.9.1894).

The disease will not disappear without tackling the reasons that cause it: therefore, if the roots of poverty are not dug up, it is useless to give help; the poor will only sink deeper in the abyss of poverty.

The other reasons concern the economic burden of poorly organized relief work in municipalities. They repeat the complaint that was already common in the Senate and municipalities. However, his final point is interesting and new. It says that in the existing poor relief system, the relation of relief givers and receivers is unsatisfactory; instead of being grateful, the latter tended to be disrespectful. Professional social work literature would interpret this defect as lack of relevant method. In the next section, I will at first introduce what new elements the discourse of shepherding introduced in the daily relations of the poor and their voluntary helpers (Chapter 4.2). Then follows an interpretation which rejects the viewpoint of an appropriate method and analyzes the new social relations in and through the extended social relations of Kivekäs’ activity (Chapter 4.3.).

4.2 The discourse of shepherding

In Germany, the pioneers of Elberfeld’s system were educated members who were morally concerned about their relationships to the poor. Their main objective was to develop a system of competently evaluating the pauper’s ability to work. The other purpose was to foster rationally organized poor relief. The needy were divided into disabled and able-bodied; the former were to be helped, the latter were to be sent to work. The development of the new method was motivated by the then common philanthropic thought: “Hilfe von Mensch zu Mensch“.

Elberfeld’s poor relief system was based on the three crucial assumptions that follow:

1. rich and poor should live side by side;

2. they should live in the same neighborhood long enough in order to develop intensive personal relationships;
3. helping requires no specific skill beyond the knowing of a good neighbor.

The practical organization of the system was the following: The town of Elberfeld was divided into ten districts, and every district was subdivided into 15 neighborhoods. One voluntary visitor, a resident of the neighborhood, was made responsible for four poor families at a time. The local visitors formed a district assembly. Applications were addressed to one's own visitor who was due to evaluate the need and present an opinion of each case to the Assembly. While receiving relief, the assisted family was under the supervision and control of the visitor. Thus the ideal visitor had a dual role: she or he was an advising friend of the poor family, while the visitor acted as a watchdog for the financial interests of the town administration.

In the end, Elberfeld's organization is a good example of decentralized public administration carried out by lay people. Actually, it was an example of an intermediating model for organizing local administration in the complex transformation of moving from the collective patriarchal order to that of democratic individualism. (see e.g. Sachsse & Tennstedt 1980, 214-222; Sachsse 1986, 39; also Kivekäs 1910; Sachsse 1993).

4.2.1 The poor and their voluntary helpers

An administrative body of laymen, Kivekäs among them, presented an applied proposal for the supplementary municipal regulations of poor relief in Oulu in 1894. The proposal followed the model and the detailed regulations that were developed in Elberfeld. It was the very first Finnish document that defined the post and duty of a voluntary poor relief worker²⁵, who was not a member of the board, but its particularly honored (*Ehrenamt*) assistant, called "shepherd of the poor" (*köyhäinkaitsija; Armenpfleger*). The requirements and duties of the volunteer were the following:

²⁵ The Poor Law of 1879 and the related statutes recognize in addition to laymen, members of the municipal board of poor relief, chairman, and also *peräänkatsojiamies* (overseer), who did not, however, constitute a separate group of workers. It was a mere nomination for the inspection duty of the member of the board in his (her) own district (see Keisarillisen Majesteetin Armollinen Asetus yleisestä waiwaishoidosta Suomen Suuriruhtinaanmaassa No 10/1879, 11 §; 15 §).

2 §

Kaupunginwaltuusmiehet,
waiwaishoitohallituksen esityksestä,
walitsewat riittävän määrän
köyhäinhoitajia, joita
waiwaishoitohallitus jakakoon tasan
piirien keskelle piirimiehille
apulaisiksi.
Hoitajan wirat ovat tärkeimpiä ja
kunniallisimpia kunnan
luottamuswirkoja, jotka owat
uskottawat niille kaupungin asukkaille,
joissa on yhtäikaa palawa, walistunut
lähimmäisenrakkaus ja lahjoomaton
oikeudentunto...

9 §

Hoitajan tulee olla kaikkein hänen
hoitokuntaan kuuluvien kunnan apua
kaipaawien kansalaisten turwana.
Olkoon hän waiwaishoidon silmänä,
joka pimeissäkin majoissa erottaa
waleet ja todet toisistaan, korwana joka
ei ainostaan kuuntele waiwaisten
walituksia, waan tutkii kurjuuden
syntyä ja sywempiä syitäkin, kielenä,
joka tosi köyhään puolesta puhuu,
mutta eipä myöskään muitten puolesta,
sekä lopulta kätenä, joka hätäisten
waralle kootuista waroista antaa tosi
tarwitsewaisille hänen tarpeensa
mukaisen awun.
Näitä kalliita ja jaloja welwollisuuksia
täyttääkseen tulee hoitajan ahkerasti
käydä hoitolaistensa asunnoissa...
(Kaiku 19.9.1894)

2 §

City councillors, on the basis of the
proposal of the municipal board of
poor relief, will elect a number of
shepherds for the poor, whom the
municipal board of poor relief shall
divide equally between the districts to
serve as district officers' assistants.
The posts of the shepherds are the
most important and honorable
positions of trust in the municipality.
These posts must be given to those
residents of the city who are
simultaneously ardent, enlightened
and charitable, but also incorruptible
in their sense of justice.

9 §

The shepherd must be the mainstay of
all those who need help in the
municipality. May he be the eye of
poor relief who can separate between
truth and lie even in the darkest of
houses. May he be the ear who not
only listens to the poor, but also
explores the birth of misery and its
deepest reasons. May he also be the
tongue who speaks for the truly poor,
but not for the others. And finally,
may he be the hand who gives for
those who are in need from the funds
that are collected for helping the poor.
In order to fulfill his duties, the
shepherd must frequently visit the
houses of the needy...

Moreover, the local model regulations say that shepherds for the poor should be elected among men and women who are known as decent people and are themselves willing to begin the honored voluntary work among the poor of the district of their residence. In this case, the volunteer was considered qualified for the duty when having “an enlightened and burning love to one’s neighbors“, in addition to “an unbribable sense of justice“ (Kaiku 19.9.1894).

The volunteer was responsible for making regular, educational visits to the needy poor or poor families in their homes. During these visits, he or she was primarily a neighbor and friend, and only secondarily a representative of the municipal board. The spokespersons of the shepherd system constantly emphasized that at the core of visiting there must be a personal friendship between the poor and the visitor. All signs of officialdom were to be kept far away from this particular relation, which the authors often describe with highly emotional attributes like “love“ and “care“ (e.g. Kaiku 16.7.1894; Sarlin 1915, 85S86).

As a practical affair, visiting the poor meant to a representative of well-to-do people becoming acquainted with the poor of the neighborhood. The duties included investigating their need for relief, giving advice in various kinds of everyday issues, and following up the daily course of the life of a poor or a poor family. Briefly, it was constant shepherding of the poor neighbor’s way of life from one occasion to another, from one month to another. The other function of the constant visiting was invisible to the poor. That was a constant reporting of the relief receivers’ status, and state of needs to the district member of the municipal board. This side of the voluntary practice will be discussed in the next chapter (4.2.2.).

The workhouses were responsible for those poor who were classified as non-citizens, and thus the work of the voluntary shepherd was primarily targeted to those who were relief receivers at home, children or adults. In other words, the shepherd’s target group were the poor “citizen in potentia“. Kivekäs describes these poor as helpless, and as such comparable to innocent children in need of well-meaning shepherding by someone more knowledgeable:

“...köyhät, kykenemättömiä omin voimin toimeentulemaan, ovat kuin lapsia, joita tulisi joka askeleella opastaa ja holhoa, ja kuinka he eivät kaipaa yksistään ruumiin ravintoa ja verhoa, vaan muutakin taitavaa kohtelua, neuvomista, nuhtelemista, varottelemista — sanalla sanoen kaiken puolista tukemista...” (Kaiku 4.4.1894).

...the poor, helpless to support themselves, are like children, who need nursing and guidance at each step. And they miss not only nourishment and protection for their bodies but also skillful treatment, advice, upbraiding, warning — in a word, all kinds of support...

The above redefinition of the object of poor relief work is clever. It introduces to the reader, who is likely to be one of the well-to-do people, not three ideal types of poor like Helsingius⁵, but one discursive fact, that of the *innocent poor*. The term does not put the main emphasis on the poor's moral status as such, but on their lack of education. The underlying common belief of educated people was that education was the means to improve the moral status of the poor and lower classes in general. According to the belief, popular education was the aid that these groups needed in order to lift themselves out of poverty and social ills. Therefore, the concept of innocent poor does not leave the reader cool, since as a respectable member of the educated class he/she already knows that they have the moral responsibility to enlighten the less educated (cf. Chapter 2.). Thus, the fact and idea of innocent poor acted as a strong invitation to every respectful citizen of the upper classes to begin as a guide and educator of a poor individual, or more likely, a poor family.

In the end, if and when the innocent poor were used as the nomination to coordinate the activities of the representatives of the educated classes in their assistance practices with the poor, it contained a self-evident authority and supervision for the helper over the poor. The poor as members of the uneducated mass are a group of moral suspects. Therefore, according the shepherding discourse, they need particular attention and guidance by the educated. Since the poor's citizenship status is under question, and they are ignorant, they need constant and case-by-case instruction. Only then can one expect that they learn the norms of decent citizenship, like economy, sobriety, industriousness, truthfulness, qualified wifehood, domestic economy, mothering, and child rearing (e.g. Sarlin 1915). In the light of the above, the shepherd's duty and social relation to the poor was organized as a respected, practical instructing of citizenship skills in the different events of everyday life face to face to those who were unreliable as a group. Actually, as a strategy, this was nothing new. The representatives of the educated actualized the same program in various simultaneously unfolding activities — for example, in the Martha-organization, established in 1899 for the domestic economics counseling among country

⁵ The three ideal types of poor by Helsingius were the following (see e.g. Helsingius 1913, 39S40; Helsingius 1917, 14S15, 170S172): *morally blameless female poor* like female widows with many children, *depraved females* like whores, and *morally corrupted males* like drunkards.

women (see Ollila 1993), and in the women's associations of the industrial centers who educated the mothers and homes of the working class (e.g. Markkola 1994).

4.2.2 The system replaces the individual by an account

A new understanding of the poor, the shepherd and their interaction, was not all that the new discourse of shepherding introduced. In addition, it established a new social relation between the poor, the Municipal Board of Poor Relief and the district member of the Board. The elementary newness I want to concentrate on in this restructuring process was the pre-programmed *written documentation*, which Helsingius (1899) also suggested. The shepherd system made the documenting of relief cases a medium of necessary information, because the ideal organization of the relief decision-making no longer presupposed the immediate knowing of the poor.

Prior to the textual discourses of the poor relief work, it was not rare that the needy poor themselves were present in the meetings of the municipal board, being thus personally able to inform the board of their particular circumstances and needs. Under the shepherd discourse, this old tradition was rejected. The new system of administration stopped considering the oral information of relief applicants reliable since for it valid data was to be presented in a textual form. Another characteristic was that the case account presented only a particular version of applicants' everyday life, a version organized by the shepherd discourse.

The systematized practice of documenting the poor arose as a result of two practices. First, the discourse of shepherding introduced an interpretive idea of how to analyze the occurrence of the life events of the case. Kivekäs developed this practice from the existing textual discourses and tradition of poor relief (i.e. the institutional ideology of poor relief, the Elberfeld system, local knowledge) which he filtered through the Fennoman ideology and objectives. Second, the practice of documenting was a result of the procedure of selecting and ordering the observations so that the poor person's everyday life is squeezed into a case account, into a form that is amenable to administrative processing. The reorganizing phase of the process took place by means of a form or booklet. The function of the form or booklet was important: it was the new mediator of information, first from the shepherd to the district member, and then from the district member to the Chairman and the Board in general, about the moral and material status of each needy poor person in the community. In actual practice, the production of the case documents proceeded in the following way:

At first the local board or its representatives prepared the case form or booklet for the shepherd's accounts in the light of the interpretive idea and previous examples. In its making the local boards were at least in principle able to take advantage of both the German models translated by Kivekäs, and the ones the inspector of poor relief introduced in his two handbooks. As soon as the forms were available, the whole administrative system from the board to the shepherds was made responsible for acting organized by these case documents. (cf. Lindberg 1909a, 22S30). In practice it meant that the shepherd was due to fill in the form after each visit to a poor home. Next the case documents were collected in the meeting of the district member and shepherds which always preceded the meeting of the municipal board. At these meetings the shepherds submitted their notes, the documents of the poor to the member. The meeting was mainly informative, but had also a warranting function. That is, if the accounts were not complete from the administrative viewpoint, the member was due to ask for supplementary oral information so that the case would become fully prepared for administrative processing. As a result, the written account became the representation of the actuality of the individual subjected to the administrative process. (cf. e.g. Lindberg 1909a; Sarlin 1915; Nilsson 1916). It follows that the accounts of the poor were since then considered to have a simple and direct relationship to the real life situation they represented.

In the final phase of the administrative processing of the case, i.e. at the decisive meeting of the municipal board, it was in principle possible to get additional verbal information from the shepherd. However, in many municipalities with a shepherd system this was not popular. The laymen's experience was that the female shepherds can speak with emotional concern for the poor, thus causing confusion in the decision-making process. The shepherd's presence at the meeting was sometimes replaced by a board member's visit to the poor family, although the local practices varied. (cf. Lindberg 1909a, 15S30). Thus, the final decision making prioritized information that came from the "virtual reality" that was created by and relevant to the ready-made questions of the board.

A reading through of the forms reveals that what is carefully made visible in the textual mode is the identification of the poor, the poor's income, their living expenses, and moral status. What was ignored was information on the quality of the shepherd's advice or friendship with the poor (e.g. Lindberg 1909a, 27S28; cf. Kivekäs 1910; Helsingius 1917). Kivekäs did not develop the interpretive practice as such any further than did the texts of Helsingius. However, the difference was that the shepherd discourse, or more precisely, the administrative organization of relief work it mediated, necessitated written documents which replaced the missing theory of social intervention and the following

method of intervention. It was the form or booklet that was fundamental for the whole interpretive practice.

From the point of view of the modern state bureaucracy, the newly introduced practice via forms was only a conceptual practice at a preliminary stage. For example, the volunteers were not trained for their tasks. From this follows that instead of training, their “ideological package“ (Smith 1988, 161S162) for the work came from the particularized knowledge that one learns from the tradition, and that has developed in and from actual social relations of local everyday life. In these circumstances, the points that are observable and reportable according to the interpretive idea had to be kept simple; in order to work, they had to be presented on paper, in an easily reproducible form, to each participant. Whereas a modern professional is provided with a procedure for interpreting what goes on in the terms of a professional discourse, in the case of these voluntary shepherds, the whole thing worked the other way round: the case account, the standardized form of institutional description, was the main means to organize a common institutional consciousness.

4.3 The shepherd system and class relations

Until now the analysis of Kivekäs’ texts has taken place on the level of the social relations in “document time“ (see Smith 1990b,74-75). In this and the following section I will change the scope of analysis, since my analytic strategy is based on the assumption that the activities of actual individuals are always embedded in the organization of the extended social relations⁶, like the extended relations of gender and class. My analytic gaze will move from the social relations in the text to the social relations in which the author wrote his texts and in which they formed an operative part. (cf. Smith 1988, 127S143.) Thus, I am going to explore the social relations that structure Kivekäs’ texts about shepherding the poor in order to find out how it was possible that his texts — the texts of a volunteer and opponent of the administrative elite — in the end became so influential and even strongly advocated by those who acted in state administration.

In many of his texts, Kivekäs underlines that poor people should be grateful to the educated classes who in turn are responsible for showing kindness to them. The foreword of his handbook (Kivekäs 1910) reveals his wish and the goal of his textual activities:

⁶ By “extended social relations“ I mean sequences of socially coordinated action in which many individuals unknown to one another are or may be active (see Smith 1988, 133S135).

“...saadaan ihmeitä aikaan; vaivahoito semmoinen, jossa köyhät ja varakkaat joutuvat mieskohtaisesti tekemisiin toistensa kanssa, tulee kasvatustalokseksi kaikille, eikä koidu suinkaan yläluokalle vähemmäksi siunaukseksi kuin alaluokalle.“

...will make miracles; that kind of poor relief that makes the poor and the wealthy to meet each other face to face, will be educational to all participants, and will be no less beneficial to the upper class than it will be to the lower class.

The statement about interaction of different classes in order to educate both of the participants illustrates how immediately his textual practices articulated the class politics of the period. Actually, he introduced Elberfeld's poor relief system as an answer to the problems in class relations. Additionally, the particular enterprise of Kivekäs was connected with the larger social project of the Fennomans' nationalist power campaign against the ruling elite, the Swedish-speaking upper class (see also Satka 1990). Their basic doctrines belong to an alliance of the educated classes and the common people in which the former hold leadership. (cf. Alapuro 1994, 309). In this light, even those citizens who were unable to support themselves, and whom many considered only a despised underclass with a most questionable status as citizens, were suitable political allies — they were “sisters and brothers whom one had to support and help tolerantly, skillfully and with love“ (Kaiku 13.7.1894). Besides other improvements for the working class, the relief reform with shepherds fitted well their group interests. It was one step towards realizing the Fennomanian dream to gain more power and become part of those who hold onto governing (cf. Alapuro & Stenius 1987, 12S19; Sulkunen 1986, 35S39).

From the point of view of the developing Finnish relations of ruling, the years 1905-1907 were very exceptional. Although the country was still under the Russian regime, there was a major reform of government. A new order of parliamentary affairs was passed including a unicameral system of parliament and a common and equal right to vote. It meant that suddenly the lower classes became, from the viewpoint of the educated, literally an unpredictable mass. This fear was proved by the first parliamentary elections in 1906, when the Social Democratic Party got a landslide victory by the votes of the common people. From then on the common people were a mass whose support none of their earlier governors could count on. In the prevailing class relations this process was so fundamental that some scholars have interpreted it as a revolution (see Alapuro 1994, 93S152; also, Rasila 1990).

Another important trend was the transformations in people's citizenship status and in the social relations of gender. Both men and women got an equal right to vote with few exceptions. The exceptions included two essential target groups of poor relief: regular receivers of poor relief and institutionalized vagrants. The order of parliamentary affairs prescribed that they did not have this principal right (Suomen Suuriruhtinaanmaan Asetuskokoelma 26/1906, 5&), which was the symbol of modern individualism and freedom. This important statute reproduced and emphasized poor relief as an institution that is responsible for investigating people's moral status as citizens — a crucial precondition of citizenship in general (cf. Ollila 1994, 69).

Women's common and equal right to vote contributed to their increasing activism in the public sphere. Finnish gender relations had already for decades been an object of constant negotiation. In the late nineteenth century the gender relations became increasingly visible in everyday life (see Rantalaiho 1994, 15S16). Like in most other countries, a particular female citizenship materialized: some groups of women activists declared themselves social mothers, whose particular social responsibilities outside the home included the education and caregiving for the dependants and needy. (e.g. Ollila 1994).

The shepherd system as a reform of poor relief in 1909 became the object of a nationwide discussion fifteen years after Kivekäs had introduced it at Oulu.⁷ Since then, the interest in its benefits increased so that the discussion and experimenting resulted in an important turn for its support in 1913. At the beginning of the year, *Köyhäinhoitolehti* (Ehdotus... 1913), a journal of poor relief that had started to be published a few years earlier, published a proposal for municipal regulations of poor relief with a shepherd system. The state administrators, the makers of the proposal, thus clearly recommended the new organization to municipalities. In addition, a few months later an extensive and noteworthy national Congress of Poor Relief took place in Helsinki, inviting every decent Finn to "save the poor and fallen".

The Congress was initiated by the educated groups in co-operation with the representatives of municipalities and the state administration of poor relief. The organizers also included representatives of the leading women's associations and of the educational elite (e.g. the rector and professors of the only university in the country). The shepherd system was actually the form for the whole program of the Congress, because the principal purpose of the event was to improve the co-operation of the volunteers and the local officials in poor relief practices. In addition to shepherding and domestic

⁷ See the annual reports of the inspector of poor relief: SVT XXI B 17 1910, 6; and SVT XXI B 18 1911, 27.

economics counseling, the increasing activity in many industrialized communities was a target of discussions among men and women who underlined its importance in poor relief and in educating the Finnish people. (Suomen yleisen... 1913, 192S204).

The Congress concluded by making a common declaration which recommended shepherding of the poor to every decent Finn. Thus, the volunteering that Kivekäs had introduced as a representative of the educated people in accordance with his own class interests crystallized in citizens' "general conscription in the war against poverty", to use Kivekäs' formulation on the front page of his handbook (Kivekäs 1910).⁸ Consequently, the Congress became a forum in which the participants were involved in drawing guidelines for a consecutive ideological scheme for national poor relief for the forthcoming reforms. (see Suomen yleisen... 1913). According to the words of the chairman of the Congress, it was meant, however, "to strengthen the Finnish nation" in its struggle for existence (Setälä 1913, 26).

It is interesting that the shepherd system was introduced in the 1890s as an alliance with the common people by the educated people struggling for their own influence, and became widely supported by the ruling class in the 1910s. My conclusion about the initial delay and the great interest in shepherding that followed is this: When the antithesis between the upper classes and the poor masses was growing, the system developed a useful means to negotiate between the well-to-do and the poor in terms of class relations. In 1915, Axel Nilsson (1915,61, cf. Kivekäs 1910,v), a poor relief inspector from the inspectorate of poor relief wrote:

"Kuta persoonallisemmaksi ja yksilökohtaisemmaksi köyhäinhoitotyö muodostetaan, sitä pienemmäksi on varmaan supistuva köyhälistön luokkavihakin."

The more personal and individual poor relief work becomes, the less class hatred the proletariat is likely to show.

The bourgeois groups were enthusiastic to build networks of apparent solidarity between the various social classes (cf. Alapuro 1994, 101). In the changing circumstances, an atmosphere of confidence among the people was no longer important only because of the Russian threat to the governing classes. The common people had become another, and

⁸ In the Poor Relief Act, passed in 1922, the shepherd system became legitimated as an organization of local poor relief work throughout the country.

even more important threat against which they wanted to protect themselves. Therefore, since 1907, the popularity of the shepherd system increased rapidly from the Fennomans to other groups who had become concerned for their status in the changing relations of governing. In those circumstances, the shepherd system became one of the forums and means to negotiate Finnish class relations, and simultaneously it also became a forum for negotiating the relations between men and women (see Chapter 4.4.).

4.4 The revised gendered division of labor

The adoption of the shepherd system as part of Finnish poor relief passes for an illustrative case example of how women's participation in poor relief and social mothering was normalized as a secondary and clearly separate sector in a field that was already established as a sphere of male public administration. Moreover, it passes for an example of a textually reproduced, gendered division of labor in an institution that was under reconstruction. The division of labour was originally established by the constitutional statutes of the poor relief according to the contemporary gender order, but the expansion of shepherding meant an important revision of the institutional gender order.

Women were traditionally both in their organized associations and as individuals the initiators and activists who developed child care, orphanages, nurseries, and child education. In addition, their charity associations had a long tradition of helping the same groups of poor, but the new activists were also interested in the "citizen in potentia". However, poor relief as such was never a women's interest since it was an integral part of municipal administration, i.e. part of men's public sphere. It was simply impossible to include many of the tasks of poor relief in social mothering. Therefore, it was common that women became participants in poor relief work by either being invited by enlightened laymen, as was the case in Jyväskylä, or by being urged by the state officials of poor relief. (see Satka 1994a, 262S271).

Helsingius' opinion of women in poor relief work was, for the second time, strengthened remarkably when he became aware of the crucial meanings of mothering and childhood from the point of view of making decent citizens. Ever since the inspector kept insisting that municipal poor relief cannot succeed in its responsibility of educating poor children in becoming decent citizens, and of making their mothers qualified, without educated women (e.g. Helsingius 1907). For him, the shepherd system was an ingenious solution. First, it brought to the field an abundance of the necessary caring labor free and thus improved the quality of caring and control. Second, the educated female shepherds were ideal partners since they, as learned citizens, in their volunteering followed the given textual mode, and helped to break up the deeply ingrained resistance of "the old guys".

At first, the shepherd system was adopted in towns. Contrary to Germany and the first regulations of Oulu, which considered men and women equal as shepherds, it became common that the majority of Finnish shepherds in towns were women (cf. the early example of Jyväskylä). In many cases they were members of the local women's charity association. Along with the increasing municipal interest in the shepherd system, the state officials started to address appeals

to educated women to remind them of their calling as women of the better-off classes. They invited women again and again to take over their social responsibilities as the shepherds of poor relief (e.g. *Köyhäinhoitolehti* 1916; Nilsson 1915; Nilsson 1916).

In the decades of the national poor relief inspection, several local disputes between the officials of the national government and the laymen of the municipalities about women's participation in poor relief work as the legal members of the municipal boards emerged. According to the statistics of the poor relief inspection in 1904, over one third of the local regulations mentioned: "a small number of women must be elected" (SVT XXI B 12, 1905, 4S5). However, the laymen of the municipalities did not live in the same textual time as the state. In this particular case the excuses were many: women are not active as members, they speak emotionally for the poor, their behavior is not rational in the meetings, etc. (see also Satka 1994a, 268S269). On the other hand, many details of the regulations, and most likely also this one, were a result of the Chief Inspector's constant pressure (cf. Pulma 1995): the unanimous opinion of the state officials was that every municipality had to have women in poor relief work. Meanwhile, most of the laymen were totally opposed to such requirements, since in their locally organized consciousness, the textually mediated discoveries like the peculiarity of "the mother-child relation" had no site.

However, there are no documents by laymen or others that would show resistance to women as shepherds in the same way in which they were resisted as members or chairmen of the municipal board of poor relief. Instead, from the beginning of the 1910s, there is an increasing number of documents which speak for the importance of personal care and advice in housekeeping that only women can give to poor families (e.g. Sarlin 1915, 86). Why this difference? The simple answer is: women as shepherds follow the dual logic of gender order, whereas women with equal status as members of the municipal boards do not. In the latter case, there was not enough formal separation in responsibilities, and the integrity of the men in local administration was threatened. In the social relations of Finnish municipal administration, the government, in general, was in the hands of a few men which formed an inviolable local power elite (e.g. Alapuro 1994, 55, 84). Women as equals did not fit into the developing mode of ruling; it was a violation against the contemporary relations of gender. To an organization of dominantly female shepherds and male decision-makers, it was possible to attach all the contrary but complementary attributes of females and males; to bring the gender difference and the following hierarchy into its institutional existence in poor relief.

This new organization of labour was initially implemented by the first paid male officers of poor relief in larger towns and supported by the poor relief counselors, beginning from 1909, the same year the shepherd system started to gain increasing popularity. In addition, the first municipal employees of poor relief started an active textual advocacy for a reorganized division of labour in the local poor relief work. In their articles they developed further the discourse that Kivekäs had introduced. They said that their purpose was to make the functioning of the local poor relief more reliable and objective, in addition to being a real educational instance to the poor. (e.g. Lindberg 1909a, 13S14; Sarlin 1915, 94; Nilsson 1916). In the same texts the authors started to also make a clear difference between the two kinds of poor relief work and function: between immediate personal interaction and administration; and between the personal and legal function of poor relief (e.g. Malmberg 1913, 76S78; Sarlin 1916, 78S79, 85S86). Their opinion was that the investigation of need includes both the legal and the personal aspect, whereas administration is limited to the first.

Thus, it was the shepherd discourse that gave to the men of the civil associations and the civil servants conceptual tools to draw once again the limits of the spheres that were “for men only“, and “for both women and men“, and to attach to them the corresponding gendered attributes and the gender-based hierarchical order. Consequently, the shepherds were placed in a hierarchical relation first to the district member, and then to the municipal board of poor relief. All in all, the discourse made possible the necessary revision of the gender order of the poor relief and reproduced the ideological scheme of the institution.

In actual practice, the textual divisions organized the work so that it started to require different qualifications from the workers. Local knowledge was no more enough for everybody. According to the authors, the poor individual’s personal investigation, for example, deals with his or her inner life, issues of morality and will. Therefore, according to the authors, working with the poor requires qualified humanism, knowledge of human nature, and sensitivity. Since the main function of the legal investigation was securing the rights of both the poor and the municipality, it required a good knowledge of the bureaucratic mode and the paragraphs of law (Sarlin 1916, 78S79). An illustrative example of the difference in the thoughts of the actual actors is an initiative that was made in 1909 at a Poor Relief Conference in Tampere concerning the competencies of the workers. It was suggested that the administrators of poor relief should get a university degree, while the shepherds are qualified enough if they are decent citizens and have a warm heart (Lindberg 1909b, 6).

5 Civil servants as conceptual practitioners

“The general conscription in the war against poverty“ became an extensive movement for more friendly relations between the poor and the educated in the 1910s. However, in 1918 the paternal governing of the poor by the upper classes came to a sudden end. The social relations of the poor and their earlier masters went through a major transformation, and the previous discourse was supplemented by some new conceptual discoveries. In the next section I will first present the historical events that preceded these rapid changes and then introduce the textual actors who contributed to the shaping of those new practices.

Finland was declared independent in 1917 in the shadow of the Russian revolution. In the following months the radically politicized working class movement²⁶, the social democrats, and the Reds on the one hand, and the bourgeois groups, the Whites, on the other, were driven into violent conflict.²⁷ The Finnish Civil War in 1918 was one of the bloodiest in European history. Most of the 30 000 killed were Reds, who incidentally lost the war. The war left over 5000 families in a desperate situation. Most of these families consisted of three or more children and a mother. Finally, the number of children in need of care and social support increased to about 20 000. Over 1000 of them had become full orphans, or were without a parent able to take care of their upbringing and maintenance. (Pulma 1987, 130S133).

Such being the case, the urgent problems were the following: the maintenance of survivors, children and mothers, and the care and upbringing of the Red children who had become orphans. The winners were also concerned with how to integrate the beaten Reds into society. In the young and divided nation, the victors' interest and ideal was a united population that is physically strong, loyal and patriotic. The common contemporary belief was that only such a population would maximize the power of the nation (e.g. Ylppö 1919; Korppi-Tommola 1990, 18S83). Hence, the

²⁶ The Finnish working class movement was exceptionally rural. Owing to Finland's late industrialization and close linkage between the industrial and agricultural transformations, the industrial and agrarian proletariat developed simultaneously and were linked together. Consequently, the capitalist transformation was felt in both town and country. This was mainly because the main industrial sector, forestry, was strongly linked with the countryside, where in 1910 nearly half of the industrial workers lived. Another peculiarity of the Finnish working class was that its rapid and powerful penetration into the polity since 1906 made it focus on the state rather than on direct confrontation with the capitalist class. (see Alapuro 1988).

²⁷ The revolution that emerged has been interpreted as a climax of a rapid and shared political mobilization of the working class and the rural proletariat. The situation led at first to the rise of multiple sovereignty; socialists were debarred from political power while bourgeois organizations tried to promote law and order. Finally, in the social circumstances of worsening food shortage, the country drifted into revolution (Alapuro 1988,167). The military guards were called on both sides, and a military conflict and civil war became unavoidable in late 1917. (Alapuro 1990; Alapuro 1988, 110S115, 160S176.)

public institutions of moral regulation, such as the church and public school (compulsory since 1921), and in some respects also poor relief, gained importance; they were means of the hegemonic project.

The events of the war caused immediate transformations in the relations of ruling, between social classes, and between the state and civil society. From the point of view of this study, it is important to note that the new state rested on an unstable basis; among the Finns, there existed not one but two very different discursive understandings about what had happened. The winners thought that they had finally freed Finland from the Russian bolshevists allied with the Finnish workers, while the latter understood the confrontation as the attempt of the working class to defend itself against the Finnish bourgeoisie. Furthermore, the winners started to emphasize that there was a deep moral division between themselves and the rebellious Reds. Two corresponding White modes of speaking about the war emerged. The first called it the “war of freedom“, emphasizing honor, heroism, and sacrifices, while the other mode of speaking called it a “rebellion“ or a “civil war“, considering Reds useless, miserable and deceitful, describing the war in terms of terror and persecution. (cf. Alapuro 1994, 305S307; Ketonen 1983, 27S34.)²⁸

To support their power, the ruling apparatus needed the most powerful discourse possible, which they found in the law. Thus the lawyers occupied the leading positions of the public administration, including poor relief (Haatanen 1992, 37S50).²⁹ When the social position of lawyers was powerful in the state machinery, the consequence was that legal discourse started to become the language of ruling throughout the public sphere. (e.g. Aarnio 1990; Tuori 1990; Ketonen 1983, 79S80, 140S143). In the end, the major structures of the political institutions remained the same, although the Whites held control over the state machinery, and the Communist party was declared illegal.³⁰

²⁸ It has been argued that this dual view of people originated in the way in which a Finnish person was commonly perceived. The dominant prewar view of people emphasized loyalty and obedience as the foremost characteristics of a Finn. The civil war severely violated this view. It has been explained in the following way: the violent, struggling Red did not fit into the existing picture of a Finn. The Whites rather saw the trouble-makers as dangerous and unreasonable. They saw the Reds as strangers in relation to their view of a Finn, and regarded them as inferior to even the ignorant masses of the nineteenth century, whom they knew and whose guidance and enlightenment the educated classes had declared as their previous responsibility. (Ketonen 1983, 123S135).

²⁹ The status of lawyers was high since they had become the leading administrative elite of the country in the Grand Duchy of Finland. Many of them were deeply embedded in the constitutionalist interpretation of the law (e.g. Klami 1977; Kontinen 1991). Constitutionalists, traditionally strong in their emphasis on the maintenance of social order and stability by the means of law, saw the prevention of illegal actions as their main duty after the Civil War. In addition, they underlined “law and order“ as the means of national integration and the prevention of further upheavals (cf. Kalela 1989, 70, 79S80).

³⁰ Whites’ Civil Guard was institutionalized as nationwide (besides the regular army) to defend the country against external and internal threats. The power of the bourgeois dominance is well reflected in that nothing strange was seen in establishing this link with the previous White troops and the state. (Alapuro 1988, 204).

Finnish citizenship was redivided into first and second class citizenship, following the divisions of the Whites and Reds. This division became deep and long-lasting, not least because drifting into a violent conflict was a great surprise on both sides. The educated classes, the builders of alliance with the common people, experienced the conflict as incomprehensible (e.g. Alapuro 1990). From their point of view, the masses that they had wished to rule had become the opposite of what the educated classes had planned, i.e. violent anarchists. The war meant a sudden change in the relations between classes. New strategies to maintain societal peace became a question of the day.

The relations of the state and civil society were radically transformed as well. Various segments of the Right made attempts to re-integrate the nation. They made efforts to create an interclass *Gemeinschaft*. The strategy was to strengthen the state and its prerequisites of governing from the outside by means of a strong, loyal and unified civil society. For these purposes, the winners constructed a new, unified nationalist culture on revived peasant values, and required strict ideological conformity. Another line in the Whites' integration policy was establishing right-wing mass organizations in order to promote their hegemonic ends in fields like youth education and social care (Siisiäinen 1990, 31S33; Siisiäinen 1988, 34; also, Siisiäinen 1989). Bourgeois voluntary organizations were often developed in close financial co-operation with the state and the industrial capital. In some cases, for example, in children's preventive care and protection, the bourgeois mass organizations also gained a semi-official status in the state administration. (Alapuro 1990, 251S252; Alapuro 1988, 177S207; Alapuro & Allardt 1978, 123S126).

The working class tried to help their suffering members by organizing self-help (e.g. Sulkunen 1989, 75; Pulma & Kauppi 1990, 459S462). The Reds stayed away from the bourgeois mass organizations, church, and other institutions of the governing apparatus. Their choice was cultural and social isolation. In almost every field of life, they started their own organizations to protect themselves against the hegemonic communality of the Whites that the church, public school, and poor relief mediated (see Kettunen 1986, 157S162). The consequence was a strict division in two different worlds of everyday life. Even popular free time activities were organized separately. In local communities, the Reds gathered together around the workers' halls, while Whites' cultural events took place in the civil guard halls. (Kettunen 1986, 155S157). This social separation lasted throughout the interwar period.

After the war, the need of well-organized social intervention to deal with hunger, despair and insecurity of all kinds was an urgent matter. The leadership of the assistance was in

the hands of the civil servants at the National Board of Social Affairs³¹, which was part of the apparatus of governing and thus acted according to the Whites' world view (Haatanen 1992, 117). It was responsible for smoothing over the gap that had emerged between Finnish people. The tasks of the civil servants included securing social peace and the promotion of the national integration.

The scope of the emerged task of assistance, control and surveillance exceeded both the resources and skills of the civil servants at the newly reorganized social administration. Furthermore, there existed no plan or previous experience of how to organize all such intervention in the exceptional circumstances of the time. Even useful foreign models or examples of analogous experiences were hard to find (e.g. *Komiteanmietintö* 1919:11, 2S3). Thus, the civil servants were in a situation which necessitated the production of categories and concepts that extended the institutional scheme of poor relief and its interpretive practices as required by the widening scope of the regulation and control of the winners. At the same time, and beyond their everyday practices, they came to act as modifiers of the modernizing relations of ruling.

The texts that the civil servants produced during the few years following the Civil War range from forms and regulations to a textbook, articles, and booklets. A closer reading of the documents together with the politically representative reports of the state committees, in which the same civil servants had a decisive role, reveals that the same themes of discussion are repeated. The texts seem to have a common discursive content, that is, a relatively coherent and unified conceptual apparatus of facts, beliefs and opinions (except a few emotional outbursts during the months that followed the war, see e.g. *Köyhäinhoitolehti* 1918a, 14S15). Together with the administrative orders given by the same authors, these texts introduced a new kind of "program" for the local recipients of poor relief with children, mothers and families.

The following sections will make "the program" visible as part of the social relations of its production. My questions to the texts and their authors are the following: How were the conceptual practitioners different from their predecessors? What were their everyday social relations like? And what were the changes that they introduced into poor relief?

After the Civil War there slowly emerged a whole new vocabulary that was to replace the concepts of poor relief in a broader context of "huolto". It was an umbrella concept that covered public poor relief (both institutional and outdoor), child care, child protection, and all kinds of voluntary and private social intervention, e.g. in the fields of

³¹ In 1922 the National Board of Social Affairs (*Sosiaalihalitus*) was reorganized as part of the Ministry of Social Affairs (*Sosiaaliministeriö*; see Haatanen 1992, 37S50). In referring to them I will be using its current name.

probation, care of the disabled, and child welfare (see Juusela 1921, 312S313). Despite the fact that, throughout the interwar period, the cornerstone of poor relief was the Act of Poor Relief, relief activities were commonly dominated by terms like public welfare (*huoltotoimi*) and welfare work (*huoltotyö*).

There is no exact translation for *huolto* in English, but the related meanings are: welfare, maintenance, and custody. Piirainen (1974, 65S66) notes that the term was first used by the state Committee for Red war-orphans, and became soon commonly used. This rapid generalization was connected, among other things, with the argument whether child welfare belongs under poor relief or is an independent sector of social intervention. The argument lasted from the first state Committee of Child Protection (Komiteanmietintö 1905:9a; Komiteanmietintö 1905:9b) until the law of child protection was passed in the 1930s (e.g. Pulma 1987, 144S165). For the civil servants of poor relief, who considered child welfare only an extension of poor relief (e.g. Helsingius 1907, 237-241), the new concept became an easy solution to overcome this, from their point of view, difficult dispute, and to emphasize the expanding coverage of poor relief and to expand the field of their governing.

5.1 Who were the civil servants?

The social administration of the state became reorganized as part of the Finnish ruling apparatus during the years 1917 and 1918. Both the newly-gained independence and the coordination of the necessary social intervention in the horrible consequences of the Civil War required a well-functioning administration. Hence the regional poor relief inspection was implemented.³² The country was divided into five districts instead of four, and the poor relief inspectors were as before responsible for both inspecting, that is, for control, and giving advice to those who were running the local practices of the municipal poor relief. What was distinctively different from the time before, was that the top management of poor relief was given to lawyers for the decades following 1917. (Haatanen 1992, 37S45; Piirainen 1974, 72S75).

Furthermore, the documentary practices became considerably developed since the new organization included a separate department of documentation. Documentary activities

³² The events of the war led the civil servants to look critically at their own activities. Thus, they discovered that in children's foster care they had paid attention only to the physical aspects of children's welfare, and neglected to provide education. Because of this neglect they considered poor relief also responsible for "the tragedy that happened" (e.g. Hytönen 1921, 421, Juusela 1919; cf. Riihinen 1992, 273).

got their own legislation which established a system of modern social statistics. The immediate consequence was that municipalities were to keep a register of each relief receiver; based upon them, they were obliged to make up a yearly statistical follow-up report for the central administration (Vaivaishoidontarkastajan kiertokirje 10/1918; also Huoltaja 1919, 183S184). The data collected covered all issues that were of administrative interest. Einar Bööck (1919, 196S197), the Chief Officer of Poor Relief, considered documenting and the investigative resources of the board crucial for example for devising a national child care policy that would “prevent an army of tens of thousands of anarchists“ from growing up.

Finally, the effectiveness of the administration was increased by the appointment of two new poor relief inspectors into the central administration: Emil Tolonen for the inspection of the care of the war orphans, and Elli Tavastähti, an assisting female inspector of poor relief³³, with care for the elderly and children, vegetable gardening, and domestic economics counseling as her particular duties (Vaivaishoidontarkastajan kiertokirje 3/1918). A female poor relief inspector had been the long-lasting wish of Helsingius, but the central government considered the post necessary only now.

Since the inspectors of the National Board of Social Affairs came to carry considerable responsibility for writing the texts that will be analyzed in the next section, I have to first ask who they were. Many of the new civil servants had a considerable amount of previous experience in local poor relief, but their education varied considerably. The reason why I am talking about the inspectors and civil servants collectively, and that I have not been able to find a leading author comparable to the previous periods, is not just a coincidence, but an important characteristic of the developing relations of ruling. These people in their posts were no longer individual actors but representatives of the state and the ruling apparatus. Their place in the White relations of governing was to act as the functional parts of the state apparatus which was lacking common legitimation. Nevertheless, I will introduce two of the civil servants as case examples, Elli Tavastähti (later Hiidenheimo) and Einar Bööck, who acted for about a quarter of a century as one of the leading civil servants of poor relief.

Elli Tavastähti was born in 1883. Her father was a well-educated scholar, who acted as a governor and state administrator. She was first trained to be a primary school teacher, but continued her studies at the university, with housekeeping and vegetable gardening as her majors. She finally took a degree in vegetable gardening. She started her professional career as a secretary

³³ In Finnish: naispuolinen köyhäinhoidon apulaistarkastaja.

of a youth temperance association and published a booklet which reveals her dedication to the ideas of temperance (Tavastähti 1914). At the age of 34 she was elected an M.P. to the Finnish parliament. She was a representative of the right wing party, Kokoomus, acting as an M.P. for eight years. Simultaneously she functioned as the female assistant inspector of poor relief (1917S1929). In the inspectors' post, she was responsible for organizing permanent training courses for poor house manageresses. Tavastähti's career in state administration ended at the age of 46 when she married. According to the contemporary habit, upon marrying women in public administration had to "move to private life", to take care of a country seat, local politics, and matters of voluntary welfare associations. She knew these matters well since besides the temperance movement, she had also acted as a member of the governing body of General Mannerheim's League of Child Welfare. (Huoltaja 1951a, 16; Hiidenheimo 1941). (Kuka kukin on 1949, 191S192; Huoltaja 1929, 185; Huoltaja 1951a, 16).

Elli Tavastähti was an active writer throughout her career in poor relief. She acted as an editor of the Poor Relief Journal and the journal of the Finnish Red Cross. She collected the first national catalogue of private welfare associations and institutions in Finland (Tavastähti 1928b) and wrote instructions for inspection and advising in child care (Tavastähti 1928a; Tavastähti 1930). The most important of her texts is the handbook of poor relief which she prepared as one of her duties at the Ministry of Social Affairs (Tavastähti 1926). Most of the texts that she wrote as a civil servant are dominated by legal-bureaucratic knowledge. In the male-dominated team of the National Board, her status was one of a token assistant. Kathy Ferguson describes a similar phenomenon in the USA. Women in the US bureaucracy act as "the providers of the support work of conversations as well as of relationships, restricting their own opportunities for expression in order to be 'linguistically available' to men" (Ferguson 1984, 96). What she fails to make clear, however, is that their daily practices in the bureaucracy are textually mediated; bureaucratic activities are textually coordinated practices in the relations of ruling (e.g. Smith 1990b, 101S104).

In order to become successful in the administrative relations, Tavastähti was probably expected to prove herself to be discursively capable — that is, to adopt the discourse of her superiors, and to dismiss her own experiences and knowledge, except when discussing issues which fill gaps in law, and which were considered feminine, such as child care (cf. Ferguson 1984, 23S27, 94S108; Tavastähti 1926, 63S70, 144S156).

The appointment of the first female administrator was in two respects exceptional. First, a woman in state administration was still a rarity. Both women's overall legal right of self-determination and their official competence as civil servants was still limited, although extending the civil servants' competencies to women was already under discussion

(Karento 1990, 48S52). Second, the appointment of a first assisting female inspector to the team of the leading civil servants of poor relief recognized and even underlined nursing and domestic economics, the traditional women's housekeeping skills, as important means of poor relief in the circumstances after the Civil War.

The title of this particular inspector's post revealed how such an exceptional office was in general perceived by the administration. Since this was the first case when a woman became a member of the central social administration, it is of particular interest. Compared with the other posts of poor relief inspectors at the same office, her post was exceptional in two senses: the post was meant for a woman, and it was an assisting one. This clearly illustrates how the administration understood the relation of the feminine and the masculine in welfare work. Actually, it was analogous to the way in which the relation between voluntary and public welfare work was perceived: voluntary work was regarded as necessary but complementary and in a lower position to public welfare. The female inspector was placed in a subordinate position and expected to assist the male inspector in duties that were defined as feminine. Einar Böök, the superior of the inspector, wrote:

“... köyhäinhoidontarkastaja [Böök itse] tuli Sosiaalhallituksen jäseneksi ja sen köyhäinhoito-osaston johtajaksi; hänelle annettiin vielä naispuolinen apulainen, jolla erikoisesti tulee olla tottumusta sairas- tai lapsenhoitoon ja puutarha- tai taloudenhoitoon.” (Böök 1919, 188)

The poor relief inspector [Böök himself] became a member of the National Board and chief of the poor relief department; in addition, he was given a female assistant, whose field of expertise was nursing, vegetable gardening, and housekeeping.³⁴

(cf. *Vaivaishoidontarkastajan kiertokirje 3/1918*; Piirainen 1974, 73S74).

The job description based on feminine features and the post's position in the organizational bureaucracy of the department are an illustrative example of how the differentiating and hierarchical logic of the gender order was put into practice. In addition, it was the symbolic manifestation of the gender order in the institution of poor relief which covered the organization from the top to the grassroots level.

³⁴ Böök's words remind me of the Biblical story about Adam, who was alone in Paradise and whom God comforted by giving him a female companion, Eve.

Einar Böök was born in 1874 as the son of a professor of pedagogy. He received his first university degree in humanistic sciences, but soon changed his field of studies. At the age of 28 he became a candidate of law, like many young men with his social background at the beginning of this century (Hjelt 1907, 26S29). He continued his studies in law at German and Austria-Hungarian universities. Later he gained work experience as a lawyer, editor-in-chief, secretary of the municipal board of poor relief, and chief of the Central Association of Municipalities (Kunnallinen keskustoimisto). (Suomen lakimiehet 1949, 83S84; Vem och vad 1941, 81).

These jobs, combined with his German instruction in law, initiated him well in the practical secrets and self-evidence of state governing. In 1918 he joined the state's central administration. He became the chief inspector of the National Board of Social Affairs, and soon the head of the welfare department at the Ministry of Social Affairs, responsible for preparing matters for discussion as well as for decision by the Minister of Social Affairs. In addition, he acted a short term as Minister of Social Affairs in 1924.

Böök participated actively in Nordic social political co-operation from 1910 on, and gained first-hand information on contemporary Scandinavian trends in social policies. Throughout his career he was an active writer of brief articles and published speeches, although like other civil servants, much of his written work is probably hidden as unnamed among the administrative documents. Nevertheless, his first texts as a civil servant represent a social political analysis of social questions. For example, after the Civil War, he located the issues of children in the broad social context of labor policies, family maintenance, poor relief, criminal law, health care, and private charity (see Böök 1919; Böök 1923). Later on his publications include a textbook on Finnish welfare legislation (Böök 1948), which was published long after the Second World War. Still, it is a perfect example of the legal-administrative discourse of the 1930s and 1940s.

In the welfare reforms of the 1930s his argumentation changed interestingly (which is not included in the analysis of this study). He moved from the early 1920s discourse to the next one, in which his social political and holistic ideas were replaced by terms of law and economy (cf. Chapter 3.1.2.). He assimilated his social political views with the principles of constitutionalism, the necessary element of all state administration (e.g. Sosiaaliministeriö 1968, 16S28).

5.2 The documents of “the program“

I have previously described the texts of the civil servants of the National Board of Social Affairs as “a program“. Actually, the civil servants themselves never use the term. It is my reconstruction of their post-war texts whose focus is people's everyday life, and, in particular, the care and maintenance of the dependants from the war. Besides, the

influence of these texts was not limited to the cases of the specific target group, but came to have much a wider reorganizing impact on poor relief (cf. Piirainen 1974, 63S67). By restricting the analysis to them I do not mean to say that they constituted the only important discourse at the time. On the contrary, the “program“ commonly bound together the expanding institution of poor relief and the relations between classes, sexes, and generations — relations that were being thoroughly restructured at the time (cf. Sulkunen 1989).³⁵

Empirically, the “program“ consisted of three committee reports, the Poor Relief Act (Köyhäinhoitolaki 145/1922 became effective from 1923), articles, a handbook by Tavastähti (1926), and regulations to municipalities, all written or considerably contributed by the previously mentioned civil servants from the social administration. These texts tend to be of an extremely administrative nature. Their primary function is either the reform or reproduction of the bureaucratic order of the institution. Usually the authors do not document their sources. In exceptional circumstances, the case might have been that the authors did not use any specific sources, but constructed the new discursive facts of the *Zeitgeist*. I will describe a bit more of the particular social relations in which the writing of some of these documents took place.

The legal reform of poor relief in the early 1920s was a result of long administrative preparations e.g. in two state committees.³⁶ The later committee had been established long before the war in order to prepare a major reform of poor law. The political transformation that followed the Civil War led to changes of the members of the committee, since three of the nominated members were prevented from further work. As Reds, they were prosecuted for unloyalty to the state and replaced by a former governor of poor relief and a civil servant, whose major responsibility was the care of war-orphans (Komiteanmietintö 1918:7). In addition, the chairman of the committee was also the Chief Inspector of Poor Relief. Thus, the committee was in the hands of the winners working in close cooperation with the state administration of poor relief.

³⁵ Another contemporary discourse, closely related to the one analyzed here, dealt with child protection. It was actually started during the years 1903S1905 by a state Committee of Child Protection (Komiteanmietintö 1905: 9a and 1905: 9b). This debate interestingly applied the facts of contemporary European discourse on social defence (e.g. Stang Dahl 1985). However, I have chosen not to analyze it for two reasons: first, it has been analyzed in detail in two earlier studies on the history of child welfare (see Pulma 1987, 136S160, 177S186; Hämäläinen 1992, 151S169), and second, this discussion and textual activity took place independently of poor relief. However, I do not mean to belittle the overall influence of texts dealing with social defence and child protection on poor relief.

³⁶ The reports of the committees are the following: Mietintö jonka on antanut maaliskuun 17 päivänä 1879 annettua köyhäinhoitoasetusta tarkastamaan asetettu komitea, Komiteanmietintö 1907:9; and Köyhäinhoitokomitean mietintö, Komiteanmietintö 1918:7.

Nevertheless, the report of the committee cannot be understood as a mere reaction to the class war. It was above all one phase in the prolonged committee work since 1904, and in the overall development of poor relief. On the other hand, it is likely that the events of the war strengthened the control of the recipients of poor relief. As one of its members, Emil Tolonen (1919, 101), the civil servant responsible for the issues of the Red war-orphans, wrote:

“...velvollisuudentunnon puute itsensä ja omaistensa elättämiseen nähden, arkipäiväisellä sanalla sanottuna ‘hulikaanisuus’ on melkoisessa osassa kansaamme parina viime vuosikymmenenä siinä määrin kasvanut, että nykyinen köyhäinhoitolakimme ei takaa yhteiskunnalle kylliksi valtaa eikä keinoja näiden ainesten pakottamiseksi velvollisuuttansa itseään, omaisiaan ja yhteiskuntaansa kohtaan täyttämään. Lainsäädäntöuudistuksen on tässä tultava yhteiskuntaa auttamaan tätä turmeltunutta kansamme ainesta vastaan, sekä samalla auttamaan tätä kansanainesta velvollisuudentuntoon.“

.. the sense of duty as regards supporting oneself and one’s family has diminished, and in common parlance, “houliganism“ has been increasing during the last decades to such an extent among our people that the Poor Law no longer offers neither enough jurisdiction nor means for society to force these people to fulfill their responsibilities to themselves, their family, and society. Therefore, the law reform must come to assist society against the lost segment of our population, and at the same time it has to bring back the sense of duty among this group of people.

The two other committee reports in the following analysis are the ones from the Committee for Red war-orphans, and the Committee for the Maintenance of the White survivors.³⁷ The members represented the White viewpoint towards the events of the war. The members of the Committee of War-orphans were mainly male experts of child pedagogy and poor relief, with only one female kindergarten teacher. The chair of the Committee, Väinö Juusela, was at the same time the Chief Inspector of Poor Relief, responsible for managing the administration related to the implementation of the task. That being the case, the cooperation between the politically representative Committee and the civil servants of the social administration became close and continuous (e.g. Komiteanmietintö 1919:11, 4; Sarlin 1919, 71).

³⁷ The committees prepared the following reports: V:n 1918 kapinan aiheuttamain turvatonten lasten huoltamisesta, Komiteanmietintö 1919:11; and Ehdotukset soturien tahi heidän perheittensä avustamisesta, Komiteanmietintö 1918:1a.

5.3 The reconstruction of the social relations of mothering

5.3.1 The family constructed by the Act of Poor Relief

An important emphasis of the Committee on Poor Relief and the act that followed was an overall emphasis on the family as a basic unit of society. The act (2&) stipulated maintenance for a family as follows: the maintenance liability of every man and woman covers him/herself, the spouse, and the minor children of both. This was nothing new as such; the nuclear family had been the primary maintenance unit since the Poor Law of 1879. Furthermore, a holistic understanding of the family had already been promoted by Helsingius (the second textbook and the related texts) ten years earlier. However, its popularity had increased very slowly both in the common consciousness of male officials and among the laymen involved in poor relief. This was particularly true whenever there were no local activities by women addressed to poor families (cf. Markkola 1994), as in rural communities, which consisted of the majority of the country and people.

The same emphasis on the family and home life was also expressed by Einar Böök (1919, 1915/192) as follows:

“Yhteiskunnan terve elämä perustuu perheiden tyydyttävään toimeentuloon, sen jäsenten terveyteen, työkyntöisuuteen, työnsaantiin ja siveelliseen yhteishenkeen. Perhe, jonka taloudelliset tarpeet tyydytetään perheenisän työkunnolla ja jossa perheenäiti ensi sijassa toimii uuden polven kasvattajana yhteiskunnalle täysarvoisiksi kansalaisiksi, on ihanne, joka on oleva yhteiskuntapolitiikankin silmämääränä.“

The healthy life of a society is based on a satisfactory income for families and the health of its members; their able-bodiedness, the availability of work and a moral sense of responsibility. The ideal and goal of social policy was a family in which the economic needs were satisfied by the father's able-bodiedness, and the mother primarily acts as an educator of the new generation.

A common idea in the texts produced by the civil servants was that in poor relief practices one should, except in some extreme cases, never separate family members, in particular, a mother and a child. In order to lift up the family to the position it deserves in the focus of relief practices, the leading administrators emphasized those forms of relief that supported families. Thus, the Committee on Poor Relief suggested that primarily relief should be given to people in their own homes. The Committee believed that this

would support the unity of poor families; it was also the most economical alternative. (Komiteanmietintö 1918:7).

Actually, the broad ideological framework of reformed poor relief was maintaining the poor family as an order and organization of everyday life. The family, and morally questionable mothers and children in particular, were a useful target for the aims to integrate the split society. When the Committee declared that one of the principal aims of poor relief is an individualized practice, a closer analysis reveals that what they meant by this was not just work with separate individuals, but work tailored to the needs of individual families. This, like the strict control of the relief recipients, was to be achieved by means of shepherding, which the Act of Poor Relief made an official part of the organization of local poor relief in 1923. (Komiteanmietintö 1918:7; Köyhäinhoitolaki 145/1922).

On the pages of the Journal of Poor Relief (e.g. Nilsson 1919), shepherding became a popular issue for the second time. This took place actually simultaneously with the discussion about the care and maintenance of the Red dependants of the war. The new organization of shepherds' work was a precise copy of the one that Fennomanian civil activists had developed at the turn of the century. With few exceptions, the norm was that every poor family was going to have its own volunteer, since shepherding enabled individualized control of the everyday life of the needy working class.

The act stipulated that the board of poor relief was responsible for registering every assisted poor and, furthermore, for "keeping an eye on them" (Köyhäinhoitolaki 1922, §11). In addition, the relief recipient was obliged to submit to the control of the municipal board of poor relief (Köyhäinhoitolaki 1922, 58&). A particularly underlined point of this control was the surveillance of the children's upbringing and home education in addition to the overall supervising of the familial way of life. According to the act (26&) and the new model regulations for the municipal poor relief, the board (in practice the shepherd) was responsible for making sure that the poor children are brought up to be industrious, and that they learn to work as appropriate to their age level. (Köyhäinhoitolaki 145/1922; Bök 1923; Köyhäinhoidon ohjesääntö... 1922). Punishments to relief receivers existed as before. For example, relief was only given until the next meeting of the board, thus submitting the needy to constant insecurity regarding their daily necessities. With few exceptions, everyone was expected to pay back to the municipality the received support with the threat of a workhouse; furthermore, the regular relief recipient lost the right to vote. (e.g. Tavastähti 1926, 199S201).

There was also the stipulation that the poor should be kept away from the meetings of the board. However, the poor were related to their board via shepherding, which meant

that the social relation of the poor and the board was strictly textually organized, since both the Act and the National Office of Poor Relief required textual work process and written prescriptions. To mention a few examples of this: the shepherd was prescribed to mediate the needs of the poor family to the board on a form, and four times a year the volunteer was due to give an overall written report again on a form to the board about the course of life in those families that are either regular receivers of relief, or who happen to foster dependants under poor relief. (Köyhäinhoitolaki 145/1922; Köyhäinhoidon ohjesääntö... 1922).

From this follows that the overall reform of poor relief materialized one important feature of “the program“ that the civil servants advocated: namely, the emphasis on the family, and in particular, on the practices of mothering and home education. Actually, an effective surveillance of the way of life of the poor was easy, if the shepherding system functioned as planned. But how were these facts of poor relief put into practice in the particular cases of Red survivors? In other words, how did the contemporary poor relief try to coordinate the local activities, including the work with the poorest Red widows and their children?

5.3.2 The maintenance of the war victims

For the maintenance of the sufferers of the war, two state committees were established which were unanimous in their suggestions concerning the principles of material support. They initially agreed that the treatment of Red and White survivors can by no means be given equally nor following an identical procedure. The arguments emphasized, supported by the civil servants, that respectable citizens must be separated from non-respectable ones. Therefore, material support for Red children was to be given as poor relief, whereas similar assistance “for the offspring of loyal citizens“ was considered simply impossible (Komiteanmietintö 1919:11, 6S7).

That the maintenance of the Reds was given under poor relief had many extremely negative consequences for the everyday lives of the Red widows and children. First of all, it meant that for them there was no secured income at all. Additionally, even getting the dole was uncertain since it depended on the will of the local, municipal board of poor relief which had no consistent norms of assistance. This was a real problem since the municipal boards were often dominated by Whites. Second, receiving poor relief on a constant basis led to many individually humiliating consequences: the receiver lost the basic right of citizenship, the right to vote; the family became an object of paternal

shepherding; and, in addition, they had to reimburse the support given. On top of this, the relief receivers, in this case people who had considered themselves respectable and decent citizens so far, got a heavy social label. The humiliating effects of this labeling were often very long-lasting in the socially stable communities of the 1920s and 1930s. (e.g. Piirainen 1974, 63S71; Pulma 1987, 126S136; Satka 1994a, 280S283).

The committee reports also agreed that Whites' economic maintenance was to be given in such a form that "the innocent victim of the war" can receive it with all self-respect. According to the report, it was important that White survivors should not feel they are getting dole, but support that is well-deserved. For this reason, the committees agreed that it was fair that the state guarantees Whites a steady income corresponding to the income of the lost family member. Thus White survivors or war invalids, child as well as adults, got a pension from the state, when necessary, for the rest of their lives. (Komiteanmietintö 1918:1a; Komiteanmietintö 1919:11).

One difficult issue was how to organize the socialization of Red children. The Committee of War-orphans suggested that the existing laws and regulations were a sufficient basis for it. The committee's supplementary principles were as follows: at first, since it was cheapest, the caring and maintaining of orphans should take place at the children's own homes by their own mothers, whenever possible, and when considered morally acceptable. When a replacement was necessary, the committee had the opinion that it should be given primarily in a paternal-minded foster home, and, only secondly, in a small institution run either by a voluntary association or a municipality. (Komiteanmietintö 1919:11; also, Piirainen 1974, 63S67).

This suggestion of foster parenting was strongly resisted by the Red mothers and the Social Democratic women. To them, it was another example of the Whites' humiliation in addition to the poor relief dole. They totally rejected the idea that working-class children in general, or their own children in particular, could be raised in the homes of the enemy. Their opinion was that the first place to care for Red children is their own homes, or another working-class home, and the second alternative was a home-like small public institution for children. (e.g. Pulma 1987, 133; Sulkunen 1989, 72S79).

5.3.3 Red children as the subjects of poor relief

The new discursive facts that started to coordinate the postwar poor relief activities with people whom the Civil War had made dependants were mainly written with dependant Red families in mind. Soon after the war, the national administration of poor relief

reminded municipalities that they should by no means violate parents' right to raise their children. It emphasized that such intervention had to be based on law (Köyhäinhoidon tarkastusosaston... 6/1918).

In the post Civil War texts of the civil servants, the politically sensitive subject of the dependent Red family was interestingly divided into two morally differentiated objects: innocent children and guilty mothers. The key term to produce this separation was undoubtedly *sotaorpo* (war-orphan)³⁸ or *punaorpo* (Red orphan). War-orphan covered full-orphans without any adult supporter at all, children that were under the care of their biological mothers, and children who were separated from parental maintenance for some reason. In a way this separation of Red mothers and their children repeated the model of the postwar moral division into Whites and Reds. Since war-orphan was a discursive fact that was at the very center of all the administrative reorganizing and activating of volunteers, it is important to ask how the contemporaries perceived it. What was the understanding that the civil servants put together, and what caused the educated volunteers to act enthusiastically for them?

Naturally, war-orphans were considered in need of material support, since their basic maintenance unit, the family, had lost, in most cases, its male supporter. Much more crucial, from the point of view of activating and coordinating the contemporaries' work, however, was that Red orphans were seen by the civil servants (and the White contemporaries in general) to have been physically neglected, badly nursed, and worst of all, lacking even the basics of proper moral education (e.g. Juusela et al 1918; Sarlin 1919; Hällström 1919; Komiteanmietintö 1919:11, 24).

The texts referred to in the preceding, among the others that have been analyzed, seem to have a common plot. They present slightly different versions of the following story: the Red orphans have been growing up in a morally inferior atmosphere; they have not had a chance to become educated by a reliable and educated adult; and, thus, they have simply not received the kind of care and education that a child needs to develop into a healthy adult. Such being the case, the civil servants thought that Red children lacked all skills and moral values of educated citizens.

Consequently, the civil servants of poor relief saw the future of Red children as bleak: if they were left without extensive social support and without upbringing organized by the winners, the only future that they would have would be personal misery and ruin. The authors were convinced that these children were going to grow up to be criminals and

³⁸ There were also White orphans, but their number (997) was so low compared to the number of Red orphans (12 494 according to the statistics in *Sosiaalinen aikakauskirja* 1919, 382) that in the poor relief documents and texts of the time both terms are often used as synonyms to mean the dependents of Reds.

drunkards and be an extra burden on “the civilized society“ and the educated classes. Moreover, they thought that these children, being the offspring of the rebellious groups, constituted a real danger to the future of “organized society“. Without effective social intervention, they believed, they would grow up to be a hostile new generation of horrible rebels. (e.g. Juusela et al. 1918, 65; Juusela 1919, 22, 26; Sarlin 1919; Hytönen 1921). Thus, the state administrators advised the poor relief boards of municipalities as follows:

“...kaikista sotaorvoista vanhempien puoluekantaan katsomatta on todenteolla pyrittävä kasvattamaan kunnan kansalaisia..“ (Köyhäinhoidon tarkastusosaston... 2/1920).

All war orphans, irrespective of their parents’ political opinions, must be educated to become decent citizens.

Actually, the reason for the monetary investigations and the extremely careful control of Red maintenance by the state was this: the bourgeois society was to be protected from any potential danger in the future that existed in the offspring of the rebellious Reds. In the analyzed texts, this was accentuated by another moral argument that underlined the moral innocence of the Red children to “the national disaster“. The texts end up saying that the dependent Red children are not really sufferers of their own fault, like their mothers, but sufferers because of the sins of their parents. (e.g. Sarlin 1919; Hällström 1919.) Therefore, these children appeared as the most legitimate subject of bourgeois intervention. This position argued that the education of Red children became necessary because it was in Whites’ own interests.

5.3.4 The control of the poorest Red mothers

The several thousands of Red widows, the mothers of the Red orphans, were not an equal coordinating category like their children in the texts of the civil servants. However, the Red mothers are not ignored in them either, since they are the necessary party when the core issue is the maintenance and upbringing of their children. The Red mothers appear in the texts mostly indirectly either via the negative properties attached to their children, or to the working class in general. The texts consider Red mothers (implicitly) bad caregivers, who teach wrong values and hostility against “organized society“. In addition, they are ignorant of the preconditions of the healthy development of children (e.g. Köyhäinhoitolehti 1918a, 14S15; Sarlin 1919), and like the rest of the working class,

uneducated (e.g. Komiteanmietintö 1919:11). Consequently, both their mothering and motherliness were easy to question.

The post Civil War “program“ of poor relief considered the Red mothers mainly guilty of “the national disaster“ not just because they were Red adults, but because they were mothers. This reasoning followed the already well-rooted family ideal of J.V. Snellman and the prevailing gender order. In the case of Reds, the interpretation was that these mothers had not only badly failed in their most important societal duty, but they had *chosen* to neglect it. Additionally, according to the preferred pattern of thought, Red mothers were not only guilty as mothers, but also as wives. As the wives of the rebellious Reds, they became responsible also for their husbands’ violent behavior, and finally, for the whole war. Immediately after the war, the Poor Relief Journal concluded (Köyhäinhoitolehti 1918a, 14):

“Suurelta osalta noitten naisten kodit ja niissä annettu kasvatust on syynä hirvittävän kauheaan sisällissotaamme.“

The main reason for the horrible Civil War is in these women’s homes and in the education that was given in them.

The ultimate interpretation of the civil servants was that the Red mothers had betrayed the Finnish nation. They came to represent “the lost generation“ of the Red rebels (cf. Köyhäinhoitolehti 1918a, 14S15), whereas their innocent children were the “citizen in potentia“ for the nation - and state. The analyzed texts brought Red mothers into the spotlight as the major subjects of a careful moral investigation and control, while their children appeared as a necessary challenge of bourgeois-minded education. The main content of the moral investigation of mothers was whether they were reliable enough to continue to function as mothers. If so, the constructed conceptualization of the Red mothers necessitated and legitimized a constant and especially heavy control, both of their mothering practices and way of life. On the other hand, the civil servants believed that addressing these potentially rebellious women through their maternal obligations was the most effective means to control their moral and political behavior, and also to keep them willing to support themselves (Tavastähti 1926, 57).

The control of Red mothers was put into practice under a particular program of poor relief called the maintenance of war-orphans (*sotaorpoahuolto*). The task was considered

exceptional and exceeding the regular institutional boundaries of poor relief.³⁹ The following analysis of the conceptual innovations in the maintenance of war-orphans is limited to the texts which deal with the maintenance work given to those orphans who stayed with their biological mothers. This was the case in most of the Red families suffering from the losses of the Civil War. However, only the poorest were forced to become recipients of poor relief.

According to the stipulations by the civil servants, which well reflect the dominant thinking of the winners, the individualized maintenance of war-orphans, the education of future citizens, consisted of two major elements: a child's physical maintenance and moral upbringing.⁴⁰ In the light of the increasing textual knowledge of pediatrics and child psychology, both of the elements were considered necessary and equally important for the desired objective: "a healthy soul in a healthy body" (cf. Tolonen 1922a, 6S16).

The Act of Poor Relief stipulated that a relief receiver came under the watchful eye of the board. Since Red mothers were subject to a very particular moral surveillance, the civil servants invited for this purpose a separate actor, a child inspector⁴¹ (*lastentarkastaja*), an assistant to the shepherd. The particular duty of this new volunteer was, according to the inspector of the maintenance of war-orphans, to promote home-education (Tolonen 1922b). In addition, the voluntary child inspector's work took place under the ordinary regulations of poor relief. Thus, the child inspector was also responsible for the tasks of ordinary shepherding.

Municipalities that had war-orphans were urged to establish the posts of voluntary child inspectors by the central administration. A child inspector was more than an ordinary volunteer. This inspector was presumed to be familiar with children's upbringing and to have preferably some training in education. Her name was registered

³⁹ At the beginning, the civil servants of poor relief wished that the maintenance of war orphans would become part of the forthcoming institution of child protection (e.g. Juusela 1919, 44). When child welfare legislation was delayed for political reasons, the maintenance of war orphans remained the task of poor relief and had, according to my observations, important effects on it.

⁴⁰ Both child's physical maintenance and moral upbringing soon became targets of various supportive measures and social control, which, in addition to Red children, started to cover the whole child population of the nation. The most significant effort concerning the conditions of children's physical maintenance was establishing mother—child clinics, which started to provide medical services such as maternal care and child welfare. The strategy of the clinical work was advising and instructing mothers in the preconditions of healthy childhood. (e.g. Korppi-Tommola 1990, 62S65). The emphasis that reorganizing the practices of mothering received was considerable. It was considered a crucial means to improve the strength of the nation, and to increase the number of its people. (cf. Juusela 1919, 32S35).

⁴¹ Child inspectors became known in the 1890s, when Helsingius included them in the annual reports of the Chief Inspector of Poor Law (cf. the case of Jyväskylä). They were originally female volunteers, whose special duty was to inspect foster homes on behalf of the municipal board of poor relief (e.g. Satka 1994a). The new situation after 1918 expanded their tasks considerably.

by the National Office of Poor Relief, and unlike the ordinary shepherd, she was to have a continuous textual contact with the national poor relief inspector for war-orphans. Moreover, new national regulations were made to coordinate her work (Ohjesääntö... 1920), and an instructive handbook written by the responsible civil servant (Tolonen 1922a). (Köyhäinhoidon tarkastusosaston... 2/1920).

According to the national regulations, the child inspector's duty was to inspect all children receiving municipal poor relief; however, the regulations give a special emphasis to war-orphans. The child inspector was required to visit foster homes and the homes of Red mothers three times per year. In the meantime, she was to question neighbors and other involved people about the children's upbringing. Three times a year, she was also expected to give a written report concerning the physical and moral circumstances of every home having Red orphans in its care. The reports were then delivered both to the municipal board of poor relief and to the national inspector of war-orphans maintenance. During the first months of the organized maintenance for war-orphans, these reports were expected to be given once a month (e.g. Juusela 1919, 31), which shows how important the civil servants considered the textually mediated control of Red families.

The new relation that the analyzed texts of poor relief created between a volunteer and a Red mother is interestingly contradictory. On the one hand, it is characterized by a considerably increased textual regulation and control; on the other hand, there does not appear neither any noteworthy new discursive facts concerning home visiting as such nor particular instructions for the visitor. The textual instructions that the civil servants of poor relief gave for home visitors kept repeating the truths of old shepherding. According to them, the visitor was to attend the Red home as a politically neutral friend, as a friendly and helpful advisor and facilitator — that is, as a kind of individual conciliator in the aftermath of the class conflict. (e.g. Tolonen 1922b, 13S15; Köyhäinhoitolehti 1920, 99S101; Nilsson 1919; Gauffin 1924).

All in all, the municipal inspection of Red children's upbringing involved an incredible amount of paperwork. For example, both the foster care and the care of Red children by their own biological mothers was based on a written and undersigned contract. Particularly such Red mothers "whose skills and motivation for childrearing were questionable", were required to undersign the contract as a precondition for getting poor relief (Köyhäinhoidon tarkastusosaston... 2/1921). The contract, called *huoltovälikirja* (see Satka 1994a, 277), included several obligations for the mother concerning her everyday practices of mothering and housekeeping. She had to undersign a form confirming that she was going to keep her home and children clean, carefully control the free time activities of children, and teach her children industriousness and the virtues of a

decent citizen in cooperation with the public school.⁴² Over all these obligations there was a threat, printed on the written contract, that should she not carefully follow what she had signed, her children could be taken away. (Tolonen 1922a; Tolonen 1922b; *Köyhäinhoitolehti* 1920, 99S101).

Naturally, the visitor was instructed to pay attention to the above aspects during a home visit. They structured their practical work with Red mothers, since the health aspects, home economics and moral condition of the home, including the mothers' sexual behavior, were also a target of constant textual reporting. The articles of the National Inspector for the Maintenance of War-orphan point out that he had an up-to-date view of the actual conditions at least of some of the Red families of which the visitors were accountable for (e.g. Tolonen 1922b). However, the methods of inspecting the Red homes still rested strongly on the tradition, common sense, and facts of philanthropy (e.g. Nilsson 1919). Therefore, the social intervention by shepherds and child inspectors was twofold: it carried side by side both the old instructions of the virtues of a Finnish citizen as defined by the better-off classes, and the extending documentary control of relief receivers that became so characteristic in the interwar welfare work developed by the civil servants of the Ministry of Social Affairs (see Haatanen 1992, 102S119, 142S163).

5.4 The conceptual organization of “the program“

The previous chapters have revealed that the civil servants of the state acted and wrote the analyzed texts in an interesting intersection of the relations of ruling. Their task was no less than to re-build the bridges between the everyday lives of the common people and the developing ruling apparatus — for example, between the working class and the bourgeois classes, whose relations were shaken by the incomprehensible war. The civil servants were not implementing the project alone. However, they were an important group who acted as pioneers for the ruling apparatus and for their own class.

In the previous analysis I have given considerable attention to the discursive facts and measures concerning the poorest Reds, who were left at the mercy of the local poor relief. The reason for this is not that their number was so great, nor that they were the only

⁴² The necessary minimum concerning the moral upbringing of the Red war-orphan was that they go regularly to a public school. In the texts of the early 1920s poor relief, the public school does not appear primarily as a seat of education and therefore necessary, but as an integral part of child protection with the primary aim of operating as a preventive measure (e.g. Böök 1923, 159). Making public school compulsory at the beginning of the 1920s was one of the winners' preventive reactions. However, compulsory school was also part of the larger preventive moral program of nation-building, including the private mother—child clinics for the common people, which were established in the 1920s (e.g. Juusela 1919; Böök 1923).

interesting issue of the contemporary debate. On the contrary, I think that the particular discourse was the tip of the iceberg, which involved issues like how to strengthen the governmental apparatus in general and how to reorganize the relations of the unreliable masses and the loyal people. It seems to me that the way in which the relation of a local board of poor relief and a poor Red was organized in the discourse was soon extended to concern the poor in general. Alternatively, the texts of the civil servants may have simply reflected the overall bourgeois *Zeitgeist* which was materializing itself everywhere. What, then, were the consequences of this organization?

First, I believe that poor relief turned out to be one of the institutions of the state which not only built bridges but started to reproduce class-divided citizenship as well. Soon after the Civil War the dual division on moral grounds as a coordinating principle of action became visible at least in the way the maintenance of the sufferers of the war was handled, and Red mothers and their children were separated as morally unequal subjects of relief. (see Pulma 1987, 166S168; Satka 1994a, 279). A third example of the reproduced division between Finnish people by poor relief is the surveillance, in a written form, of the everyday lives of the poorest Red mothers and their children by the civil servants of the Ministry. The strengthening of the division appears paradoxical in the light of the fact that the main task of the civil servants was to build bridges over the class cleavage; however, it becomes functional when one connects it with the wider problems of Finnish state formation and the developing ruling apparatus in general.

The new forms of classification on moral grounds — as either good or bad, loyal or deceitful — became an important organizing principle of the ideology and an institutional form of poor relief. As such, an investigation of people on moral grounds was one of its main functions. What was new was the classifying that was attached to a strong moral label connected to the relief recipients' moral characteristics in relation to the law. If a person had violated the law that the winners considered almost holy (or in the case of illegitimate children, the self-evident moral order of marital sexuality), it followed that the person was investigated as one that belongs to the category of “flawed elements“ (see Chapter 6), and in need of special surveillance (cf. Ketonen 1983, 103S115). Thus, the target group of poor relief became slightly redefined to include the surveillance of the morally threatening people from the point of view of the White government.

Second, poor relief became both on the level of ideology and practice more family-oriented. The civil servants recognized the worth of class-neutral order as a measure of ruling that a well-maintained working-class home provided (actually it only adopted what had been discovered decades earlier by the voluntary activists). This organization was available in the texts, norms and facts of domestic economics and pediatrics, helping

to connect working-class homes for their own good as functional parts of bourgeois society (cf. Markkola 1994, 173S183). This materialized itself in both the appointment of Elli Tavastähti as an inspector and in the fact that the civil servants rediscovered the child inspectors. Thus, the poorest Red mothers also became, at least ideologically, connected to the wide feminine home economics project of the 1920s and 1930s (see Sulkunen 1989; Ollila 1993). In it, working-class women throughout the country were taught the correct order of housework and the right principles of caring for their children by the White and Red sister-advisors.

The peculiar combination of the documentary practices by the ruling apparatus with regard to voluntary mothering also meant interesting consequences both for poor relief and in the everyday lives of the poor families under surveillance. It was an important step away from the old patriarchal organization. The new interest in children as the future citizens of the nation started to erode the patriarchal dominance of the father. The child inspector was expected to act in the light of the newest knowledge of child psychology and pediatrics, and thus came to emphasize the priority of the mother as the responsible career and educator of her children (cf. Sulkunen 1989, 80S81).

Correspondingly, from the point of view the institution and the evolving relations of ruling, female child inspectors and the increasing supervision of mothering meant a move away from the long tradition and order of local patriarchal governing. An obvious sign of this was that again and again in the 1920s women were given new invitations for the voluntary tasks of poor relief (e.g. Nilsson 1923, 151S152; Lumme 1925, 36S37; Tunkelo 1926, 14S16; af Forselles 1927, 85S86; Nyberg 1927, 10S13). However, I do not believe that patriarchal control as such diminished. More likely, it was only reorganized due to the new needs of the growing apparatus of ruling by transforming it into a unifying textual form, the main aim of which was a nationally standardized practice.

The transformation of poor relief can also be summed up as follows: the traditional strong emphasis on the male work ethics was replaced by an emphasis on the ethic of mothering, or family ethics, in the institutional scheme of poor relief (cf. Abramovitz 1989). Since the Civil War, work ethics and family ethics became the two compulsory moral poles in poor relief to such an extent that they together became the distinctive characteristics of the whole sector. Of course, their relative weight varied from case to case, depending on the moral code that was being (potentially) violated. Actually, this meant that on the level of ideology poor relief took over those civilizing activities that had traditionally belonged to the voluntary women of the middle class. However, in practice child inspection, for example, remained in the same hands for a long time.

6 Lawyers transform poor relief into social welfare

6.1 The moral panic of the ruling class

By the eve of the 1930s, the control of the Red survivors was working well, but the overall settling down of class relations was still incomplete. In addition, the main concerns of the civil servants of government were to find new means of governing and to strengthen the state administration so that every corner of the country would be subjected to its leadership. It was a continuation of an old issue of the distribution of power between the central administration and the local administration, a source of tension remaining from the time when Helsingius was making poor relief an organization. (see Soikkanen 1966, 639S650; Haatanen 1992, 96S110.)

As a solution to the dilemma, state committees agreed that the local administration was in need of “effectivizing“, which meant a path-breaking reform of the tradition of local self-government by laymen. The Committees suggested a major reform which would force the local actors to follow one unified mode of institutional organization that the top administrators designed. These wishes soon got authoritative support from a new generation of lawyers. While nineteenth century jurisprudence considered the power of municipalities original and indivisible, the new conception emphasized that municipal power derived exclusively from the power of the state. As a result, the lawyers argued that the municipality was not a sovereign unit of government at all (e.g. Kekkonen 1936). The civil servants of poor relief supported these ideas and were in the forefront of advancing “centralized municipal administration“⁴³ for their sector.

The early 1930s concerns of governing were extensively shared by various groups of civil society. Among them was an up-to-date issue, the regulation of the “flawed elements“. Some extreme rightist groups were demanding loudly that society has to subject “the rabble“⁴⁴ to strict discipline instead of caring for and assisting them. According to them, this was necessary for the survival of the Finnish nation. This

⁴³ The idea of “centralized municipal administration“ was borrowed from corresponding reforms in Sweden and Denmark. The benefits that this new organization was expected to produce were e.g. decreasing costs and work loads, effectivized control of relief receivers and the various actors of poor relief (e.g. Böök 1931; Sarlin 1935).

⁴⁴ The term “rabble“ (*roskaväki*) comes from a contemporary public discussion at the end of 1930. That was the term that the conversationists were using about people who were placed into the new nursing homes that municipalities were required to establish by state government. The same conversationists called the new institution “a luxuriant hotel for rabble“. (e.g. Hytönen 1931, 40-42).

viewpoint and language about “those people“ gained strength from the contemporary right-wing enthusiasm of the former Whites. Consequently, it brought the daily practices of poor relief to the public’s attention.

There were many tendencies in poor relief which in the rightist atmosphere lifted it to a target of particular attention. First, the years of economic recession (1929S1933) created masses of unemployed citizens who were dependent on the dole. Actually, the municipalities considerably tightened their relief delivery in the early 1930s, but since poor relief was the only social security for the unemployed masses, the result was, nevertheless, that public expenditure for relief was growing enormously. Bruno Sarlin (1935, 19, 29), the administrative head of municipal welfare, described the unexpected increase of relief work and expenses in Helsinki as follows: in five years, the number of home visits increased by 453 percent, and correspondingly the amount of money spent in poor relief grew by 246 percent.

Second, in 1929 the Finnish Parliament accepted the Marital Act which made married women legally equal to their husbands. The act did not criminalize extramarital relations, thus violating the church’s conception of marriage. Soon a group of rightist clergymen, of whom some were already active in the right-wing Lapua movement, paid attention to the number of unmarried cohabiting couples and required that legislation be used to prohibit “the degrading way of life“ (e.g. Lyytinen 1934, 265S267). The legislation was actually prepared but it was never passed in Parliament. Instead, when every fourth of those suspected of extramarital relationships was in need of poor relief (Jaakkola 1989, 120), the control of their way of life was delegated to the municipal boards of poor relief. Helsinki took the path-breaker’s role in this decision making; advised by the most prominent lawyers of the country, it decided not to assist unmarried couples. If necessary, assistance for such men and childless women was given in a workhouse, and for a mother with children at home, but only after the cohabiting male had agreed to visit a workhouse. (Huoltaja 1933, 35S36; Päivänsalo 1933, 92; also, Komiteanmietintö 1935:4).

Furthermore, registered crime was increasing. This was a result of both the economically hard times and the Prohibition Act (in effect from 1919 to 1932), which led to numerous prosecutions of illegal marketing of spirits, and of illegal drunkenness in public places. Those who were fined but did not have the money to pay were imprisoned, and the number of prisoners increased considerably. These numbers led the state government, among other things, to establish a state committee and to pass several reforms of criminal policy, which meant the adoption of a much harder line of punishing (e.g. Lahti 1977, 9S21).

Finally, those concerned could not prevent themselves from taking some measures in accordance with the Zeitgeist. In September 1933, some influential groups got together and

decided to organize themselves in order to prevent increasing criminality.⁴⁵ As their first action, the group organized a noteworthy event at the University of Helsinki — a seminar of the first criminality prevention week. The pioneers included experts on criminality, vagrancy, mental illness, and poor relief. They invited people to participate in the criminality prevention week with the following slogan (Sieluninterveysseuran aikakauslehti 1933, 31S32; Neuman-Rahn 1933, 32):

“Lapsia, nuorisoa, kansaa vartioimaan!”

Let’s protect children, youth and the people!

The Minister of Justice opened the seminar and declared that the time had finally come for the state government to effectivize its measures to prevent society from increasing criminality by isolating dangerous criminals. According to him, in that work the latest results of science were invaluable (Serlachius 1935, 3S5). The seminar program confirms his words: scientists in medicine, psychiatry, criminology and jurisprudence dominated the forum. Among the invited speakers were two foreign scientists: August Ley, a professor of criminology from Belgium, and Olof Kinberg, a professor of criminology from Sweden. (Rikollisuus ja sen vastustamismahdollisuudet 1935).

The first academic speaker, Finnish professor of Eugenics, Harry Federley, started his speech with a powerful conclusion of the prolonged concerns of those responsible for national governing and public order in general. He said that Finnish people were until the turn of the century known as the most loyal citizens of all. It was only during the recent decades they had started to become increasingly criminal. He saw the change as so crucial that he invited every interested citizen to save the society, to fight together against this vice, to study its causes and nature in order to save the Finnish nation. (Federley 1935, 8). However, according to the speakers, it was not only a question of criminality, but there were also other severe signs: for example, the number of unmarried, cohabiting couples and the number of able-bodied relief receivers was increasing. Moreover, according to Brynolf Honkasalo (1934, 7S8), a Doctor of Laws, the deterioration of the Finnish race was already a social fact. It was a result of the process in which “the genetically defective elements“ were having a lot of children and thus increasing much more rapidly than “the genetically valuable elements“, whose birth rate was low due to contraception.

⁴⁵ This occasion was preceded by the rise (and fall) of a nationalist, anti-communist and anti-Russian Lapua movement. Its nucleus consisted of the depression activated peasants, who considered that it was time to continue “the war for freedom“. The movement became influenzal in state politics and the result was the anti-communist legislation which denied Communists’ press activities, and freedom to form associations. When the movement participated in several terrorist acts, it lost most of its popular support. On the other hand, the Finnish parliamentary system and trade unions were both weak to resist right-wing pressures. During the Depression workers’ wages fell considerably, and the state and the ruling apparatus in general was functioning for the interests of industrial employers. (Kalela 1976; Alapuro & Allardt 1978; Alapuro 1988, 209-218; Siisiäinen 1990, 35-45.)

In a few months the activism of the ruling class culminated in establishing a new association, Suomen Kriminologistiyhdistys (Finland's Criminologist Association). Einar Bööck was one of a team of leading lawyers and civil servants who invited their colleagues for the founding meeting of the Criminologist Association. The purpose of the association was to gather together academic experts to discuss criminality, the causes of crimes, and methods of fighting against them. They aimed to discover effective means to regulate, fight against, and protect society from the risks of the various forms of deviance that the new sciences of eugenics, criminology and psychiatry had made visible.

The 184 members represented an elitist group dominated by male lawyers. In addition, they included 14 professors, several ministers, and the highest judges of the country. (Suomen Kriminologistiyhdistyksen vuosikirja 1934 1935, 3S4, 89S100). Judging from the published documents, the cooperation between the association and the civil servants of the Ministry of Social Affairs in poor relief became continuous and remarkable. For example, when Reino Sarvola, a recently qualified lawyer, was employed by the Ministry of Social Affairs in 1937, he was immediately introduced to the activities of this association by his superior. Sarvola followed the model of his colleagues and became a member of the association (interview 24.7.90).

On the basis of my analysis of the texts and debates of the time, it seems that many of them refer to dangers that were experienced as fundamentally disturbing both from the point of view of the order of the institutional scheme of poor relief and the code of ideal Finnish citizenship. The ideological objective of producing a law-abiding and decent state citizen — sober, honest, sparing, motherly and hard-working, and one whose daily life takes place in the nuclear family — was under threat. The signs of transformation in the family morals posed a threat to the holy order of the nuclear family; the increasing criminality threatened the honesty and temperance of people; and the masses on relief — “who had learned to be idle and incapable“ — were a risk for the principle of self-support. Through the lenses of the responsible state administrators of poor relief and others concerned with public order, these circumstances were dangerous.

On the other hand, the events of “the moral panic“ are an interesting example of how the facts of an objectifying discourse, when they become part of particular class relations, can start to reorganize these relations. One of the common concerns of the civil servants of poor relief, criminologists, psychiatrists and lawyers was “the degeneration of the Finnish race and nation“, an assumption which firmly rested on the existence of the derived need for social control. Belief in this state of affairs started to organize their relation to lower-class people. Hence, the civil servants began to look for effective, preferably scientifically valid conceptual tools to prevent society from this moral

turpitude, and to classify and segregate those people who did not behave according to the appropriate moral code of a decent citizen, or were likely not to do so. However, this was not all. The prevention policy, in order to be successful, needed an effective apparatus of implementation. For this purpose, the ongoing reform of public administration offered the solution. In the Ministry of Social Affairs it became largely the responsibility of Einar Böök to develop the reform of poor relief, which combined both the ideas of centralized governing and the regulation of the flawed elements.

In the following I will explore the anatomy of the ideological practices that the new discourse of governing launched by Böök and his lawyer colleagues construct. In doing this I cannot, for reasons that I will explain later, avoid dealing with my own knowledge about welfare law. The second object of my investigation is the reorganizing influence of the texts produced by the lawyers in the institution of poor relief.

6.2 The mode of institutional inscription

It was in the middle of the deepest economic recession of the 1930s when Einar Böök (1931) published the guidelines for the forthcoming welfare reform for practitioners in the journal of welfare work. His clear vision was to establish a well-coordinated administrative system which would be the same throughout the country. It was to be designed according to the centralized mode of the institutional organization that had been recently advocated. However, the reform proposal does not even touch on the issues of theory, method, concepts, and language that the reform was going to apply to the subject matter. These issues were perhaps still under consideration.

While Böök and his colleagues⁴⁶ were writing the welfare bills, the ruling class (including the authors) started to express its opinion about the new policy. They were searching for an effective and reliable system of investigation, classification, and punishing of the less decent people. For these objectives, the existing conceptual practices of poor relief were far too indefinite to start with. Discourses that were more precise and derived from the results of science were available, for example, in criminology, law, psychiatry and eugenics. The choice of discourse was at the hands of the responsible civil servants in the Ministry of Social Affairs. However, the new reformers were bound both by their social relations and by the mode of contemporary governing, as Helsingius had been forty years earlier. But there were also additional

⁴⁶ According to Kaarlo Helasvuo (interview 6.4.1989), the welfare acts were mainly written by Einar Böök (also Haatanen 1992, 115) and K.J. Ståhlberg.

constraints, of which the social relations introduced by the new objectifying theories are among the most interesting ones.

6.2.1 The discourse of governing

Since the Civil War, the leadership of the state administration was firmly in the hands of the White-minded lawyers. They emphasized legal discourse as the only real and functional means to maintain social order, to promote national integration, and to implement the responsibilities of the ruling apparatus in general (e.g. Klami 1977; Aarnio 1990). The position of law was so dominant that the scholars of political science have characterized the 1920s and 1930s as the legalist period of administrative knowledge (e.g. Tiihonen 1985, 270S272). Taking into account how the civil servants of the Ministry saw the existing “social ills“, their uncritical belief in the power of law, and the fact that they were insiders in the dominant discourse, it was “natural“ that they chose law instead of the other available discourses. The real choice was between the theories of contemporary jurisprudence. Thus, it was not a mere coincidence that Böök turned into a civil activist who participated as an initiator in the topical debate about the theory of criminal law and how to apply it.⁴⁷

The paradigm of the Finnish criminal law, from classical penal law to positive criminal science, was under transformation. Retributive theory, supported by the classical school of criminal justice, saw punishment as a retribution of the criminal act of a person. Particularly from the 1920s on, this theory was challenged by the prevention theory which saw that the purpose of punishing in protecting society from the attacks of asocial individuals. (e.g. Honkasalo 1948, 25S40; Simonen 1938a, 7S13.)

This change of paradigm introduced a completely new view of the human being. Retributive theory considered criminals exceptionally strong beings who decide to confront the social order, whereas prevention theory, acknowledged by medicine, criminology, and positivist social science, considered criminals genetically defective individuals (e.g. Tulenheimo 1931). It follows that the target of measures against criminality was no more the criminal act, but the criminal person.

Furthermore, adopting preventive criminal law resulted in a powerful reorganization of practices,

⁴⁷ The Criminality Prevention Week took place in January 1934, Finland’s Criminologist Association was established in April 1934, and the welfare bills were presented to Finnish Parliament in September 1934. They were passed in January 1936.

including the redefinition of the relations between the state and its citizens and resulting in what Tulenheimo (1931, 363) calls “control state“ (*huoltovaltio*).

From the point of view of this study, an important discursive fact of the positive criminal science was that criminal policy, in order to be effective, must start with preventive measures on future offenders. Thus offenders of the future are both adults and children who are likely to become delinquents, that is, individuals who carry measurable or otherwise evident criminal characteristics in their body, personality, or heredity. Following the law of causality, the belief was that systematic observation and empirical testing would make it possible to predict who will turn to crime. (cc. Honkasalo 1948, 24S40; Tulenheimo 1931; Anttila & Törnudd 1983, 25S31; cf. Stang Dahl 1985, 55S62.)

Perhaps the most dramatic example of applying these ideas to the “flawed elements“ is found in a presentation that Aarre Simonen, a lawyer and secretary of public welfare in Helsinki, gave at a meeting of the Scandinavian Criminologist Association in 1937. The speech was published both in Finnish and in Swedish (in the Scandinavian yearbook of criminologists, see Simonen 1938a; Simonen 1938b). According to him, preventive measures must cover both those who have committed a criminal act and those who have not yet done so, but whose parasite way of life suggests criminal tendencies. Both behaviors have the same root causes, he insisted, and therefore society has both the right and obligation to intervene as early as possible in order to protect itself:

“Yhteiskunnan ei ole mitään syytä odottaa siksi, että se vasta tällaisen yksilön tekemän rikoksen jälkeen pääsee häneen käsiksi, päinvastoin se on oikeutettu ja velvollinenkin puuttumaan yksilöön jo silloin, kun tämän omaksuman elämäntavan asosiaalisuuden johdosta on perusteltua aihetta odottaa hänen ennemmin tai myöhemmin sortuvan rikollisuuteen, ja samoin silloin, kun hänen elämäntapansa jo sellaisenaan on yhteiskunnalle vaarallinen.“ (Simonen 1938a,18S19).

There is no reason why society should wait until this kind of individual commits a crime to lay hands on him. On the contrary, it is entitled, and even obliged, to intervene already when due to the individual’s asocial life-style there is reason to expect that he will fall into bad ways sooner or later, and also when the individual’s life-style as such poses a threat to society.

The measures of preventive criminal law are meant to address criminality as a ‘social ill’ by a direct attack on the causes of criminality before they erupt into crime. The purpose is to resocialize the person in question, and to save society from crime. The measures repeat the four-step procedure of social defense (orig. *diffésa sociale*) from prevention to elimination according to the stage the deviant has reached. The first step is a preventive measure to address the roots of

the evil (in the case of welfare law e.g. by warning and advising); reparation measures taken to restore the damage caused by lawbreaking (e.g. control, surveillance); repressive measures to punish the deviant (e.g. charge, custody); and eliminating measures to isolate the person in order to protect society (e.g. workhouse, prison). This procedure was originally designed in the nineteenth century by the founding fathers of criminology, the Italian criminologist Ferri and his colleagues (cf. Stang Dahl 1985, 59-62; also, Palmblad 1990). Actually, the procedure followed the idea of medical prevention that medical science had just proved highly successful. However, when applied in actual practices, criminal policy does not translate into medicine, but enters into the social relations organizing the appropriateness of people's moral and social behavior.

I have been unable to discover arguments for the preventive theory of criminal law that Bööck and his colleagues in the Ministry of Social Affairs adopted in the process of writing the "package" of welfare acts. This lack of evidence could be a sign of the previously assumed self-evident choice; alternatively, the forums of discussion may have been other than I have been unable to trace. So far, this remarkable process has been a nearly unexplored issue in Finnish research on social history.

Nevertheless, the prevention theory was a good choice from the point of view of the civil servants, since it offered a transferable method of naming and treating all kinds of deviance. Moreover, the theory fitted perfectly into the idea of centralized governing, because it was at the same time flexible and uniform enough to be applied to a variety of interpretive practices of the centralized welfare apparatus.

The writing of the welfare acts took place in continuous cooperation with the most knowledgeable criminologists and experts of criminal law. These contacts provided an invaluable opportunity for the lawyers of the Ministry to reflect with the best specialists on what was the discursively appropriate way to apply the facts and method of the preventive theory to potential criminals only. The outcome of the writing consists of four acts of public welfare (*huoltolait*) that became effective from the beginning of 1937. One of the acts stipulated the administration of welfare (*Laki kunnallisesta huoltolautakunnasta* 51/1936), and the rest dealt with particular groups of flawed elements: children in need of protection (*Lastensuojelulaki* 52/1936), vagrancy (*Irtolaislaki* 57/1936), and alcoholics (*Alkoholistolaki* 60/1936). Closely related to the drafting of these acts and the *Zeitgeist*, Parliament passed an Act on Sterilization (*Sterilisoimislaki* 227/1935), which was meant to decrease unnecessary relief expenses (Tolonen 1936, 56) and the number of children under public protection (Pulma 1987, 155). Together these acts and the related stipulations transposed Finnish poor relief to a new era, in which the actors of social welfare had to restructure their practices — for

example, the target of work, terminology, and the conceptual frame of practices, although the Poor Relief Act remained in effect.

6.2.2 An instructor of inscriptive practices

For a while, the reform of welfare law made the civil servants of the Ministry more pedagogues than administrators. They delivered local education on how to implement each of the welfare acts in actual practice and designed supplementary stipulations, model regulations and circular letters⁴⁸ for municipal actors. The task was so extensive and new that the civil servants needed additional people as instructors to provide the training throughout the country. I believe that a second reason for additional labor was that the civil servants themselves lacked experience in actual implementation. They were experts of legal texts, but not in ways of making the real world bureaucratically actionable, of inscribing it — how to meet an alcoholic, how to ask questions, how to move from answers to records, and so forth. In brief, the legal experts of the texts were not familiar with handling the discrepancy that necessarily emerges between the actuality of people's lives and the stipulations, categories and concepts laid down by law and other “diagnostically“ objectifying texts (cf. Smith 1990b, 73S74, 89S100).

An example of the supplementary actors is Osmo Toivola, who had immediate experience in implementing the acts. The Ministry utilized his knowledge. He was born in 1907 as the fourth son of a primary school teacher. He claims to have inherited his interest in social issues partly from his mother, who was a volunteer in charitable associations and was also involved in local politics. As a member of Kokoomus (the right-wing National Coalition Party), she campaigned for child allowances and social security for poor women, and demanded an increased equality and economic independence for women. This was the mission that she also emphasized to her son.

Toivola started to study both linguistics and law. He eventually discontinued his linguistics studies because lawyers were in demand in every field of society. Since he was a boy of a not so affluent family, he needed to earn his living during his studies, and law provided him with that opportunity. He started to work for the criminal department of the city police of Helsinki. However, because he was less than 169 centimeters tall and the male norm of the police department was 170 centimeters, it was not possible for him to get a permanent position there.

⁴⁸ The number of the circular letters by the Ministry to municipalities increased from 1933 on. Furthermore, their organizing power increased. The letters turned into detailed collections of instructions and stipulations that municipalities were expected to follow in detail. (cf. Soikkanen 1966, 571S572, 649).

The same year in which he graduated as a qualified lawyer, he was invited to act as a secretary of the welfare office in Helsinki. Toivola writes that working as a civil servant in the welfare bureaucracy felt familiar to him from the beginning. The knowledge and skills he had achieved at the criminal department were transferable, since the factual frame of the new job was similar. He was assigned the responsibility “to return all the alcoholics and vagrants of Helsinki to a sober, regular, and decent way of life.” Nevertheless, there was at least one new aspect for the newly qualified lawyer: he found it difficult to relate to the dependents face to face. Namely, at an early stage he realized that acting in the same way as a lawyer does at court did not make sense.

He also acted as a part-time teacher of welfare legislation in various institutions and universities. He was well known for his lively lecturing and excellent case examples, which I can also recall (as I was one of his students). As a teacher, he said that he always gave special emphasis to popularizing legal facts to make them understandable.

Toivola’s publications include several textbooks, handbooks, and instructive articles for welfare workers. Common to his texts is their aim to interpret legal discourse for the common actors who need to know how to apply such discourse in their daily practices as welfare workers. Actually, the books are a direct continuation of his teaching practice. The following analysis focuses mainly on one of his textbooks, *Alkoholisti- ja irtolaishuolto. Lainsäädäntö ja käytännöllinen huoltotyö* (Welfare Work with Alcoholics and Vagrancies. Law and Practice, 1943), which he wrote for the Ministry of Social Affairs in 1941 after two years’ experience in related tasks. (Curriculum vitae of Osmo Toivola; interviews 17.3.1989, and 14.4.1989).

6.2.3 My standpoint as an analyst of welfare law

Of all the texts and discourses analyzed in this study, welfare law has proved to me to be by far the most difficult target of investigation. And why is this so? I believe it is a question of the researcher’s personal history.

I was trained as a welfare worker during 1972-1976 at the University of Tampere. Some of the welfare acts of 1936 were still in force and the rest of the acts we were taught repeated by and large a similar discourse. Welfare law was taught to us by highly qualified lawyers, such as Osmo Toivola. Thus, I was supposed to know this legal discourse, but that did not help me assume an investigator’s standpoint. Actually, several failed efforts at analysis made me feel desperate, and I could not understand why the materialist method of interpreting texts did not work this time.

I finally stopped reading the texts of welfare law and tried to figure out a way out of the dilemma, which somehow reminded me of my many earlier doubts about the knowledge that I had learned as a social worker (including e.g. social case work, family therapy, group work). This time I believed that the problem was that I did not understand well enough the nature of law as a social discourse, and thus decided to go through some of the recent work on law by feminist scholars (e.g. Smart 1989 and 1992; Fineman & Thomadsen 1991), hoping that this would help me out of the dilemma. And it did. However, what I learned was not increased knowledge about law in its own terms, but an increased understanding of how extremely powerful law as a discourse actually is: how it constantly defines its own boundaries (e.g. what is legal, what is not), and how it considers its own practices and practitioners politically and morally neutral entities and agents. Legal reasoning does not take place in the real world, but in the abstract world of legal concepts only, where subjects are neither present nor needed. Therefore, the practitioners who apply law are only taught to deal with people's problems as legal abstractions on a conceptual level (e.g. Mossman 1991, 297).

Very slowly I started to become aware of what bothered me. When I moved from reading to investigating, I found it difficult to leave behind the way in which I had been taught to read these texts — as factual documents. Smith (1990b, 76) describes this phenomenon as follows:

“...factual methods of reading ‘read through’ the account to the actuality beyond it; it is always supposed that there is more to be known than the account contains and that the account can (in principle at least) be checked against the actuality to which it refers.”

The turning point in my consciousness raising was the reading of a fascinating case analysis by Lucie E. White (1991, 40S58) about what actually happened in the hearing of a welfare mother from her point of view. In reading the analysis I suddenly realized that I had never really thought of the work process of welfare law from the client's point of view. Instead, I had been taught to relate myself to them through the virtual reality created by the welfare law. I was unable to differentiate what in my reading was discursively organized because the line between that and actuality was unclear to me. In fact, opening the discourse from an external position was the main principle of the materialist method (cf. Smith 1990b, 45S57, 202S206), but entering this particular textual world made an outsider's position simply impossible. It was a place without exit.

To distance myself from the virtual reality of welfare law, I wrote immediately the following imaginary story about how Mr X came to be defined as an alcoholic in 1942. In

writing it, in addition to my own experiences both as a welfare worker and researcher of texts, my primary sources were the textbook of Osmo Toivola about welfare practices with alcoholics⁴⁹ and vagrants, and White's (1991) already mentioned case analysis. In the light of the textbook the process is like this:

The welfare worker has received two police records of arrests for drunkenness by Mr X. From this follows that the worker is due to invite Mr X for a case investigation at the municipal welfare office. The invitation takes place by letter, which he types carefully.⁵⁰

Mr X does not show up, which is usual for first timers. Since it is the legal duty to investigate the announced case, the welfare worker cannot give up, but types a second letter to Mr X. This time he decides, in accordance with the stipulations, to threaten Mr X with police action. The police could bring him in by force in case "the case" does not show up voluntarily.

After receiving the first letter, Mr X is astonished and ashamed. He does not think that he needs any kind of treatment. In his opinion, the call is ridiculous. To him, alcoholics represent rabble with whom he does not want to be associated in any way. When the second letter arrives, Mr X starts to feel very angry, but also intimidated and threatened (by the police!), and decides to go to tell the official the truth. In entering the office, Mr X remembers suddenly another experience of a similar forced meeting with the police, and begins to feel subordinated. He becomes very nervous; his dignity is gone. This is because Mr X realizes that his words are not likely to be taken as legitimate testimony, and that he is unlikely to have his say in what is to come (cf. White 1991).

At the moment of stepping into the meeting room, Mr X is so frightened that he hardly recognizes the friendliness of the small, smiling man receiving him. When the welfare worker at first offers him a cigarette, Mr X becomes greatly surprised. This makes him feel very suspicious as well as fearful. He says to himself: I must behave myself, and I must interact in the framework suggested, I must show that I am all right. However, the situation is very complex (force, fear, friendliness, smoke, etc.). The worker lets Mr X talk. This is difficult since Mr X does not know what he should say and what not, since he knows that there are risks involved in what he says (cf. White 1991).

Next, the welfare worker takes the leadership by referring to what Mr X has just said. He disagrees with much of what Mr X told him about himself and his family — for example, the

⁴⁹ A great majority of the treated alcoholics were men in the 1940s (Satka 1994a, 312), and so is the unnamed individual of the text. The fictitious story follows very closely what is said either in the textbook or in the Act of Alcoholics (Alkoholistolaki 60/17.1.1936) concerning the work on case level.

⁵⁰ The textbook emphasizes the use of a distinctive terminology in written form throughout the process, because the written form transforms it into legally acknowledgeable evidence, which then becomes "the truth" to refer to.

number of arrests and the amount of harm Mr X's drinking causes to his family. Mr X disagrees, but is soon silenced by all the facts and well argued points of the worker. Next the worker begins the factual part of the hearing: phases of life, history of drinking, living arrangements, quality of marital relationship, sickness in the family, arrests, criminal offenses, other deviant behaviors, etc. He seizes on facts that have been bureaucratically defined as relevant for subsuming Mr X's case under the Act of Alcoholics.⁵¹

It follows that Mr X goes home dissatisfied and totally confused. The welfare worker continues with his case file. He prepares Mr X's case carefully for the next meeting of the municipal board of welfare, which is going to decide whether Mr X in the light of the evidence and the facts of the Act is an alcoholic as suspected: he picks carefully up every detail in the testimony that proves Mr X guilty. In the framework of the legal method the two arrests turn out invaluable as evidence: as such they are sufficient and indisputable. Since the welfare worker did a skillful job (no mistakes in the form of processing the case, and the evidence is solid), the unanimous decision of the meeting is that Mr X is an obvious alcoholic, and in need of further treatment.

Thus, Mr X receives again a written call to the welfare office. He knows that he has to go or get into trouble. When Mr X arrives the second time, the worker does not give him space to talk, and Mr X's immediate guess is that nothing good will follow. The worker sounds different when he declares firmly: You are a testified alcoholic, and if you, Mr X, do not change your way of life, the punishments will get harder. In legal terms, the worker gave him the warning the act prescribes, and Mr X had a second lesson about that when the law is put against his opinion. He feels powerless.

The practices of the welfare worker illustrate the organizing potency of texts. The Act of Alcoholics organizes the two meetings so that the interpreter, the welfare worker, is not expected to take into consideration Mr X's will, wishes, or his family's concerns. On the contrary, the welfare worker is responsible for making sure that the stipulations and principles of appropriateness become effective (Toivola 1943, 123). Toivola, the author of the textbook, cannot be blamed as an individual. Actually, he writes interestingly from the narrow personal margin of a lawyer situated between the method of welfare law and the local and practical requirements of his bureaucracy. It was his "destiny", like many

⁵¹ Since the formal investigation begins, Mr X becomes an outsider in his own case, and the case starts to have a life of its own. In the documentary world of welfare law, there is no place for Mr X to talk about his subjective views, experiences, or his feelings about his life and drinking because the form that needs to be filled does not have space for such considerations. The personal is not part of the textual world into which Mr X's life, that is, a suspected alcoholic, is now placed (cf. Smith 1990a, 12S51).

others including myself, to become involved in discursively organized relations, which immediately frustrated all personal efforts to work with neighbors in trouble.

Mary Jane Mossman (1991, 291) calls this phenomenon “absence of responsibility”; the predominantly male judges consider the law responsible instead of themselves. Hence, they are able to exclude the emotional, political, and moral aspects of the issue. It also hides from them how their well-structured and formal practice is part of the processes of contemporary ruling. In the same way I, as a holder of expert knowledge, was ignorant about the ways in which I was (and still am) tied to the relations of ruling mediated by texts of welfare law, social work and social science (cf. Smith 1988, 161S162).

6.2.4 Making “the rabble” bureaucratically actionable

All welfare acts concerning a particular group of people were based on the same theory, principles of interpretation, and method of intervention. The main ideas were individual investigation and treatment case by case, and more effective measures of treatment (Tarvainen 1946, 8S9). In introducing the welfare bills, Einar Böök (1934a, 366) writes about the status of the board as follows:

“Kaikissa näissä uusissa lakiehdotuksissa on kunkin lain vaikutusalalla annettu yhteiskunnallisille huoltotoimenpiteille ensiarvoinen asema ja niitä ennestään kehitetty, myöskin lisäämällä kunnan asianomaisten viranomaisten velvollisuutta ja valtuuksia tarpeen vaatiessa ryhtyä pakkotoimenpiteisiin tai tekemään sellaisiin alotteita.”

In all these new bills, social welfare measures have been given the primary position and further developed by assigning municipal officials the responsibility to take, if necessary, even coercive measures, and to suggest such measures.

The acts call the target person of the new welfare measures *huollettava* (dependant). In the texts of the 1930s and 1940s this concept carries a clear tone of a human being who is suspect, potentially asocial, perhaps precriminal:

“Älyllisen kehitystason mataluus, korkeimpien henkisten harrastusten puuttuminen, huvittelun- ja koreilunhalu, laiskuus, siveellisten käsitteiden hämäryys, tahdon heikkous sekä hetkellisyys ja välinpitämättömyys omasta tulevaisuudesta ovat ominaisuuksia, jotka usein liittyvät irtolaisen luonteeseen.” (Toivola 1943, 269)

Low mental development, lack of higher cultural activities, a desire to look fancy and search for enjoyment, idleness, vague moral concepts, a weak will, impulsiveness, and carelessness about one's future, are common characteristics of a vagrant.

Each act concerning a special group of flawed elements has its own ideological objective for the citizen to aspire to. In the case of children, it is a normal childhood; in the case of alcoholics absolute temperance; and in the case of vagrants an honorable way of life. In other words, via the preventive, repairing, repressive or eliminating measures, the target person was expected to become a decent and normal citizen (e.g. Toivola 1943, 27, 173).

The case of Mr X illustrates how the Act of Alcoholics provides the worker with a detailed interpretive scheme and ideal process model for identifying and treating an alcoholic. However, it does not tell the investigator how to proceed, e.g., how to select from the primary narrative those particulars that fit in the abstracted conceptual mode of the Act. In this, Toivola's textbook is of great help (and so was presumably the training that the civil servants of the Ministry offered to practitioners). According to the textbook, the investigator's most important responsibility in the hearing of a suspected alcoholic is to write down relevant facts, the particulars, on the hearing records, because everything else depends on them.

The textbook describes what is discursively relevant, and illustrates it with practical examples and descriptions of actual working processes. A basic principle in making a case record is that the investigator should not take for granted what people in the hearing say because "alcoholics and their wives tend to lie and exaggerate". At least the investigator has to connect oral knowledge with other evidence, like the textual statement of a doctor or the police. According to the author, oral evidence has only the status of raw material in the making of the case record and the related minutes. According to Toivola, the professional statements represent a more objective truth. Therefore, it is not enough just to sum up the evidence. In the ideal case, the decision is based upon proved (i.e. objective) causal evidence between drinking and its consequences. (Toivola 1943, 33S35, 53S54, 133S134).

From the point of view of textual governing, Toivola's quoted instructions for practitioners are most interesting. Actually, he clarifies the mystic steps that one is forced to take in order to carve out of the chaos of everyday life an institutionally valid case record that has authority and counts in every subsequent legal processing. (cf. Smith 1990b, 78S80, 155S157.) He introduces the interpretive scheme and shows how one should add the needed interpretive connections into the primary narrative of the case. The

connectives are not always explicit but something that one has to be qualified to know. Furthermore, Toivola shows how to select and assemble the particulars to identify those that are relevant. At the end the textbook illustrates in detail and through case examples how to fill in the forms, case files and records properly. He never forgets to underline the importance of exact accounts (Toivola 1943, 107S118, 263S266, 290S313).

Toivola's duty was to ensure that the records are made in a standardized way. It follows that in the administrative process it becomes essential that the presence of the subject is discarded, and the actual status of the suspect is reconceptualized as an abstract entity (e.g. *kausijuoppo*, occasional drunkard; *krooninen alkoholisti*, chronic alcoholic), which then, under the name of Mr X, begins to function as the coordinating agent of the administrative process (cf. Smith 1990b, 43S45). (see Toivola 1943, 37S84; Bööck 1948, 257S274.)

The social welfare system of the 1930s is a fascinating example of a socially organized practice whose functioning is organized by an objectified form of knowledge which has many explicit consequences. Additionally, it is an excellent example of the expansion in Finnish relations of ruling at the time. Firstly, it follows that the practices of welfare law can exist only if the necessary textual work processes take place. From this point of view it is illustrative that Toivola (1943, 263S265) introduces a whole new concept, that of office techniques (*toimistotekniikka*)⁵², to deal with the enormously increased textual practice of social welfare. The new term also reveals the significance that registering and record-keeping had in the work process, which rested on a definite textual form (cf. Toivola 1943, 35).⁵³

Another consequence that Bööck, together with his lawyer colleagues, came to introduce is a more coherent ideological organization for grassroots practice with people. The treatment of people became an inseparable part of the evolving administrative technologies. Furthermore, it connected the practices of treatment to the policies that the top leaders of the organization were designing. In her work Dorothy E. Smith (e.g. 1990b)

⁵² Even this term of office techniques speaks about a close relation between the contemporary knowledge of criminal law and welfare work. In criminal law this "field" was called criminal techniques (Honkasalo 1948, 9).

⁵³ For example, concerning alcoholics, the necessary office techniques included keeping three different kinds of catalogues (*juopumuskortisto*, drinking record; *muistiopäiväkirja*, diary; *huollettavien kortisto*, the record of dependants; and as a Helsinki special, an extra catalogue, *apukortisto*), and four different records or minutes (*peruspöytäkirja*, basic minutes; *jatkopöytäkirja*, continuation minutes; *kuulustelupöytäkirja*, interview minutes; and *kokouspöytäkirja*, meeting minutes). (see Toivola 1943, 107S118). The first two of the records make up the foundation of an alcoholic's case file, while the rest are documents of administrative processing. These techniques were also the reason why welfare work was no more possible to be implemented by volunteer workers, although its planners believed the opposite as late as the mid 1930s (Laki kunnallisesta huoltolautakunnasta 51/1936, 7 §).

has called this circular process the “ideological circle“, which is a necessary precondition for the functioning of modern bureaucracies and professions in general. According to her, ideological circles are also necessary for the functioning of modern professions, large-scale enterprises and for the conceptual processing of social sciences, of which she analyzes sociology as an example (see Smith 1989 and 1991).

The making of an ideological circle happens via a couple of “tricks“: the first step is to separate the speaker from what the person says about oneself, and what the suspect thinks about his/her life. The second “trick“ is detaching and arranging what has been said; it is making “mystical connections“ between what has been said, and the facts of the discourse. The final phase is to connect the results the above excursion produced with the person. (see Smith e.g. 1990b, 43S45)

In the described case, the function of the ideological practice is to help bind the ideological practices of a welfare worker into the discourse of welfare law. Thus, it locates the case in social relations, in which the discourse structures the transliteration of the particular person and event into the abstracted and generalizing language of the organization. In brief, the meaning of the ideological circle is thus to make it possible to create the virtual reality that is vested in the texts of welfare law. (cf. Smith 1990b, 155S173).

6.3 The making of the Finnish social welfare bureaucracy

Einar Böök was well aware that the reform he and his colleagues had designed was going to cause a major transformation. He named the new administrative organization of social welfare *huoltohallinnon järjestysmuoto* (an organizational form of care administration), which according to him was centralized, reasonable, and consistent. It was planned on the historical tradition of the municipal board of poor relief, but the new board was crucially different from its predecessor: the municipal board of social welfare was now the lowest instance of administrative law. (Böök 1934a, 365; Böök 1934b, 715, 718).

In introducing the four welfare bills, Böök (1934a) emphasized that municipalities should prepare themselves well and ahead of time for the forthcoming changes. The municipal regulations of poor relief were to be renewed and accepted by the Ministry so that they would operate consistently with the new acts. This meant a textual reorganization in the institution as a whole. The welfare acts introduced an enforced legal institutional mode and a corresponding scheme of interpreting people’s problems. Additionally, Böök considered it necessary that the local actors, who were increasingly

paid for their duties, have an opportunity to participate in a training course where the implementation of the welfare acts is thoroughly explained. According to him, they needed to know how the abstract principles and facts were to be tied to the local and particular; they were to be trained outside the local setting to be capable of producing the legal order that was vested in the acts. Furthermore, his plans required that the materials of this training were to be printed so that they can be reproduced. Those who were locally responsible for implementing the stipulations should have a handbook at hand. (e.g. Böök 1934a; 1936).

His demands were far-reaching; among other things, they meant entering a new phase in the developing relations of ruling. As a consequence, everyday local worlds of people's lives and of their helpers were organized by nationally standardizing conceptual practices. This decisive transformation in the developing relations of ruling was firmly connected, as already pointed out, with the efforts to strengthen the Finnish state apparatus by the governing elite.

The institutional consequences of the new organization of social welfare were numerous. In order to be able to act according to the enforced terms and procedures, the actor needed to know something about welfare law, and how to make the required written products. There was no local knowledge that was of any help in this. On the contrary, that was something that could be achieved only by formal training outside their communities. The actor needed to learn the skill of factual reading and writing. As a result, by the end of the 1930s most municipalities were forced to employ a particular individual who was qualified to take care of the increased amount of paperwork that the running of the local social welfare system required (e.g. Satka 1994a, 291S294).

Correspondingly, the validity of local knowledge became far more limited; it was applicable to duties like shepherding, which had apparently very little to do with administration and other practices organized by the objectified forms of knowledge. In relation to the welfare law, local knowledge lacked all authority, and therefore the laymen — members of the municipal board of social welfare — were forced (at least in principle) to adopt the characteristics of the new order. This did not happen overnight; in rural areas it took at least a generation. Meanwhile, it was necessary to take some measures to leave behind the old tradition. An example of this is the legally enforced principle of concealment: the textbooks and acts emphasize that the board is to protect the personal privacy of the dependant: every detail they have learned should be kept secret. This was a completely new stipulation (e.g. Alkoholistolaki 60/1936,36 &) which the authors explained by saying that alcoholism is “a socially delicate matter“. (Toivola 1943,

119S121; Bök 1948, 271S272). This was not the case as long as the system relied extensively on local knowledge.

Another important break started to emerge between the official social welfare organization and welfare associations. Under the previous organization of poor relief, designed by Helsingius, charity associations and their voluntary activists were acknowledged agents who had their own responsibilities in the social sector. The emerging break was not a consequence of a conscious choice of the civil servants of the Ministry. On the contrary, I have ample evidence to suggest that their attitude towards volunteers was very positive and volunteering was also necessary from the economic point of view. My interpretation is that the growing distance between social welfare and charity associations since the 1930s was a consequence of the adopted legal discourse. It is so constructed that for an insider legal organization becomes the only norm of functioning. Besides, legal discourse tends to locate other activities in a lower position. (e.g. Mossman 1991, 297.) Actually, the welfare law only reproduced the old principle of poor relief built on the gender order: the official action is the norm, and from its viewpoint voluntary activities are necessary but different, and as such subordinated to the legally organized activities (cf. Satka 1994a, 302).

The welfare reform had unifying consequences as well. By introducing the legal institutional mode, it became possible to break down resistance and force child protection and protectors to become part of social welfare. It was the opinion of the representatives of the poor relief institution since Helsingius that child protection is part of poor relief, but the predominantly female actors resisted the idea firmly. Child protection had developed separately from poor relief. It had its own discourses and was actually ahead in discursive development (see Pulma 1987). The earlier unlikely union of child protection and poor relief was simply an example of the connections that the power of texts can help to actualize.

Thus, the welfare reform of the 1930s introduced some decisive novelties for the initiators themselves and for lawyers in general. In the reform, the expanding institution got a hierarchical substructure. It subordinated the other actors of the field both to the discourse of the welfare law and to the control of the top lawyers at the Ministry of Social Affairs. In addition, law as a textual discourse developed in the context of theories and institutions controlled by men, thus reflecting men's concerns and view of the world (e.g. Fineman & Thomadsen 1991). In the institution of social welfare, where women's issues and family issues are crucial, this built up problems for the future, since the legalization of the institution meant a remarkable strengthening of the masculine view of the world in its practices.

In the end, how did the relatively radical transformation in the organization of poor relief, so well-known for its backwardness, become possible? I think that the extended social relations in which the reform took place were crucial. On the one hand, the reform grew from the administrative relations; the welfare acts became one of the first measures to really submit the municipal self-government to the leadership of the central government (cf. Soikkanen 1966, 526S528). On the other hand, there was a link between the new legalization, and the settling of class relations. In the 1930s the class cleavage was deep, and in particular, the relations of the previous Reds and Whites were still filled with hatred, prejudice, and political tension. Therefore, the abstract conceptual organization created an appearance of neutrality and impersonality that was able to conceal the class issue (cf. Smith 1990b, 65). In addition, the law objectifies the acting subject, who simply disappears in the legal discourse (Mossman 1991; White 1991). Thus, the reform meant that the politically sensitive class relations became incorporated into legal and bureaucratic processes of Finnish state formation, in which the actual struggle was easy to neutralize and displace. The textual means of the welfare law introduced for the first time a procedure for precise testing, a practice of people's constant surveillance, and in particular, bureaucratic tools for turning the poor and deviant into decent citizens. It needs to be added that the welfare law was by no means alone in this project. The new mode of "treatment" also included all other institutions of moral regulation in one form or another. The practices of criminal law in particular were targeted at the same ends.

7 The expansion of the professional expertise

The postwar years witnessed a rapid social transformation of the way in which the state related to its citizens and people's everyday life. From the war years on, the Finnish state started to adopt a new, reform-oriented role; it became more active both in offering social support to its citizens and in the regulation of the various sectors of society (e.g. Eräsaari 1978). Promoting the production of vocational and professional experts for health care and social welfare was one of its new activities. By 1945, in the social welfare sector this effort had resulted in three state-subsidized training programs either in welfare work or in social work. One of the tasks of the new professionals was to ensure effective governing, which was seen as covering both the concerns of the state and the everyday concerns of the common people.

On the level of everyday life, people's experience during the war were path-breaking; many Finns (e.g. soldiers, women under the work obligation, war refugees) were cut off from their localities and traditions for the first time and without warning. One of the consequences was that previously assumed self-evident moral norms were no more considered as such by everyone. Almost simultaneously there strengthened new ideas and ideals generating alternatives for a break with tradition. The ideas included the modern home and nuclear family as a site of personal happiness (e.g. Jallinoja 1984; Saarikangas 1993).

Thus Finns soon faced completely new social phenomena, like increasing divorces, unfaithfulness, and criminality of the young generation (e.g. Piirainen 1974, 339). Sometimes living with all this, and adapting one's life to the modern pulse of the new society made people insecure and indecisive. In the new or emergent problems, traditional knowledge which people were used to applying to solve their difficulties was of no use. The common people started to feel that they were in need of the advice of the new experts who were said to have the answers they had been looking for. In the 1950s this need was responded to by a boom in the number of special clinics where experts of human behavior, e.g. social case workers, psychologists, and psychiatrists, delivered individual guidance and treatment (see Satka 1994a, 301S311).

The years following the Second World War meant a condensed dislocation from the premodern, that is, a transition from an agrarian Finnish society to a modern one. It meant giving up the collective way of life, and moving towards a modern way of life in which individual choice plays a considerable role. This, in addition to the interest of the state in

guiding people's choices, invited expert advisors, the professionals of human behavior, to act. Both the teachers of the new experts and the practicing professionals in the clinics and municipal welfare offices became the new conceptual practitioners whose social relations, texts and actions are the focus of the following analysis. This chapter discusses the Finnish social transformation in order to identify the location of the emerging conceptual practitioners in extended postwar social relations. Chapter Eight provides an analysis of the texts of the two professional discourses, welfare work and social case work. In some forums the discourses were alternatives to and in some others competitors for conceptual dominance. These tensions and debates are the object of analysis in Chapter Nine.

7.1 The war and the new relations between people, civil society and the state

In the end of November 1939, Soviet troops attacked over the Finnish-Soviet border, and the Winter War started. The war ended in the Peace Treaty of Moscow, in March 1940. The peace, however, was only temporary. The next war, called the Continuation War, started in June 1941 and continued for the three following years until September 1944, when it became obvious that Finland had lost the war. However, the country succeeded in maintaining its national independence. During the war, over 85 000 Finns lost their lives, and about 50 000 were wounded. By the terms of the final peace agreement, Finland ceded 12% of its territory to the Soviet Union, which meant that about 11% of the population lost their homes and communities. Furthermore, Finland was due to pay a considerable war indemnity which consisted mainly of products of the metal industry. In a predominantly agrarian country this constituted an effective impulse for further industrialization.

During the war people's mutual responsibility, immediate interaction across class barriers, and the state's responsibility for the welfare of its citizens was emphasized. One example of this was the fact that just before the war a whole new idea of social intervention was introduced: state social benefits. Compared with the 1930s measures of social welfare, it was targeted at very different groups of citizens. Certain groups were considered eligible, i.e., having the right to receive a certain amount of benefits according to their particular life conditions (families of the detached soldiers; poor mothers; disabled soldiers). In the circumstances of war, the new activities rapidly became a considerable task in the daily practices of municipal welfare, although it was neither the only nor even the main administrator of the new forms of assistance. The new mode of the state's activities for its

people was called the “care of the masses“ in order to separate it from the traditional, means-tested poor aid. (e.g. Siipi 1967, 130S137, 148S150).

In delivering the various forms of social assistance, the local boards of municipal welfare were clearly mere executors of the decisions by the Ministry of Social Affairs. The Ministry gave exact norms for the amount of benefits, and for the target groups, in addition to detailed stipulations concerning how the local delivery of benefits should be organized. Local autonomy was minimized and the role of local actors was limited to the delivery of the services. Therefore, perhaps, the new mode of assistance did not have much influence on the ideological scheme or on the evolving conceptual practices of the institution. Delivering social benefits was considered a mere practical necessity among others.

Actually, it was no coincidence that the new mode of social assistance and the whole idea of a normalizing social policy emerged just before the war. On the contrary, it was an integral part of the national defence policy on the home front. Some of the main aims of the new social policy were to contribute to the people’s moral courage, the will of national defence, and eventually, the social unification of Finnish society, which was still suffering from the consequences of the divisions that followed the events of the Civil War.

Among the designers of the national defence policy, there was a strong unanimity that those who were in need of social support because of the war should by no means receive a socially labelling dole like poor relief. Their firm opinion was that what happened after the Civil War should not be repeated. The designers of the policy thought that when the existence of the nation was threatened, every citizen had to be involved in the defense effort. Therefore, hardship created by the war and other related circumstances seen as affecting the strength of the people were conceptualized differently: under particular conditions the needy were considered to be entitled to state benefits.

The idea of social benefits was not a Finnish innovation. It was derived both from the ideas of the Swedish “folkhemspolitik“ (e.g. Hatje 1974; Hirdman 1989) of which the leading civil servants were well aware in the 1930s, and later also from the ideas of the British designer of the welfare state, Lord William Beveridge (e.g. Urponen 1994, 213S214). These ideas emphasized society as a place or “home“ where people’s social needs, welfare, and social security were among the continuous concerns of the state. On the other hand, the idea of state support for families involved mutual obligations; each individual was responsible for participating as an active agent in the maintenance of the aims and policies of the state, e.g. in the policy of national defence. Nikolas Rose (1990, 224) describes the contemporary condition in Britain in a similar

manner: “The individual was to be integrated into society in the form of a citizen with social needs, in a contract in which individual and society would have mutual claims.”

The relatively radical and rapid change in the emphasis and mentality of Finnish state governing from the coercive control of the 1930s to people’s welfare in the war years was connected with modern warfare, whose strategies required a new attitude of the state towards its population. In 1939, just before the war broke out, the Ministry of Defence was assured that the result of the expected war depended not only on how qualified the soldiers were, but foremost on the morale of the population. By morale they referred particularly to the need to create and maintain a unanimous will to defend Finland and make people supportive toward the warfare in general. Furthermore, the Ministry of Defence said that experience had proved that the morale on the home front was more likely to break than the morale on the war front, and therefore the mental protection of the population (*henkinen väestönsuojelu*) is an important element of modern defence. (Puolustusministeriön julkaisu 1939,3).

The notion that the minds of the civilians were decisively meaningful for national success on the war front led the state to establish new organizations for observing, understanding and governing the minds of civilians. The official information section of the headquarters (Päämajan tiedotustoimisto) was one that became involved in the propaganda of the home front, but the major responsibility was on the State Institute of Information (Valtion tiedotuslaitos, VTL) established in October 1939. The institute had up to 10 000 people serving as voluntary agents. Its duties included censorship, local, even personal propaganda, and follow-up studies of public opinion. The opinion polls (which also included the first attempts to apply Gallup method in Finland) were made in order to gain information on people’s mental status for the purposes of national defence and civil administration. The opinion profiles had at least two uses: in their light the members of Parliament directed their policies and single decisions in order to avoid dissatisfaction among the people, and through them, the institute was able to focus its propaganda whenever need arose. (Julkunen 1990, 222S235; Favorin & Heinonen 1972, 7S9).

Ultimately, the responsibility for the maintenance of citizens’ mental status was not entirely in the hands of the state government. According to the division of responsibilities planned by the Ministry of Defence, the leadership of the mental work was shared with the Lutheran and Orthodox Churches of Finland (Puolustusministeriön julkaisu 1939). In addition, aided by various groups of the civil society, the state established two new organizations, Kansanhuolto and Suomen Huolto, to coordinate the delivery of the necessary food supplies, and to organize the increasing voluntary work aid and the arriving foreign material aid. Both of the new organizations had an extensive network of

offices which included a propaganda function for “the mental protection“ of citizens (Segerstråle 1940).

Suomen Huolto (Finland’s Maintenance) concentrated on the provision of “mental care“ by establishing a particular section in its organization for this task. The section for “mental care“ was led by a committee of priests and educators, and a scholar in social policy, Heikki Waris, acted as their chairperson. In 1940 Waris wrote: the aims of mental care include the maintenance of patriotism, the defence will, and the promotion of active co-operation, a sense of solidarity, and a community spirit both among the civilians and between the home front and the war front. He emphasized that mental care should be available in every part of the country because the state is concerned that each individual is treated as a valuable and contributive member of society (e.g. Waris 1941).⁵⁴

However, the democratic emphasis in the state’s relation to its citizens was not the only transformation that penetrated Finnish society during the war years. In addition, during the war, the state’s defence aims and the objectives of the bourgeois organizations were often similar. It was not unusual that organizations worked in order to either execute or support the aims of the national defence on the home front. The execution and organization of the above-mentioned mental care is one example. In local communities mental care was mainly carried out by volunteers on the grassroots level (e.g. Waris 1940).

Another example of how civil society shared the defense responsibilities on the home front in the struggle against the common enemy are the women who were organized as Kotiystävien Liitto (The Association of Home Friends). The women of the association were devoted to visiting homes which suffered from various kinds of problems caused by the war. The home friend was to offer a helping hand: at first she was to listen to the pains and concerns of her neighbors, and then to either give advice, work aid, or both. This personal touch was meant to ensure moral courage as a means for “the maintenance of the home front“ among those who suffered most because of the war. (Snellman 1942).

The war years saw numerous women’s activities whose aims emphasized the mutual obligation and joint responsibility for the vulnerable citizens (e.g. Satka 1994b). On the other hand, the war front, where men of various classes had to fight side by side ‘to protect their homes and families’, as the war propaganda put it, was the other stage where

⁵⁴ The quoted words of Heikki Waris also reveal how easy it was to link the new field, social policy, and the objectives of the modern defence policy. Among other things, this linkage firmly supported the development of social policy for citizens.

collective solidarity prospered. A common contemporary slogan was: A fellow will not be abandoned! (*Kaveria ei jätetä!*). (e.g. Siipi 1967; Turtola 1985) The slogan emphasizes man's social responsibility and mutual obligation during the war as the common good of a soldier and male citizen.

Undoubtedly, the enormously increased expressions of solidarity and mutual responsibility among the common people contributed to the transformation of Finnish class relations as well as of people's identities and conceptions of themselves. According to Finnish historians, the major shift in class relations occurred during the short Winter War. Scholars have identified a rapid process of social reintegration in people's immediate interaction, overcoming the social divisions caused by the Civil War. The unique process has been called 'the miracle of the Winter War'. In addition, the many programmed efforts of voluntary organizations and the state contributed to overcoming the deep class divisions and prejudices on a collective level. However, the real transformation of people's daily behaviors took place in their voluntary (and involuntary) activities during the war. It was in these activities that the construction of the new identities of the modern female and male citizen was initiated by the common people themselves (e.g. Satka 1993; Satka 1994b).

All in all, the transformations illustrated in the preceding meant a gradual abandoning of the strictly class-divided social organizations in everyday life. Nevertheless, class differences remained. Since the war years, Finnish class divisions have also been maintained by new organizations like the labour unions, which started to regulate the relations between workers and employers.

7.2 The ideals of modern life

The war years became the turning point for the Finnish way of life. The changing family behavior was one indicator of change. Scholars of family history have discovered that the end of the Continuation War marked a new epoch in people's conceptions about marriage, family, and sexual morality. The epoch is characterized by the increasing number of marriages, remarriages, children per family, and divorces. The two last-mentioned trends were consequences of the war, and remained short-lived. Furthermore, the Finns' previously puritanical sexual morals were liberalized. The family started to represent for most people a site of personal happiness, and a matter of individual pleasure and satisfaction. (e.g. Jallinoja 1984).

The individualization of people's family behavior did not take place in a social vacuum. Before and during the war there were organized efforts to emphasize reproduction as a population issue, and simultaneously the state adopted a policy to assist healthy families with children by maternal benefits. In addition, Finland became a target of some international modernization programs contributing to the same ends. A central aim of these programs was said to be to increase people's welfare by means of the newest expert techniques in the social field. By the 1950s, foreign efforts became highly influential, resulting in the establishment of a new professional discourse, social case work, and a training program for the experts of modern social intervention.

7.2.1 The Finnish makers of the ideals of modern citizen

The quality and quantity of the Finnish population had been a public concern since the mid-1930s. Specialists on the issue confirmed that a plentiful and genetically qualified population is a necessary component of a successful national economy and a prerequisite for the continuity of the Finnish people in general. When a population study proved that the number of Finns was diminishing, the Swedish book by Alva and Gunnar Myrdahl (1934), *Kris i befolkningfrågan*, offered examples of how one could solve the issue of human reproduction by means of an active family policy (see e.g. Hirdman 1989, 92S158). Also, the Finnish government initiated efforts to increase the number of births. When the war broke out in 1939, some material support for families with children, namely, maternal benefits for the poorest mothers, already existed. Additionally, a state committee for the population issue was established.

The experiences of the Winter War made the concern about the number of Finns even more pressing. Contemporary advocates of the issue underlined that one of the consequences of the war was "a severe loss in the most vigorous groups of people". When the Continuation war started, the issue of the Finnish population was raised as a question of national destiny. It gained extensive attention in public debates, and a bourgeois population movement, The Population and Family Welfare Federation (Väestöliitto)⁵⁵, was founded. Another consequence was that family policy was chosen as an eminent political concern of the state (see Simonen 1990, 44S52; Satka 1993).

⁵⁵ During and after the war, the Federation was a considerable pressure group both in the formation of general opinion and in the decisions of the state concerning the living circumstances of families and various issues of human reproduction (e.g. Nieminen 1946). It introduced measures to support families and established a population clinic where consultation and other expert services for voluntary families concerned about reproduction issues was provided (e.g. Nätkin 1994).

As its first measures, the Population Federation declared that the country needed a population program and a large-scale population propaganda (Rauttamo 1980, 255). Essential in the making of the population program was a debate about the ideal reproduction norm each Finnish family should fulfil. At the beginning it was six healthy descendants per family, four children being the minimum (e.g. Simonen 1990, 50). The starting point of the population propaganda was an emphasis on the importance of mothering. For example, a chairperson of the Federation, psychiatrist and civil servant of the Ministry of Social Affairs, Rakel Jalas, declared that becoming a mother was the responsibility and particular calling of every able-bodied and married young woman (e.g. Jalas 1941). She was a representative and spokesperson of middle-class ideology and a woman who played a decisive role in redefining the concepts of womanhood and family (Satka 1994b).

Mothering was argued to be especially important for the continuity of the nation; it was mothers who controlled future citizens' mental, moral and physical health — the basis of every nation. On the other hand, the propagation of home, mother, and family during the war also had other aims than increasing the number of people. It was meant to strengthen the general nationalist pathos, and people's moral courage, in addition to linking their minds to the promises of a future with peace, happy homes, and loving mothers (e.g. Satka 1993, 57-62).

The ideology of the 1940s population debate was extremely familist, for example, in assigning a special maternal and familial calling to women. The same ideology became popular throughout Finnish society. Public attitudes were manipulated in favour of the family. The home cult, originating at the end of the 19th century, went through a rapid revival (Jallinoja 1984, 60) and became partly modernized. Its new characteristics involved the ideal of individual choice, personal, even sexual pleasure, emotions, and domestic privacy. There were also attempts to change legislation in order to improve the material wellbeing of large families. Consequently, the taxes of the families with children were reduced, and new acts, such as the Child Benefit Act, were introduced in 1948 to respond to their needs.

Thus, the private life of individual citizens in families became endowed with major political significance. The state participated effectively in the making of the everyday life of the Finnish family from the 1940s on (cf. Hirdman 1989). The new political tendencies were manifest in postwar social policy. Even a brief overview of the introductory texts in the 1940s social policy by the Ministry of Social Affairs reveals two main focuses of activities: the regulation of work and home, the public and the private life of ordinary people. Essential targets of state regulation were the labor market, which was under

democratization and reorganization, risks at work, conditions of human reproduction, and the welfare of families with children. (e.g. *Sosiaalinen lainsäädäntö ja toiminta Suomessa*, 1946; *Social Legislation and Work in Finland*, 1949). Thus, the Finnish postwar way of life was normalized by means of regulating, through social policy, wage labour and moulding the sphere of the home — “the small life, which was the site of personal pleasures and benefits“.

The 1940s housing policy, particularly the program of the type-planned houses, the “good modern family dwellings“, and the simultaneous launching of a new female occupation, the home makers, are fascinating examples of politically produced forms of organizing people’s everyday life according to the modern norms of home and work.

The type-planned houses meant a break away from the productive farm house and household of several people. Unlike the peasant house, the house for a single family was no longer a place of work but primarily a dwelling. The spatial organization of the modern house was designed for housekeeping tasks only, which included gardening for the domestic needs of the family. The designers assumed that all other work was taking place elsewhere. The one-family house was a monument to the privatizing family; with its fenced-off yards it constituted the discrete and privately owned world of the family. It was one effective measure by the state to introduce the norms and ideals of modern everyday life for the changing Finnish families who were moving increasingly into towns. Additionally, its norms and design introduced a family model which was based on a strict gender-based division: on the predetermined roles of father, mother and children in the modern family. Kirsi Saarikangas (1993, 348), who has studied the postwar housing program, concludes:

“The man’s place was in the construction of the home. Just as the idealized family model can be seen as oppressing the woman — assigning her to the home and to a fixed role — it can equally well be seen as effecting the alienation of the man from his home and his family“. (Saarikangas 1993, 324S353).

Before and during the war two voluntary associations, the Mannerheim League for Child Welfare and the Population Federation, started to organize courses for occupational home makers. This activity was directed to what happened inside the home, to improve the quality of mothering and the overall value of home life. The objectives included making the work of housewives with many children easier, the rationalization of households, and increasing the overall standard of health and hygiene in poor homes. Another argument for establishing the training programs was that young women needed training for their duties as future housewives in housekeeping, child

care and domestic economy. Thus, a home maker's occupation was considered only a temporary phase in the life of an average trainee. According to the League, the courses were a method of "implanting in the people the attitude that becoming a housewife and mother presupposes serious training. Schooling was a way of making female youth inspired with the right spirit of homemaking." (Simonen 1990, 47). After the war, municipalities started to employ homemakers.⁵⁶ The priority was given to provision of homemaking services to homes with several children. An additional emphasis was given to rural poor families, which has to do with the fact that in 1950 still half of the Finnish population were living in the countryside, and earned their living from primary production. (see Simonen 1990, 36882)

Finland's obligation to pay a considerable amount of its war indemnity in industrial products had contributed particularly to the growth of metal industry by the 1950s and to the rapidly increasing number of industrial workers. The postwar industrialization was rapid, but equally rapid was the growth in the number of people who earned their living from services (e.g. Karisto & Takala 1990, 49). Thus, unlike most Western nations, Finland did not have a period of thoroughgoing industrialization; in their views of the world, the Finns continued to cherish the ideas and ideals of the agrarian communality for decades after the Second World War.

Postwar enlightenment in homemaking, housing programs and social benefits introduced eligibility criteria, standards, guidance, recommendations, and advice for normal life. The prescribed criteria for housekeeping, for the entitlement to social benefits, and for the spatial organization of the type-planned house, constituted the principle of modern, normal life. The starting point for the construction was the idea of a universally average mother, father, children and family; the assumed physical, biological and socially average needs became the "norm" for everyone. However, the norms as such were not enough to implement the policy effectively, as was planned, for guiding the modern citizens to make the right choice. The implementation necessitated well trained and knowledgeable labor, a whole new battalion of civil servants and professionals (e.g. Komiteanmietintö 1940:3; Komiteanmietintö 1949:7).⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Since 1950, employing homemakers became, according to The Municipal Homemaker Act (Laki kunnallisista kodinhoitajista 272/1950), a voluntary action for municipalities, but the qualification and working conditions of a municipal homemaker were strictly prescribed by law.

⁵⁷ The qualifications of a municipal welfare worker and the further implementation of the municipal welfare administration were stipulated by the Act of Welfare Administration (Laki sosiaalihuollon hallinnosta 34/1950). These reforms continued in 1956 by the Act of Public Assistance (Huoltoapulaki 116/1956), replacing the term 'poor relief' by 'public assistance'.

7.2.2 American aid via the United Nations

The training of the new specialists was not an easy task in a country where the infrastructure for higher education was weak, and where most of the resources were tied up in paying the war indemnity. For this reason, the know-how and training for the social field that was offered by outsiders was most welcome from the point of view of the state.

In Finland there had been a few American exchange awards available since the 1920s, but during the postwar years the exchange opportunities expanded rapidly. At first, the number of scholarships by private American foundations increased (see Blomstedt 1983, 16S21); moreover, since the late 1940s, the United Nations unexpectedly offered the Finns study visits, expert exchanges, and study programs in the social field to various European countries, the USA and Canada.⁵⁸

The United Nations was founded in 1945 to secure peace, social security, and economic and social development in all the nations of the world. The rebuilding of war-ravaged Europe was one of its first objectives, and the various welfare programs targeted at Europe had a considerable role in its activities in the 1940s and 1950s.

Because of its recent technical and economic achievements, the United States was a very influential member in the new international organization. In the postwar years the interests of the Americans included the prevention of the spread of Communism and increasing economic prosperity in Europe, which it considered the best antidote against subversion. These aims were strongly supported by the Western business world, enthusiastically anticipating new opportunities for investments and markets for their technology.

From the perspective of this study, the most important program of the United Nations was the Special European Social Welfare Programme, and particularly the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance (EPTA), which started in 1949. The resources of the program included exchanges for the employed social welfare personnel with the idea of making professional studies and observations abroad; organized European regional seminars and study groups devoted to the study of certain social problems of practical interest; short-term assignments for social welfare

⁵⁸ In order to respond to the expanding international exchange, in 1949 Finland established a permanent committee, the TA-Committee, under the Ministry of Social Affairs. Finland was also approved as a receiver of international scholars from the United Nations. Over the years 1947-1965, when the Finnish TA -Committee was active, 80 Finnish experts in social welfare or health care studied abroad from three months per academic year; the expert exchange abroad included twelve professionals; and 216 Finnish social workers participated in the European Exchange Program of 2 to 6 weeks in the foreign country in order to become familiar with the issues of their area of specialization. At the same time, Finland received 13 experts, 207 scholars and 113 visitors from foreign countries. (Sosiaaliministeriö 1968, 68; Valvio 1966).

experts; a social welfare film loan service and a loan service of plans and photographs of modern social institutions. (Siipi & Lehtonen 1968, 12S15, 23S26, 97S101; Miihaud 1959).

In Europe, the program was run by a local commission, the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) in Geneva, which was organizing a series of European seminars in social development. Four of them were organized in Finland: Social Casework 1952, Group Work 1955, Social Aspects of Housing 1959, and Social Planning 1964. In addition, the Finns also participated in most of the seminars in other European countries. These seminars served as a forum for mediating the newest developments in American social work to the leading experts of social work in Europe (e.g. Yelloly 1980, 95). (Sosiaaliministeriö 1968, 68; Valvio 1966).⁵⁹

The representative of the Chief Technical Assistance Office, Mr. Maurice Miihaud (1959, 22), writes about the general purposes of the program:

“From the technical, as well as from the financial, standpoint, the whole Programme therefore rests on the principle of mutual aid and on the stimulation of goodwill... Finally, by using technical assistance as a means of promoting social progress, it enables action to be taken systematically and continuously in connection with the short-comings of social welfare services and broadening of horizons by giving social administrators and workers the possibility of coming into contact with new ideas.”

Miihaud argued that the need for such a program of social development was connected with the expanding international concept of social security, which was about to cover the whole population of nations. One of his points was that such an implementation of the policy was hardly possible without qualified professionals competent to build and run the services necessitated by the organization of the European model of social security. According to him, the key personnel in this were social workers whose “best instruction in the new techniques” was the key of the program. Thus, he states (Miihaud 1959, 22):

“Not only was the number of professional social workers extremely small in Europe, but, having been trained before or during the war, they were not able to receive a training that placed at their

⁵⁹ The international contacts and new impulses stimulated the Finns' activities in developing social work. In particular, the Professional Association of Hospital Social Workers (*Lääkinnöllissosiaalinen Yhdistys*) was active in organizing social case work courses for its members, and for social workers in general (see e.g. *Sosiaalihuoltajalehti* 1/1953 and 4/1953). In addition, there emerged informal study groups that started to use case records to study ways of practising social case work. The best-known of them is a club called *Amalia*, named after one of the first study cases. *Amalia* became a research forum for about 80 social workers from 1954 until 1964, when a new regional trade union replaced it (Sosiaalityöntekijäin Liitto. 1989, 58, 60).

disposal the working tools which had been forged during the same period in the United States for social techniques as a consequence of the progress in psychology and the social sciences.”⁶⁰

The international modernization project was closely connected with the newest scientific advancements both in the natural and social sciences. Actually, it was co-ordinated by their texts, facts and beliefs. Thus, the programs of social development also were strongly supported and guided by the intellectuals, contemporary social scientists and economists. Their leading ideas were presented in the so-called modernization theories. The general line of reasoning of these theories is stated in the following: Advancing industrial revolution is the means to gain wealth and to raise the level of living. In order to achieve the optimal accumulation of capital, the important qualifications of wage labour should include entrepreneurial skills, a spirit of competition, and a proper work ethic. Increasing capital accumulation, it was believed, will lead to high consumption which again will produce more demand and more profit. (see e.g. Moore 1963; Midgley 1983, 40S60). W.A. Moore (1963, 89), an American sociologist, gives an interesting summary of the purpose of the anticipated transformation:

“What is involved in modernization is a total transformation of a traditional society or pre-modern society into the types of technology and associated social organization that characterize the advanced economically prosperous and relatively politically stable nations of the Western World.”

The reformers’ understanding was that the traditional social institutions, like the peasant family, and the corresponding conceptions and organizations of everyday life, had to be transformed. They saw them as restraints on human capacity. According to the modernization theories, the ideal family and citizen, female or male, was supranational. The objectives of change were the same for everyone in a particular family role and applied all over the world (e.g. *Sosiaalityöntekijä...* 1956, 149, 249), because the standards and requirements of labor in modern industrial production were the same everywhere. Accordingly, the discourse of modernization made the reformers believe that traditional family obligations, especially the large number of dependent kin (i.e. the extended family) prevented labour mobility, inhibited savings and capital formation, and

⁶⁰ Another practical example of the great interest of the United Nations in social work education are the four extensive international surveys made in the years 1950S1964 (Training for Social Work surveys; published by the United Nations). They describe social work education all over the world and conclude by making national and international proposals for development.

suppressed individual initiative and spirit of enterprise. Moreover, they believed that the traditional family mode attached its members to conventional occupations, which made them incompatible with the needs of industrial development. The aim was to liberate all human resources for modern capitalist production and private consumption.

Finally, in addition to the officers of the United Nations, a number of social scientists argued for the necessity of fundamental changes in people's way of life in the less developed countries before they will be able to conform to the Western ideal of modern man: rational, motivated with self-interest, competitive and highly individualistic. (Midgley 1983, 40S60). The necessary counterpart of the modern man naturally was the modern woman with her housewife responsibilities. The advocates of modern order believed that the housewife was the guarantee of the ideal male worker: a mobile and independent breadwinner. To ensure a successful transformation of a peasant family into the modern one, the experts believed that a third actor, who was going to support the family in its daily trials, was necessary. This task they entrusted to social workers, to the experts on modern everyday life, whose new specialization included the problems of families, bringing up of children, and mothering. (cf. Hakola 1946).

7.3 The trained professionals emerge

7.3.1 The training programs

When Einar Bök (e.g. 1934a; Bök 1934b) introduced the bills for the welfare acts, his estimate concerning the work force was that a small increase of civil servants at the Ministry and at the social welfare offices of the largest communities would be needed. At that point, he was unaware that a practice organized by objectifying textual knowledge requires appropriate factual competence on the part of those involved in the administrative process and its implementation (cf. Chapter 6.3.; cf. Smith 1990a, 167S174; Smith 1990b, 123S130). However, he soon learned that local actors also needed to know more than the form; they needed to know how to take the standpoint of the discourse: how to think and talk in terms of the new welfare law, and to describe what is happening in terms of the official form. As soon as the implementation of the new policy in communities began, there arose an urgent need among trained welfare workers to comply with the policy, i.e. to produce case files and other documents efficiently, in accordance with the prescriptions of the Ministry.

Permanent education and the first professional degree in welfare work was launched during the war, in October 1942. Its preconditions and curriculum was carefully analyzed and discussed in a state committee (Komiteanmietintö 1940:3). The committee started its work in 1938 by organizing a survey of the social field in order to establish the present status of what they broadly defined as welfare work, and continued with other arrangements so that the curriculum was accepted by the University of Social Sciences (Yhteiskunnallinen Korkeakoulu, hence, YKK will be used in the text) in September 1939. Thus, the training program was not a result of the war but a consequence of the legal reforms in the 1930s. Actually, the war delayed its launching more than advanced it.

Fifty percent of the members of the committee for the education of welfare workers came from the Ministry of Social Affairs. Two of its four members, Margit Borg and Rakel Jalas, were female civil servants at the Ministry, and the other two, Alpo Lumme and Bruno Sarlin, were well-experienced male administrators in child protection and social welfare. Furthermore, the committee's work took place in very close co-operation with the Ministry; the whole curriculum was suggested on the precondition that the Ministry would accept it (Komiteanmietintö 1940:3, 49). In its curriculum proposal, the committee eliminated fields of social work which did not fall within the Ministry's administrative territory (like social work in health care under the Ministry of Internal Affairs) arguing — misleadingly — that the education had already been organized.

The curriculum was not put together by all the members of the committee but by a small male group which consisted of the chairman of the committee, Bruno Sarlin, a teacher of welfare work at YKK, Bertel Nyberg, who was also a teacher of child protection at YKK, and Heikki Waris, the vice director of YKK (Komiteanmietintö 1940:3, 66). It is worth mentioning that Sarlin and Nyberg, both in their early sixties, were widely experienced in Finnish welfare administration from the 1910s to the 1940s, while Waris was a young scholar who knew well the activities in the voluntary sector.

The memoirs of Margit Borg-Sundman (1969,154), a member of the committee, reveal that she was dissatisfied with the proposed curriculum. Having herself an American social work degree and experience in Finnish child guidance work, she wanted more psychology and social work methods, which the curriculum ignored. Perhaps, as consolation, she was given the task of writing an appendix on social work training in other countries for the final report of the committee.

When the training program started, both the representatives of the University and the Ministry expressed their concerns since the great majority of the students were women (Ruutu 1944, 36; Mustala 1943, 321). They said that this must be a result of the war and only temporary.

After some years they noticed that this was not the case, and the Ministry continued regretting the female majority among the student population.

Two of the four permanent teachers of professional training for welfare work (*sosiaalihuoltajatutkinto*) were recruited from the Ministry. They were the retiring head of the welfare department Einar Böök and the female inspector Rakel Jalas. Waris and Jalas were people who had been (and continued to be while teaching) active propagators of modern social relations. Waris acted as a chairman of the “mental care“ by Suomen Huolto, while Jalas wrote extensively about women’s morale as a doctor, activist of the population and women’s movement, and as the inspector of maternal care and child welfare at the Ministry of Social Affairs (see Satka 1993; Satka 1994b).

When the training program started, the Ministry accepted students’ field placement on a case-by-case basis, controlled the field work evaluations of every student, and nominated its trustee, chief inspector Paavo Mustala, as a case advisor and controller of the new faculty (e.g. Ruutu 1942; Waris 1944, 289). Another side of the coin was a strict personal control of every student by the Ministry in co-operation with the faculty. The students had to prove in their field work and studies that they were right persons for the field. It appears that in the mental and social atmosphere of the war, the suitability they were looking for was primarily moral in character (see e.g. Jalas 1944, 11; Mäkinen-Ollinen 1949, 101).

Lecturing and other kinds of interactive forms of study had a major role in the training program, as the relevant textbooks were very scarce. In addition, the welfare journal, *Huoltaja*, and the recent welfare acts were essential reading. However, my interviews⁶¹ of the students from the first course (1942-1944) reveal that they were not only trained to apply welfare law, but welfare law was also taught from a social philosophical point of view by the widely educated Einar Böök. Religion did not have any particular role in the curriculum. The lectures of Heikki Waris explained and analyzed the new principles and values of social assistance, social welfare, and social policy. The teachers emphasized, according to the students, some principles above others, such as the following: modern social welfare was to be preventive and individualized, and every individual citizen was to be treated equally. In addition, Waris (1944; 1946) spoke of a new attitude of serving people, and Rakel Jalas (1945) underlined the importance of humanism in the postwar social circumstances. These ideas were different from those characterizing the discourse of the 1930s welfare acts but they fully accorded with the ideas of a contemporary state committee planning a program for Finnish social welfare (Komiteanmietintö 1949:7; Rauhala 1993).

⁶¹ I am referring here to interviews with Helmi Mäki 17.6.86; Eeva Salo 3.5.89, and Veikko Niemi 12.12.86. In addition, I was able to read Veikko Niemi’s careful notes for his lectures in the early 1940s.

In the end, the established training program for professional welfare work failed to respond to the training needs of postwar social intervention as a whole. First, the training of the Swedish-speaking welfare workers was left open. Second, the training of professional social experts for health care and psychiatry was neglected completely. The third problem for the future was the virtual non-existence of modern social work methods and applied psychology in the curriculum.

Thus, the contents of the first Finnish training program for welfare work was already at the moment of its construction old-fashioned compared with the many contemporary European and American training programs for social work. The Finnish curriculum was partly based on knowledge originating in the previous century. As an example, the curriculum was to be planned on a strict division between welfare work inside welfare institutions (*suljettu huolto*) and outside them (*avohuolto*). The professional degree, “sosiaalihuoltajatutkinto“, was to be taken in one of these specialized fields. Actually, this division was derived from the discussion of the division of Elberfedian poor relief into *geschlossene Fattigfürsorge* (*indoor relief*) and *offene Fattigfürsorge* (*outdoor relief*). (Piirainen 1952, 168S169).

The Swedish-speakers were the first to react by establishing a separate school for the training of Swedish-speaking welfare workers in 1943. The length of the education was the same, two years, but the curriculum for Svenska Medborgarhögskola was planned according to the curriculum of Socialinstitute at Stockholm (Kull 1983). The second reaction came from women who were responsible for nursing education. The female inspector of the education for health care, Venny Snellman, and the head of nursing school, Tyyne Luoma, had for years been active developers of the social aspect in the education of visiting nurses. They were dissatisfied with the established training for welfare work and initiated a four-month course in hospital social work for the trained nurses in 1945. The new training course was mainly built on the incentives of the contemporary American social work and social work education. Professional co-operation between the Finnish and American health care had long roots.⁶² The first

⁶² International educational exchanges started in the 1920s when Finnish nurses studied primarily in London, Bedford College, founded by the Red Cross (see Neuman-Rahn 1927, 163S164). Beginning from the mid-1930s, the state authors of education for health care made initiatives to establish a field training center for nursing, but the economic conditions delayed the plan. Thus, the initiators, of whom many had studied in the USA with the help of a grant by the Rockefeller Foundation, turned again to the Foundation. Its precondition for financing was that the personnel must be trained in the USA. Therefore, among others a public health nurse, Märta Boman, the first director of the social work training programs for nurses, went there to study (1938S39) how to combine a public health nurse’s work with welfare work; and how to make effective the co-operation of a municipal welfare board and a public health nurse. (Leppo 1940).

director of hospital social work courses, Märtha Boman, had studied for two years in the United States. Her studies were funded by the Rockefeller Foundation, as were those of other leading education figures later on. The conceptual cornerstone of the training was professional social work with a special emphasis on social case work (see Chapters 8.2. and 8.3.). (Helsingin sairaanhoito-opiston vaiheita 1989, 66, 99S101; Helsingin sairaanhoito-opiston opettajamatrikkeli 1988).

7.3.2 The boom of clinical social work

A professional activity which was increasingly called social work (*sosiaalityö*), had emerged by the middle of the 1950s. At the end of the 1950s the country had about 20 Family Counselling Clinics, a couple of Marriage Guidance Counselling Clinics, A-clinics, a Vocational Rehabilitation Clinic, and a Child Welfare Association, which all were applying the mode of social intervention to which I will refer in the next section as clinical social work⁶³. (see Satka 1994a, 308S311).

It was common that these clinics were operating as teams of professional experts. Generally speaking, the main target group of the clinics were families who suffered from previously almost unknown social problems, like problems in marital relations, family cohesion, child rearing and the behavior of the youth. The same phenomena had existed before, but people had been used to regarding them as a kind of destiny, not as problems that one can solve by means of outsiders like professional experts. When marriage was changing from a tradition to an individual choice based on emotions, so were the means of looking for advice in problems of marriage. The tradition no longer gave relevant examples as what to do, for example, with a drinking husband, and people started to turn for advice to the increasing number of social experts.

How the various clinics got started and how social work as a professional practice emerged in them varies case by case. Eventually, whatever the story of the beginning was, by the mid 1950s every one of the above-mentioned clinics was actively developing its professional social work either solely on the basis of social case work or with a strong emphasis on it. To illustrate the early hesitation and solutions of Finnish clinical social

⁶³ In Finland clinical social work had at least three pioneers, namely hospital social work (started in 1921), a Family Counselling Clinic (1925) and a Welfare Office for Mentally Ill (Sielullisesti sairaitten huoltotoimisto 1927), but there is no evident continuity from them to the efforts of the 1950s. Permanent Family Counselling Clinics were opened in Turku and Helsinki (in 1939), in Tampere (1943), and in Hämeenlinna (1945). (Linna 1988, 61S73; Komiteamietintö 1967:A 1, 17S22).

work, I have chosen to present a brief case history of one of them, the first Finnish Marriage Guidance Counselling Clinic at Tampere.

When the war was over, Matti Joensuu, a young priest of the Finnish Lutheran Church, like his colleagues became particularly concerned with the high number of divorced people. He felt that the Church and its priests, who had during the war in so many ways been sharing people's suffering and concerns both on the war and the home front, could not tolerate the degradation of the Finnish family. He decided to offer marriage counselling for people who were about to consider divorcing. The announcement that he sent out expresses the aim of the service: Do not divorce! (see Satka 1994a, 309).

The counselling service was a great success from the beginning, and eventually it spread to other industrial centers of the country. The popularity of this kind of service by priests has been explained by the fact that the common people were during the war accustomed receiving services like "mental care" from priests in their everyday concerns.

In the beginning the Church considered this activity as a mere modern expansion of its traditional pastoral care which was done by both priests and volunteers. However, the counsellors soon became aware that they could, and should, have more effective tools than the doctrine of Christian love that the training for priests provided.

The turning point came when Joensuu participated in an international seminar on family counselling. According to him, there he understood that family problems are common all over the world, and that in such activity one could greatly benefit from the knowledge of the family counsellors in other countries. Thus he went for a study visit to Great Britain where he became familiar with the work of the National Marriage Guidance Council, where social case work had a considerable role as a method of family counselling. (Joensuu 1952; Joensuu 1976, 9S18).

In the early 1950s, the personnel of the Finnish Clinic started to study social case work. Sirkka Laaksovirta (interview 6.4.1989), the first trained social case worker at the Marriage Counselling Clinic, told me a revealing example about the initial uncertainties which she had discovered in the archived notes of the very first family counsellors. According to the notes, the issues that were discussed as family problems were few and no particular method was used in the discussions. It was common that the counselor listened to the person or couple at first, and then prayed for forgiveness of their sins for them, and the session ended leaving the family "in the hands of our Father in heaven".

By 1952, this kind of service belonged to the prehistory of the Clinic, and the counselling of marital problems was organized by the procedures and facts of social case work (see Joensuu 1952). In adopting the new discourse, the European program of social development provided important resources. The first international social case work seminar at Keuruu in 1952 was a step

forwards in the counselling practices of the Clinic. (Sipilä 1961, 67-80; Mikkonen 1988, 55-61). The seminar brought to Finland some of the best international experts of social case work, including professor Eileen Youngusband, London School of Economics, professor Gordon Hamilton, Columbia University, and professor Majorie Smith, University of British Columbia, Canada.

The further developing of the case counselling method took place by means of the aid provided by the United Nations: the professional experts of the Clinic participated in the next social case work seminar in 1954 in England; over the years, they benefited from the advice and training of the several social work experts who visited Finland in the 1950s. Of particular importance for the Marriage Counselling Clinic was the training in social case work provided by Mrs Helvi Boothe, a Finnish-born American social worker. She held a two-week training session in social case work, consulted and supervised the staff, and in her report for the United Nations, she suggested a study visit to USA for Joensuu. (Viika 1984, 64-67). The overall result was that, in 1956, the new discourse and method of social case work made the clinic open the posts of marriage counsellors to professionally trained social workers in addition to priests (Mikkonen 1988, 30).

8 Welfare workers and social case workers

8.1 Welfare workers and the "making of a happy society"

In its leaflet, the state, namely the Ministry of Social Affairs, invited potential applicants to the training of welfare workers "to construct a happier society, where every citizen will have means for worth-while existence". The leaflet describes the forthcoming work as something very exciting and completely new, where "the new professional is related to the real human being", and even "to the human soul". The pictures of the leaflet show the welfare worker on duty: a female sitting, surrounded by children; and a male behind a table together with a female secretary talking with a male client who sits on the other side of the table. (Valitse sosiaalihuolto... 1949). Another factor that motivated people to become welfare workers in the 1940s and 1950s was the fact that the new professional degree of the welfare worker was respected in the social field, which probably was a consequence of the governmental connections of the training program.

In spite of the good promises and reputation, the "making of a happy society" in practice was a complicated task in postwar Finnish municipalities. Finnish social welfare had become centralized, and the building of a hierarchical welfare bureaucracy had started only some time before the war broke out. The same textually mediated reforms established precise institutional procedures for practice, i.e. for the treatment of deviant individuals, often leading to involuntary invasion in their life and autonomy (Satka 1994a, 312). This social welfare system, organized by welfare law, came into full effect only after the war because only then was there enough trained labor to implement the stipulations locally (cf. Piirainen 1974, 371). This raises the following question and the particular dilemma of the contemporary experts: how to fit the legal discourse of the 1930s, which was essential for the functioning of the postwar social welfare, into the pre- and postwar forces and ideals of individuality, domestic privacy, and familism, which were pushing the development in a different direction.

The conditions for working in the newly established municipal welfare offices were complex for the new workers. In the rural communes, which a great majority of the Finnish municipalities were, there still existed a strong tradition of laymen's work based on communal authority and local knowledge. The municipal boards of social welfare who continued to make the decisions of aid, often followed the old traditions rather than the letter of the law, and the new professional expert was limited to making proposals only. The boards were not happy to deliver money with a "serving attitude" for preventive

purposes, as the welfare worker was trained to do. The consequence was that the new workers were forced into constant negotiations between their professional knowledge and the traditions of the existing volunteer system. In order to survive, they had two alternatives: either to adapt their textual knowledge and acting to the local traditions, knowledge and order of things, or quit. According to my interviewees, both alternatives were operative among the new professionals.

Additionally, the concerns of the people the welfare workers were dealing with were perhaps more diverse than they had expected and prepared for. In rural communes the substance of their work was mainly dealing with the traditional issues of peasant families, like poverty, whereas in townships the context of people's concerns was different and related to the transformation of everyday life. Thus the challenge of the newly trained welfare workers was not only to fit themselves into the patriarchal traditions of local public welfare, but at the same time to relate their conceptual practices both to the issues of the rural communes and to the issues of the modernizing home, and the changing marriage, family, motherhood, and childhood (e.g. Piirainen 1954, 65).

Thus, the new professional experts faced a situation in which they had to establish a sufficiently flexible professional discourse in order to become successful in dealing with the postwar break in the transformation of everyday life in the different municipal contexts. This was a complicated task, as the welfare workers themselves were trained to act as functional parts of the new policies of government by the Ministry of Social Affairs. Consequently, the discursive space available for the professional's own conceptual version of their practices was limited because the discourse of welfare law and social administration (with plenty of textual techniques) organized the daily contexts of professional action effectively. In addition, the discursive resources the new professionals were holding were far too few to transform in any way the ideological practices created by the policies of the Ministry and welfare law.

8.1.1 The new conceptual practitioners

The postwar discourse of welfare work, in particular the one with which the first welfare workers associated themselves, has been difficult to identify. During the exceptional postwar years, only a few textbooks were published (Tarvainen 1946; Böök 1948; Waris 1948), and none of these dealt with the postwar issues of daily welfare work in interaction with people. Moreover, the contemporary journal articles are vague practical or ideological reactions to issues of practice. There was no one discourse above all others.

Accordingly, Veikko Piirainen, a lecturer in welfare work, described the late years of the 1940s as a disciplinary “vacuum“ both in municipal and national welfare work (Piirainen 1974, 338; also Piirainen 1947a, 74).⁶⁴ For example, a state committee that was appointed to solve the dilemma on the national level — that is, to plan a national development program for the Finnish social welfare — was unable to draw up a substantial conclusion (Komiteanmietintö 1949:7).

The postwar years were really a period of conceptual confusion in Finnish social welfare. According to my interviewees, who were trained for postwar welfare work practice, they felt strongly then that the facts of welfare law, stipulations for social benefits, and the voluntary traditions of poor relief work were an insufficient basis for practice (also, *Koti ja perhe* 1949, 59). The existing facts gave welfare workers the framework within which to behave according to the institutional order and follow the legal procedure of treatment in some special cases, but did not coordinate other necessary aspects of professional practice. For example, it provided no guidelines for how to treat the new citizen, i.e. a respectable human being, and how to interpret his or her concerns.⁶⁵ Thus the question for this chapter is: How did the welfare workers try to manage with the inadequacy and conceptual gaps that the legal method, the interpretative practice and the administrative stipulations left?

The pioneers of the new professional discourse came from the recently trained welfare workers and their teachers. This was no surprise since the training program had a first-hand strategic position as the producer of the still lacking, yet necessary conceptual tools for practice. The trained welfare workers established their own professional association (1944), and under the leadership of some of their teachers they started an important initiative: a combined professional effort to reconstruct the necessary professional discourse for welfare work. The enterprise, although started earlier, became available in a textual form only at the end of the 1940s.

It was common that since their study years the new professionals gathered together to discuss, share and teach each other, drawing from experiences at work (e.g. *Koti ja perhe* 1949, iSii). However, the writing activities were predominantly in the hands of their

⁶⁴ By the term “vacuum“ Veikko Piirainen refers to the emerged break in the ideology, objects, and working methods of social welfare. He interprets the “vacuum“ as mainly cultural in origin. According to him, it was a consequence of the war, reflecting the transformation in Finland’s relations with foreign countries. With Germany’s defeat, the Finnish-German cultural exchange diminished, and was replaced by new cultural contacts with Western countries, which represented a slightly different tradition of social welfare and help. (Piirainen 1974, 297.)

⁶⁵ All of the eight previous welfare workers who passed the training program in the 1940s or 1950s and whom I interviewed agreed that the emphasis of their initial training program was to apply welfare laws and other administrative regulations in detail and case by case.

teachers. Out of the several teachers who actively participated in this co-operation, Veikko Piirainen published the most and soon gained a considerable discursive authority both among the experts of social welfare and the practitioners of the field.

Veikko Piirainen was 35 at the end of the war.⁶⁶ He had experience as a social welfare manager during the war and as an organizer of voluntary work. He had taken an MA degree with the Finnish language, history and literature as his majors, his professional aim being a journalist's career, which he also started in 1936. However, he very soon was invited to take a welfare manager's job in his small home town, Kajaani, which was surrounded by the wide rural areas of Eastern Finland. As a paid manager of welfare work, his primary task was to implement the administrative reorganization that the 1930s welfare acts stipulated. Thus he started to train the local volunteers, called *piirivalvoja*, according to Elberfeld's system. Volunteers were still responsible for the direct work with the poor in the great majority of municipalities and townships.

Why did a man who had wanted to become a journalist and had previously been able to realize his aim, change his mind and start a very different career? I suppose that Piirainen felt that it was his family obligation to take the post he was offered. His father was a tenant farmer, who had for decades been an active lay member of the local municipal board of poor relief in Kajaani, and since childhood Veikko was well introduced into the secrets of municipal poor relief. Neither poor people nor their problems were unknown to him. According to the traditional habit, poor people had been constantly visiting his home, telling their stories and needs, as they had done at the home of G.A. Helsingius. In addition, as his student, I remember Piirainen reminding us that he knew, also personally, what poverty and hunger meant for a human being. He underlined that this is something very important for a welfare worker to know and that one could never learn this from books.

Obviously, and particularly when compared with the previously introduced conceptual practitioners, Piirainen's social background was low. However, it was no obstacle for him to complete his academic studies and to become a lecturer of welfare work at the University of Social Sciences (YKK) in 1946. Later Piirainen became one of the responsible faculty members of the Department of Social Welfare until his retirement in 1975. He was throughout his career an enthusiastic discussant of the development of social welfare, and over the years he wrote several textbooks and numerous articles.

The following analysis is mainly based on Piirainen's articles from 1945 to 1959; on his textbook, *Johdatusta sosiaalihuoltoon*; (Piirainen 1954); and on a

⁶⁶ My main document of Veikko Piirainen's personal life is his curriculum vitae which I have supplemented by several interviews: an interview with his wife, lecturer Kerttu Piirainen (interview 11.6.1986), and with his closest colleagues.

duplicated report, *Home and Family (Koti ja perhe, 1949)* edited by him. It is a seminar report of the first professional continuing training course held in 1949 for professionally trained welfare workers. The course gathered together 70 participants, former students of the welfare workers' training program from the years 1942-1948. In writing the textbook Piirainen again took advantage of the field work experiences of his former students. In addition to that, he relied on some foreign examples from German-speaking Europe. The book puts these two sources together with his own experience and insight into Finnish social welfare. The result is a systematized introduction into the Finnish social welfare institution and into the professional welfare work within it.

Most of his quoted articles were published in *Huoltaja*, the leading journal of social welfare. Piirainen also acted as an editor-in-chief of the journal from 1950 to 1963, and as a chairperson of several national associations and some of the leading councils in the social field. Thus he had a privileged location to follow, and also means to control, what was taking place in the discursive forums of the profession.

Veikko Piirainen often preferred working alone. However, while his orientation to welfare work was markedly practical and his actual working environment at the university was undoubtedly textual, he used to keep in touch with some of his previous male students. He considered the collected experiences of the field workers an important source of new knowledge (Piirainen 1954, 11; *Koti ja perhe 1949*, iSii). The male group was acting as managers of municipal welfare, as he had done earlier. According to their colleagues of welfare work, they became a kind of secret male group of their own. This group and primarily its leading figure, Veikko Piirainen, was openly trying to avoid what was called "American influence". Piirainen insisted that welfare work in Finland was to remain Finnish.⁶⁷ However, he was for decades an active reader of German language journals and books on social policy and social welfare (e.g. Piirainen 1962, 662-664). An additional source of influence in his writing came from his voluntary predecessors, "the wise men with common sense and humanism". He found their voices and wisdom for example from the historical documents he was working on for his Ph.D. thesis in history (K. Piirainen, interview 11.6.1986; cf. Piirainen 1958a).

⁶⁷ I have no reason to argue that this attitude derived from their nationalism. Rather, it could have represented a conscious effort to struggle for professional space for the welfare workers in the social relations of the developing Finnish welfare state. Since 1943 there also existed other training programs which were more open to the influences of international social work. Another argument made by many of my interviewees was Piirainen's limited language skills. He knew Swedish and German, but not English.

8.1.2 “Home and family“, the object of professional expertise

The main questions in the first professional extension course were: should the profession define or perhaps reconceptualize the primary target of welfare work? If that is the case, what then are the desirable professional methods of working with the new target?

By the end of 1948, the unanimous conclusion that the welfare workers participating in the first extension course had drawn from their practical experiences was that the central object of their work was “not the individual, but the social unit of the home and the family“ (Koti ja perhe 1949, ii). They specified further that their main professional responsibility in the postwar era was “saving the families in trouble“, that is, helping the families to keep together by all means available in welfare work.⁶⁸ With this emphasis on family welfare, the workers actually joined their efforts with the ongoing national project of normalizing the Finnish family by means of professional expertise, and declared themselves as participants in the ongoing struggles over professional space, competence, and conceptual practices concerning the regulation of families and private life.⁶⁹

The participants of the course agreed that what they had thought about the family was a far too narrow perspective and approach to the phenomenon (Koti ja perhe 1949, ii; Piirainen 1954, 10). In the curriculum of their initial training there was not a single course on the home or the family. Instead, “home and family“ was an issue of secondary importance in many of the courses offered. This was the case particularly concerning the various courses in welfare law. To illustrate the problem, the family in the discourse of welfare law, for example, was on the one hand a self-evident unit of maintenance, and on the other hand a natural organization of everyday life. (Veikko Niemi, interview 26.1.1993; Koti ja perhe 1949, ii). When the regulation of the internal relations of the family became a daily issue in welfare work, the legal concept of the family became

⁶⁸ Piirainen’s four-month study trip and other contacts to Switzerland were important for this discursive turn, although he himself locates the roots of family welfare work in German poor relief (Piirainen 1949). It is likely that his ideas were connected with Dr. M. Hess’ presentation at a Swiss social work conference in 1948. In the seminar review, Piirainen (1948, 347) writes that he is hoping that the whole presentation will be translated and published in *Huoltaja* for the Finnish audience. His wish was not fulfilled. Instead, he published a study (Piirainen 1947b) and a series of articles about welfare work with families (Piirainen 1949; Piirainen 1950).

⁶⁹ The great interest in family matters in welfare work did not mean excluding or ignoring individuals as targets of social intervention. On the contrary, welfare workers like Piirainen considered themselves intermediary actors both in family relations and in the relations between the family, the individual and society. They also systematized welfare work in individual cases and underlined that there is no strict division in the work method depending on whether one deals with an individual or a family; the main principles are the same. (Piirainen 1954, 25S32, 85S88). Actually, social welfare as an administrative organization and the facts of welfare law ensured that individuals remained the focus of most welfare work implementing welfare law in spite of the family debate illustrated earlier.

insufficient because it excluded the psycho-social aspect of the family completely. Instead, the professionals needed discursive facts about what to regulate and how, and how to recognize which particular families to address. Furthermore, they needed to know how one could support people's everyday family-life especially among those who were living in the recently discovered social risk zones of alcoholism, marital problems, divorce, and maternal deprivation, to which small children of working mothers were subjected.

All in all, professional ignorance about an appropriate method of welfare work was great. In the atmosphere of the home cult, these practical and conceptual hesitations led to an intensive family discourse. The participants and texts of the debate have already been introduced. However, questions remain: What was the new understanding of the family? How were the new professionals in welfare work intervening in families? And how did they interpret their concerns in the light of the texts?

In order to know which kind of families were most in need of intervention and what was the proper professional objective, welfare workers needed to know further discursive facts about the nuclear family. Thus, their texts started to differentiate between a normal and a deviant family. The norm was borrowed from the contemporary family discourse on the nuclear family: a normal family consisted of a mother responsible for the home and children, and a father responsible for family maintenance and the children. This ideal constructs other family forms as more or less deviant and indicates which families should be selected for treatment by welfare workers. (e.g. Piirainen 1954). However, they were by no means the only ones in need of treatment.

Veikko Piirainen defined the family as a dynamic unit in which every member has an effect on the others as well on the integration and functioning of the whole. When applied in practice, this functional understanding led, for example, the professionals to take it for granted that a family's "sense of togetherness" could be preserved by exerting professional influence on one or some of its members. (Koti ja perhe 1949; Piirainen 1949). Thus, the professional intervention had to be concentrated on a family member who has the key position in maintaining the family emotionally, socially and economically. According to the order and ideology of the nuclear family, the mother was seen as the main target of professional intervention. It was she who was regarded as responsible for housekeeping, the children's education, their health status and the proper moral behavior of every family member. (Koti ja perhe 1949; Piirainen 1954, 61S68).

One classification of mothers for the purposes of welfare work was modeled on a German social work text. It classifies mothers into four types and points out the particular ones whom the welfare worker should pick up for his or her intervention:

The first type is a *clear and disciplined mother*. As a person, she is well balanced in spite of various difficulties, and it is common that she educates her children well for their own independent life. The second type is her opposite: *unorganized and chaotic*. She is selfish, unsatisfied with her life and most subjective in her relation to the surrounding world. She believes that she owns her children, and she supposes that her children exist mainly to satisfy her own needs. The third mother is *mentally stiff*, her intelligence is low, and she behaves without full consideration. She is not a sensitive educator, nor does she intend to own her children. She tries to be objective and in most cases succeeds in bringing up her children to be decent citizens. The fourth mother type is *intuitive*. She is often intelligent, but her problem is unregulated and unexpected behavior. She does not have clear goals in her home education and therefore it often happens that her children are in need of external care and control. (Pirainen 1954, 64-65 according to Hildegard Hetzer, cf. *Koti ja perhe* 1949, 45-5.)

The introduction of preventive and curative professional interventions confirms the crucial position of mothers as the most important target group of the new profession. Thus, welfare work marked a clear separation from the patriarchal concept of the family, which emphasized maintenance responsibilities and the man as the head of the house. Instead, the discourse started to strengthen the modern family: the mother-child link, and the mother's overall position in the family. She was the key agent both as a practical maintainer of everyday life, and as the controller and reproducer of everyone else's morality.

The first so-called preventive professional intervention in the family by welfare work was sending work-aid, usually a municipal homemaker in cases where the mother with many children was overburdened. The experience of welfare workers was that many "family problems" were a consequence of the extreme exhaustion of the mother, who was unable to take care of all her responsibilities at home. As other preventive means, they mentioned educating and advising mothers, and reorganizing the housekeeping responsibilities so that also fathers and children participate in housekeeping, which the mother had been taking care of alone. (*Koti ja perhe* 1949, 8-24).

If the family norms remained unattainable by the preventive means of homemaking, professional advice and material support, or if these norms were not enough to prevent the family from disintegration (Pirainen 1949, 397), the next step, according to the texts, is the use of the curative measures. In such case, the welfare worker established a close and reliable personal relationship with the mother, and helped to solve the problem, if necessary, in co-operation with other professionals specialized in family problems (*Koti*

ja perhe 1949,4). In the most difficult cases, the textbook states, the personal characteristics of the mother, listed above, were of crucial importance.

In one of his articles Piirainen (1949, 398) concludes on the object of the family debate as follows: The family is the natural unit that maintains society. He continues the argument and his strong emphasis on the family by referring to the functional importance of the family for the state. According to him, the family is responsible for bringing up the citizens of future, and in this its particular obligation is their moral education. Thus, it is the family that carries the main responsibility for the continuity of Finnish culture and way of life. In this, he argues, can also be found the fundamental meaning of welfare work: it guarantees the continuity of Finnish culture. (Piirainen 1954, 27, 80S81; Piirainen 1947b, 107.) He defined welfare work correspondingly: welfare work is helping and protecting families and individuals from poverty and lack of care, saving and helping them to live an independent and self-supporting life as constructive citizens of the state (Piirainen 1947a, 75; cf. Böök 1946).

The illustrated line of reasoning is very familiar from previous phases of development in social welfare. Piirainen linked the 1950s professional discourse on welfare work with the old ideological scheme of poor relief with its emphasis on making decent state citizens. Discussion about professional method was proceeding fast. Under these conditions, he took the responsibility to make sure that the old tradition, from the ideological scheme of poor relief to the daily practices of a welfare worker, remained harmonious and in accordance with the local communal control and governing.

8.1.3 The agent of the state

Issues that I have so far left without discussion concerning the 1940s and 1950s discourse on welfare work are: What were the reorganizing consequences of the new texts on the social relations of a welfare worker, whom the Ministry of Social Affairs had designed as a kind of lawyer-administrator for its own governmental purposes on the local level? Moreover, how were the texts of welfare work used as organizers of the professional method?

In one of his articles, Veikko Piirainen (1947c) sketched an interesting triangle of the three necessary elements which together make Finnish welfare work a discipline and a practice of its own. According to him, welfare work consists of skills in producing

knowledge from practice (i.e. skills for research and evaluation⁷⁰); knowledge about relevant legal norms; and the basics of welfare work (i.e. professional knowledge for practice that he, in co-operation with the practitioners, was developing). This was his disciplinary construction of knowledge for the new field, and since then, these three elements remained the cornerstones of his understanding and writings.

The textbooks of welfare work (e.g. Piirainen 1954) say that correct implementation of welfare law and administrative stipulations in practice was essential. Welfare law was a package of given legal facts and procedures for practice the punctual implementing of which, with only slight professional additions, if necessary, was crucial. Equally important, the text considers welfare work to be a professional activity whose daily actions were to a considerable extent organized by welfare law. However, Piirainen opposed the idea that welfare law is the method and interpretive scheme that dominates professional practice. He regarded the interpretive practices of welfare law and its alternatives for treatment as much too simplifying in the complex problems of people's everyday life. According to him, the fundamental knowledge for practice was available in the more flexible professional welfare work which had so far been poorly developed. (cf. Koti ja perhe 1949; Piirainen 1954, 10S17, 110S120, 154S155).

Piirainen did not question welfare workers as implementors of the policies of the state. But he was struggling for a greater professional independence in accomplishing the procedures of government and for an autonomous professional territory where, from the professional point of view, a more substantial method and interpretive practice could flourish. His main argument for the improved self-regulation of welfare workers was that in order to become successful at work, the worker needs to be able to act flexibly, that is, to have a "helping attitude". This was not likely to be the case with a minor-lawyer or a civil servant implementing administrative stipulations. The author's opinion was that the welfare worker does not exist only for the needs of the Ministry but also for those of the common people, whom he or she should serve well. (Piirainen 1954, 134S144).

⁷⁰ Piirainen's view of research as a component in welfare work is the following: The object of welfare workers' research includes both single cases and mechanisms producing communal social problems on both the local and national levels. The task of research is to produce descriptive knowledge of different fields of welfare work and to collect information about welfare work practices in different communities, creating the preconditions for social political decision making. It follows that welfare workers would be able to know which cases to concentrate on, and who are in "objective" need of individual intervention. Therefore, he considers it essential that the students of welfare work are introduced to "taking the researcher's point of view" in their future practices. (Piirainen 1947c). Actually, Piirainen was arguing for an empirically based model of practice, that of a practitioner-scientist (cf. Rein & White 1981, 37) who is him/herself a developer of knowledge for practice. The reason why I am introducing the research component only in a footnote is that in the welfare work, the knowledge production component was never fully put into practice. This, of course, would deserve an analysis of its own.

The key concept coordinating the professional action in relation to dependants⁷¹ is “the need of maintenance“ (*huollontarve*). The need of maintenance is the identification mark of every dependent, Piirainen (1954, 25) writes. However, it was a very different kind of mark compared with the moral characteristics that welfare law gave, for example, to an alcoholic. The need of maintenance was an evaluative diagnosis made by the welfare worker. Its making was coordinated by the knowledge of welfare work. It meant reducing the dominance of strict legal-moral labeling of dependents, and prioritizing instead more neutral techniques which better fitted the modernizing social relations of the state and its people.

The above-mentioned diagnostic process consisted of three aspects of evaluation. The first was the dependant’s state of material needs; the second, the evaluation of his or her mental needs (e.g. need for education, creativity); and the third, evaluation of social behavior (if there was evidence of asocial action). Each component constituted a large area requiring specialized knowledge. According to the author, in each area there existed an objective or commonly accepted norm, and the professional skill was to differentiate the optimum between the norm and the subjective experience of the dependant. Moreover, the new procedure required that the worker had competence not only to deal with facts about the specific case, but also to evaluate and modify the relation that existed between the case and the local community, as well as the cultural environment. (Piirainen 1954, 25S32, 68S70).

The texts of welfare work also introduced a particular professional relationship (*huoltosuhde*) for working with dependants and families. The ideal professional relation was continuous, and first of all, it was confidential because it was believed that only such a relation enabled effective psychological influence (Koti ja perhe 1949, 2; Piirainen 1954, 100). Furthermore, the relation was dominated by the welfare worker alone, because the dependants, generally speaking, were seen as ignorant of what was best for them (e.g. Piirainen 1949, 398; Piirainen 1954, 158). It was the position of municipal administrator, in addition to professional expertise in welfare work and the particular outlook on the dependants, which legitimated this kind of firm authority over them (Piirainen 1954, 100). However, the author emphasized that exercising authority is by no means the final purpose. A successful welfare worker was identifiable by his or her friendly attitude to dependants. A welfare worker is like any other common person who happens to live in the neighborhood, Piirainen (1954, 134S144) writes.

⁷¹ In Finnish a dependant was called *huollettava*, which was a general term referring to people who later on were called clients.

Finally, the social relations that welfare work constructed for professional practice were a mixture of various, and sometimes conflicting, elements — such as acting like a civil servant, advisor of mothers, family counselor, advocate for material aid and benefits, kind neighbor, and minor-lawyer. What was the result of this variety? The texts dealing with welfare work constructed the new professional as a municipal administrator whose specialty was acting as an omnipotent home guard aiming to secure a smooth transition to modern Finnish everyday life.

As a conceptual practice, home guarding was organized in a very interesting manner; it was a kind of intermediate form between a textually organized and objectifying professional practice and voluntary shepherding. Namely, the texts of welfare work lack a theoretical scheme and particular procedures for interpretive practice that draw on theory or another coherent body of knowledge. For example, the texts dealing with the family of welfare work and the “method of family welfare work“ (Piirainen 1949; Piirainen 1950) are more a declaration of family-centered ideology for welfare work, a description of preferred family behaviors, and a collection of practical hints, for lay persons and experts alike, about what to do with “problematic families“ rather than an introduction of a new method grounded on a theory based on facts about the nuclear family. It derived its concepts eclectically from various textual sources and also from the contemporary ‘home cult’. Nevertheless, the discourse of welfare work was unsuccessful in establishing an ideological circle comparable with that of welfare law for the profession which permitted the dominance of the method of welfare law in its daily practices.

This being the case, the professional method of interpretation remained, as it was before in poor relief, poorly evolved and ambiguous, although developing a conceptually coordinated practice was in accordance with Piirainen’s textual efforts. He was driven into difficulties in developing it. In the postwar period the common doctrine concerning the steering of social life and development was a matter of rational-technical knowledge. When Piirainen attached his conceptual practice to historical and practical factors, ontological and epistemological difficulties, among others, emerged. Combining the institutional tradition, knowledge through experience, and the method of welfare law as well as the requirements and ideals of modern life into a functioning conceptual practice is a complex theoretical and methodological task which requires successful realization of innovations in both respects. The result was an obscure professional method which was only marginal in the shadow of the legal method and institutional order of social welfare. *It follows that against all their wishes, the welfare workers were agents of the state and welfare work became, as planned by the Ministry, one instrument in the governmental*

modernization strategy, aiming to construct a new relation between private life and public policy.

8.2 Social case workers

Naturally, social case workers were facing the same problems as their professional colleagues. However, all the first hospitals and clinics applying social case work were located in townships, and therefore both the organizational and societal context of the acting professional had a different emphasis. Furthermore, in most workplaces social workers were surrounded by other professionals, with whom they cooperated daily. Furthermore, the client's concerns at hospitals and clinics were more likely to be related to the changing family life than to traditional poverty. Thus, it was not only the discourse but also the whole organizational setting that made the daily relations of social workers and welfare workers different from one another.

One of the pioneers of professional social work, herself a developer of social work in counseling alcoholics, described the experience of social workers in the early 1950s as follows:

“Social workers were distressed after the war, since in addition to material poverty there was so much human suffering. We understood that material aid by means of law and administration was not enough. We felt strongly that we needed to ask: What should we do? How should we do it? This was the beginning of the rapid development that followed.” (Marjatta Eskola, interview 16.6.86).

The novice social worker was either a trained welfare worker, or a social case worker trained either abroad or in Finland, or anybody who was considered qualified for the work, like a priest doing the family counseling through the Church. The new professional often faced a situation where he or she was given a relatively unspecified task, and the institutional or conceptual parameters were few. Generally speaking, the tasks varied at least implicitly, involving requirements for intervention in matters like social (mis)behavior, problems of marriage, reproduction, and family maintenance, mothering or child rearing.

The first Finnish social case work documents in the early 1950s speak about social casework with great enthusiasm; they described it as something unparalleled (e.g. Ahla 1950; Tarvainen 1950b). Professional intervention in family life outside the legal domain,

for example, to educate the family to have confidence in its own capacity of problem solving, was a fairly novel idea in Finland. It was only the texts and pioneers of social case work (in addition to some foreign experts and examples) that introduced the idea and practice to the social work field. Especially at the beginning there was confusion even among the newly employed professionals as to how one should relate social case work, social work, and welfare work to each other.⁷² Only the best specialists knew that social case work was a new method of a profession called social work (e.g. Mäki 1959; Eskola 1981,33).⁷³ One reason for the confusion was opinions resisting social case work. Behind them was often Veikko Piirainen, who had the opinion that social case work was imported and thus useless in Finnish circumstances (see Chapter 9.).

Additional reasons for the confusion were the psycho-centered world view and the therapeutically oriented view of people; both were relatively unknown in Finland. The exact vocabulary of international social case work discourse originated primarily in the contemporary theories of psychoanalysis and child psychiatry (e.g. Rose 1990, 121S131, 151S177; Yelloly 1980). Psychoanalysis involves both a set of theories and corresponding methods of treatment. The discourse of social casework utilized its theories and approach to human problems in order to understand human behavior to a much greater extent than it applied the psychoanalytic method and techniques to social work practice. In brief, the use made of psychoanalysis in social work has been selective and, on the whole, pragmatic (see Chapter 8.2.2.), but from the professional point of view its use has had important reasons: those theories helped the social worker to promote personal growth and greater autonomy in people through their increased self-awareness (cf. Yelloly 1980, 119S165) and the same theories provided legitimation and a sense of identity for the new profession. At the same time, in the everyday life of the profession, the use of theory enabled social workers to act more visibly as the practical agents of modernization, that is, as agents of individualization and family transformation.

As soon as the training in social case work was well established in Finland, it seems that there emerged a new group of professionals. In spite of all the hesitation described above, they soon became a more self-conscious and unified group of actors than their professional colleagues, the welfare workers (e.g. Ahla 1950; Tarvainen 1951). The reasons for this were many, but undoubtedly one among them was that social case

⁷² Some of the concepts of social case work were difficult to translate into Finnish because there was no corresponding practice to begin with. For example, the concept of social case work was translated with three different concepts (*henkilökohtainen huolto*, *yksilöllinen huolto*, *yksittäishuolto*) until the 1970s, when it started to be called “*yksilötyö*”.

⁷³ It needs to be added that the exchange program by the United Nations did not mediate social work profession as such, but had a strong emphasis on social case work especially at the beginning.

workers were evidently well introduced into the particular skills of factual reading and writing in social case work. In addition, the discursive introduction took place in a very short time. This brings into focus the pedagogy and method the teachers used in producing the sense of competence and professional consciousness. Thus, how was the strongly competent social work professional actually produced?

8.2.1 The authors and texts of Finnish social case work

In the light of its texts, Finnish social case work was really a discourse that can be seen as “imported“, since every one of the early writings were authored by people who studied the subject abroad or who routinely referred to American authors or to social work professionals from the rest of the English-speaking world. However, by the late 1930s, American social case work was no longer one discourse, but was divided into the functional (Rankian) and diagnostic (Freudian) schools. The former stressed the casework relationship as a matrix for growth within the limits of agency function, whereas the diagnostic school was deeply influenced by psychoanalytic theory and particularly the psychology of the ego, which was the focus of Anna Freud’s *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defence* (1936). It was a theory of personality ensuring that a personal therapeutic orientation dominated.

Interestingly, the Finnish scholars of the 1950s whom I interviewed, and who in general have written about their experiences, studied American social case work in schools and agencies which by and large represented the diagnostic paradigm. I believe that this was a result of a conscious decision on the part of those who granted the scholarships and selected the schools of social work for the scholars, since the expert exchange and film loan service of the United Nations had the same point of view. The underlying reason for this choice was perhaps the project of international modernization. A professional intervention from the ego psychological view suited these aims well; it was a theory to facilitate the birth of the autonomous person who self-regulates his (her) conduct and existence for his (her) own benefit and at the same time for the welfare of the family and the society as a whole (cf. Rose 1990). A central belief of the theory is that a person’s “irrational“ behavior is influenced by emotions and unconscious factors unless a decisive insight occurs. From this follows that a change in behavior is indeed a personal matter but can, when problems emerge, be facilitated by professional intervention.

The knowledge the social case work pioneers imported and developed in Finland was not equal to the diagnostic paradigm of American social case work. On the contrary, they

did their best to apply what they had learned during the particular postwar conditions to transforming private life. The spreading out of social case work discourse started in 1950 with the publication of several articles dealing with the field; the first course in social casework was held at the University of Helsinki by Liisa Hakola; and the first textbooks in social case work (in English) were included in the course requirements of social policy (Ahla 1950).⁷⁴ The following years saw an increasing number of related publications: the first professional journal, *Casework-yllätys* (Casework Surprise, later *Sosiaalihoitajalehti*, and *Sosiaalinen Työ*) came out as a duplicated version in the summer of 1951; the first international social case work seminar was held at Keuruu by the United Nations in 1952; and, finally, the first textbook in social case work, *Lapsen sosiaalinen huolto* (A child's social care) by Lauri Tarvainen, was published in 1954.

The key persons of the first wave of Finnish social case work are the above mentioned Mervi Ahla, Liisa Hakola and Lauri Tarvainen, who acted both together and separately but always supporting each other's efforts as professional advocates and pioneers. Each of them had a different route to social case work; however, common to all were extensive studies and contacts abroad, and consequently, wide and lively co-operation with European and American social work colleagues.

Over the years from the late 1940s to 1964, the two women were working together as lecturers in hospital social work (*sosiaalihoitajatutkinto*). From the beginning and in accordance with the American model of social work education, they created an organization of educational co-operation between classroom teaching and the practicing social workers in hospitals. There the previous students acted as student supervisors, and the lecturers themselves gave field supervision for the student-supervisors. The group of hospital social workers was small in size, and very soon they formed an intensive feminine network of mutual support, professional co-operation, and knowledge production. In 1949 they established a professional association, but more essential was the overall professional sisterhood front where little was left of the hierarchical patterns of the hospital. In the medically dominated hospitals, the network with numerous foreign contacts offered an invaluable means of strengthening the professional identity against doctors and nurses with whom the professional boundaries of social work were constantly being negotiated. (The first generation of hospital social workers, interview 29.11.1988.)

⁷⁴ For the very first time social case work was introduced in Finland in 1945 for nurses specializing in hospital social work at Helsinki. It was a 20-hour course given by Märtha Boman, Liisa Hakola and Niilo Mäki (Ahla 1965).

Liisa Hakola, a farmer's daughter born in 1910, became a nurse and started her career as a psychiatric nurse at Kellokoski hospital in the 1930s. Her superiors, the chief nurse and doctor, encouraged her to take the responsibility for the patients' social matters. The idea was familiar to them from the German hospitals they had visited, and soon she also was sent on study visits to Germany, Great Britain and several other countries in Europe. As soon as the field training center for nursing students was established in Malmi by the Rockefeller Foundation, she was asked to develop the psychiatric out-patient care.

After the war, Hakola continued studies in the social field, taking a diploma course in welfare work. The study work included a thesis on social case work as a method of welfare work. Since the topic was considered by the teachers of welfare work to be exceptional, she needed special permission from the department. Actually, it was the first text about social case work written in Finnish. Later on, the thesis was used as a textbook in social work. Hakola continued her studies at Columbia University (MA 1949), where she was funded by the Rockefeller Foundation. From then on, she acted as a lecturer of social work and principal at Helsingin sairaanhoitajaopisto (Helsinki School of Nursing). An interesting detail is that Liisa Hakola also introduced social case work to Norway as an expert from the United Nations (in 1955, and 1958-59). She wrote a few practical articles, and said that she enjoyed teaching, not writing — she only wrote when this was unavoidable. (Liisa Hakola, interview 7.2.1989; Helsingin sairaanhoito-opiston opettajamatrikkeli 1988, 18S29).

Mervi Ahla's (born 1917) father was a lawyer and a high-ranking civil servant, and both of her parents were active volunteers in charity and probation associations. She did an MA at the University of Helsinki with sociology as her major, and continued to take a nurse's training hoping that vocational education could give her more qualifications for practice in the social field. She acted for some time as a social worker at the Family Counseling Clinic of Helsinki, but soon became invited to be a scholar of the Rockefeller Foundation. She completed her second MA in social work (1948) at Western Reserve University in Cleveland and conducted a study of multi-professional co-operation in the public health field (Ahla 1950; reprint in Finnish, Ahla 1963).

After her return to Finland, she was appointed as a social work lecturer at the same nursing school as Hakola. From 1964, she acted as a lecturer of social work at the University of Helsinki. Her main publications include practical articles and a textbook written with Lauri Tarvainen. The idea of a common book occurred when the authors found out that they had simultaneously applied for a grant in order to write a book about social case work. (Mervi Ahla interview 2.7.1986; Helsingin sairaanhoito-opiston opettajamatrikkeli 1988,6S7).

The third author, Lauri Tarvainen, born in 1913, was the son of an estate manager. He studied humanistic subjects at the University of Helsinki sciences, but completed later his postgraduate studies in social policy (MA 1938; Ph.D. 1966). Tarvainen started his career in adult

education, moving soon to a position as district counselor of social welfare, and later on to a position as chief administrator of child protection at the Ministry of Social Affairs.

His first textbooks (*Yhteiskunnallinen huolto* 1946; *Sosiaalihuolto* 1950) introduced postwar public welfare, forms of social assistance and the few social services that existed. The first book does not acknowledge social case work, while the following one introduces its main principles in brief. After a study visit to the USA in 1949, his views started to differ from those of most of his colleagues at the Ministry. He became specific in his requirements concerning social welfare; he wrote that it was necessary to improve the psychological treatment of relief receivers. Thus, he became an enthusiastic advocate of social case work (e.g. Tarvainen 1950b; Tarvainen 1951; Tarvainen 1952; Tarvainen 1953), and his textbooks on social welfare with children (Tarvainen 1954c) and social case work (Ahla & Tarvainen 1959) provided a detailed introduction to the discourse for Finnish social workers.

Later he also acted as the first officer of the United Nation's Research Unit, Social Welfare Services Section, Division for Social Development (1965-67). In addition, he was responsible for various tasks in state committees as well in the leading boards of private welfare associations, and for the Vocational Association of Welfare Workers. (Helsingin yliopisto 1977, 361).

There also are some other, more collectively written social case work texts which belong to the sources of the following analysis. One of them is a report of a social case work seminar with Helvi Boothe, a social work expert from the United Nations, who visited Finland in 1954-55. The national seminar on social case work was organized by the Ministry of Social Affairs and held at Kiljava in January 1955. It consisted of several lectures in various aspects of Finnish social work practice by Finns, and lectures about social casework principles by the American expert. As she was a Finn by birth and also had had some practice in Finland in the 1920s, she was able to lecture in Finnish. Most of the time the 70 participants spent in groupwork and discussions based on family cases. The report is a detailed collection of lectures, case analyses, and other discussions of the seminar; it was published by the Ministry to advance the professional practice of social work. (Sosiaalityöntekijä... 1956).

Another important collective contribution of the 1950s social case work was made by a team of social workers at the clinic for the treatment of alcoholics in Helsinki (Hennum 1958). The book was a result of five years of experimental work in practice by a social work supervisor, Marjatta Eskola, and her colleagues, of whom only one, Helmi Mäki,

had (besides Eskola) been trained in the USA for social work.⁷⁵ Social case work was only one of the discourses the team applied, but nevertheless it played a considerable role in the professional activities of the social workers at the Clinic in the 1950s.

8.2.2 The making of the strong social worker

By the 1950s there emerged two main domestic channels of training social case workers. One was the training program for nurses specializing in hospital social work, while the other line of training consisted of brief courses in social case work for practicing social and welfare workers. The training method applied and the course contents were about the same: the introduction of theory derived from the psychoanalytic view of the human being was followed by the introduction and analysis of numerous cases from practice, or practicing on and writing case examples under the control and supervision of an experienced professional. Essential in the curriculum was the split into theory and practice, and the continuous interaction over the theory/practice split. The coordinating activities were organized effectively by the introduced professional (i.e. textual) mode of knowing.

The above-described model of organizing the professional training was borrowed from the USA (Ahla 1950; Hakola 1951). In the professional relations of ruling, an important principle of functioning (and an organizing effect of the discourse) was the establishment of continuous systems of discourse maintenance to ensure that the interpretative scheme and ideology of the profession is properly maintained. The curriculum was constructed so that fieldwork practice and classroom teaching took place simultaneously. Every week the student spent three days in the field working with clients, and two days in school learning theory. The ideal was that the same themes are repeated; what is taught in theory should be applied in practice in the same week with real clients in the agency context. The experimental application in the real-life situation of the student was performed in close co-operation both with her field supervisor (who had continuous contact with the school and was also a primary student of the same training program), and with her classroom teacher of social case work. Actually, this kind of training established a triple system of discourse maintenance called supervision: at first, the lecturer introduced what

⁷⁵ Marjatta Eskola studied social work (1949-50) at the University of Chicago and at the University of Illinois with the help of a grant provided by the World Council of Churches. Helmi Mäki was given an award by the Rockefeller Foundation for studying at the Harvard School of Public Health and Simmons College School of Social Work in Boston (1953-54).

in real life is relevant in the light of social case work theory; then the student was supervised by a professional who, in her supervision and practice, was in turn supervised by the lecturer. The supervisory circle was completed when the student wrote a case file (under the professional's supervision), which was then presented the next week in detail and commented on in class by the lecturer and classmates. (e.g. Hakola 1951).

In the training of the practicing workers, the practical organization of the training was, of course, somewhat different. The trainees did not need to be introduced to practice as such, since they were always able to refer to their wide experiences, but the emphasis was more on how to get them to transfer from one professional or institutional consciousness and factual reading to that of social case work. In the next section I will use as an example the training course that was held in 1955. The method of teaching that an American expert on social case work, Helvi Boothe, was applying was similar to that already introduced. She lectured on the social case work theory of human behavior, introduced American family cases (two of them were on film, *The Feelings of Rejection* and *Overdependency*), and Finnish family cases for analysis and discussion by the participants under her careful supervision. (Sosiaalityöntekijä... 1956). The course repeated the same elements of theory, practice, and supervised interpretation as described above; it was moving from theory to practice and vice versa by the medium of a written case record. The co-ordinating role of the written case record was fundamental throughout both lines of training. Its professional use seems to have ensured coherence in the complex interpretive processes the social workers were involved in. Therefore, its function deserves an analysis of its own (see Chapter 8.2.3.). Before that, a brief introduction to the 1950s Finnish social case work theory is needed.

In the new perspective imported by the social case work discourse, the earlier dependant was now redefined as a *client*. The term did not refer to a general category of persons unable to take care of themselves or people whose morality was questionable like that of the dependant, but to an ordinary citizen who occasionally runs into problems with his or her self-regulation or adaptation. From this followed that the professional aim was to enable the person to make the needed decisions in one's life, and consequently, to become a self-responsible and self-supporting citizen (e.g. Hakola 1946; Ahla 1950; Tarvainen 1950a; Tarvainen 1950b). Liisa Hakola (1946, 1) crystallizes the aim as follows:

“Nykyajan kiihkeä elämäntahti ja monisäikeinen yhteiskuntajärjestys edellyttävät vaikeuksiin joutuneen yksilön taitavaa ohjaamista niin, että hän persoonallisuutensa säilyttäen pystyy omin voimin kulkemaan tietään eteenpäin.”

The modern hectic rhythm of life and complex social order presuppose skillful guidance of individuals who have got into difficulties so that they can maintain their personality and proceed on their way unaided.

The general aim in social case work was to help the individual in trouble to become psychologically mature, to take personal responsibility and develop a socially independent and positive relationship to his/her environment as described in the examples of American social case work textbooks⁷⁶ (e.g. Tarvainen 1950b, 468; Ahla & Tarvainen 1959, 22, 72S75; Hennum 1958, 61S62). In 1950 the target of the work became extended from the individual to the family (e.g. Tarvainen 1950a; Tarvainen 1951; Joensuu 1952; Tarvainen 1954c; Hennum 1958; Hakola 1959). Tarvainen writes:

“Huoltotoimenpiteitten tulee kohdistua ei vain yksilöön, vaan koko siihen ympäristöön, jonka jäsen hän on. Perheen huomioon ottamisen merkitys on vasta vähitellen opittu ymmärtämään.” (Tarvainen 1950a, Opetuskirje 2, 7).

The social work intervention should not focus solely on the individual but on one's whole environment. We have only gradually learned to take into consideration the importance of the family.

By this statement, he distances himself from the currently most referenced American author of social case work in Finland, Gordon Hamilton, who wrote about the issue as follows:

“Case work has always been concerned with the family as the primary social unit within which concepts are formed which, in our culture, have a profound bearing on social adjustment... Earlier case work concepts had placed the family as ‘the unit of work’, in the sense of giving services to the whole family. This is not the present concept.” (Hamilton 1950, 27).

Influenced by the ideology of the Finnish home cult, Tarvainen, working in child welfare administration, started to advocate family-oriented social case work as soon as he had

⁷⁶ In the early 1950s especially Gordon Hamilton's book, *Theory and Practice of Social Case Work*, was the most referred to by the Finnish social case work pioneers (e.g. Ahla 1950). Many other international authors of social case work, too, were well known and often cited. For example, in 1951 *Casework-yllätys* introduced the translated principles of a professional social work interview by Charlotte Towle, and *Sosiaalinen työ* (1955, number 3) illustrated the method of social case work by Florence Hollis.

found an appropriate theory, the texts of John Bowlby⁷⁷ and other child psychiatrists (see Tarvainen 1954c, 36S45). In his textbook about the care of the child, he introduced a new view of the family into Finnish social work. The family of the book is construed in terms of psychological relations between mothers and fathers, parents and children, brothers and sisters, and most of all, between the mother and the child. The two essential concepts the book introduces are: the internal emotional structure of a family and maternal deprivation.

Referring to Bowlby, the author describes how a child's social problems are a consequence of emotional instabilities in the family, and therefore he urges social workers to pay much more attention to the emotional state in the families they deal with. However, when he then moves on to illustrative case examples, the family as the target of work disappears. A short review of the cases reveals that in 85% of them the target of the intervention is the mother, who is always closely connected with the child's problems (e.g. Tarvainen 1953). Thus, the mother becomes the primary client of social case work; she holds the regulative power over her child and other family members. In the light of the case examples of the book, the mother becomes the essential client of a social worker mainly for two reasons: either for improving her emotional maturity or for advancing her child's healthy development.

This new view of mothers originated in the psychodynamic belief (cf. Bowlby 1952) that an early separation of a baby and a mother is dangerous for the child's emotional development. Thus a good mother has to spend the first years with her child. It is also her responsibility to create a close, warm and continuous relationship to her child. From the emotional point of view, the father is only a supporting member. He is supposed to help the mother satisfy her needs and support her in maintaining a successful emotional relation with the child, which expresses the family ideal of social case work. Any other family forms than a two-parent, heterosexual couple with children, the father earning a living, and the mother taking care of the home and children, were deviant in the prevailing psychoanalytic view and in need of professional treatment (e.g. unmarried motherhood, one-parent family, and a family with a working mother). (Tarvainen 1954c; Ahla & Tarvainen 1959, 111).

Interestingly, the enlarged responsibility of women for other family members also started to concern other fields of social work than child welfare in the 1950s social case work literature. It was also extended to the wives (and sometimes mothers) of alcoholics.

⁷⁷ One of Bowlby's books also was translated into Finnish and published as a shortened version (see Bowlby 1957).

When alcohol clinics were established, the family was regarded only as a background factor, and the treatment concentrated on the drinker's voluntary psychosocial and medical treatment. In a few years, advised by the new American alcohol research and clinical experience, the personnel of the clinics recognized that the participation of wives in the treatment process produces better results.

The alcohol clinics emphasized that their patient⁷⁸ is a voluntary male (see Hennum 1958, 37), but the same emphasis on free will was not applied to the participation of his wife, which gradually became a rule. The fact that the family gradually turned out mainly to be the wife in the vocabulary and practice of the clinic had to do with the underlying psychoanalytic notion: The most important person in one's personal development is one's mother. In the treatment process, however, the mother of a married man was replaced by his wife (as a surrogate) for practical reasons. Nevertheless, dependence on the mother was often the discussed theme of the treatment of alcoholics. Although in social case work there was a strong belief that women with certain personality attributes tend to select alcoholics as husbands in order to satisfy their unconscious personality needs (cf. Immonen 1955, 62S63), the wives were not the target of treatment. On the contrary, they were trained to become good assistants to the clinical personnel; it was the wives who were made responsible for seeing that her husband followed the clinical treatment plan properly at home (Hennum 1958, 155).

The theory in the earlier textbooks of social case work introduced the novices in the international professional mode of knowing to its own ideological scheme. They mediate a professional self-understanding which involves that the social case worker is a full professional whose practices are just one particular form of "objective" and highly controlled professional intervention⁷⁹. Its function is to help people to adapt and to create the modern and autonomous identities for themselves in accordance with the ideals the international modernization project among others advocated. Furthermore, in the light of the texts, the successful production of the autonomous person required a privatized family with a well balanced emotional economy. The texts reconstructed the Finnish

⁷⁸ The basic approach of the clinic was medical; actually, it was this clinical practice which imported medicalization of drinking into Finland (cf. Kuusi 1952, 351). The social case work at the clinic was experimental in character. It utilized the available American social case work theory and criminal psychiatry, and also the contemporary Finnish sociological research on alcoholism which proceeded in close connection with the clinical practice. The director of the clinic, K.E. Lanu, was himself a sociologist, and active in research.

⁷⁹ According to Margaret Yelloly (1980, 121), the professional model of social case work was derived by and large from the professional culture of Freudian psychiatry, including the moral neutrality of the therapist.

family in terms of psychology for the first time in social work. Whenever there emerged disturbances in the balance, it was the duty of the social worker in co-operation with the mother (or wife) to normalize the regulation of the internal psychological relations. Because of this, the novices needed to develop a highly controlled understanding of the underlying reasons for human behavior, the influence of the past on the present behavior, and skills in handling the client in a well-controlled case work relationship in terms of psychodynamics.

8.2.3 The case record as an organizer

In the professional practices of welfare lawyers, making legally valid minutes of the case was fundamentally important for the successful processing of the case (see Chapter 6.). In the professional practices of social case work, the case record was equally essential, but the way in which it functioned as the co-ordinating form for professional practice was different. In the legal process, the decisive textual coordination takes place via the exact form of the textual case, whereas in social case work the text as such can be flexible. Essential is that the case report was so designed as to reproduce the ideological scheme of the profession in each case. To illustrate the difference, I will describe a few more of the uses of a case record in the training of the social case work professionals.

A good deal of the institutional social case work training took place via case reports written either by a student or a professional. Case reports were the medium of professional discussion, interaction, and the source of common consciousness raising between the student, the field supervisor, and the lecturer. All the social case work textbooks referred to earlier devote many pages to the correct technique of writing the case report (e.g. Ahla & Tarvainen 1959, 250S265; Hennem 1958, 126S135); even the very first study of social case work by Liisa Hakola (1946, see Appendix 1S3) included two forms for gathering client information and a model of a case report. In addition, the theory was always illustrated by cases; the principles of action in practice were studied in case records; and the advanced student's study tasks included, based on her own interviews with the client, written case reports as well as the diagnosis and treatment plan. Then the case report was duplicated so that the classmates and the lecturer were able to prepare themselves for the investigation of the student's report in the light of the following questions (Ahla 1950, 597):

S What basic principles of social case work can you detect in this case report?

S Was the interview carried out correctly?

S What kind of social diagnosis would you make of this case?

S How do you evaluate the performance of the social worker in the treatment relationship?

The questions were almost the same that Boothe was using when she was training the Finnish professionals in social case work (e.g. *Sosiaalityöntekijä...* 1956, 57). Even a brief analytic gaze at them reveals that the investigation of case reports was meant to cover the crucial elements of professional action from the ideological scheme of social case work to the individual interpretations in each case. Actually, the pattern of the questions was designed so that it enabled (or necessitated) the evaluation of how well the ideological scheme of the profession was put into practice by the student in each particular case report.

Thus the (student's) work with clients offered the raw material for "the particulars" (Smith 1990b, 160), to apply theory, that is, to select and assemble what is relevant in the light of the social case work discourse and the ideological scheme of the profession. The written production of the case report represented an example and proof of the student's skills in reproducing the ideological organization in a particular case common in social case work, and in discovering the necessary social connections of the problem. Whenever some gaps emerged in the production of the ideological circle in an individual case, the student was advised (and supervised) to make the moves from theory to practice and from practice to theory correctly. By such an organization of the training, the novices were put in the position of the future professionals, to rehearse the ideological practices of their profession in order to develop the correct professional interpretation. The method of training used numerous repetitions of the interpretive process to ensure that the cognitive, interpretive "paths" of professional consciousness and thinking, although always individual according to the theory, were over-learned by the trainees. Furthermore, the textually organized training via the case report ensured the constant reproduction of a unified and practice-oriented common consciousness among the professionals.

As already mentioned, the international experts in social case work utilized case records in their teaching. Some of the case reports they used came from American social work. According to Helvi Boothe, using case reports from the United States was simply a tradition. When there emerged some resistance to the tradition by the Finnish trainees, she argued for it by saying that the quality of the North American case records in general was excellent compared with those from other countries. Additionally, she said that people all over the world are very similar with their problems, and therefore, the origin of

the case report has no meaning at all. (Sosiaalityöntekijä... 1956, 249). Her arguments repeat in an interesting way the supranationalism common, for example, in the modernization theories (cf. Chapter 7.2.2.). Under the modern era and social order, the professional objectives and ideals were the same for everyone and everywhere in the same profession (cf. Smith 1990a, 1S4, 167S170), and part of the ideological scheme of the modern professions was to ignore existing differences in national cultures and social histories (cf. Midgley 1983).

Perhaps there were also more practical reasons for using North American family case reports in training the Finnish professionals. As described earlier, the essential character of the objectifying discourse is to detach both the reader and the object of knowledge from their actual site and place (e.g. Smith 1989, 40S43; Smith 1990a, 59S60). This being the case, the foreign case reports were functional in learning to make the disconnecting “trick“ in practice. The shift from one’s local world to the world of texts and theoretical thought becomes perhaps more complete when the text has no reference point to the reader. The reader’s resistance is minimized, and the possibility to learn to think factually increases. When the Finnish trainees studied the American case record of Mrs. Latham (Sosiaalityöntekijä... 1956, 102S140), it was easy for them to learn to differentiate the local and personal from the professionally relevant, since the particulars did not exist for them personally in the real world. However, problems may have arisen when it was time to apply the learning in practice.

According to Mervi Ahla (1950, 596S597), the objectives of social case work training included professional performance of social work in order to make the actor “compliant and objective“. What professional objectivity actually meant in the practice of a social worker is well described by Liisa Hakola⁸⁰ (1946, 21S22):

“Anna itsesi sataprosenttisesti huollettavalle, mene sen jälkeen toimistoon, harkitse siellä jokainen pienikin yksityisseikka tarkoin, kokoa nämä yksityisseikat jälleen yhteen ja unohda tänä aikana kokonaan huollettava. Tämä on objektiivisuutta.“

You have to give yourself to your client a hundred percent, then go to your office and consider every small detail with care, and recollect the details again, and meanwhile forget the client completely. This is objectivity.

⁸⁰ In the quotation Liisa Hakola cites Miss Hardwick, Simmons College, School of Social Workers, Boston.

The quotation describes well how the fundamental rupture, i.e., the move from the real life to the discursive world from the point view of the professional strategy and experience was put into practice. In its light, the move meant for the professional a conscious and rational detachment from the immediate, personal experience with the case, and its replacement with a rational reasoning and reorganization of the case in the psychodynamic terms of social case work. The importance of the case report in this process was that it was the form of text which coordinated the professional action in practice in the profession and between professions (e.g. with physicians); therefore, its correct production became crucial. As a result, the social worker of the modern era needed to be able to handle people in two languages and in two worlds of languages. One language was needed to discuss with the client as an equal citizen and to deal with the client's concerns here and now, and another for the textually mediated international form of professional writing and reasoning about the case (cf. Stenson 1993, 53).

This duality is fundamental for the modern professions in general. Essential in the professional skill is the ability to move flexibly and correctly according to the invisible methodological rules between the actual world and the discursive world. The corresponding division was also reproduced on the level of the professional consciousness of the social worker. Learning to maintain the role of anonymity, in other words, the social relations typical of professional objectivity and collegiality, meant detaching one's total self from the professional self in a controlled and definite way, which is one of the general purposes of professional education and collectivism (cf. Berger & Luckmann 1967, 138S143). In this was the hidden substance of the training in social case work.

8.3 A review of the 1950s conceptual practices

In postwar Finland there developed not one but two new professions that were very interested in the same object: the family. However, a closer analysis of their conceptual practices in the previous chapters has revealed that they were quite different. The interest of welfare work in the home and the family was partially rooted in the German discourse about family intervention, whereas the interest of social case work in the family owed much to the child psychiatric theorizing of John Bowlby. Nevertheless, it seems that many of the basic beliefs related to the family were the same. For example, for both professions the important target and partner in family intervention was the mother.

One explanation for these similarities could be that both social case work and welfare work were in the end drawing on the same child psychiatric doctrine. The ideas of Bowlby were marketed, for example by the Geneva headquarters of the World Health Organization, throughout Europe. On the other hand, a discourse considering the internal relations of families essential in the production of modern state citizens fits very well into the postwar Finnish relations of ruling. The long war had shaken the normal relations of men and women. Consequently, after the war women were demanding the right to participate in wage labor, including the mothers of small children (e.g. *Komiteanmietintö* 1948:9; Satka 1993). Thus, the professional concern about the domestic affairs and the internal functioning of the family, and especially about mothering, served as a normalizing intervention. It put into focus the norm of a mother devoted to her home and children, and activated the motherly guilt (cf. Rose 1990, 208) for not doing the right thing at the right moment. Thus, the introduced professional practices created social relations which were normalizing and stabilizing. The conception of the family as a predominantly mother-directed institution was an effective, but often from the professional perspective, invisible intervention in the 1950s tensions in the societal role of married Finnish women. The unquestioned belief of both professions was that the right place for a mother and a wife is the home (e.g. *Sosiaalityöntekijä...* 1956, 250S254; Piirainen 1954, 62S67).

The differences in the conceptual practices of the two professions were considerable: social case work was based on the psychodynamic theory of human behavior; its daily practices were coordinated by the textual form of the case report; its training in the method of interpreting was very well organized; and an integral part of daily practice was supervision, a most effective means of discourse maintenance. In contrast, welfare work was lacking a theory of “home and family“ and a firm documentary basis (see Piirainen 1954, 145S159). In its municipal practices it was bound to implement the ideological practices of welfare law, and its methods of interpretation were vague compared with those in welfare law and social case work. Also, the institutional relations in which the daily activities were taking place were different. The textual form of the case report organized both the social case workers and the object of their intervention, changing Finnish families, as part of the international relations of professional ruling and of global modernization, whereas in welfare work the textual reorganization was vague — except when welfare law was applied — and the links with the international project remained weak (see Chapter 9.3.2.).

9 The struggle over conceptual practices

As soon as welfare work and social case work were introduced, they started to compete particularly in the minds of welfare workers. Consequently, by the mid-1950s, the social field was divided by a fervent debate which the contemporaries named the dispute over method (*metodikiista*, e.g. Mäki 1988).

My interviewees had numerous memories, opinions, and personal analyses related to the 'dispute over method'. I was told, for instance, that *Huoltaja*, the leading journal of the field, did not publish articles written by the representatives of social case work (which my own findings from 1952 confirm); that Veikko Piirainen sometimes interrupted the common seminars of the lecturers in social case work and welfare work by walking out at the moment when the representatives of social case work had their turn to speak; and that a career-oriented male welfare worker told his social case work teacher that "What you say is all right, but I will never publicly admit it since I have decided to make a career in social welfare" (interview with Helmi Mäki, 10.2.1989).

My interviewees tended to speak about the dispute as if it was primarily a disagreement between the two training programs and their teachers. Some concluded that it was a matter of problems in personal interaction between these people. Some considered the dispute a mere disagreement about knowledge, while another speaker ensured me that it was a consequence of mistakes the social case workers made in the way in which they started to import the discourse. Finally, I was told that the whole debate was only a dispute about naming things.⁸¹

Listening to my informants, I often felt that their stories were still, after thirty years, loaded with strong emotions, and many of them expressed how the whole debate and the events surrounding the phenomenon were still a bit too sensitive to speak about.

After hearing all that I became very excited to learn more about the dispute from contemporary texts, and to make an inquiry into it based on the original documents. To my great surprise very little was written. Actually, I was able to find only two occasions when the dispute became public. The first, related to an article by Lauri Tarvainen, was in 1951, while the second was in 1956 and related to the six-month visit of the United Nations social case work expert, Helvi Boothe. Additionally, I found out that most of the few documents were rather signs of something more important that underlay them than a forum for discussing the essentials of the disagreement.

⁸¹ The interviews are the following: The first generation of hospital social workers 29.11.1988, Mervi Ahla 2.7.1986, Helmi Mäki 10.2.1989, Eeva Salo 3.5.1989, Osmo Toivola 17.3.1989, Mirja Aukee 7.4.1989, Aino Hänninen 10.2.1989, Veikko Niemi 12.12.1986, Risto Vilkkä 5.2.1989.

Thus I found out that the dispute over method does not exist as such in a textual form. However, after putting the few written documents together with what I had learned from the interviews, the dispute over method started to appear as a fascinating conflict over conceptual practices. It needed to be opened up, not only because I was analyzing conceptual practices from the materialist point of view, but also because I regard the clash of conceptual practices as a social product. Thus, my immediate hypothesis was that such an event must be a hint of something much more profound in the prevailing social relations. In the end it made me endlessly curious to know more about the case. Therefore, I will first describe, on the basis of the published texts (supplemented by some interview data) what the dispute actually was, and then move on to a more analytic discussion about the debate.

9.1 The domestic documents about the dispute over method

The only public textual forum of the dispute was the leading journal of the field, *Huoltaja*, whose editor-in-chief Veikko Piirainen was.⁸² The debate was opened by Liisa Hakola (1951) and Mervi Ahla (1950), who wrote a series of articles on social case work as a subject of study, suggesting that welfare work also should have social case work in the curriculum “as a unified and intensive discipline“ (Ahla 1950, 395). Additionally, they suggested that field work should become reorganized so as to make it more closely connected to theory and more carefully supervised. Unlike the article by Lauri Tarvainen, which continued to address the same themes, the writings of the women did not cause published counter arguments. This brings to mind what Dorothy Smith (1990b, 101) has concluded on the basis of her studies of women as speakers in public discourses:

“Authority in the public discourse is not defined by position in a determinate system of positions, as in organizational hierarchies. It appears instead as the difference between the credibility granted to some sources and the treatment of others as mere opinion or as lacking credibility in some way. Authority bleeds from the institutional relations of ruling to the relations of authority at the surface of media.“

In the above-mentioned article Tarvainen argued that psychology should become a major subject in the curriculum of welfare workers. According to him, welfare workers

⁸² I have found no articles or comments clearly falling under the ‘dispute over method’ in the duplicated journal of social case work published since 1951.

were unable to understand people psychologically, and therefore unable to use the helping relation to the client in a committed manner. He insisted that reorganization of the actual practices of welfare work was also necessary since a professional meeting with a client should always take place privately and in the agency context. According to him, welfare work was short-sighted since it ignored the psychological dynamics of the family, it did not offer psychological support long enough, and it did not understand that the essence of preventive work was to support people individually in their psychological difficulties. He concludes that the helping relationships in welfare work are unequal, since they do not follow the important principle of a client's self-determination. (Tarvainen 1950a; Tarvainen 1951).

The first public defense of welfare work (Huoltaja 1951b, 549S551) was generated by the editor-in-chief, who — because of the above claims — interviewed two experienced social welfare lawyers (of which Osmo Toivola was one). Instead of opposing Tarvainen argument by argument, the interviewed described how the accomplished work with individuals has always been on the agenda of welfare workers. Thus, according to them, social case work had nothing to say about helping that had not already been considered in welfare work.⁸³ They said that there were cases that could be helped and those that could not; consequently, social welfare could only be psychologized to a limited extent. In the end, as men of practice, they calmly reminded the chief administrator of the Ministry to have a more constructive attitude in public discussion. (Huoltaja 1951b, 549S551).

The second phase of the published dispute took place after the visit of the American social case work expert Helvi Boothe. This time, the discussion was started by the journal, in a skillful causerie written under a pseudonym. The title was *Huoltaja parka* (poor welfare worker; see Huoltaja 1955, 672S630).⁸⁴ The causerie is an emotionally loaded story describing the thoughts of a welfare worker about the social case work method in practice. It is constructed of several case stories in which the welfare worker takes the point of view of the client (for example, the worker imagines how the client feels during his or her interview with the social case worker). The causerie ends in the imaginary client's bitter outburst about how the social case worker, bound by the techniques of social case work, is unable to behave as a feeling human being. The client feels sorry for

⁸³ The “nothing new“ argument was repeated in the interviews of Osmo Toivola (17.3.1989) and Risto Vilka (5.2.1989). Vilka was a student and friend of Veikko Piirainen and called him “our father figure“. In the interview he did not regard social case work as an independent discourse; according to him, the method of working with individuals was developed by Piirainen in welfare work. Furthermore, he recalled that the two women were his only opponents.

⁸⁴ There were some published discussions which followed this particular occasion (e.g. Huoltaja 1958, 169S174), but since they only repeat the same arguments, I have not included them in the analyzed documents.

such a professional. The way the social case worker approaches the client is technical, and her skill in helping and empathy poorly developed. Next time the client of the causerie decides to look for an ordinary, warm-hearted fellow individual instead of the professional social case worker.

In the following issues of the journal the causerie was commented on extensively by Lauri Tarvainen (1955), Osmo Toivola (1956), and Veikko Piirainen (1956). In his reply Tarvainen (1955) was concerned that the writer behind the pseudonym and the editorial staff of the journal have misunderstood what social case work is about. According to Tarvainen, it is by no means a technique or a recipe but real, live, and warm-hearted understanding of the human being; it is actually only a concentrated form of the traditional method of social welfare.

Piirainen's comment reveals indirectly that the pseudonymous author, *Homo Hominis*, was himself. His comment suggests that the causerie was published in order to provoke thoughts and questions, and he clarifies what the pseudonym meant by some of the rather vague arguments. My assumption is that these particular arguments were also the most important from his point of view. Thus, I interpret him as underlining that the author — he himself — wanted to problematize the consequences that follow when the worker uncritically relies on textual knowledge, in this case on that of social case work. He insists that it is not law, psychology, science or the well-done case record that can help the person in deep emotional pains, but faith in God, belief in something higher which the science can never touch (Piirainen 1956, 106).

9.2 An international evaluation

The report of the United Nations social welfare expert, Helvi Boothe, and the official Finnish statements about the report for the Ministry of Social Affairs constitute the most interesting sources of information leading to the middle of the dispute over method.⁸⁵ The report summarizes the work Boothe did in Finland by training Finns in generic social case work from September 1955 to March 1956. The twenty-nine page report makes it very clear what Boothe thought about the state of Finnish social work practice and training for social work. In addition, it includes detailed practical recommendations on

⁸⁵ The report says that her visit consisted of nine workshops, each lasting for 2S4 days, with practicing social workers; four longer seminars (the topics dealt with social case work in practice, supervision, and the role of the social worker), and numerous consultations with various professionals. S I am grateful to my interviewees, Veikko Niemi and Helmi Mäki, who advised me to look at the report.

how to advance social case work and the social work profession taking into consideration the available resources and existing circumstances. Boothe's personal orientation in social case work emphasizes a psychoanalytic understanding of the personality and social problems. In her texts the major modern social problem was psychological maladjustment. (Boothe 1955; Boothe 1956).

From the beginning, Boothe obtained "evidence of an almost total lack of uniform structure and uniform standards in the training of social workers". Thus, it was necessary to "focus on the quality and extension of social work training". (U.N. 1955, 3.) She did not see much good in Finnish training programs in social work. According to her, the specialization program for nurses was much too narrow, but the field performance of the students superior compared with the graduates of other schools. Boothe regarded the curriculum, field performance, and quality of the student body entering the welfare workers' training program as poor. The field work courses were to her too administrative; she wrote that they "cannot be considered as supervised training in the skills of helping people". She was convinced that "the teaching of skills must be theoretical only". (U.N. 1955, 21.)

These comments reveal that according to the expert there was only one profession and one model of training social workers, and both of the Finnish training programs were unable to meet the criteria. In the light of her report, essential in the model was that it was organized in a particular kind of co-operation with the experienced professionals in practice. Furthermore, the training should include the triple system of discourse maintenance (cf. Chapter 8.2.2.) to ensure the adoption and maintenance of the necessary professional competencies of factual reading and writing, the formation of an objectified consciousness, and the skill to move correctly from the actual world of the clients to the discursive world.

In addition, her opinion about the state of Finnish social work practices is that the quality in general was low, and the professional understanding of the welfare workers and the social case workers undeveloped: "social worker ... was frequently conceived as a minor officer of the law, rather than as a professional person whose chief aim is to help people..." (U.N. 1955, 17). In her accounts of her experiences in the training of social work professionals, she concludes:

"Whenever the Expert met with the workers in the public welfare field, the burning question seemed to be: how can we learn to see the essentials of what we are doing when we succeed with a client so that we may be guided by the right principles the next time?" (U.N. 1955, 18)

And:

“Frequently, it happened that two steps in the learning process repeated themselves: through a thoughtful examination of the material at hand, many of the workers saw that they themselves had actually applied method and assumed the attitudes in their work, which are inherent in social case work. They also saw that they had been unaware of this fact, and that they needed to become better informed and better disciplined in order to avoid working in a haphazard, erratic manner, unaware of the client as a whole man and of their own involvement in their application to their work.” (U.N. 1955, 3).

In addition, she recognized that the professional identification of the various groups of social workers was vague. Thus, her conclusion and recommendation for the Ministry of Social Affairs, the Finnish Government and the United Nations is that it is time “for an extensive reorganization of social work training in Finland“ (U.N. 1955, 22), and “a new independent school of social work... free to develop and to change as the needs of the community it serves change..“ (U.N. 1955, 25). In the first place, Finns’ opportunities to study abroad and to attend seminars on social case work by the United Nations have to be increased; secondly, Finland should establish an annual national social case work seminar; and the United Nations should continue sending social work experts to Finland.

The quoted opinions are rooted in a steady discursive standpoint; the expert speaks in terms relevant to the professional policies and objectives of the international social work. Boothe suggests that in order to improve their skills, to avoid what she described as an “erratic manner“ of doing social work, the Finnish professionals needed to adopt the principles of social case work. In so doing, she actually serves as a perfect example of a disciplined modern professional (cf. Beck 1994, 24§33; Giddens 1994, 82§94), whose relation to his or her discourse Dorothy Smith (1990a, 168) describes as follows:

“...the textual discourse appears providing a standpoint for the subject from which her own conduct or the conduct of others can be examined. The consciousness of self is the lived moment bringing the local settings under the jurisdiction of public textual discourse. Discursive images and statements are constant and standardized across geographically and temporally separated settings and accessible to anyone with the appropriate competencies. Thus *the gaze from the standpoint of discourse is impersonal and ubiquitous*. It is not only an internal reflection, but *a shared practice of reflection on others in the light of a common discursive standpoint*“ (ms).

The factually mediated knowledge of social case work provided Boothe a point of view from which to analyze other kinds of facts, orders and organizations of social work practice “objectively“. In the international relations of the professions, in which she acted both in her ordinary work and especially as the international expert of the profession, it was only part of the policy to inhibit the alternative terminologies and ideological schemes. As a true missionary of her own ideological practice, Helvi Boothe was unable to take into consideration the very early state of the Finnish expertise of everyday life in social welfare and the long history of local order in relief delivery, both of which set limits for the applicable conceptual practices. When she discusses welfare work she does not refer to welfare work as a discourse — she does not recognize it as such — but concentrates on criticizing the objectifying alternative, law, or legal practices in welfare work. Moreover, she was somewhat unable to grasp that there was a crucial difference in the social relations of the local Finnish administration, and the professional hierarchies of a psychiatric clinic in the United States, her home country. She seems to have believed (in harmony with the tenets of her discourse) that the conceptual practices of social work do not depend on the institution and local cultural context of the professional practices. However, it is more likely that she recognized the difference, but her conceptual practice did not allow her to make the decisive conclusions about the nature of the difference. Instead, she ends up rejecting completely the relevance that welfare work had in supporting the materially scarce Finnish everyday life of the 1950s.

Finally, in terms of international modernization and social case work, Boothe made an excellent contribution. However, her report produced a problem for the Ministry: the report did not accord with the wishes of the Ministry, or with the ideas the latter had been and was implementing in its policies of training welfare workers.

9.3 The interpretation of the struggle

9.3.1 The standpoint of the Ministry of Social Affairs

As already mentioned, after the war the Ministry of Social Affairs made efforts to reform its governmental system, its relations with municipalities and even with individual citizens. One of its aims was to build an effective system of governing through the welfare workers, home makers, and other professionals as its practical application (e.g. Rauhala 1993; Satka 1994a). At first, the managers of the Ministry tried to expand their responsibilities considerably e.g. by redefining the concept of social welfare, and by

taking several haphazard efforts without a thoughtful plan for the future (see Piirainen 1974, 299S300). In addition to the ongoing reforms, increasing international contacts made the civil servants of the Ministry aware of the new “techniques“ that were available.

Thus the Ministry, and particularly Lauri Tarvainen, invited many experts from social work, organized seminars like the one at Kiljava, coordinated the United Nations’ extensive exchange program of Technical Aid, and made an interesting experiment to apply social case work in a Finnish welfare agency. After the experiment the advocate wrote:

“There were particular difficulties to follow the principle of self-determination consistently. The authoritative attitude of the officials has a tradition...” (Tarvainen 1954b, 46).

In the social relations that welfare law created for the municipal welfare work, the American “democracy principle“ of social case work could not be implemented as such. Thus, in the local Finnish context, it could be replaced by an emphasis on the “democratic attitude“, which, according to Tarvainen, in practice meant “acceptive understanding“.

The enthusiasm of the Finnish Ministry of Social Affairs concerning social case work (and the modern international order in general) becomes very clear when compared with a Swedish case. In 1954, Marja Almqvist, a Swedish pioneer of social case work, wrote a thoughtful article about the difficulties which emerge when the “new values and scientific technique“ are applied to the system of Swedish local self-government (see Almqvist 1954), whereas Lauri Tarvainen (1954b) reports in the same book on the above-mentioned experiment of social case work in a social welfare agency. He describes how at the end of 1952 the Ministry agreed with a municipality of 20 000 inhabitants to place an American-trained, female Finnish social case worker in the office of social welfare to act as an ordinary welfare worker “with full freedom to follow the casework techniques and to deviate from the habitual routines of the agency when she thought the casework principles would require it“ (Tarvainen 1954b, 41S42). According to him, the result was encouraging: “...there is a need of casework services and there are no obstacles that cannot be overcome.“ (Tarvainen 1954b, 47). This experiment was never reported in Finnish; the above references are to an article published in English by the United Nations.⁸⁶

⁸⁶ However, in one of his Finnish articles Tarvainen (1954a) evidently makes references to the experiment.

The Ministry of Social Affairs was predominantly administered by the professionals of law who saw in the social case work a clear promise to increase the effectiveness of their own governing (cf. Komiteanmietintö 1949:7). Social case work was a modern expert technique, highly objectifying, like their own; however, contrary to their own profession, it was flexible enough to deal with the complexities of the changing everyday life and inner self. For the purposes of ruling, the techniques and textual practices of social case work seemed functional, and they also fitted into the hierarchical relations of the welfare bureaucracy (cf. Smith 1990b, 95) that the top lawyers were constructing. A female pool of professional experts at the grass-roots level provided the missing link in the plan to make the bureaucracy modern and more “receptive“ to people’s concerns.

Lauri Tarvainen makes an argument which supports this reasoning. He writes that social case work is important since it distinguishes helping from the old, agrarian forms of care and control. According to him, the authoritarian and moralistic tradition tended to judge the target person as belonging to the traditional society, while the challenge was to move to a new one. He regarded social case work as democratic and corresponding well to the modern ideal of equal citizenship. He also believed that the new social worker focusing on the client’s emotions would break the long tradition of volunteers in social welfare. (e.g. Tarvainen 1951).

Another aspect of the modern profession was that it was an ideological practice in itself. Chief officers of the Ministry like Tarvainen hardly saw what the consequences of the strong profession for the Ministry’s own power to control the social field. I believe that it was only the domestic dispute and Helvi Boothe’s report, as well as the Finnish comments on the report and the request the Secretary-in-Chief of the United Nations sent soon after Boothe’s visit to the Finnish Ministry of Social Affairs (see *Sosiaaliministeriön...* 1956), which must have made the leading civil servants at the Ministry fully aware of the power issues that an independent profession in its administrative territory involved. The expert required better working methods and professional independence for practicing social workers together with a radical reform of social work training. As there was also an enquiry from the United Nations immediately after the visit, it is my assumption that the civil servants realized that the social case worker was not only going to act in the administrative relations of the Ministry, but was primarily an agent of the international relations of ruling. The social case worker thus turned out to be a partner with his or her own professional ideology and interpretive scheme, which would require confessions and sacrifices in the prevailing institutional order and organization of the Ministry. This challenged the top governors to make the choice to either continue promoting professional social work, which according to the

report required changes in their own policies, or to continue on the old track. In the light of the policy of the late 1950s, it seems that the result was the rejection of the strong social work profession and the maintenance of the existing principles of governing. However, this was not a conscious decision by someone at the Ministry but rather a result of various reform efforts in the conflicting interests and social relations of the 1950s. (cf. Sosiaaliministeriön... 1956).

Thus, incidentally perhaps, it was Boothe's report and the other above-mentioned documents which called into question the institutionalized relations of ruling: at first, the control the Ministry implemented over social work education, and for the second, the system of management the Ministry implemented via the detailed administrative orders for the daily grassroots practices of welfare workers.

9.3.2 Piirainen's point of view

The relation of Veikko Piirainen to the social welfare bureaucracy was very different from that of the leading lawyers and chief civil servants of the Ministry. He was an insider of the actual practices, unlike most of the civil servants in the Ministry. He knew well the local circumstances in which social welfare work was practiced, and how it had been practiced, since he grew up in them, and acted later as a municipal manager of social welfare. After becoming a university lecturer he still associated himself strongly with practical welfare work. He took a leave of absence from his university post to work for some months in a municipality as a welfare worker⁸⁷ and kept in continuous contact with the male welfare managers. Thus, I have come to conclude that his viewpoint in the dispute over method and as a designer of welfare work (cf. Section 8.1.2.) was rooted in the social relations of the patriarchal local tradition of self-government. It was these relations of ruling which organized both his consciousness and texts. Therefore, he was sometimes very angry at social case work and workers. From the point of view of the laymen, this particular discourse was, of course, completely erroneous and misleading.

One of his most often mentioned irritations with social case work was that it considered itself a universally valid doctrine. Social case work believed that it was the best professional discourse to cultivate social work in any organization, in every culture and country (e.g. Huoltaja 1955, 627; cf. Boothe 1955; Tarvainen 1951). Actually, universality was a characteristic common to all modern objectifying discourses. "Objectified knowledge stands as a product of an institutional

⁸⁷ Risto Vilkkä, interview 5.2.1989.

order mediated by texts; what it knows can be known in no other way“... writes Smith (1990b, 80), and thus calls these practices ideological. Piirainen seems to be well aware of the circular nature of social case work when calling, for example, social case work experts “representatives of missionaries of foreign beliefs“, who only try to put into practice the North American ideology and ideals.⁸⁸ He writes that they have no evidence that their knowledge is relevant “here“ (Huoltaja 1955, 627) — that is, in the local Finnish relations of governing.

Second, he never accepted that social case work practice favored separating the case from its daily social relations for the professional meeting and treatment. The textbooks of social case work said that the professional meeting and interaction should take place in the agency context only because they require privacy (e.g. Tarvainen 1950b). According to Piirainen (e.g. Piirainen 1958c), this was ridiculous because in the rural communities the distances were long, and the means of transportation few and slow; it was necessary for the municipal welfare worker to make home visits in order to deliver welfare assistance and other benefits, and to have the laymen of the municipal board of social welfare, who lived in the local communities with the poor, as his or her assistants.

The third criticism that he repeated again and again had to do with the psychoanalytic view of human beings that social case work had adopted (e.g. Piirainen 1959; Piirainen 1974, 401). The primacy of affective and unconscious elements in human behavior was not in accordance with his own understanding of people and his knowledge of them. In his texts, Piirainen instead of considering relief receivers psychological misfits, sees them as normally functioning people, whose primary problem is either a lack of material or human resources, or who are, from the community’s point of view, in need of social control. To him, the need for assistance or control is always a complex mixture of social and individual factors whose analysis also requires personal knowing and practical wisdom. (e.g. Piirainen 1954, 25S27.) His opinion was that welfare work should never give up a holistic and cultural view and limit its scope to the facts of the psyche and other individual factors, as social case work did (e.g. Piirainen 1959, 228S229).

The rest of his arguments against social case work have to do either with the textual organizations that follow from applying the discourse to social work practice in meeting with people, or with the basic principles of its documentary practices.

According to him, the social case worker pays too much attention to the psychological worker-client interaction, and particularly to its technical performance (e.g. Piirainen 1958c, 4). He insists that therefore the client becomes a mere object of the professional measurers and treatment, and the meeting turns into a well-planned accomplishment of the facts of social case

⁸⁸ He was also convinced that social case work has connections to the Conservative Party and politics (Piirainen 1959, 228, 230). Some of my interviewees, too, expressed this argument.

work texts (Huoltaja 1955, 627S630). His own ideal is free and naturally flowing interaction. He recommends that the worker give space to people's own stories, in their own words, about their perception of life. In responding to them, the worker should prefer his or her similar experiences as a source of knowledge to theoretical knowledge. Furthermore, he or she should consciously identify with the person in the social situation which would enable the worker to refer to common experiences, since similar experiences make up the basis for open, mutual communication. (Piirainen 1954, 134S144).

His other interesting piece of advice for the professional interaction concerns communication with people who are going through emotionally difficult processes, like a family member's death. He says that in cases like this knowledge stemming from law or science — the "mere facts" — is not enough for the worker. Instead of relying on the objective facts and techniques, he says, the worker should in such a case preferably look for guidelines from religious myths like salvation. If, again, there is a common ground between the worker and the person in need of help. Rein & White (1981, 16S21) speak about this kind of acting in practice as something organized and legitimated by a kind of myth or story. The story serves the practitioner a function similar to that which theory serves in the natural sciences. The myth contains the value structure of the system anchoring the activity to values. Accordingly, Piirainen advised welfare workers not to ground their actions only on the facts of welfare work and the wisdom by experience, but on religion, intuition, and the experience of the moment (e.g. Huoltaja 1955, 628; Piirainen 1956).

His accusations against the documentary practices of social case work give more evidence for the above argument. He criticizes them mainly on two grounds: he is critical of the way in which case records are made and then used by the profession.⁸⁹ In the causerie described earlier, he expresses his anger at the way the social case worker interprets every single action of the other individual, his or her feeling of deepest sorrow, and interactive reactions like a smile according to the textbook, and writes the interpretation down in the case reports which are later recycled and read by various people. (Huoltaja 1955, 627S630). These arguments give the impression that he was aware of the crucial role of the case file in the objectifying practice of social case work.

In one of his texts, Piirainen says implicitly that he does not like the transliteration of people's life problems on paper, as the case report or notes begin to create a reality of their own which then becomes treated without the presence and permission of these people. Even more importantly, this takes place without any reference to the real life situation, to the subjective

⁸⁹ He seems to forget that welfare workers were making similar textual practices when they were applying welfare law, and defining people's status by the legal terms for the administrative processes of social welfare. What possibly explains this lapse of memory is that welfare work consisted mainly of knowledge for how to deal with people's everyday problems, which had earlier been dealt with common sense (cf. Helsingius 1899).

experience of the person or to the specific local circumstances. (e.g. Huoltaja 1955, 627S630). In poor relief work practiced by volunteers, the representatives of the local communities, this process was very different. The local, contextual knowledge and traditional concern for one's neighbors was present throughout the process. The professionally produced virtual reality of the documents did not emerge, and in the traditional local relations of ruling there was no need for such practice.

Clifford Geertz (1983, 73S93) discusses a similar orientation in life as something organized by the local culture and tradition. He calls this kind of reasoning common sense, that is, a relatively organized body of considered thought, although its inherent characteristic is to deny this, and rather to affirm that its tenets are immediate deliverances of experience and not deliberated reflections upon it. Geertz (1983, 76) writes:

“When we say someone shows common sense we mean to suggest more than that he is just using his eyes and ears, but is, as we say, keeping them open, using them judiciously, intelligently, perceptively, reflectively, or trying to, and that he is capable of coping with everyday problems in an everyday way with some effectiveness. And when we say he lacks common sense we mean not that he is retarded, that he fails to grasp the fact that rain wets or fire burns, but that he bungles the everyday problems life throws up for him...”

Common sense is historically constructed and therefore subjected to historically defined standards of judgment. It is a dimension of culture, which can be considered a cultural system, although it is not tightly integrated. Its content is heterogeneous and lacks logical structure. The authority of common sense is the world, “just life in a nutshell“, writes Geertz (1983,75). For him, common sense simply represents the world as a familiar world, within which everyone stands on his or her own feet. He considers it a symbol system, although not a well-articulated one, on which our everyday life depends. Moreover, like Veikko Piirainen, he regards common sense as a kind of wisdom, worthy of cultivation.

9.3.3 The dispute in the social relations of the 1950s

So far, I hope to have demonstrated that the dispute took place not only or primarily between the two training units as I was informed by the social workers interviewed, but

within the social welfare administration (cf. Huoltaja 1951b, 546S552), and particularly between those whom I could in the light of the previous chapters call traditionalists and modernists. Thus, two questions remain: Why did the ‘making of a happy society’ in the end lead to an exceptional and strong clash, to divisions lasting for decades⁹⁰, and to a delay in the development of professional social work? And how did it happen that the contemporary social workers today still believe that the dispute over method existed mainly between the two schools of social work and not e.g. in the social welfare administration?

In the 1950s there existed a considerable gap between the conceptual practices of the Ministry and local communities. They were still functioning in a different "textual time". The top management was organized by the textual discourse of law and central administration from at least the 1930s onwards, while the great majority of the municipal boards of social welfare operated by and large by the means of common sense, local knowledge and personal knowing of the poor. Correspondingly, in the “making of a happy society“ the representatives of both parties constructed a discourse which was in harmony with their consciousness and the social relations of their daily lives. Thus Veikko Piirainen and the welfare workers were building a “happy society“ from below, within the long tradition of poor relief, while in the central administration, the civil servant Lauri Tarvainen and his colleagues made the same reform effort from above, by recourse to modern professionalism. However, this alone does not explain the struggle that followed.

Furthermore, it seems as if the Ministry was not sufficiently aware either of the existing gap or of the invisible powers involved in it. The leading lawyers of the Ministry represented a new generation of state administrators for whom local self-government was a matter which needed to be changed. They were most willing to extend the modern professional order because it was a promise to increase their own governing power at the top of the hierarchy (cf. Piirainen 1974, 319).

Veikko Piirainen did not oppose the extending of governing as such. Instead, he saw that the modern social welfare professional would not fit into the local relations of social welfare which he considered still functional, and that they would not work without radical changes in such things as local transportation, the number of trained workers, and

⁹⁰ The influence of the dispute lasted at least until the early 1970s. When I started my welfare worker’s education under the leadership of Veikko Piirainen in 1973, we were not taught social case work. However, Liisa Hakola told me that in the same year Piirainen invited her to give a social case work course for us but she did not accept the offer. S To me this is a clear sign that by then the contradiction in the social relations of agrarian patriarchy and modern professionalism had diminished and the modern order was invading the last bastions of the local patriarchy.

financing. Informed by his experience, he was assured that the new experts of social case work would drift into conflict first with the poor, as a result of only meeting them in their offices and mainly dealing with the emotional side of the problem; and, second, with laymen, who would lose the function that they had had for about one hundred years; and, thirdly, with the municipal administrators who would need to establish not just one, but several social workers' posts and agencies in rural municipalities. Therefore, he advocated welfare work and the welfare worker for a society where agrarian communality and organization (i.e. premodern local relations of ruling) prevailed.

This argument makes understandable both his strict resistance to social case work and his efforts to detach welfare work from the objectified forms of knowledge, such as law, although welfare workers were implementing it when possible. It also helps to explain why he preferred as an alternative a culturally contextual approach to people and why he emphasized the incorporation into the intervention process of their lives and subjective meanings, an aspect that had been largely ignored by social case work.⁹¹ Piirainen calls for greater empathy and identification with the dependant, putting oneself in his or her position. In another article he provokes those responsible for welfare work to ask themselves "Who am I?" and to take the point of view of a fellow individual who is responsible for helping a suffering neighbor (Piirainen 1958b, 231S233).

However, what has been said above does not yet explain why he was often emotionally attached (like some of the pioneers whom I interviewed) and used indirect and hidden means in presenting his arguments. My assumption is that in the objectifying knowledge of social case work, or perhaps rather in the organization of the practices that followed, there was something too radical from the point of view of the local tradition and patriarchal relations of ruling.

First, the modern social order of social case work would have meant a collapse of the local patriarchal social relations. In the conceptual practice of social case work, no such category as laymen existed; in its interpretive scheme there really was no place to apply the kind of local knowing the laymen represented. Second, from the point of view of municipal welfare managers (95% of them were men in 1938), it would have meant a dangerous transformation of power to women, since over ninety percent of those knowledgeable in social case work were women.

⁹¹ As a sign of this, the curriculum of welfare work included in the mid-1950s some literary textbooks which were well-known as texts which reflect Finnish identity and common experiences. Through them, in addition to their experiences of practice, the future welfare workers were led to take into consideration local and cultural differences between social classes and various parts of the country.

Thus, the conclusion of my previous discussion about the ‘dispute over method’ is the following: it was a conflict in the Finnish social welfare administration between people, traditionalist’ and modernists acting in two very different social relations. The differences in their professional consciousness and knowledge were produced by their different social relations in the 1950s. The dispute was the result of the reaction of the old local order against modern, international form of professionalism whose reorganizing power was not limited to administration, but was expanding into the most traditional area of the local self-government, into the independent local grassroots practices which were one of the last bastions and symbolic realms of the old order.

The above interpretation is interesting but does not help to explain the shared and different understanding of the dispute by my informants who were personally involved in the ‘dispute over method’⁹². The rapid emergence of the discourse of social case work at the level of grassroots practice was an unexpected and sudden event from the viewpoint of the local practitioners. Therefore, the new phenomenon was organized in a coherent relation to the objectives, interests and relevance structures of the institution according to the existing interpretive scheme (cf. Smith 1988, 155S177; Smith 1990b, 141S173), represented by Veikko Piirainen. The emerging break between the top and the local administration was too dangerous, that is, it was going too deep into the patriarchal foundations of the institution. Also Piirainen’s personal standpoint as an experienced practitioner was threatened. Therefore, he regarded it as his responsibility to protect the ideological maneuvers needed to maintain the prevailing organization of social welfare. Acting in them necessitated an interpretation of the dispute and its participants which did not threaten the ideological scheme of the institution.

Because he was a member of the patriarchal network, Piirainen was able to defend effectively his point of view. During the struggle he became the speaker for the whole body of men representing the traditional form of governing who also very much supported him. In addition, he was in a position in which it was relatively easy for him to control what was published, what seminars were organized, who was invited and to whom research grants were given. As an actor in these social relations, Piirainen understandably decided not to blame publicly the Ministry of Social Affairs or Lauri Tarvainen for importing the wrong ideology. On the contrary, he directed his criticism to his female colleagues who were outsiders in the masculine relations of power.

⁹² Because the textual documents of the event are so few, my evidence needs to be drawn mainly from the interview data, and particularly from the contrast between how people active in the two different professional worlds interpreted the dispute.

Consequently, Piirainen (together with his male colleagues) came to genderize the dispute not by blaming publicly the men of the social welfare administration but only the female advocates of social case work, Mervi Ahla, Liisa Hakola, and Helvi Boothe. Actually, he made an ideological move that was in accordance with the gender relations of the 1950s, when it was common to blame women for being bad mothers and wives — *mutatis mutandis*, they were also bad teachers. What is recognized as false knowledge is never independent of the apparatuses of power (cf. Smith 1990b, 101S103). In fact, the ideological move of the traditionalists saved the old institutional order and the ideological scheme originally established by the Finnish Poor Law; in particular, it revitalized the norm of the distinctive separation of men and women and the associated hierarchical power relations.

10 Discussion

The evidently unsolvable contradictions between ‘theory’ and ‘practice’ in social work was one of the issues that I had in mind when planning this study. My interest was a consequence of a never-ending struggle which had been going on in the everyday practices of myself, my colleagues, and my students. Some of us were constantly looking for a better theoretical or methodological approach or method for practice that was going to solve the dilemma; that was going to be theoretically clear and wise and useful for practice. Most of us, however, believed that good practice begins with theory, and its relation to practice was not an issue for scholars but for practitioners.

This study analyzes for the first time how the self-understanding of Finnish social work developed into a textually coordinated one, and how it developed in accordance with the evolving relations of ruling. In the light of the study, the emerging self-understanding meant, among other things, excluding both poor people’s and their helpers’ knowledge and subjective experiences as a routine practice. It became imperative for the practitioners to derive the characteristics of volunteers’ social intervention and later professional social work from the discursive standpoint of the time. Consequently, the field needed no longer be concerned about how the everyday practical activities of social workers were related to what in the textual world was meant by social work. The result was that the epistemological boundaries of the professional reality became limited to the discourse; the professional consciousness of social workers (like that of other professionals) became a textually mediated subject in its own right. This trend, of course, was not a particularly Finnish feature, but rather a consequence of the internationally standardizing professional discourses (e.g. de Montigny 1989, 69S73) that were effectively and purposefully spread as part of the universal project of modernization, that is, individualization, standardization, and normalization. In the middle of the 1990s, when many agree that the modern project has come close to its end, the question is growing in importance: How do the scholars and practitioners of social work deal with this fundamental split of their discipline?

10.1 The story of making social citizenship

The main title of this study is misleading if it implies that it has been the social intervention, from volunteers’ poor relief to professional social work, that has guaranteed the obedience and morality of the Finns. The truth is that as soon as these practices are

located in the particular social relations of the prevailing time, they reveal themselves as only one effort in the much wider projects which took place in the developing Finnish relations of ruling. Thus, the texts from the Finnish Poor Law to the textbooks of social case work are far from independent determinants in the development. In fact, there were many other texts contributing to the same ends, for example, the texts of public health and education, and criminal law. Nevertheless, what this study discovers about the processes where the shaping of the poorest Finns' citizenship qualities took place, is something that has not been discussed before. In the light of the results it has been the state, especially the dynamic of its formation and legitimation, which acted as the *primus motor* in the developments studied. Over the eighty years covered by this study, there emerged three macro projects in which the activities of the state were mixed with the struggles between social classes and the struggles over the prevailing gender order.

According to the interpretation of this study, the first far-reaching project was *the making of the Finnish nation and its citizens*. This project involved Finnish people from the highest elite to the rural masses either as discursive designers, educators, or mediators or targets of the education. The educated elite saw themselves as particularly responsible for the education aiming to turn the ignorant masses into decent state citizens according to the national ideals put together by philosopher J.V. Snellman for Finnish home, men, women and children. Civil activists considering themselves morally responsible as well as the civil servants made poor relief an instrument of these ideals; poor relief actually had its special responsibilities in implementing the project.

In the international perspective, the close relations between the elite, the state and people needs some explanation. Finnish historians have connected the common concern of people's moral wellbeing to the developments in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, when the Lutheran cultural homogeneity dominated the Scandinavian countries. State and church were complimentary to each other; even the Reformation was a project from above promoted by the state. Furthermore, the norms and laws created by the state were combatible with the norms and laws of the Lutheran church. Thus, the moral code and law had a shared origin and were primarily implemented by local priests. Social control, for example, was understood as a communal matter to which everyone was expected to contribute. One of the social consequences was obedience to law among the Finns.

Another underlying Finnish peculiarity is the almost untouchable status of jurisprudence and lawyers in state administration and in the Finnish relations of ruling in general. It was a result of the events following the administrative reorganizations by the Russian Tsar in the early nineteenth century. The Tsar bought the loyalty of the Finnish aristocracy — and the loyalty of masses at the same time — by appointing them as

leading civil servants of the Grand Duchy. An effort to solve the early inefficiency of the established administration was making a university degree in law a requirement for civil servants, which soon gave to jurisprudence and lawyers a privileged status in the state. The result was an elite extremely loyal to the state, considering state administration as its bastion; the educated elite outside the state was small, and whenever a social question emerged requiring intellectual contribution, it was natural for the intelligentsia to share the viewpoint of the state.

The second project followed the declaration of independence together with the Finnish Civil War which divided the young nation into winners and losers following the division of the working class and the bourgeois. The war left thousands of dependent working-class children and mothers; thus the project was formulated in terms of *national integration and prevention of further upheavals and deviant behavior*. However, from the point of view of the relations of ruling, it was a question of legitimating the vague state, establishing its government on a firm basis; in other words, incorporating the politically sensitive class relations under the expanding state control. Owing to the awkward result of the civil war, proper family morality emerged as a means to secure the legitimacy of the state. This was also the reason why the control of the widows and the socialization of their children could not be left in the hands of municipalities under state control, but civil servants were forced to build a system of straight surveillance for these people. Therefore, it was the Finnish state and state administrators, rather than civil activists or the church, who became the self-evident implementors of governing. However, it would be misleading to say that the project was solely in their hands; the Finnish intelligentsia also participated in it, but typically their standpoint was hardly distinguishable from that of civil servants. The same is true of civil associations, of which some grew extremely powerful e.g. in child welfare and maternal care by acting in close cooperation with the corresponding apparatuses of the state (see e.g. Simonen 1990).

In the third project the development of the relations of ruling was equally state driven as before. During the Second World War the state extended its interests to the private life of its citizens in the name of modern defence policy. The discovery of *governing people through standards and norms for everyday life* indirectly also helped to complete some of the aims of the previous projects. In implementing normalization, regulation and standardization of the Finnish family life the municipal administration became an executor of decisions made by state administration, like the delivery of social benefits. At the same time this was an effectively standardizing intervention in the municipal governing which still tended to rely on the patriarchal tradition of self-government.

10.2 About gender in the Finnish relations of ruling

The displacement of localized, patriarchal community forms of organization by the extending relations of ruling caused tension throughout the period studied. The case studies reveal two periods when resistance, open or hidden, was considerable. The first struggle was between municipal laymen and the Chief Inspector of Poor Law, and the second took place during the breakthrough of the social work profession in the 1950s. Was there anything similar in their social dynamics? In both events it was common that the prevailing relations of ruling were under a decisive change; the local organization was crumbled either by expanding national government or by expanding international professionalism. Both developments were reactions of the same group: men acting in the local relations organized by the traditional principle of self-governing and local networks; men who felt that their power position, which they had considered inviolable, was threatened. That the latter aspect was kept largely hidden, unlike the first, leads one to ask why. Was it because inherent in it was the always sensitive question of changing the prevailing gender order which dated back to the previous centuries and patriarchal forms of governing? Women's independent activity (that is, activity without men's immediate control) in the municipal administration was a topic that was never publicly addressed. The first struggle was solved by expanding the domain of women's calling from home to society, whereas in the second case a similar extension was no more possible and the problem was still too difficult to address in its own terms. The consequence was a hidden dispute which divided the new profession for decades preventing the development of municipal welfare work.

In the case studies presented, poor relief, social welfare, and social work reveal themselves as mediators of the conceptual practices integral in the macro projects to the local settings, to the lives of those who lived in poverty or whose family did not function well. No wonder, then, that the institutions implementing the new policy became themselves organized by the same principles of relevance. The case studies offer many examples; they disclose how the ideological scheme of poor relief and social welfare were coordinated by the national ideals of home and female or male citizen, and, on the one hand, how they participated in the making of the ideals. Many of the results speak more about gender as an organizing principle of the prevailing relations of ruling than as a mere principle of organizing one particular institution and the functioning of its employees. However, it remains a task of future studies to discover and piece together an overall picture of gender in the history of the Finnish relations of ruling. Since gender is still a largely unrecognized structural element in the institutional relations of people and

power even in Finnish social welfare, my observations of gender both as an organizing principle of institutions and professions and as a coordinating category of actual practices are worth of a few additional comments.

Neither the presence of the poor nor the experience of women was in accordance with the developing mode of communication and power in the relations of ruling. Separating subjects from the forums of governing started in poor relief by bringing into use forms and booklets which translated the poor's need and living conditions into textual form. Actually, the reform introduced the first primitive means of textual control and reorganized the relations between the subjects and the laymen holding the power to make decisions. Thus, the institution divided into two spheres. From then on, working with the poor and dependants was characterized by feminine attributes, and it became women's role to mediate between the developing procedures and those who lived in poverty, while men's role involved knowledge production as part of the practices of ruling. However, due to the logic of gender order, the result was more complicated. Women were excluded from organizing work, but men were not excluded from personal volunteering. So, from the first steps of the nationally coordinated poor relief system, there was established a gendered hierarchy and a complementary separation of tasks accentuating the hierarchy.

The importance of women's grassroots work with poor families was considerably emphasized by the national integration project which followed the Civil War. In addition, the same processes brought family ethic besides work ethic as the other essential pole of the ideological scheme of poor relief. Thus, the rapidly extending control of the home education for working class families also opened up a potential margin for women to step among the leading innovators of poor relief texts. However, in the light of this study, women remained mediators of conceptual practices designed by men.

The emergence of social work profession as a consequence of the international modernization did not transform the already well-established gender dynamics. That women finally made an entry among the conceptual practitioners analyzed in this study meant neither that they introduced women's experience nor the knowledge of clients into the conceptual world of social work. These women acted again only as mediators; this time their share was to mediate between the international professionalism, its relations of ruling and the transformation of everyday life. A routine feature of the modern professional form and the related conceptual practices came to be the exclusion of the knowledge of acting subjects. This development, characteristic of the prevailing international relations of ruling, happened independently of the particular cultural or institutional contexts (e.g. Smith 1988, 211S214).

10.3 The magic of texts in the relations of ruling

Finally, something needs to be said about what I have gained and perhaps lost in analyzing texts as mediators in the relations of ruling in my attempt to find out what Finnish social work was made of. The materialist method took me in the middle of people and the social relations of their daily lives in history. There I became familiar with many other conceptual practitioners than the ones who are introduced in my study. I am painfully aware of having passed by the contributions that many women in Finnish poor relief and social work made, especially as it was my original intention to make their contributions visible. In the various phases of research I struggled hard to identify them and to write about their activities. Unfortunately, they had been writing much less than their male colleagues. Thus, their proper inclusion would have required a lot of further work in various archives, and this definitely exceeded my resources. I had simply not been aware of how much work the realization of my plan would require. However, my intention is to publish separate articles about what I have put together concerning the so far invisible contributions of women activists in the Finnish social case intervention.

Thus, by analyzing the published texts of the Finnish pioneers of social case intervention I have ended up with a predominantly male gallery of pioneers. In fact, the result accords with the gender order Snellman designed for the Finns. In it, writing administrative or discursive texts for someone else's practice was part of the activities of the public sphere reserved for men only. Access there was in many ways prevented from women; consequently, many of the woman pioneers I interviewed told me that they really felt that they were no writers. In my view, the feeling that writing was not their business had to do not only with the obstacles that existed but also with the distance between their daily experience and practice, and the form that writing and publishing required in the prevailing relations of ruling. It might be added that the displacement of women's work and knowledge from the focus of my study only manifests the same process that displaces women as actors in the relations of ruling in general.

An analysis of texts as conceptual practices in the relations of ruling reveals how the often invisible and mystified understanding of ruling or governing materializes itself in the everyday life of people through the mediation of various texts. The everyday practices of social work are no exception from the rule. For example, Leena Eräsaari (1995) recognizes in her ethnographic study of Finnish street-level bureaucracies, including social work, the importance of documents for their functioning. Thus, showing how the textual organizing worked in the history of social work unavoidably takes to many core issues of social work. Actually, the essence of today's social work has plenty of

similarities with those of the modern professionalism of the 1950s. For example, it seems to me that the nucleus of social work still revolves around the textually controlled moves from actual world to discursive world and the crucial professional skill is keeping them apart.

After discovering and making visible to myself how social work really is an activity affected by the relations of ruling, I am convinced that the conceptual practices of social work do not consist of two crucially different elements of theory and practice but rather form a continuum with two poles. This standpoint explodes a good deal of the contemporary theorizing about social work and raises the question about its theorizing in general. The method of analyzing conceptual practices worked well in this study, but I am aware that this is only one effort to overcome the epistemological split that has for a long time disturbed me and many other researchers in the field.

Another problem that I was already years ago hoping to ease by means of this study was my daily struggles as a social work lecturer: how to make sense of the complex and multidimensional nature of social work; how to combine in the actual practices of teaching the various discourses that are necessary in the academic world (for conceptualizing real-life events properly) with the discourses of social work and with students' personal experiences from practice. Furthermore, I wanted my students to become social workers who are able to adopt alternative standpoints and interpretations in order to empower those whom they are supposed to serve. During the study process my self-understanding as a teacher and researcher in social work has gone through a transformation. The more I have become able to see my everyday practices as taking place in the relations of ruling, the more problematic my responsibilities have appeared. It seems that against all my wishes I cannot avoid being a mediator of proper factual reading and writing to my students. I can emphasize respect for one's own experience of practice and base my educational strategies on models which problematize what everybody takes for granted, but I do not feel that I have solved the problem. I find myself facing the same questions I started with, only more aware of the nature of the struggle that must go on.

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Appendix 1

List of interviewees:

Mervi Ahla, lecturer in social work 2.7.1986
Mirja Aukee, social worker 7.4.1989
Marjatta Eskola, lecturer in social work 6.6.1986, and 20.2.1989
Kristina Fagersrtöm, social worker 24.4.1989
Liisa Hakola, lecturer in social work 7.2.1989
Kaarlo Helasvuo, manager in criminal policy 6.4.1989
Aino Hänninen, social worker 10.2.1989
Irma Kastari, lecturer in welfare work 8.8.1986
Kalervo Kinanen, professor in social work 4.6.1986
Sirkka Laaksovirta, manager in social work 6.4.1989
Helmi Mäki, administrator in social work 17.6.1986, and 10.2.1989, and 24.2.1989
Veikko Niemi, manager in rehabilitation 3.7.1986, and 12.12.1986, and 26.1.1993
Armas Nieminen, professor in social policy 7.2.1985, and 3.7.1986
Leo Paukkunen, professor in social policy 5.6.1986
Kerttu Piirainen, lecturer in welfare work 11.6.1986
Aulis Pirinen, director of social welfare 23.5.1989
Elina Rautanen, manager in social work 20.4.1989
Reino Rissanen, administrator in social welfare 9.7.1986
Eeva Salo, administrator of social welfare 3.5.1989
Reino Sarvola, administrator of social welfare 24.7.1990
Anja Sinisalo, social worker 3.8.1986
Osmo Toivola, director of social welfare 17.3.1989, and 14.4.1989
Jaakko Tuomi, director of social welfare and health care 19.5.1989
Heikki Waris, professor in social policy 11.6.1986
Risto Vilka, director of social welfare 5.2.1989
The first generation of hospital social workers (6 people) 29.11.1988