

“Eleven Old Boys Crying Out for Revenge”. Emotional Dynamics in Care-Leavers’ Efforts to Seek Justice: Case Study of the Palhoniemi Reform School 1945–1946

Antti Malinen*

I. Introduction

In February 1945, a housekeeper working at the Palhoniemi reform school in Finland received a threatening letter, signed by “eleven old boys crying out for revenge”. The housekeeper, who in the letter was described as a human beast for keeping boys in a state of hunger, was called upon to leave their post immediately. The boys claimed to have

* Academy of Finland Postdoctoral Researcher, Tampere University. This research has received support from the research projects *Small Bodies, Heavy Burdens: Children’s Experiences and Management of Distress in Post-War Finland 1945–1960* (Academy of Finland, project number 3233947), and the Academy of Finland Centre of Excellence in the History of Experiences (HEX).

joined the recently established Finnish People's Democratic League (FPDL) and to know people capable of forcing her to leave (Page 55, Hb:1.3 Palhoniemi Investigations). The arrival of the threatening letter posed an unheard of challenge to the staff of Palhoniemi and also its authority. Reform schools were intended for children and young people deemed by the authorities to be anti-social and uncontrollable, with discipline and its strict enforcement an essential component of the reform school routine (Hoikkala 2020, 21-33; Malinen et al. 2019, 4). Children were expected to conform to institutional rules and order, to respect authority and not challenge it, or even worse, threaten it.

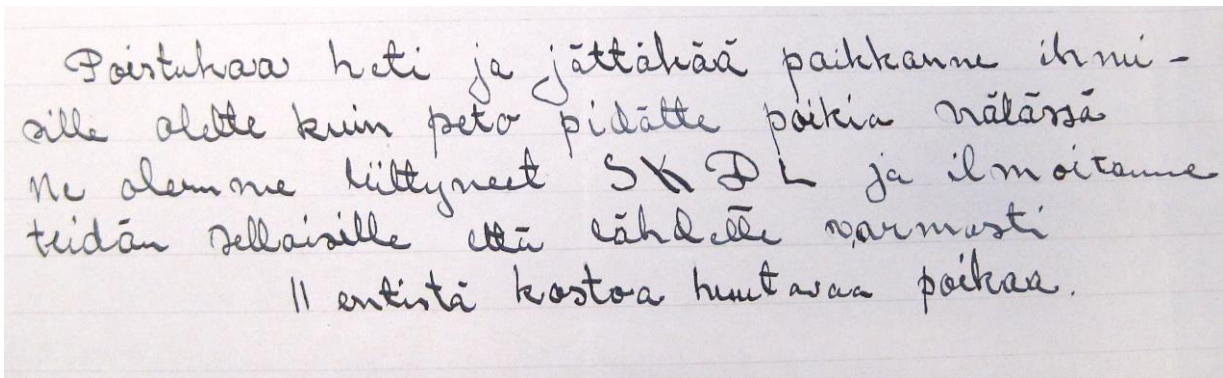


Figure 1. The letter received by the housekeeper in February 1945, signed by “eleven old boys crying out for revenge”.

In the following weeks and months, life at Palhoniemi became more restless than usual, raising concerns among the staff. When a personnel meeting was held at the end of April 1945, the director of Palhoniemi, A. L.¹, warned the staff that they were now witnessing a battle over the ‘souls of youth’. He urged members of the staff to be alert and to try their best with the boys, to educate them back to becoming proper citizens (2§, Personnel meeting 31.4.1945, G:17). What the director could not know or probably even imagine, was that he was now a part of the chain of events which in a couple of months would culminate in the initiation of a formal investigation carried out by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health of Finland, and finally result in a decision to relieve the director of his duties in May 1946.

Together with other recent studies on the failings of Finnish child welfare, the Finnish inquiry into neglect, abuse and violence against children in institutions and foster homes in 1937–1983 (hereafter the

¹ To protect privacy of those involved in the Palhoniemi reform school investigation (current inmates, care-leavers and members of the staff), initials are used throughout the text. Names of politicians, government officials and local child welfare authorities have not been anonymized. The archival material contains sensitive information, for example accusations related to health and descriptions of violence.

Inquiry) has revealed that not only children in care, but also their close relatives and other concerned citizens often experienced difficulties in seeking justice (Hytönen et al. 2016; Laitala & Puuronen 2016). This was also the case with Palhoniemi. Yet eventually the complaints issued by care-leavers were taken seriously, leading to the initiation of a formal investigation. A number of different emotions were at play during the investigation and the events preceding it. Some emotions such as hope, anger and even hate resulting from their experiences of injustice, mobilized care-leavers into action and gave them resources to pursue their interests. But other more immobilizing emotions such as fear and shame were constantly present.

This article examines what role certain emotions such as anger and feelings of injustice play in care-leavers efforts to seek justice, and especially in the formation of a protest group and in its activities. Furthermore, it considers how members of the protest group dealt with, shared and negotiated their feelings. By using contemporary sources such as interviews, letters and written accounts, I analyze how emotions and feelings were experienced both individually and collectively at a group level, and to what effect. Theoretically, I take the view that individuals and groups operate within structured contexts that constrain and facilitate their actions, including their emotional lives (Sewell 1992). The investigation of the Palhoniemi reform school took place in a specific historical context, and the societal changes that followed the end of World War Two had a major impact on how contemporaries felt about the future, and their possibilities of bringing change.

When the threatening letter was delivered in February 1945, Finnish society was experiencing a time of social unrest and political turmoil. Hostilities with the Soviet Union had ended in September 1944 when the Moscow Armistice was signed. The conditions of the Armistice required Finland to ban organizations deemed to be fascist and paramilitary, and to rehabilitate the Communist Party (645/44; Meinander 2012, 87). The Communist Party of Finland re-entered political life, and the far left was organized as the FPD.

Most of the Finnish army was demobilized by the end of 1944, but the war still continued in Lapland, as the terms of the armistice compelled Finland to expel German troops from its territories. After the Moscow Armistice, especially veterans, together with evacuees, struggled to find adequate housing where they could return to a sense of peace and some sort of normalcy (Malinen 2017).

A considerable number of Finns felt a need to come to terms not only with their war-related experiences and losses, but also to express their feelings of frustration, tiredness and anger, for example due to the continuing scarcity and on-going rationing of food, goods and housing. State actors were worried whether these negative feelings and worries would make Finnish society unstable, and promoted a culture of

resilience and self-restraint in which citizens were encouraged to focus on the future and put aside their past and present personal burdens (Kivimäki & Hytönen 2015; Malinen & Tamminen 2017). William Reddy has defined these kind of feeling systems and emotional prescriptions as 'emotional regimes', in order to describe dominant modes of emotional expression and thought, often aligning with political regimes (Reddy 2001). However, in the aftermath of the Moscow Armistice, the far left began to promote competing emotional prescriptions, encouraging people to vent their feelings, both positive and negative.

In post-conflict situations, certain practices such as war tribunals, reparations and purges frequently take place, and Finland was not an exception, at least to some extent (Elster 2004, 1; Tallgren 2014). One of the major goals of the FPDL was to push for the democratization of bureaucracy, and the idea of purges and radical political change offered new narratives and concepts which other societal actors were able to use for their own interests and agendas. This case study allows an analysis of how individuals and groups in changing societal situations, and especially in the field of child welfare, tried to come to terms not only with war and its social effects, but also with other more deeply rooted grievances and injustices related to social class and positions, and how their efforts at seeking justice were perceived by those who were criticized and accused of wrongdoing.

Following the parliamentary elections of April 1945 and the landslide victory of leftist parties, feelings of injustice, but also of hope, worked as a catalyst and helped to propel care-leavers into action, despite them being in a disadvantaged position. However, care-leavers experienced considerable resistance and difficulties in pursuing their matters in public and administrative spheres. Local child welfare authorities were not willing to recognize care-leavers as credible sources of knowledge, and instead tried to discredit their accounts of harm and wrongdoing at reform school. Accordingly, this analysis sheds new light on how the care-leavers and inmates of Palhoniemi experienced the Finnish justice system, and more specifically, epistemic injustices (Fricker 2007, 2012) due to prejudices stemming from their social identity, institutional care histories, and even their age.

A general overview of the Finnish child welfare system and the role of reform schools is given in the next section 2, and the methodological framework of the study and the historical sources used are discussed in section 3. In sections 4 and 5, I apply concepts from the history of emotions framework to highlight and contextualize the role of emotions in justice-related processes.

2. The Finnish Child Welfare System and the role of reform schools

At the turn of the twentieth century and during its first half, childhood took shape as a special period in a person's life, and children were described as having distinctive features and enjoying special rights (Sandin 2014, 67). Various legislative bodies defined the child and childhood, and determined what children could expect of their childhood, such as access to education, regulation of child labor, and protection against physical violence and maltreatment. Moreover, new ideas of preventive criminal and penal laws perceived children and minors more clearly and as distinct from adults (Harrikari 2011; Therborn 1996, 29–30). In Finland, the emergence of the acts on Compulsory Education (101/1921), Child Welfare (52/1936) and Child Guidance (75/1950) all highlighted how children came to be viewed by society as politically important objects of welfare. But at the same time, children were still mainly on the receiving end in terms of provision of services and protection, and not seen as participants. Children themselves had no say in matters affecting their wellbeing, as they were not recognized as having any capacity to make decisions or to act on their own behalf. Instead, they were embedded within a system in which parents, guardians, adult caregivers or child welfare officials were entrusted to act on their behalf and in their interests.

In the time period of 1945–1960, approximately 15,000 –17,000 children a year were living in out-of-home care, either in foster families or in residential institutions such as children's homes, reform schools, or reception centers. The forms of out-of-home care are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Types of foster homes and residential institutions in Finland.

Foster homes	
Foster homes for children taken into care	Private homes where children were placed as foster children; written agreements concluded between the authorities and foster parents
Foster homes for children placed there by their own parent(s)	Private homes, often relatives; no officially signed agreements; supervised by local authorities
Residential institutions	
Children's homes	Run by local authorities, associations, churches and private individuals, housing orphans, needy children, and children taken into care
Reception centres	Institutions in which children were assessed before long-term placement
Reform schools	For children and young people deemed by the authorities to be anti-social and uncontrollable

Source: Malinen et al. 2019, 4.

According to the Law on State Reformatories (Laki valtion kasvatustaitoksista, 125/1924) and the Child Welfare Act (52/1936), under-aged offenders were to be separated from adults and placed in re-education institutions. Children viewed as delinquent or anti-social could also be placed in reform schools. Reformatories were gendered, and typically girls were admitted to reformatories based on their deemed delinquent and morally reprehensible behavior. Boys were mostly admitted to reformatories based on their antisocial behavior and offences which were leading them towards a criminal lifestyle (Vehkalahti 2009, xiii-xiv). In 1945, municipal, private and state-owned reform schools had places for nearly 1,300 children (Pulma 1987, 227).

The main aim of reform schools was to educate children and young people into a regular way of life and to make them decent members of society. The everyday life at the school was dominated by studies and practical training, mostly agricultural (Hoikkala 2020; Haikari 2009, 20–21). In the case reported here, the middle-sized Palhoniemi reform school was one of ten municipal reform schools in Finland. During the time period studied, it housed an average of 46 boys every month.

When children entered reform school, both they and their parents had to submit to the rules set by the director, to whom parental rights were transferred (Vehkalahti 2009, 57). From then on, contact between the children and their family was discouraged, with letters censored and sometimes withheld. Furthermore, reform schools like Palhoniemi were often situated in remote rural locations (Hoikkala 2020, 29). Palhoniemi was located outside a village called Kuru, some 45 kilometers from the

center of the nearest city Tampere, and it could only be reached mainly by a ferry which plied the lake between Tampere and Kuru. Such topographical factors further served to diminish the inmates’ ability to connect with their families and other people (Hytönen et al. 2016, 42).

Reform schools shared the basic characteristics of a ‘total institution’, which Goffman (1961, xiii) defined as ‘a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life.’ However, reform schools were not totally isolated from the surrounding society. In Finland, the Municipal Boards for Child Protection were locally responsible for the inspection of residential care, and this was also the case with Palhoniemi (see Directive for Palhoniemi Reform School 8 January 1932). Nationally, the Child Welfare Office (CWO) at the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health was the highest authority.

Residential institutions could be also inspected by the parliamentary Ombudsman of Finland (Eduskunnan oikeusasiamies in Finnish). The ombudsman had a special duty to make regular inspections of “closed institutions”, including reform schools and other residential institutions such as children’s homes. In theory, any individual could lodge an administrative complaint to the supervising authorities or an ombudsman (Mäenpää & Fenger 2019, 176–177). However, internationally it was only during the 1970s that the voices of children and care-leavers came to be taken more seriously. This reflects historical changes and developments in the ways in which childhood in general has come to be seen and valued in society (Murray 2015; Daly 2014; Wright 2016, 17; Davis 2005), yet not all experiences of abuse went unacknowledged, even at the time they were perpetrated, as this case study will show.

3. Studying justice and feelings of injustice

The search for justice and feelings of injustice are among the very first human life experiences. Justice matters to people, and people often talk about how they are treated in their social interactions and how goods and services are distributed in society, often in the frame of justice versus injustice (Cremer & Bos 2007, 1–2). During the last couple of decades, researchers of justice have devoted much attention to distinguishing between different “types” of justice. Cremer and Bos have pointed out how ‘justice involves issues of distribution, treatment, formal and informal decision-making procedures, and so forth. This variety of justice instances has been reflected in the scientific use of

concepts such as distributive, procedural, and interactional justice.’ (Cremer & Bos 2007, 1–2). Recent inquiries and historical studies on the failings of child welfare have shed new light on how these different types of injustices have been experienced and felt emotionally (Daly 2014; Sköld 2013; Hayner 2011). Also, law and emotions scholarship has investigated how the law can affect, shape and script emotions (Grossi 2015, 57).

In addition to unjust treatment, victims of abuse and neglect have often experienced procedural injustice in the form of inadequate institutional responses. Miranda Fricker (2007) has coined a concept of ‘epistemic injustice’ which according to Kidd et al. (2001, 1) refers to ‘those forms of unfair treatment that relate to issues of knowledge, understanding and participation in communicative practices’. Fricker herself focused especially on two kinds of epistemic injustices, testimonial and hermeneutical, and the latter, testimonial injustice, is especially relevant for highlighting the troubles which marginalized groups often face when seeking justice.

The Finnish Inquiry, among others, has revealed how especially local supervising authorities enabled the continuance of the neglect and abuse by ignoring complaints and pleas (Hytönen et al. 2016; cf. Ericsson 2015, 52). As a result of this kind of ‘dual neglect’, some of the care-leavers lost faith in authorities and became bitter and distrustful of welfare institutions and people in positions of authority (Malinen et al. 2019, 9). In general, both children living with their families as well as those in out-of-home care have historically experienced difficulties in voicing their opinions and grievances. In the Finnish post-WWII culture, adult authority was emphasized, and children were not supposed to challenge the decisions or behavior of their parents or educators. Consequently, children had to suppress their feelings of injustice even when they felt they were being treated wrongly (Malinen & Tamminen 2017).

Despite their vulnerable position, children in care often perpetrated acts and displayed behavior that can be defined as ‘forms of everyday resistance’. James C. Scott has pointed out how subordinate groups in society seldom have resources that allow them to influence or gain access to those in power. Historically, subordinate groups have often also feared reprisals if injustices have been openly and publicly protested against. These structures gave impetus to control anger and aggression, and develop more subtle and veiled ways of resistance (Scott 1990, 40). Children in care developed practices which they used to subvert the power of adults in foster homes, children’s homes and reform schools, such as stealing small items, acting slowly, or giving derisive nicknames to caregivers and superintendents (*katsastaja* in Finnish) (Laitala 2019). Kathleen Daly has pointed out how absconding or running away from institutions was often a form of resistance against abusive and oppressive conditions (Daly 2014, 90). Some of these absconders tried

to alert child welfare officials and other authorities to events and conditions, but often to no avail. Furthermore, children’s strategies could prove counterproductive and runaways typically received harsh treatment and punishment upon their return (Hytönen et al. 2016; Daly 2014, 90).

Currently there are few studies on how children in care or care-leavers have tried to seek change and justice by using more conventional administrative procedures such as complaints. On a more general level we know that complaints against the social welfare system and bureaucracy were increasing in the aftermath of World War Two. The chief of staff at the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, Aarne Tarasti, interpreted in November 1945 that the proliferation of complaints reflected both a dissatisfaction with the distribution of services, and also changes in how both political actors and ordinary people related to social welfare officials and services (Minutes 13-14.11.1945, Ca:3, HMA).

In her historical research on restrictive and disciplinary practices in Finnish residential care, Susanna Hoikkala has pointed out that already during the early 1950s, national authorities asked local actors to inform children in care of their rights and possibilities to complain. But unfortunately, the data used by Hoikkala did not allow her to draw any conclusions as to whether local authorities had informed the children or not (Hoikkala 2020, 84). Other previous studies dealing with the history of child welfare suggest that especially the FPDL criticized the conditions in residential care institutions in the immediate post-war years, and its members ‘made waves’ at least with regard to the reform schools at Palthoniemi, Muhos and Lauste (Laitala & Puuronen 2016, 118; Juntunen 2007, 179; Jalonen 1999).

This case study is the first to take care-leavers activities into closer scrutiny. By using materials produced during the investigation, my aim is to attempt to do justice to the complexities of the past and its contingency (cf. Kennedy 2001, 118). The investigator appointed by the Minister of Social Affairs and Health collected documentary evidence, including inmates’ essays, letters to parents, minutes of staff meetings and documents filed in response to complaints, and also conducted interviews with care-leavers, current inmates, and staff members. These primary sources present a unique opportunity to examine how children in care and young care-leavers tried to make sense of the harm inflicted on them, how they described events and actions deemed unjust, and how they reacted to these experiences not only by seeking justice, but also by trying to come to terms with their past.

When describing their recent experiences, children and care-leavers were able to give often vivid and detailed accounts of events and their related emotional reactions. As I will elaborate further in my analysis,

they expressed their reminiscences and testimonies within a moral frame and vocabulary. Both the informal meetings organized by care-

leavers and the formal investigations conducted by investigators formed arenas in which children and young care-leavers were able to articulate their feelings and feel that they were listened to and acknowledged. However, these pathways resulted in very different emotional experiences.

Vallgård, Alexander and Olsen (2015, 21) have used the concept of ‘emotional formation’ to describe how a variety of factors shape emotional experiences, such as cultural and social understandings of what is appropriate behavior in certain situations. The use of language in the care-leavers’ meetings was more passionate, aggressive and political than the dispassionate tone adopted in the interviews conducted by the formal investigator, reflecting their different power positions, and also the emotional prescriptions involved and prevailing local rules and norms (cf. Olsen 2017; Boddice 2018, 75, 193). In chapters 4 and 5, I will further emphasize the connectedness of emotions and spatial settings. By the help of interaction rituals such as the sharing of experiences, care-leavers’ meeting rooms and venues became emotionally heightened spaces (Gammerl 2012, 165) in which feelings of injustice were felt collectively and turned care-leavers into an emotional community, ready to act (cf. Rosenwein 2006).

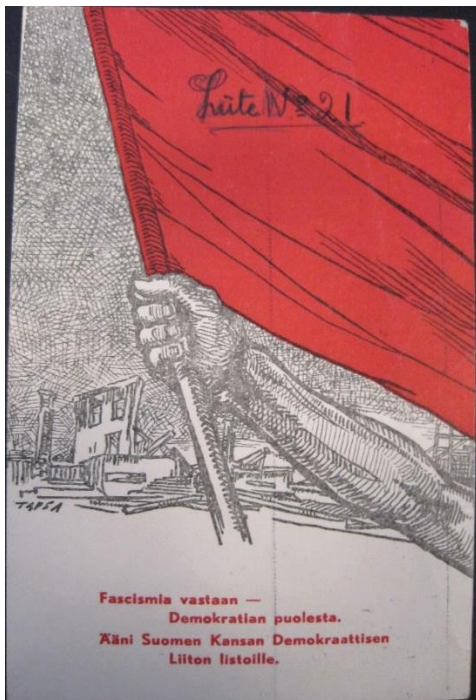
Cultural historians of medicine have also proposed that there is an ever-changing “symptom pool” that composes of the legitimate contemporary idioms of distress and appropriate ways to express psychological distress (Shorter 1998). In the case of the Pahloniemi children, they could not, for example, frame their experiences as traumatic, as the research concept of trauma was not yet established in Finnish society. However, contemporary political discussions provided narratives of change, of an unjust society, and a need to make society more democratic. Thus, care-leavers could use these ideas to make sense of their experiences and mobilize their feelings into a vehicle of social action.

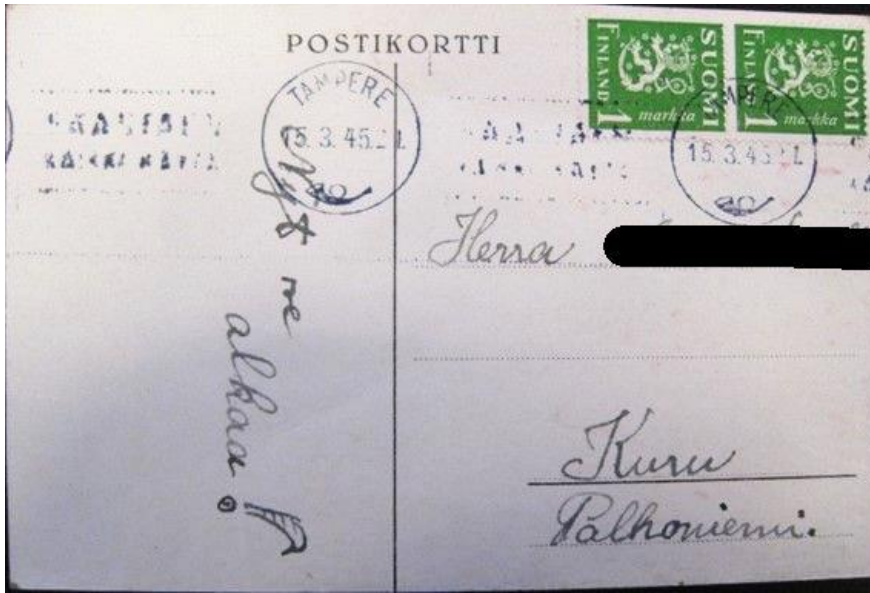
Although contemporary accounts afford interesting insights into past experiences, we have no way of accessing any “immediate” or “authentic” experiences that may have been present at the time, and we only know the experiences through their representation. When sharing their experiences, children had to transform actual events and impressions into discursive and textual forms (Abrams 2016). I concede that contemporary experiences are socially constructed, and formed in specific cultural and institutional contexts (Scott 1986). When the Pahloniemi care-leavers shared their experiences in their informal meetings, the environment for discussion was radically different from that of the interviews conducted during the investigation. Current inmates were interviewed during the formal investigation and asked questions for specific purposes, in order to ascertain whether infringements were actually perpetrated (cf. Vehkalahti 2016, 438). A

timeline, mapping the different phases of the investigation and other major events is attached as Appendix 1.

4. ‘Now it Begins’ – feelings of injustice as a resource for action

A new attack on the Palhoniemi authorities followed in March 1945, when the director of the Palhoniemi Reform School (A. L.) received an anonymous postcard bearing the message ‘Now it begins!’ (see Figures 2 and 3). The postcard was dated 15 March 1945 and was sent two days before the Finnish parliamentary elections. Finland was the first European country to hold parliamentary elections after the outbreak of WWII (Meinander 2012, 88). The postcard itself was a campaign postcard for the left-wing Finnish People’s Democratic League (*Suomen Kansan Demokraattisen Liitto* in Finnish). On the front of the postcard was the slogan “Against Fascism – For Democracy” (*Fascismia vastaan – Demokratian puolesta* in Finnish). Because of the timing, the phrase ‘Now it begins!’ could refer to the elections and the anticipated victory of the left, which was indeed the outcome of the elections. The far left received 23.5 percent of all the votes cast, becoming the second biggest parliamentary group after the Social Democratic Party of Finland (SDP) (Holmila & Mikkonen 2015, 141). The phrase “Now it begins” may also refer to the activities of a group making preparations for lodging complaints against Director A. L. and the Palhoniemi Reform School.





Figures 2 and 3. In March 1945 Director A. L. received an anonymous postcard on which was written 'Now it begins!'. The name is covered by author.

On 15 April 1945, nearly 40 people gathered in the *Eine* restaurant in Tampere to discuss the conditions in the Palhoniemi Municipal Reform School. The convenor of the meeting was a 19-year-old care-leaver of Palhoniemi, Mr. H. S., who had spent eight years at Palhoniemi from 1937 to early 1945. The participants consisting of Palhoniemi care-leavers and parents of current inmates, were invited to the meeting to discuss grievances about the institution, past and present. A few of the participants were also active members of the Finnish People's Democratic League (FPDL).

Preparations for the meeting had started two weeks earlier, when H. S. visited Palhoniemi on Good Friday, 30 March, and collected the names and addresses of current inmates and information on how they were treated (Anonymous letter, 30.12.1945, Palhoniemi Reform School, G: 17). It is probable that H. S. himself was inspired to act by other current events. In early March, a Finnish left-wing newspaper *Vapaa Sana* published an article dealing with 'horrendous brutality inside a reform school' (*Vapaa Sana* 2.31.1945). A young care-leaver who remained anonymous, shared his experiences of violent treatment in a reform school, which was only referred to as being 'the biggest in the Nordic countries'. By voicing his experiences, he set an example for others in a similar position.

Less than a week later, a new focus was put on reform schools when the government set up a committee to investigate conditions in reform schools and workhouses, and to correct possible shortcomings (KM 1946:1). The establishment of an official investigative committee gave new confidence to those who were already contemplating airing their grievances on a local level. It seems that the political turmoil following

World War Two and a rhetoric of radical change opened up a ‘window of opportunity’ (Kingdon 1995) to air grievances in a more open manner and in new political arenas, at least for several months. Especially in the field of child welfare, negligent or abusive treatment in institutional care could be articulated in a new way.² When participants entered the *Eine* restaurant they were feeling confident, but by the end of the meeting the room had become an emotionally charged space (Anderson & Smith 2001) - full of excitement, and hope of getting both retribution and also a change in the practices of Palhoniemi.

Margit Pernau has discussed the role of spatial settings in the formation of emotional experiences. She has argued that spaces are not naturally given, but ‘constituted through endowment with social meaning and constantly re-created through human practices’ (Pernau 2014, 542). The participants of the meeting knew beforehand that the *Eine* restaurant was regularly used to hold meetings of the FPD, and this knowledge sensitized participants to certain emotions even before they entered it. Other factors such as the social sharing of experiences and the spatial setting, also influenced how the atmosphere of the meeting developed. At the beginning of the meeting, the participants were simply a group of people aware of the general agenda and who came from a similar background. But as the meeting progressed, the group (at least temporarily) began to transform into an emotional community (cf. Rosenwein 2006).

The minutes of the meeting give us some clues about the factors shaping the emotional experience. First, a participant who was referred to as ‘*comrad*’ read aloud newspaper articles dealing with shortcomings in other reform schools, and in this way focused the attention of the other participants on the matter at hand. This was followed by an introductory speech by H. S. Starting from the day he entered Palhoniemi at age 11, H. S. described how he had personally experienced everyday life at Palhoniemi, the treatment in general, the punishments, and the social conditions. H. S. also noted how memories and time spent in reform school never left him, and he felt that the stigma of being ‘a Palhoniemi boy’ followed him and made it difficult to enter working life, as a second-class citizen. This highly emotional speech was received with enthusiasm, at least according to the minutes, and inspired others to share their experiences and feelings in the moment.

Researchers of collective emotions have pointed out how interaction rituals such as chants or songs, or the disclosure of experiences as seen at the meeting at *Eine*, can intensify emotions and produce emotional energy – including enthusiasm and confidence - for the participants (Scheve & Salmela 2014). By sharing and thereby validating their

² On the concept of ‘tellability’, see Rose 1999.

experiences, the participants did not only build a sense of community, but they also reduced the presence of stigma.

To render comprehensible the experiences of care-leavers and current inmates at Palthoniemi and their feelings of injustice and stigma, I will describe in some detail how participants in the meeting perceived and understood the nature of the care they received. In general, the main problems with the institution were identified as involving too harsh discipline, poor and inadequate food and clothing, too little freedom, excessive workload, and a lack of vocational training. A particular shortcoming was felt by the inmates to be that punishments did not adhere to the order prescribed in the rules.

In order to bring maladjusted children and young offenders back into line, a system of punishments of increasing severity was created (see Table 2). In principle, the outcomes of education were supported in institutions by means of sanctions and incentives (stick and carrot). If an inmate broke the rules, these same rules required that initially a public warning was to be administered. If the warning did not have the desired effect, it was possible to withdraw partly or in whole certain rewards and privileges earned, and to reduce the quality of food provided for no more than one day at a time. Corporal punishment was also permitted, however, the basic principle was that such punishment may not impair the health of the inmate (Laitala & Puuronen 2016, 164; cf. Sargent 2014).

The inmates' accounts stressed that instead of issuing warnings, punishments frequently became physical. Typical punishments were due to offences perpetrated by the boys (such as petty theft and stealing), refusing to work, or defying instructions given by the personnel - all practices which can be labelled as everyday resistance. Many of the Palthoniemi inmates appear to have deemed the punishments meted out as routine, reasonable or just if there was some reason for them. In the post-war years, corporal punishment was fairly common in Finnish families, although in the 1940s and 1950s, Finnish psychologists argued against it as they believed it eroded trust between the child and caregiver.

Table 2. Forms of punishment allowed and infringements involving exceeding the limits

Permitted punishment	Accusations of exceeding the limits
Solitary confinement:	
Under 14 years old, max 2 nights	
14–16 years old, max 4 nights	e.g. 15-year old boy, 12 nights
Over 17, max 6 nights	
Birching on the decision of the director together with the guardians administered by the director in the presence of another employee	
Proper tool: birch	Instrument used: tarred rope, leather strap, pitchfork shaft
Maximum number of strokes 10	Number exceeded, 11–30
No punishments other than those mentioned above were to be administered.	
Especially forbidden were: Boxing the ears, prodding, and other hands-on actions	Punching with fists, kicks, hitting with a stick, throttling

Possibly the greatest anger and feelings of hatred arose in those situations in which the inmates felt that they had been punished or mistreated without just cause. In the Palhoniemi institution, several workers (inspectors/superintendents) were believed to act unpredictably and to be subject to fits of anger. To give an example, one boy born in 1930 was punched straight in the face in a situation in which the boy had refused to address a worker in a certain manner. Boys might even be punished for accidents that occurred. When one boy engaged in farm work accidentally uprooted a carrot plant while working with a hoe, the gardener immediately beat him with a stick (L. L., born 1932, Interview, Palhoniemi investigation). When another boy was driving a horse and inadvertently broke a shaft, the superintendent (K. P.) struck him several times on the back, wrists and knees with a stick 2.5 cm in diameter (R. M., born 1930, Interview, Palhoniemi investigation).

Similar punishments deemed excessive were also meted out for the slightest of breaches of etiquette. When an informant born in 1930 had been fighting with another boy about his place in the line, an inspector called J. V. knocked their heads together.

Another punishment deemed unjust was the use of unreasonable force and the inflicting of excessive physical or mental pain. For example, the inmates considered blows from fists or throttling as unreasonable, as well as heavy blows from a stick or strap that caused injury, bleeding, bruising or swelling that troubled them for a long time. After harsh punishments and violent treatment, the inmates wept, ran off, and some absconded from the institution. The violent treatment received is also likely to have caused the children to suffer from mental and physical symptoms, for example bedwetting. However, there were

differences in how feelings were expressed, and while some tried to hold back their tears, some wept openly, especially the younger ones.

Punishments deemed unreasonable frequently coincided with the days of being sequestered on recapture after absconding (cf. Daly 2014, 90). After attempting to escape, a youth might be sequestered in a cell for as many as 12 to 14 days (J. L., born 1930; H. S., born 1926, Interviews, Palhoniemi investigation). Long periods in the cell were considered a terrifying experience, especially if the inmate's rights to be allowed out of the cell were also curtailed. After attempting to escape, boys were regularly birched.

Both the statements and previously gathered testimonies read out during the meeting at the *Eine* restaurant help us to understand the emotional states of the participants and their eagerness to call wrongdoers to account. When H. S. gave his concluding speech, he argued that now was finally the right time to demand changes and to “fight against the terrorism” which they had experienced, but with a warning that success demanded a joint effort:

‘Now we, both the former boys and parents of Palhoniemi inmates, must have a complete mutual understanding in order to stand united. We know that there will be troubles ahead and forces who will resist us, but with common sense and a clear mind, we must prevail and beat our opponents.’ (Minutes, Palhoniemi investigation, Hb:1 Investigations).

The participants agreed with H. S.'s call for action and according to the minutes, expressed their enthusiasm by cheering, shouting supportively, and giving standing ovations. It seems that the discussions and sharing of experiences provided participants with a sense of belonging and empowerment. By entering into an alliance with the local representatives of the FPD, the care-leavers were even more hopeful of getting their voices heard, and accessing the political system and justice. It seems that the care-leavers tried to make use of the previously described ‘window of opportunity’ (Kingdon 1995) which opened up in the months immediately following the end of the war, allowing them to become “policy entrepreneurs” and promoting changes in the management and organization of care.

Although the discussion revolved around negative and even traumatic experiences, especially towards the end, the atmosphere of the meeting turned positive and future-oriented, and even exuberant. According to Judith Herman, an opportunity to share a traumatic experience in detail with the accompanying feelings can provide relief and reduce symptoms related to that experience (Herman 1997, 273–274). As the participants were trying to come to terms with their experiences, the meeting allowed them to feel that they were being listened to without being judged or doubted.

The participants also made demands of a retributive nature. First of all, the participants agreed to call for Palhoniemi Director A. L. to be relieved of his duties, and for all staff members of Palhoniemi to be called to account for their unlawful conduct. Accusations were also made against the Municipal Board for Child Protection. Some of the parents claimed that their children had been sent to Palhoniemi without written parental permission, and that some of the boys placed in Palhoniemi were too unfit and anti-social to be placed there.

When discussing concrete means of seeking justice, the use of complaint procedures was raised. Even before the meeting, the convenors had gathered quite extensive material in the form of written testimonies to substantiate their claims. The right to make a complaint (“gå till kungs”, *actio popularis*) has been a part of the Finnish administrative and judicial system for a very long time, and as already pointed out, any individual could file an administrative complaint to the supervising authorities (Mäenpää & Fenger 2019, 176–177). When it was time to make a decision, the empowered attendees voted with an overwhelming majority to demand the initiation of an official “investigative commission”.

5. The role of emotions in the process of handling a complaint

In June 1945, the attendees of the Palhoniemi meeting sent an official request to the Child Welfare Office (CWO) at the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, in which they demanded the initiation of an official ‘investigative commission’ (*tutkimuskomitea* in Finnish). The CWO was the highest authority in Finland responsible for inspecting child protection, and was legally obligated to address the complaint. Locally, the Tampere Municipal Board for Child Protection was responsible for the inspection of children in out-of-home care. On receipt of the complaint, the CWO initially requested a statement on the issue from the Tampere Board for Child Protection. The Board and its director Alpo Lumme were the supreme authorities overseeing the reform school and the body in charge (L1936, 35§). The Board in turn requested a statement from the director of the reform school. In his statement, Director A. L. first gave a general overview of how the situation at Palhoniemi had developed during the spring, and how certain individuals such as H. S. had begun to cause unrest among the inmates. As the following excerpt shows, the Director fairly quickly started to paint a picture of H. S. as a troublemaker and a deviant individual, who was also a possible psychopath:

‘Some sort of diagnosis of H.’s personality might help to explain his antics. If a psychopath is understood to be a person who reacts violently in different situations, then H. can be considered to be mentally disturbed’. (Statement by A. L. 21.6.1945, Hb:1.3)

Katariina Parhi has argued that in Finland in the 1940s, psychiatrists used a diagnosis of psychopathy as a marker of problematic behavior (Parhi 2019, 1). By chance, roughly at the same time as A. L. responded to the accusations, the authorities initiated an inquiry to directors of reform schools to estimate the number of psychopaths in their facilities, and according to subjective evaluations, roughly 21–24% of boys met the criteria (KM 1946:1, 12). It is therefore not surprising that director H. L. used H. S.’s emotionality and the volatility of his emotions as an indicator of his pathological condition and possible psychopathy. To make his argument more convincing, A. L. attached a number of records to his statement, in which other professionals such as teachers had made evaluations of H. S. and his inability to adjust to his environment. Anne Koskela and Kaisa Vehkalahti have pointed out how professional devices such as teacher’s statement forms produced a picture of normality and deviance (Koskela & Vehkalahti 2016). In H. S.’s case, these records highlighted the pathological nature of his behavior and also the hereditary factors behind it.

In the statement of 21 June 1945, as a rejoinder to the complaint, the Board proposed that there was no need for an investigation, claiming repeatedly that the inmates’ accounts could not be relied upon. The rejoinder set the character of the inmates in a decidedly dubious light, and in a similar fashion to A. L.’s statement, most of the boys were reportedly mentally disturbed, with their imaginations vacillating between fact and fiction. At the end of its rejoinder, the Board regretted ‘that such flagrantly dishonest and malicious accusations should have been made by H. S. and his associates, which is what the accusations against the Palhoniemi Reform School are’ (Minutes, Palhoniemi investigation, Hb:1.3).

As Harry Ferguson and Carol Brennan have pointed out, in general, children in care have had trouble presenting themselves as credible witnesses (Ferguson 2007, 127; Brennan 2015). This also becomes apparent in the Palhoniemi case. The actions taken by Director Alpo Lumme of the Child Welfare Board and the Palhoniemi Director A. L. build a picture in which they appear to act in a coordinated manner to brush aside the care-leavers’ accusations as false and misleading. Furthermore, both Director Lumme and Director A. L. also made efforts to publicly defend the reputation of Palhoniemi. When the care-leavers’ meeting was held in the *Eine* restaurant on 15 April 1945, an advert was published the same day calling former boys of Palhoniemi to join a ‘brotherhood meeting’ to be held on 6 May 1945 (Newspaper *Aamulehti* 15.4.1945). The meeting was organized by Director A. L., and in a

peculiar way followed the same formula as the meeting organized by H. S. In his introductory speech, Director A. L. presented an idea to establish a society for former boys, as it was important both for the development of current work, and also for boys in care, to listen and learn from the experiences of care-leavers. During the ‘brotherhood meeting’, former boys shared their experiences one by one, but neither the newspaper article nor the transcript of the meeting reveals the number of attendees. Director Lumme of the Child Welfare Board was also present in the meeting, and in his speech he publicly rejected the accusations made regarding the Palhoniemi reform school, and especially any criticism of its results as re-educative facility (*Aamulehti* 7.5.1945).

Despite this heavy resistance, the care-leavers did not back down from their demands for an inquiry, although the Board for Child Protection insisted that there was no need for it. On 20 August 1945, those who had attended the earlier meeting at the *Eine* restaurant set up a committee in whose name a demand was made to the city government on 30 August 1945 for an inquiry to be held. A painter by the name of E. N. was elected to chair the committee, and he was a member of the FPDL. In their complaint, the complainants reiterated their accusations, the main shortcoming still perceived to be that the punishments meted out in the institution contravened the rules of the reform school (40§ and 41§). In evidence of this, the committee presented information collected from inmates, parents and medical practitioners.

In spite of the negative attitude on the part of the Board for Child Protection, the city government required the inquiry proposed by the complainants to be implemented, and encouraged the Board to enlist the help of the Ministry of Social Affairs. The document requiring the inquiry was signed by Mr. Aarre Ranta, deputy mayor of Tampere and a member of the Social Democratic Party (SDP), into whose purview social matters fell. The material at my disposal does not reveal the extent to which the FPDL members of the city government may have exerted influence in the processing of the complaint. But it would nevertheless appear that the complainants knew that they could also rely on support from local left-wing politicians. In October 1945, Director A. L. was sent a letter describing him as a predator and calling for his immediate resignation. The same letter informed him that the signatories of the letter were ‘eleven old boys crying out for revenge’ and that they had joined the FPDL. Robert C. Solomon (1999, 126) has pointed out how a desire for vengeance seems to be ‘an integral aspect of our recognition and reaction to wrong and being wronged’, and this desire was explicitly expressed in the letter.

At the request of the city government, the Board for Child Protection called for assistance from the Ministry of Social Affairs in the implementation of the inquiry, and this was met with a positive

response. On 29 October 1945, Minister Eino Kilpi (SDP) ordered ‘a full and thorough investigation of the issue’. The framing of this instruction suggests that the official appointed needed to be familiar with the genuine background of the matter, namely the aspects and conditions which it would rely upon to resolve the issue. ‘Full and thorough’ meant that officialdom should obtain all the information that was deemed to be of significance in resolving the issue. A lawyer and departmental secretary by the name of Leo Lähdevuori was involved in this process.

It was very rare, but not unprecedented, for the Ministry and its officials to conduct an inquiry. District inspectors of social care used to be sent to investigate various complaints and revelations. Complaints about the care of the poor were especially common, but less so within the field of child welfare. However, the Ministry might also conduct inquiries of their own accord, for example as a result of items or accusations appearing in the press.

The inquiry began on 6 November 1945. Lähdevuori conducted four separate interrogations on 6 November (at the Board for Child Protection), on 7 November (at Palthoniemi, with current inmates), on 14 November (at the Board for Child Protection, in the presence of former Palthoniemi personnel), on 17 December (at the Board for Child Protection, with Director A. L.), and the upshot of these inquiries was a 61-page transcript which Lähdevuori completed on 17 January 1946. With its appendices, it amounted to a total of 103 pages. The interrogations were conducted in the form of a police interrogation, with those present in addition to Lähdevuori being two witnesses to the interrogation, Mr. Eetu Reinilä, a grammar school teacher and member of the Tampere Board for Child Protection, and Ms. Liisa Uotila of Tampere city youth work, who also took notes.

The purpose of the interviews was to gather information about the alleged events, and the investigator’s task was to estimate the evidential value of the witnesses and the value of the information gleaned in the interviews, especially from the perspective of the issue to be investigated. In practice, the investigator had to weigh up what attitude to take in the interviews held with the boys and personnel. It would appear that the investigator endeavored to ascertain what had really happened, and to what extent the actions exceeded the limitations on punishments and penalties laid down in the rules of the institution. The degree of detail assumed importance in the investigation. When the inmates recounted how they were punished and how they were treated, the precise number of blows was entered into the record, the specific object with which they were struck, and what the consequences of such beatings had been.

The personnel interviewed made great efforts to discredit the boys’ accounts. The director of the institution, in particular, attempted to claim that the boys were unreliable witnesses, and as in the earlier

statement by the Board for Child Protection, called them mentally disturbed and described them as psychopaths. However, there was a high possibility that the claims of the young people and personnel might have been given little weight in investigations led by the Ministry. In another case concerning alleged sexual misconduct on the part of a pastor who was part of the management of an orphanage, the district inspector of social care conducted a fairly thorough investigation. Although a female worker at the orphanage was of the opinion that the pastor's conduct with the older girls was inappropriate, the inspector attached greater importance to the directress' statement that she had observed no inappropriate conduct on the part of the pastor.

However, in the investigation conducted by the Ministry of Social Affairs, the boys were given a hearing and it would appear that their testimonies were taken seriously. In a statement to the Board for Child Protection on 14 February 1946, the Ministry expressed the opinion that an atmosphere had evolved in the Palhoniemi Reform School which was decidedly detrimental to successful upbringing, and that this atmosphere was attributable to Director A. L.. The statement went on to note that punishments had been inflicted in the institution which ran contrary to its own rules, and that a superintendent by the name of K. P. was particularly implicated in these. The report also noted other shortcomings which the Board was exhorted to take urgent measures to correct.

After the publication of the report, the board of governors of the institution decided that Director A. L. should be removed from his post. At a meeting held on 6 May 1946, the dismissal of A. L. was proposed, and after lengthy consideration, the Board for Child Protection concurred with the proposal and decided to relieve A. L. of his duties with effect from 1 August 1946, and to issue a severe reprimand to superintendent K. P.

The document drawn up by the Board for Child Protection accompanying the decision on dismissal does not, however, mention the unreasonable and violent treatment of inmates, which was expressed as the main problem. Rather, the problem highlighted is that Director A. L. no longer enjoyed the confidence of the inmates' parents and his own personnel, and that the reform school had been too open to external visitors. The Board for Child Protection was moreover of the opinion that punishments had been meted out 'as would appear' contrary to the rules, and that Director A. L. had not sufficiently monitored the infringements of his subordinates.

The major interest surrounding the complaint and the ensuing investigation focused primarily on the offences committed where the limits of punishment allowed in law were exceeded. The focus of the interviews was not on how the inmates felt about this, but nevertheless,

the inmates described the feelings which the punishments and conditions of care had caused.

6. Conclusions

In this article I have scrutinized a somewhat uncharacteristic investigation conducted by the Finnish Ministry of Social Affairs into accusations made against a municipal reform school in the vicinity of the Finnish city of Tampere during the period 1945-1946. What makes the case unusual is that the investigation got under way only gradually, at the instigation of young men who had been released from the institution. The former inmates of the reform school, together with parents of current inmates, drew up a complaint demanding not only changes in the conditions prevailing in the reform school, but also calling the perpetrators of the misconduct to account. In the testimonies collected for the complaint, the former inmates of the reform school also recounted at length what it felt like to be there. The study data and analysis is significant in terms of understanding how children and care-leavers made sense of their situations and expressed their moral views.

The chain of events was rendered possible through the situation prevailing in society and the mood in Finland after the war, and conditions to which inmates were subjected were widely criticized. In the postwar political situation, abuse and neglect in institutional care became tellable in a special way, and although the complaint was quite exceptional, especially due to the young age of the complainants, a critical movement against reform schools was also discernible in other Finnish municipalities.

The article argues that not only feelings of injustice, anger and hatred, but also of hope, became an import resource for collective action. By seeking justice, the care-leavers were able, at least momentarily, to come to terms with their past and heal some of the wounds inflicted on them. When the group was organized, it formed, at least temporarily, an emotional community (cf. Rosenwein 2006) in which its members were bound together by their experiences of being in care and the feelings of injustice they experienced. Being part of this emotional community opened up opportunities for empowerment through sharing and the validation of experiences.

Since the 1990s, there has been a growing public interest in the human consequences of experiencing human disasters, including failures in education, upbringing and care (Abrams 2016, ix, 175–176). Recent inquiries into the failures of child welfare have in particular become a global phenomenon, documenting and acknowledging the

experiences of children who are allegedly being ‘looked after’ (Gibney 2008; Olick 2007). The Finnish Inquiry revealed that when lodging complaints about inappropriate and abusive care, care-leavers felt that they were not being listened to, sometimes disrespected, and labelled as untrustworthy and even mentally disturbed. The combination of the social attitudes towards children and their parents, and the indifference of local authorities towards inspection created environments in which abuse and neglect has continued (Malinen et al. 2019, 9). Specifically in regard to failing complaint mechanisms, instead of giving hope to children that their problems would be dealt with, they have continued to cause structural violence, and feelings of being neglected by a new group of adults and authorities (cf. Abrams & Keren 2007).

The Palhoniemi investigation and its different phases provided an interesting historical case study on how ‘truth’ and ‘knowledge’ were socially constructed by the parties involved, and how parties had differing capacities to produce knowledge that could be considered as trustworthy. Local authorities and representatives of the reform school clearly had a more advantaged position, as they were representing the state, and offered expertise based on professional and scientific knowledge. However, due to the unstable political situation and changing political constellations, both governmental and local authorities became more carefully attuned to voiced grievances (as experiential knowledge), and also to the emotional states of citizens and their feelings.

Appendix I.

Timeline depicting main events of Palhoniemi investigation and events preceding it

19.9.1944: Signing of the Moscow Armistice between Finland and the Soviet Union, ending the so-called Continuation War.

February 1945: A housekeeper working at the Palhoniemi Reform School receives a threatening letter, signed by “eleven old boys crying out for revenge”.

2.3.1945: Finnish left-wing newspaper Vapaa Sana 2.3.1945 publishes an article: “Terrible brutalities inside the walls of reform schools”.

8.3.1945: Finnish government sets up a committee to investigate conditions in reform schools and workhouses and correct possible shortcomings.

15.3.1945: Director of Palhoniemi receives an anonymous postcard bearing the message “Now it begins!”

17.-18.3.1945: Parliamentary elections in Finland result in a victory for leftist parties (SDP 25.08 %, FPD 23.47 %).

30.3.1945: Care-leaver H. S. visits Palhoniemi to gather information from current inmates.

15.4.1945: Palhoniemi care-leavers and parents of current inmates meet at the Eine restaurant.

15.4.1945: An advert is published in the newspaper Aamulehti, calling for Palhoniemi care-leavers to join a ‘brotherhood meeting’, to be held 6 May 1945.

27.4.1945: Last Germans leave Lapland, ending the Lapland War with Germany.

31.4.1945: Personnel meeting at Palhoniemi, in which the recent activities of care-leavers, including the meeting at the Eine restaurant are discussed; director presents his plans for a ‘brotherhood meeting’, also intended for care-leavers.

6.5.1945: ‘Brotherhood meeting’ organized by the director of Palhoniemi is held at the Emmaus hotel.

8.5.1945: Recently established committee presents its first statement and urges the Finnish government to establish a specific residential institution for children considered to be psychopaths (Suomen Sosialidemokraatti 8.5.1945).

28.5.1945: Personnel meeting at Palhoniemi. On the request of the director, disciplinary practices are discussed and personnel are asked to refrain from the use of corporal punishment, especially of an arbitrary nature.

21.6.1945: The Tampere Board for Child Protection issues a statement to the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, disclaiming the validity of complaints made by care-leavers; a statement by the director of Palhoniemi is attached as an appendix.

5.8.1945: The Tampere Board for Child Protection visits Palhoniemi and conducts a short inspection.

20.8.1945: A meeting organized by parents of Palhoniemi inmates is held, and a working group for the preparation of a new complaint is selected.

30.8.1945: The working group selected on 20.8.1945 issues a request to the city government to initiate a formal investigation at the Palhoniemi Reform School.

15.9.1945: Some members of the working group and parents of current inmates visit Palhoniemi after being given permission by director A. L.

4.10.1945: City government of Tampere issues a request to the Child Welfare Board to initiate a formal investigation of the Palhoniemi Reform School, with the help of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health.

30.10.1945: Child Welfare Board informs the committee appointed by care-leavers of the initiation of a formal investigation and dates for forthcoming interviews.

6.11.1945: Investigator Leo Lähdevuori is appointed by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, and conducts the first interviews at the office of the Child Welfare Board, starting with care-leavers.

7.11.1945: Investigator continues conducting interviews at Palhoniemi with current inmates and members of staff.

14.11.1945: Investigator conducts a second round of interviews with care-leavers and current inmates.

16.-17.11.1945: Two accountants conduct an audit of Palhoniemi Reform School.

17.12.1945: Investigator interviews director A. L. of Palhoniemi Reform School.

30.12.1945: Director of Palhoniemi provides Concluding Statement.

17.1.1946: Investigator Leo Lähdevuori publishes his final record of investigation.

7.2.1946: Left-wing newspaper Työkansan Sanomat publishes an article on the Palhoniemi Reform School, focusing on the alleged brutal treatment of inmates.

14.2.1946: Ministry of Social Affairs and Health issues a statement with a final record of the investigation as an attachment to the Tampere Child Welfare Board.

18.2.1946: Child Welfare Board receives the statement issued by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health.

11.3.1946: Final record of the investigation is delivered to concerned parties for scrutiny.

21.3.1946: Director A. L. of Palhoniemi reform school provides additional information to his concluding statement.

28.3.1946: Child Welfare Board makes a decision to visit four different residential care institutions, in order to compare current practices of residential care, and to prepare a decision regarding the Palhoniemi Reform School.

4.4.1946-6.5.1946: Three members of the Child Welfare Board conduct a tour of four different Finnish residential care institutions.

6.5.1946: Board of Palhoniemi Reform School makes a proposition to remove director A. L. and issue a severe reprimand to superintendent K. P.

16.5.1946: After a long meeting, the Child Welfare Board removes the director of Palhoniemi Reform School, with effect from 1 August 1946.

31.5.1946: The city government of Tampere agrees with the decision of the Child Welfare Board to remove director A. L.

12.6.1946: Child Welfare Board issues a severe reprimand to superintendent K. P.

19.9.1946: Child Welfare Board examines a statement made by psychiatrist Ilmari Kalpa, on the role and meaning of corporal punishment in the education of children. The Board makes a decision to forward statement to all members of the Child Welfare Board and institutions which are supervised by the Child Welfare Board. In the statement, Kalpa argues against the use of corporal punishment.

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Archival Material

Helsingin Kansallisarkisto

Sosiaali- ja terveysministeriön huolto- ja väestöosaston lastensuojelutoimiston arkisto

Hb:1.3 Kasvatuslaitosten tutkimusjuttuja koskevat saapuneet asiakirjat 1937 - 1945

Ee:2 Huoltotoimen piiritarkastajilta saapuneet kirjeet

Hämeenlinnan kaupunginarkisto

Hämeen läänin sosiaalihuollon piiritarkastajan arkisto

Ca:3 Neuvottelukokousten pöytäkirjat

Fc:1 Yksityislaitoksia koskeva kirjeistö, Lastenkodit 1928–1971

Fc:3 Lakkautetut lastenkodit

Tampereen kaupunginarkisto

Tampereen lastensuojelulautakunnan arkisto

Vuosien 1945–1946 tutkinta-asiakirjat, kansiot G:16–17

Tampereen lastensuojelulautakunnan pöytäkirjat 1945–1946