WHY THE STATE? REFLECTIONS ON THE POLITICS OF THE FINNISH EQUALITY MOVEMENT ASSOCIATION 9

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INTRODUCTION

Why the state? Why have the state and state equality policy in Finland as well as in other Nordic countries attained such a central position in the realisation of sex equality and of women's demands for autonomy and a better life? Why is women's separate collective action in Finland labelled as a marginal, often also in some ways deficient way of carrying out ideals and putting them into practice? Why - surprisingly - does even the Finnish feminist movement so often resort to the state as the final defender of women's goals, in spite of the criticism directed against it?

The state has been, through state equality policies, appointed a special conciliator and mediator of sexual conflict. The Finnish state equality policy was established in 1972, when the Council for Equality between Men and Women (TANE) was set up as a standing committee under Prime Minister's Office (from 1986 onwards under the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health). Its tasks were to carry out research upon the status of the sexes in society and to suggest and prepare reforms thereof. TANE was preceded 1966-70 by the Committee on the Status of Women, which in its final report stressed the need for a permanent state organ for questions of sex equality. The ideologies of both TANE and the Committee were strongly influenced by the students' and academics' equality movement Association 9. This movement can be considered the initiator of one phase in Finnish equality politics, a phase that has not been completely lived through.

Tuija Parvikko (in this volume) suggests that the Finnish women's state orientation has its roots in the fact that the antiauthoritarianism and direct action of the 1960's did not get a strong foothold in Finland. To be noted here is that she, too, sees the roots of Finnish equality politics and thought in the development of the 60's. In other parts of Europe as well as in the Unites States the radical student movements of the 60's were characterised by 'interference' tactics towards the 'establishment' and the values represented by it. Although the Finnish student movement did adopt some of these tactics for direct action, it did it so feebly and moderately compared to Europe and the U.S. The height

of direct action for the Finnish student radicalism was the Squatting of Old Student House in Helsinki in 1968, the radicalism of which has often been questioned with an ironical remark that taking charge of the students' own property was not much of a squatting.

So why the new strategies of the 1960's did not get stronger support? Why was the support of women, as well as that of the Finnish Sixties Movements in general, channeled into the state apparatus and its policies? What were the consequences of this? I will elaborate some tentative answers to these questions *by examining relations between state, society and politics in Finland, and the significance of these on women's trust in the excellence of state action.* The answers offered are incomplete, but they will, I believe, bring some light on the reasons for the dependence women seem to have on the Finnish welfare state and its ideology.

Chronologically and thematically, the study is limited to the 60's and to Association 9.[1] I think that there are good enough grounds to do so. The 'women, men and children's movement' Association 9, effective 1966-70, was the arena that produced the idea of permanent state organ for sex equality, and subsequently pleaded for it in public until it succeeded. In its ideology, Association 9 to a great extent established the demands, goals and means that were transferred to be the locus of state equality policy a few years later. What is more important is the fact that Association 9 set the fundamental theses that can be seen regulating the Finnish discussion on equality even twenty years after. In fact, this is why I concentrated on Association 9 in the first place: the echoes of its ideology and rhetorics, even its actual phrases and slogans, permeating much of the discussion on equality, feminism and women's rights today.

In tackling the central question of the study, I shall concentrate on discussing *the politics and the concept of politics of Association 9.* By politics I here refer both to the action of the movement and to the ideology that accounted for the forms of action that the pursuit of the central object, equality between the sexes, demanded. (Palonen 1979, 36-37) The concept of politics, on the other hand, is defined as the definition of 'politics' by Association 9, or as the answer to the question 'What is politics?' (Palonen 1979, 34) A study into the relations between politics and the concept of politics gives insight into the character and preferences of the 'equality politics' of Association 9.

This may seem a far-fetched way of going about it. Initially, this approach was adopted in order to question the essentialist view on 'politics' and to gain distance from it by assuming a broader and more nominalistic view on 'politics' as an ideological construct as such. During the study, however, the intertwinement of the concept of politics and the dichotomisation of state and society became all clearer. A study in the politics and the concept of politics of Association 9 inevitably seemed to lead to questions of *the characteristics of state and society and the choice between the two.* This is the reason for starting where I did. Another, less esoteric and maybe less interesting legitimatisation

for this approach is the argument that a broader analysis of Association 9 places its conceptualisation of the state in a wider ideological framework, giving it new insights on the scope and dimensions of the 'statism' adopted.

TOWARDS A SYNCHRONIC STUDY OF POLITICS: ASSOCIATION 9 IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDENT RADICALISM OF THE 60'S

At the initial stage, an investigation into the politics of Association 9 leads us to the question of contextualisation. Do we look at the issue, firstly, in the diachronic or synchronic context, and, secondly, in the continuum/dispersion of women's movements or the socio-political context of the day?

Association 9 has been classified as the second wave of Finnish feminism (Jallinoja 1983). The first wave, 1884-1908, lost its momentum after the realisation of women's suffrage in 1906. There followed a relatively quiet period (cf. however Sulkunen 1978), which was broken by the establishment of Association 9. By no means the only women's movement in the 1960's, Association 9 was nevertheless the only one to acquire new members in significant numbers and to present a new ideology on the position of the sexes. The third wave of new thinking on women by women started in 1973 with the rise of a few consciousness-raising groups and strengthened a few years later as a younger generation of women took possession of one of the old suffrage movements, Naisasialiitto Unioni, as their power-base.

A diachronic study of this kind, although fruitful in explaining the historical changes in women's movements, will not give more than the mere outlines for understanding the politics of them. We cannot see the relevancy in their choices for action and ideology, unless we look closer into the choices available to them. Judith Sabrosky has shown that the ideologies of women's emancipation have historically always been attached to an ideological current of the time, extending it to women. Wollstonecraft did this to the rationalist thought of Enlightenment, John Stuart and Harriet Taylor Mill to liberalism and de Beauvoir to existentialism. The question of women's emancipation is thus more a question of time and place than of historical continuity. (Sabrosky 1977, cf. Carden 1974, 153) Accepting this leads us towards a synchronic study of the politics of Association 9.

However, the choice of seeking explanations from more famous examples of second-wave feminism or from the Finnish social context of the 1960's remains. The stumbling-block for the former is the relative 'Finnishness' of Association 9.The movement came into existence before the actual second wave of feminism elsewhere in the world, and thus its birth was a relatively separate phenomenon from more famous examples of women's mobilisation. The foreign influences acquired did not, for the most part, come from the Anglo-Saxon discussion on women's position, but from the Scandinavian woman research that was revived in the 1950's. The dominant Parsonsian role sociology found its critics in e.g. Harriet Holter, Eva Moberg and Elina Haavio-Mannila, who

questioned the Parsonsian way of legitimating sex roles as functional for the performance of society. The changing society, they argued, had made functional sex roles dysfunctional; in the contemporary society there was no need to divide tasks by sex. The Scandinavian critique on sex roles had a significant impact on Finnish students and, later, on the theses and concepts of Association 9.

As to the upsurge of the second wave of feminism all over the Western countries in the second half of the Sixties, Association 9 did follow the developments avidly, though this left few traces on its ideology. When the movement compared the ideas of others to its own already established ideology, it felt the others often sadly lacking: for instance, the idea of women's separate action that got foothold in women's groups elsewhere was found to be 'reactionary'. The women's movement that Association 9 took closest to its bosom was, not surprisingly, Betty Friedan's National Organization for Women (NOW), the ideas of which more or less resembled those of Association 9. [2]

Association 9 thrived 1966-68 and thus before the upsurge of both second and third wave of feminist thought and action elsewhere. At the same time as the feminist movement was on the rise elsewhere, and, for example, in the United States women rallied powerfully for a women's strike in the autumn of 1970 and thus got new incentives and strength for action, the Finnish Association 9 ceased its activities.

These examples suffice to show that the primary, though not only, context for the politics of Association 9 was not the international second wave of feminism, but rather the Finnish student radicalism and the social situation that initiated its reform attempts.

Compared with other European countries, Finland remained relatively long an agricultural society. After the Second World War and especially during the 60's a rapid modernisation took place. The transformation of economy, the growing urbanisation and the technological advances challenged the Finnish society to elaborate new schemes to rescue and reconstruct the crumbling social order. To supply these new answers, the so called 'single issue movements' came into existence in order to secure and to promote the rising welfare state.

The 'single issue movements' are regarded as the first wave of Finnish student radicalism. The first of these to appear in 1963 was the Committee of the Hundred (Sadankomitea), whose goal was to aid international peace and nuclear disarmament and, more specifically in the Finnish context, to facilitate an alternative service to the military one (see Hallman 1986). Association 9 (Yhdistys 9) was the next in turn in 1966 campaigning for the change in sexual division of labour and for the abolishment of sex roles. The November Movement (Marraskuun liike, 1967) wanted to assert the human rights of 'deviant individuals', i.e. alcoholics, prisoners, mental patients and other outcasts of society. 'The Majority' (Enemmistö ry, 1968) promoted pedestrian and cyclist rights against car users and pleaded for the expansion of public transport. The

'Sexpo', the sexual politics movement founded on the initiative of Association 9 in 1969, had the need for public sexual education at heart.

The single issue movements reigned the arena of Finnish student radicalism until 1968, the year of the Squatting of Old Student House and the strengthening of Against Vietnam Movement. At the end of the decade the 'single issues' lost significance to Leftist tendencies. The Finnish radicals, unlike most Western Europe students, did not turn to New Left ideologies but made an alliance with the existing Finnish Social Democratic and Communist parties. Especially the growth of the Stalinist fraction within the latter party in the 1970's was considerable. The representatives of educated upper classes for the first time in Finnish history encountered Marxism and, subsequently, became enchanted by it. Admittedly, this happened only after they had been assured by Erik Allardt's solidarity theory that Communists are not really dangerous. (Alapuro 1976)

The common denominators of the single issue movements were their recruitment base at Helsinki University and their similar ideological core regardless of the specific issues adopted. Each of the movements attended to a distinctly defined social problem, the resolving of which was to be managed within the existing political system - this was true at least before the Marxisation of the movements during the last years of the 1960's. They aimed at a 'rationalisation' of society with the help of social research. Their own role in this rationalisation was one of a nonparlamentary pressure group, who strived for the goal with education, enlightenment and information as well as with 'direct action': statements, reports and questions directed at decision-makers and officials, and, more and more as the Swinging Sixties went on, protests and picketing, which were adopted as new forms of 'direct action'.

The starting-point for the single issue movement ideologies was the slogan of the French Revolution: liberty, equality and fraternity. The stress was on justice and on the human right of self-realisation. Although essentially contradictory to these liberalist and individualist ideas, the functionality of policies and reforms and the interests of the organic 'whole' were simultaneously emphasised. Thus, the self-image of the single issue movements depended on the idea that they were fundamentally different from interest groups (labour unions and such), who were seen to induce rewards solely for their members; the accomplishment of the purposes of the single issue movements would benefit all and sundry alike, and society as a whole.

In contrast to the authoritative and uniform society of the 1950's, the process of modernisation was now seen to proceed by increasing the rights and liberties of individuals. The individual's right to self-fulfilment meant that no one would have to go against his convictions by being a part of the military machinery (the Committee of the Hundred) or by dedication to child care against her wish or inclinations and preferences for business-management (Association 9). The unreversable human rights of the groups that were 'closed out' - among others, skid row men, people in institutions and women - should be acknowledged and

the evils in their treatment abolished in order to integrate these social groups into the building of Finnish society.

This short outline of the Finnish student radicalism of the 60's is the framework in which the ideas and views of Association 9 will be examined. Here, the laconic conclusion could easily be that Association 9 did not, by action any more than ideology, make an exception amongst the single issue movements or the organisations of the time in general. The exception not to be left unconsidered, though, is the fact that *Association 9 extended the ideological currents represented by these explicitly to women.* The vital question is what forms these currents in this process acquired and what they came to mean to women's action both at the time and later on.

A SHORT HISTORY OF ASSOCIATION 9

What, then, was the new ideology concerning the position of the sexes developed by Association 9? How did it go about in realising its aspirations? In the historical development of the movement, we can distinguish three periods, according to forms of activity and ideological change. The initial 'research' stage of 1966-67 gave way to a 'direct action' stage in 1968. From 1969 to 1970 activities little by little faded, as ideology as well as the activists moved on towards the Left.

The count-down to a new women's organisation began when, in the autumn of 1965, one of the later Association 9 activists Kati Peltola started to gather like-minded people in order to found 'a women's bragging club' (Jallinoja 1983, 129) to fight against the limits on women and men's lives. This was directly motivated by the young female students' pique at the practice that denied them access to licensed restaurants without male escort. Group 9, made up of six women and three men, was to look into the possibilities of founding an sex role organisation, which was realised in February next year.

The object of Association 9 was to 'change the existing social division of sex roles [3] and of labour to be more just and more functional'. [4]Justness was defined as the opportunity to self-fulfilment in all spheres of life, regardless of sex, functionality, on the other hand, as the efficient deployment of individual resources in the service of society. Equality between men and women came to mean equal rights, opportunities and obligations in everything. Women were seen to be closed out from the public sphere, from wage work and political participation, as men were outside the private, women's sphere, with no rights to child care and home-making.

The problem was that an individual was attached to one of these spheres only, whereas a happy and balanced life would require a combination of these, a double role for both sexes. The equal distribution of the spheres did not, however, become fully carried out either for women or men in the ideology of Association 9. The obligation to military service, limited to males, was not, in spite of the principle of equal obligations, extended to women. On the contrary,

the right not to enter the military service was demanded to be the right of men as well as women. This viewpoint reflected the pacifist opinions of the Committee of the Hundred, a close ideological associate of Association 9, which was looking for alternatives to military service. Additionally, the equalising of obligations faltered when it came to the obligation that formerly was thought to be solely women's duty: household chores. A shared responsibility for these was given to men, but only provisionally; the final solution to the inefficient and unproductive household tasks was seen to be in the rationalisation of households with collective services or with the means offered by market economy.

The central solution offered to women's relatively weak social position was an increase of wage work, especially for married women (see also Jallinoja 1983, 153-155). The rationalisation of household tasks was the the threshold to wage labour. An important part of the rationalisation of households consisted of the collectivisation of child care. As looking after children was the task that kept women tied to homes, the road to wage work was paved with a solution to child care, that is, municipal day care centres and the spouses' mutual responsibility for children.

The aspiration towards a just society, expressed in the founding principles of the movement, stressed the self-fulfilment of individuals, men and women, regardless of sex or sex-based role expectations. According to the best traditions of liberalism, men and women were not thought to differ mentally in essence, although women had historically had fewer possibilities of realising their human potential because of cultural repression. Partly, the significance of the physical differences between the sexes was denied, too. There was no essential difference between the sexes in, for instance, physical strength; the variation within the sex category, between individuals, was seen as far more important. As outdated role thinking would disappear, both sexes would realise their human potential equally: a woman would fulfil herself in wage work and express her sexuality in the way she wanted; a man could partake in the closeness and warmth of child care as well as the other 'soft values' brought about by liberation from the male sex role.

Association 9 organised as a legally registered association, the decision making body of which was a board made up of nine members, who were elected yearly in the members' assembly. The number of members as early as the founding year was 250, growing by 1970 up to about 800. These figures do not sound very reassuring until we compare them to what happened in the United States at the same time: in a country with a population fifty times that of Finland, NOW had a membership of about a thousand in 1967, growing vigorously to 13000 by 1974. Association 9 was chiefly favoured by those students of Helsinki University who were active in the other student movements as well. The organisation was quite 'élitist' in the sense that it did not much attract members outside the academic circles. The men's share of the 'Niners' was set at one third, a number that was more or less reached. As to the geographical expan-

sion of the movement, Association 9 wanted to expand its activities outside Helsinki to other university towns but it succeeded in this only in Tampere (1969).

Because of its academic base, scientific research and education had an important role in the action of Association 9 at the outset. Workshops were established to carry out research and 'to collect information, as much and as exact as possible' [5], 'correct information', with which one could banish old and 'incorrect' attitudes. In the ideology of the organisation research was understood as 'radical action' [6], since thorough investigation of problems would lead one to the means of solving them. The task left to do after this would be the legalisation of the solutions into social practices. However, the 'radical' action of Association 9 was internally divided into two classes: on the one hand, there was the research, which was defined as 'instrumental radicalism'; on the other, 'expressive radicalism' that included pressure group activities and the stimulation and maintenance of the mass media interest (Eskola 1966, 148), whilst the painstakingly slow research was being completed. [7]

According to the leading principle 'correct information leads to correct action', Association 9 concentrated on public education and enlightenment during the initial years while looking forward to the results of scientific investigation. The course of 'expressive action' skilfully made use of the mass media. The press, the radio and television, all from the very foundation of Association 9, gave a lot of opportunities to present the Niners' opinions in public. This started a debate on sex roles in the mass media, in which the adversaries were the young Niners for the equalising of sex roles and the representatives of more traditional solutions. The weight given to Association 9 was partly result from the fact that a great number of its members were journalists, who in their own work could influence the public opinion and promote the ideology of Association 9.

Association 9 very soon became an official authority in questions on the status of the sexes. As early as the beginning of 1967, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs requested, among others, Association 9 to give a statement in answer to the UN inquiry on the contribution of women to the social and economical development of the nation. As the reply of the government to UN to a great extent followed the statement given to it, Association 9 was able to infer that '..the Government has wholly accepted the ideological course of Association 9, and is of the opinion that only by these means can a complete equality between the sexes be accomplished.' [8] The importance given to the expert opinions of Association 9 by such prestigious quarters encouraged the movement to direct its activities outside university life and to other areas of social interest outside the main themes of the association.

1968 became the ideological turning-point of Association 9: the organisation shifted to a more 'expressive' direction, that is, to 'direct action' or to the 'march course', after having completed basic research. Partly 'direct action' was channeled into picketing, demonstrations and other 'interference tactics', but the main course of action was to influence and put pressure on the authorities

in a 'direct' way, by means of letters, communiques and declarations opposed to the mass education ideology of 1966-67. Scientific research and investigation still remained one, though in importance relatively decreased, part of the action.

The Squatting of Old Student House at the end of 1968 signified the final separation of Association 9 from the former ideological framework. In Matti Hyvärinen's words: '.. behind our single problem and as the cause for it there was always a greater social problem.' (Hyvärinen 1984, 100) The problem behind the inequality of the sexes and the cause for it was thus the economic inequality of the capitalist market system. This discovery did not change the thematics of the movement; Association 9 still worked for the improvement of women's status in the labour market, for municipal day care centres and for the freedom of abortion, but now accounting for its demands with Marxist arguments. Real equality of the sexes was possible only by way of establishing Socialist society.

The years 1969-70 were characterised by the endeavour of Association 9 to co-operate with the parties of the Left and the labour movement and to be the vanguard of the women in them. Along with Marxisation the question of 'politicisation', i.e. joining the suborganisations of a party, became more prominent. This sort of politicisation was not realised during the life of the movement. However, as the active members desired to join their forces with the parties and other 'more comprehensive organisations' considered to be more effective in the advocation for sex equality as well, the result was the conviction that there was not much for Association 9 to do. This conviction was strengthened by the recommendation for a permanent state organ for sex equality by the Committee on the Status of Women. Association 9 could be dissolved, because a state organ would be a better and a more effective body for the achievement of sex equality.

GOING 'INSTITUTIONAL'

The image of the modern woman formulated and advocated by Association 9 was both by its advocators and adversaries seen as an emancipatory one, opposite to the views of dominant culture and a forceful change away from it. The main thread of the ideology was the attempt to redefine woman as separate from her family and mother roles. The demand for the individualisation of woman was expressed, for instance, in the arguments for free abortion: in abortion, the main question was to be seen in the conflict of two individuals, the mother-to-be and the baby. As the woman was 'more of a human being' than the unborn human-being-to-be, her rights to self-determination and to her own body were to be preferred to the baby's right to live.[9]

Afterwards, Association 9 has been given the merit for abortion and day care reforms accomplished at the beginning of the 1970's. The demands for legal reforms were the core of the way to a sex-neutral and thus equal society of

Association 9. The basis for this was the fact that although women had been formally accepted as citizens in the laws passed at the beginning of the century, the whole legal system still reflected images of women as mothers supported by husbands and as a weaker sex in need of protection. Women were excluded, for example, from certain jobs in restaurant and mining businesses. The advancement of women was restricted by regulations, that did not allow women in, for instance, the higher posts of police work. Men, too, were discriminated by law e.g. by exclusion from benefits given to widows. Association 9 attempted to remove regulations based on such 'outdated views on sex roles'. Except for the elimination of legal restrictions on sexes, the stress was placed on transferring the household and child-minding tasks limiting women's opportunities to the care of the welfare state.

The practical realisation of the principle of individualisation required new ways of thinking on the relation between the citizen and the state, as the functions of the state were expanded to include the functions formerly performed by women inside the family and now seen as hindrances to women's emancipation. As the public sphere took over a part of the tasks of the private sphere, the boundaries of the latter narrowed from what had been depicted by the word 'private' to that what was purely 'personal'. What seems to have happened is *simultaneous ideological emphasis* on two traits that in political theory - especially in Anglo-Saxon liberal tradition - have been labelled as contradictory and essentially in discord: *individualism and statism.*

Before going further into this in the later chapters, it is useful to have an overall look at what happened between 'society' as people's collective mobilisation and action and 'state' as an institution in Finland during the decade in question. This is because the relation between 'society' and 'state' is in a curious way parallel to the controversy of individualism and statism. The very same phenomenon was here expressed in the emphasis for strong state centralisation that nevertheless was thought to be accompanied by increasing 'grass root democracy' in families, schools, working-places, organisations and society in general. *As the individual was ideologically required to support the welfare state, so society was subordinated and co-optated to the the state, which was seen as the paramount guarantor of both individual and collective good.*

The idea of the welfare state, crystallised in the social thought at the beginning of the 1960's, gave the state a more active role as well as expanded responsibilities: on the one hand, the state would contribute to economic growth and repair disorders caused by the market, and, on the other hand, all this would be accompanied by increased democracy and the mutual co-operation of organisations and the state. The ideals of justice and equality were thought to be realised by state action - in the last instance by means of force.

The relations between the organisations and the state were solidified through the institutionalisation of organisations, achieved by the corporative mechanism of the market and the legitimation and regulation of party action by law in the late 60's. Simultaneously, the extent to which the relations between these were

formally organised was expanded: the new forms for co-operation comprised of state subsidies, the committee system and the system of statements and hearings, which gave more opportunities for interest group participation. (Lintonen 1987)

In this, the state took priority over society. Citizens' collective mobilisation came to be seen as a symptom for the lack of enterprise by the state in some areas; thus, if the state were more active, there would be no need for citizens' organisations there. The main object of the action of these citizens' organisations was finally the state (Lintonen 1987, 12), the passivity of which had to be fought. At its crudest, the emphasis on the state implicitly lead to an utter rejection of society.

One can see these trends of integration into the state quite clearly in Association 9, especially in its relation to the Committee on the Status of Women. Association 9 got a significant number of representatives in the Committee, and an expert status as a commentator to its reports. The tasks of the movement had to be cut, though, in order to avoid unnecessary overlapping.[10] The action and even the very existence of Association 9 was thus seen by its members as complementary to the state; it was a voice for the matters forgotten or overlooked by the state committee, not so much a critic or an alternative to it. When the founding of the state organ for all matters concerning the status of the sexes seemed certain, Association 9 could on these grounds cease to exist.

The point to to be noted here is that neither Association 9 nor the other single issue movements, in spite of the radicalism characterising both their self-image and their public image, ever opposed the state as an institution. Their relationship to the state was one of support, and aimed at expanding its activities. The adversary was the older generation, the one born in the 1930's, and the attitudes and values represented by it. These should be demolished to give way to 'correct' information applicable to the new industrialised society. In the discussion on the position of the sexes, the 'fossilisation of thinking' of the older generation were seen in the division of separate spheres for men and women. The state as an institution did not become the main object of critique even as Association 9 turned Marxist: the resistance was still directed at the older generation, although now as the representative for 'bourgeois hegemony'. The social conflict in the late Sixties was more and more defined as one between the Left and the Right.

This comment - that the conflict was defined as one between the generations, and, later, between the Left and the Right - is necessary for the understanding of the ideology of Association 9. Sex equality was to be reached by the harmonious co-operation of the sexes. On the basis of this and other ideological compounds depicted above, Association 9 opposed fiercely the idea of separate action for women and men. Its critique was directed especially to those existing women's organisations that contrary to Association 9, did not allow male membership. Organisations of this kind were seen to maintain sex dif-

ference as they gave matters male and female labels and isolated the sex equality question from its social context. [11] The ideal to be attained was that women would participate in the existing co-sex organisations, whereby separate women's organisations could be dissolved as unnecessary.

What did all this mean? The development of the Finnish radicalism of the 60's has been interpreted as an attempt of the intellectuals, losing in their social position, to 'get in', whatever the cost, even if it meant an alliance with the opposition made up of the Left and especially the Communists. (Ylikangas 1986, see also Alapuro 1976) Since academic education had traditionally been the Finnish way of social advancement, the students, now more and more recruits from lower classes, were localised very close to the centres of power. The new thoughts on the functions of the state were conveyed into the predominant culture by means of the cultural 'expert' capital of the students. The central object was the struggle for power over the state. The state as an institution was considered neutral as such, although in the hands of 'wrong' people, such as representatives of outdated attitudes or of bourgeois hegemony. In the hands of the radicals the state would be a reformistic and active defender of everybody's best interests.

One practical consequence of this was an attempt to conquer the institutions, 'to change the institutions from within'. The activists of the time, Arvo Salo and Bo Ahlfors, express the evolution of action as follows:

> 'Before long it was recognised, that the bourgeois hegemony cannot be broken down on the individual level; that society must be approached institutionally. -- One must coldly consider, what kind of institutions are worth dedication, which ones one must leave to die and what kinds of new institutions must be created. For example, the church is an institution that must be left in its blessed grave, whereas it pays to participate e.g. in political parties.' (Salo - Ahlfors 1970, 47)

In the arenas 'where the real decisions were made' [12] the principles for equality and 'direct action' were carried out even after the death of Association 9. The rising 'power-hungry' generation had succeeded in presenting its case and was now recruited to the parties and the government to realise the reforms it had pleaded for. In the case of Association 9 this meant that its ideology was institutionalised in the state equality policy and the Old Niners' League moved to carry out its ideals from within the state administration.

ASSOCIATION 9 IN THE CONTEXT OF THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL THOUGHT OF THE 60'S

The previous description yielded only a limited picture of the politics, i.e action and theory of action, as far as Association 9 is concerned. We are left with a number of disturbing questions. The individualisation of women by disconnect-

ing the inevitable definitional links to the private sphere leads to the question *what women were individualised for.* What were the new definitions of women's functions in society as her traditional tasks were partly overtaken by the state? These and other critical questions about Association 9 always seem to be condensed to the question of the relation between the individual, especially the female individual, society and the state.

In order to investigate this further, the study attempts at an interpretation on how the liberalist ideas of individualism, self-fulfilment and individual's rights, obligations and opportunities in Association 9 were positioned and interpreted against the background of the social thought of the 1960's. The central figures in this are Erik Allardt and Pekka Kuusi, who became influential Finnish thinkers on society and whose works were an inspiration to the student movement during the 60's. However, I am not saying that the writings of these men caused the student radicalism; in fact, I am not even very interested in the influence they had on the students. The starting-point for this contextualisation and explanation by comparison is the idea that Allardt's and Kuusi's writings were in many ways the codification of the decade's Finnish thought on state, society and individual. And that is why these writings serve admirably as the clarifying background for the issue at hand.

Characteristic to Association 9 was the idea that there was no conflict between the interests of the individual citizen and the interests of the wider human collective. The best of the individual generated the best possible outcome for the collective as well, and vice versa. It was by this idea that the controversy between ideological individualism and statism was bridged. The basic components elaborating this were to be found in Allardt's social theory.

Erik Allardt, in his work *Yhteiskunnan rakenne ja sosiaalinen paine* (The structure of society and social pressure) published in 1964, presented the thesis that deviancy is a necessary and useful phenomenon for society. The acceptance of deviancy would increase the solidarity ('collectivity') of society by integrating the deviants, especially in the Finnish context, the Communists, to the existing order. This would be accompanied by the transformation of social conflict into a 'regulated conflict'. The concession of political rights to the oppressed and deviant would thus solidify society by inducing solidarity from these groups. In the politics of Association 9, the idea that the deviant must be integrated to society in order to increase the solidarity of the society in question, was modified to a viewpoint that the 'deviant' and 'different' were women. The integration of women to society would be a gain to themselves and to society.

The way Allardt argued, it was an acknowledged fact that the least willing to use their political rights and to participate in the political system were those in the weakest social and economic position. The conclusion inferred from this was that the social and economic position of these people should be improved. The central role in the political construction of the society was thus given to social policy, especially in the form Pekka Kuusi presented it.

According to Kuusi (1962), the secure continuous growth of 'national co-operation', i.e. the state, demanded that the economic position of the 'non-active' part of the population should be improved. The equalisation of national income with the aid of social policy would make a poor man change into a working, active economic actor, and, subsequently, into an active consumer and a political actor and participator. For Kuusi, the focus of support was on the potentially productive: children, widows, temporarily disabled etc. (Kuusi 1960, 39-40, 57-59) Remarkarble in Kuusi's theoretical framework, first presented in 1961, was that a housewife was not yet problematic as a 'non-active' citizen. Social policy certainly comprised policies directed at the family, since families with small children were in a precarious economic situation and thus weak consumers and passive politically. Kuusi did not, however, question the role of woman tied to home and housework on the basis of the idea of 'non-activism'. Social policy was directed to the family as a unit or a temporarily non-active worker that was presumed to be male.

In Association 9 these contemporary thoughts were modified to a framework that included women as the movement conceptualised woman as an individual. The individualisation of woman and her separation from her family role was connected to the idea that a woman was a non-productive, 'non-active' parasite living on her husband, getting unearned benefits out of him. (Cf. Ehrenreich 1983) Housework and child-minding were not productive work in the opinion of Association 9, although this was something of a question of dissension within it. Even when the value of these tasks was recognised, they were considered to be non-rationally and ineffectively managed within one family unit. The costs of the housework in small units managed by housewives were high, the productiveness of it was low, and anyway, it was lower than the productiveness and value of wage work.

Women were advised to stop leading the 'pseudo-career' of the housewife on their husbands, and to get a job outside the home. A housewife was regarded as an economic burden to her husband, and a psychological one to her children, compelled to suffer from the tempers of a frustrated, mentally unstimulated woman. A woman should participate in the labour market and the 'national co-operation' in the same way as a man did. Wage work was not only an opportunity offered to women, but a necessity and an obligation: spiritual growth, self-fulfilment and the full use of political rights and political participation (i.e. in the same way, in the same amount and through the same organisations as men) were possible only through paid work and economic independence.

In this construction of the politics of Association 9, *equality politics was set to the position which was occupied by social policy in Kuusi's thinking.* Equality politics, as a means for equalising social rights and privileges between the sexes, would give women an opportunity to detach themselves from the role of non-active citizens. There would be an economically independent woman, not in need of marriage to provide sustenance. At the same time, women's participation in the labour market would benefit society as a whole in raising the

GNP and making continuous economic growth possible.

A weak economic position and the powerlessness it caused were the reasons given to the oppression of women in society. These problems could be amended by social and equality policies. Equal participation in other public affairs, outside the labour market, could then, *after this*, come about as a direct derivation from it.

An important part of the ideology was the 'liberation' of women from the private sphere and its conceived isolation in order to take part in more important tasks and participate in prioritised collectives and to show 'solidarity' towards them. The areas representing these prioritised collectives consisted, firstly, of the labour market, and, secondly, of 'direct' participation in parties and labour organisations ('where the real decisions are made') without the intermediate step of women's separate organisations. As the state was the representative of the widest possible collective whole, 'society' purged of its negative features, *solidarity towards the state and an integration with it were the fundamental purposes of Association 9.* In the last ideological phase, the Marxisation of the movement modified this to a demand of loyalty to Socialism.

POLITICS, STATE AND SOCIETY

From the previous chapter we can infer that the equality politics advocated by Association 9 was given the same function as social policy in a wider social context. Equality politics became a gender-specific modification of social policy, with the same object: to equalise economic disparity in order to raise economic activity and thus GNP, and, subsequently, the mutual solidarity of the nation. This gender-specific version of social policy presupposed a redistribution of public and private roles of both sexes.

Equality politics of this kind, Association 9 argued, was *not* 'politics' but a better alternative to it (1966-68). Characteristic to 'politics' from the viewpoint of the movement was the division of society into groups of differing interests, struggling with each other. 'Politics' operated on the Left - Right -axis and between parties and unions. These, in spite of their purport to represent collective interests, were considered to divide society into parts, and by aggravating its conflicts, to further the 'shattering' of society and the subsequent isolation of people from another. *'Politics' was thus defined as a conflictual activity, inevitably linked with the workings of society.*

The strategy of Association 9 was to erase conflict out of 'politics'. The 'new politics' represented by social policy and equality politics, was characterised by its effort at 'matter-of-factness', 'rationality' and the use of social research to solve societal problems. Distinguished from 'politics', the 'new non-conflictual politics' would succeed in its aim at 'collectivity', the unity of interests of the whole society, women, men and children as well as the representatives of the 'political' conflict. *Since the state was seen as the representative of the widest possible collectivity, the 'new non-conflictual politics' associated with the state.*

The state was thus positioned to be the positive counterweight to the negative features observed in the workings of 'society'. The strategy of erasing conflict consisted of the reformation of society into a 'good society' embracing the desirable features contemporarily seen only in the state. For all practical purposes, this can be regarded as the replacement of society by the state.

In realising its utopia of 'the good society', Association 9 found it impossible to reject society altogether in spite of the suspicions and distrust felt towards it. One had to go for what was possible. Since parties and unions nevertheless represented wider values of 'collectivity' than the disparaged 'isolation' of family institution and non-participation in general, people were encouraged to partake in the goods of collectivism in participation to parties and unions. As the male citizen was mostly regarded as active enough, the focus was on the problem of female participation and sense for 'collectivity' ('solidarity'). The participation in parties and unions was legitimised by the idea of reforming them. The new state-centred concept of politics required new morals and ways of action from the main societal actors. These should not be motivated by opportunist interests, but by the common good.

During the Marxisation phase of the movement (1969-70), Association 9 turned ever more to society and 'conflictual' party politics as the only ways of realistic action. The Left parties and labour unions came to be seen as representatives of 'collectivity' in society, gathering people under the red banners. 'The good society' would be realised in establishing a Socialist state. There, the ideal of non-conflictual politics would come true, as the Left - Right -conflict of politics would disappear in the final victory of the Left. During these last years of action, social policy and equality politics lost its significance. Since non-conflict would be realised only within Socialism, these forms of former 'new politics' became means for partial reforms while looking forward to the final goal.

In the following discussion, I shall concentrate on the political concepts of Association 9 between 1966 and 1968; that is, on the state-associated concept of 'new politics'. This is because it was the ideas of this era that gained wider public approval and were institutionalised within the state equality policy. The Marxist modifications of 1969-70 were mainly overlooked and dismissed, except in the Left.

Although Association 9 was not the only advocate for state-associated non-conflictual politics within the movements of the 60's, the adoption of this concept in Association 9 nevertheless had remarkable implications when applied to women. In studying this, we shall turn to the ideas of sexual conflict within the movement.

Association 9 explicitly denied the legitimacy of sexual conflict. Equality was seen to be approached by the harmonious co-operation of both men and women. It is questionable, though, whether the disappearance of sexual conflict was not an ideal connected to the utopia of the non-conflictual and state-associated new politics that the movement professed to represent. In this way the denial of sexual conflict was not an argument for how matters were, but rather

for how they should be. Inferring from this, sexual conflict became to be connected with the main arena set for conflict, that is, society.

Despising societal conflicts and attempting to alleviate them with the moral motivation for 'common good', Association 9 could not bring about a new conflict in the form of sexual conflict. It would have shattered all it stood for. The only ways left open to it were to encourage women's participation in the existing co-sex organisations, with hopes of reforming the morality of this field, or to turn directly to the state in hope of assistance.

From a feminist standpoint, the strategy of participation in existing organisations leaves much to hope for. It modelled the male citizen as the norm to which women should conform; women should participate in the same organisations in the same ways and as actively as men. The reason for women's weaker position was not in their gender, but in 'more fundamental problems' as in economical factors, to which gender was but an attribute. Women were not left the possibility of participation, let alone of conflict, as women. In this way women's general societal action was restricted to 'solidarity' to existing causes, and the legitimacy of separate women's movements all but denied.

The non-conflictual strategy worked for 'pacifying' women and controlling their potential for resistance, although these implications escaped Association 9. The pursuit of moral reformation in the organisational field, being the legitimation for societal action, falls short in this respect, too: the inclusion of gender interests into the morality of 'common good' that was to be adopted by organisations was made impossible since these interests 'did not' exist separate from e.g. economical ones. So whose interests did the concept 'common good' represent?

The second strategy left to women, turning directly to the state as a defender, is more consistent with the overall layout of the politics of Association 9. One cannot but help of thinking, whether it was not a more radical strategy, too. As the state, by definition, was the arena for non-conflict, it could assert gender aspects, that were hereby overtly confirmed to be of non-conflictual character. In a paradoxical way, this also made possible the articulation of sexual conflict, or what in non-state circumstances would have been labelled as such.

Helga Maria Hernes (1982, 1987) has argued that women's dependence on the welfare state came into being by a transfer of dependence from a private patriarchy to a public patriarchy. This study proves that Association 9 in fact promoted this dependence of women on the state. The emphasis put on the neutrality and impartiality of the state did not leave any room for a criticism against the patriarchality of the state or of the values of 'common good' it was seen to represent. Contrary to Hernes here, patriarchy - had the concept been used at the time - would rather have been associated with society than with the state. *The state became a benevolent instrument for turning against patriarchy* - both private patriarchy in family and public patriarchy in society.

CONCLUSION

As an explanation to the Finnish women's state orientation, I have attempted to implicate the ideas that were inherent in the conviction that leaving equality questions to the state and its sex equality organ was far the best policy. The state was set as a buffer towards society and its conflicts and thus also towards the conflict between women and men.

Lacking in sufficient data, it is so far impossible to assess the actual persistence of trust in the welfare state and its equality policy today, nor, whether it is based on a positive state theory of a similar kind. Looking into the development since the 1960's gives some outlines to hypotheses, though.

Researchers and feminists alike seem to agree on Finnish women's strong state orientation. The matter in question here focusses on the point of comparison. In international comparisons, Finnish women may score high points when asked about their trust in state equality policies or the role prescribed to the state in these matters. But so do Finnish men, too; the legitimacy of the Finnish state is relatively strong. If we, on the contrary, compare the trust in the state with the statism of twenty years ago, represented among others by Association 9, women's state orientation seems to have at least transformed, and probably lessened.

The undifferentiated statism connected to the rise of the welfare state has been transformed into a trust in state feminism. As a main representative of this, the equality council is, both by its supporters and adversaries, seen to represent the 'feminist' attribute more than the 'state' attribute. One reason for this is the close co-operation of the Council with women's organisations. As the relative radicality of its suggestions often puts the Council in conflict with the rest of the state administration as well as with the more conservative public opinion, this puts it in the forefront of fighting the now recognised patriarchal structures of the state from 'within'. On the other hand, the 'state' attribute still present in the Council may work for the strengthening of trust in the state generally. The reforms planned by the state equality council have first been realised in state administration and in state employment, thus enhancing the active image of the Finnish state in working against inequality. [13]

The fact that feminist mobilisation picked up at the end of the 1970's and during the 1980's seems in itself to be a proof that the ideological limitations to women's societal action have either abated or women have found strength and means for fighting them. As the 1960's left concerns on equality and gender to the state, now the necessity of women's action from both 'within' and 'without' seems to be more or less taken for granted.

NOTES

1.Studies on Association 9 available: Jallinoja (1983) and Holli (1988). In English: see Jallinoja 1986. Sinkkonen and Haavio-Mannila (1981) have studied the impact of the upsurge of the second wave of feminism on policy formation. In Swedish there is Bengts's (1986) article on the press debate on the woman question, which also shortly describes Association 9.

2. The translation of Betty Friedan's Feminist Mystique was one the first tasks of Association 9.

3. I shall stick to the contemporary term 'sex role' instead of the more modern 'gender role'.

4. Association 9: Rules. 1966.

5. Association 9: Newsletter nr 2. Helsinki 12.3.1966.

6. Association 9: Newsletter (1). 1966.

7. See Allardt 1964, 152-173, on the concepts 'instrumental' and 'expressive participation', here 'radicalism', which principally describe the characteristics that Association 9 associated with its own action.

8. Association 9: Newsletter nr 5. Helsinki 18.9.1967.

9. See e.g. Association 9: A suggestion for a communique on abortion. Undated.

10. Association 9: Newsletter. November 1966.

11. E.g. Association 9: A short account on the existing situation. February 1970.

12. The opinion of Association 9 activists in Jallinoja's interviews; see Jallinoja 1983, 184.

13. Conclusions drawn from my present study on the Council for Equality between Men and Women.

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