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THE ETHOS OF NORDIC WELFARE

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Summary

The project focuses on the birth and development of practices of government, and the related modes of reasoning and rationalities in the Finnish and Swedish welfare societies from the perspective of the history of governmentality. The project consists of the following lines of study. *Ilpo Helén* analyses sexual and mental health policy in Finland and Sweden 1940s – 1990s and focuses on the implementation of psychotherapeutic models for the relation to the self into the ethos of welfare. *Turo-Kimmo Lehtonen* studies the history of economic subjectivity in the Nordic countries during the latter half of 20th century by looking at the promotion of private insurance. *Mikko Jauho* focuses the history of public health and health policy, and the formation of the modern ethos of individual health care in Finland in the 20th century. *Mianna Meskus* studies the formation of individual choice and risk reasoning in maternity care by focusing on the relationship between eugenics and the new genetics. The subject of *Katja Yesilova's* study is the problematisation of the modern nuclear family in general and the Finnish family education from the 1960s to the present day in particular.

In all five studies the welfare state and society are approached by asking how concrete everyday matters like sexuality, procreation, family and marital life, consumption and various aspects of health have become objects of government and problems of welfare. The starting point is the subject of welfare, subjectification. First, this concerns problems of *social citizenship*, pointing to struggles concerning various social rights and to different governmental practices regulating society and social relationships. The outcome of the struggles and practices is the politics of welfare, supported by the methods of educating the social citizen in various contexts where human beings are moulded to members of welfare society.

Second, the subject of welfare indicates *individualisation* of the practices of life. This refers to practices and situations in which possibilities, freedoms and necessities to govern one's own life are formed. The central question of the project is how governmental practices of regulation of society and individualization of the practices of life are historically intertwined in the 'Nordic model'. How have the politics of welfare and the social regulation functioned as 'midwives' for the birth of the values and the practices of life based on individuality?

The specific studies concentrate on developments in Finland and Sweden. By studying the mentioned concrete dimensions of government of life, the specific mode for living in welfare society, *the ethos of Nordic welfare*, will be outlined. In addition, differences between Finland and Sweden regarding realisation of this ethos are pointed out.

The foundations of 'the Nordic model' will be analysed by the research project: How are the idea of 'the good life' and its political and ethical realisation depicted? How have these ideas and models been formed and become effective historically through various programmes, projects, struggles and practices? What is the political and ethical rationality of the ethos of welfare, its *practical reason*, like, and how does it legitimate itself?

THE BACKGROUND OF THE PROJECT

The point of departure for the research project is the following idea: the ‘Nordic model’, the distinctive character of which has been underlined by the discussion and research on the crisis of the welfare state during recent years (e.g. Uusitalo 1993; Kautto et al. 2001; cf. Stråth 1993; Hänninen 2001, 19, 21), does not merely consist of interventions by the state or the system of public welfare services. Rather, it refers to arrangements for the government of life that concern concretely people’s happiness and ways of living and being, emerged during the past 150 years. They are related, for example, to household management and consumption, sexuality, family life, procreation, education and different aspects of health care. A certain practical rationality, even mentality for the conduct of living (*Lebensführung*) (cf. Weber 1989, 53-54) in a welfare society has been formed in the context of the above arrangements. This is the *ethos* of welfare that has both political and ethical dimension.

First, the political aspect of welfare, i.e. the question concerning the relationship between the public authorities and common welfare, are defined in the fields of life studied by this project. Second, they also provide actual points of reference for studying the ethics of welfare. In the Nordic discussion on values and virtues related to welfare, there has been an emphasis on *equality*, on the idea that all citizens are *universally* entitled to welfare, and on *responsibility*, referring to both the obligations of public authorities and socially shared responsibilities. An equally important question has been concerned with the *individual freedom*, focusing especially on personal happiness and well-being. (Hernes 1988; Uusitalo 1993, 74-75; Rothstein 1994, 206-218; Trägårdh 1995; 1997; Stråth & Sørensen 1997; Kosonen 1998, 104-110; Hänninen 2001).

The specific studies of the project concentrate on analysing what have the values of equality, social responsibility and personal well-being concretely meant in different Nordic welfare regimes in different times, what kinds of battles have been fought in the name of welfare, and what type of projects for governing life have they given rise to. The studies are:

The ethos of welfare and the therapeutic relation to the self: A genealogy of the Nordic sexual and mental health policy (DrSocSc, docent Ilpo Helén)

Tuberculosis prevention and the liberal government of health in Finland 1880-1945 (MSocSc Mikko Jauho)

Consumer society and the ethos of welfare: A study on private insurance and economic subjectivity (DrSocSc Turo-Kimmo Lehtonen)

From population danger to individual risk: Eugenics, genetics and politics of reproduction in Finland from the 1950s to the present day (MSocSc Mianna Meskus)

Educating the Family: Family politics, practices and ideals in Finland from the 1960s to 2000 (MSocSc Katja Yesilova)

The subject of welfare

The distinguishing character of the 'Nordic model' has usually been related to certain features of the welfare state and the systems of welfare services, such as provision of social security and services equally to all citizens, binding of pensions, unemployment compensations, sick pays and other forms of social insurance to personal income, the role of public institutions as the main providers of welfare services, and 'woman friendliness' (e.g. Esping-Andersen 1990; Leira 1992; Eräsaari ym. 1995; Stephens 1998; Kosonen 1998, 104-111). In addition, the political culture in which the state and civil society are intermingled is often pointed out as a special characteristic of the Nordic welfare democracy (Hernes 1988; Trägårdh 1997, 257-262; Kettunen 2000).

The approach of *The Ethos of Nordic Welfare* project is not embedded in the notion of the centrality of the state. Instead, we emphasise *ethos*, i.e. a rational mentality conducting the practice of life (cf. Weber 1989, 53-54) that unites different areas of government of life, defines their character and has a remarkable influence on *political* processes through which the lives of the individuals and the machinery of welfare society encounter each other (cf. Hänninen 2001, 20-21). Further, *the subject of welfare* is a primary issue in studying the ethos of welfare and practices of life that has been taken shape in the context of the welfare state and welfare society. It is the focus of our inquiries concerning a historically specific mode of government that is characteristic of liberal social states. First, the attempt to mobilise the governed subjects into processes of governing as free and autonomous individuals is an essential feature of this mode of government (Hindess 1996; Rose 1999, 61-97). Second, its fundamental trait is *governmentalisation* of the state, in other words dispersion of public power and authority into various practices, or rather assemblages, defined by particular regimes and objectives of government and special expertises. Third, the mode of governing in question is organised through the ideas and problems concerning government of the *social*. In this context, notions of the social, social problems, rights etc. refer to a governable reality that is reducible to neither economic nor political relations. (Foucault 1991; 1998c; Helén 1997, 118-125; 2000; Dean 1999, especially 48-55, 123-130; Rose 1999, especially 98-136.) Now, the subject of study in *The Ethos of Nordic Welfare* project is *subjectification* in different regimes of welfare, i.e. processes and practices through which people become members of welfare society, both as 'citizens' and 'individuals'. From this perspective the specific studies of the project analyse the historical emergence and metamorphoses of the political substrates and contexts of influence for the ethos of Nordic welfare.

First, subjectivity of welfare is about citizenship. Instead of formal political citizenship, defined in terms of democratic rights and personal autonomy (Hernes 1988; Rothstein 1994) the issue of *social citizenship* is emphasised in our project. The latter refers to a configuration of social rights and practices of securing and regulating life related to social and health policies, which emerged as the modern liberal and welfarish modes of government began to take shape in different European countries in the late 19th and the early 20th centuries. The development was encouraged by the disputes over democratic rights. The new mode of governing and the practices of securing life provided the basis for the formation of various assemblages of social regulation and the related political controversies. In them, social citizenship was defined with regard to human needs and membership of society. (Donzelot 1984; Burchell 1991; Helén 1997, 118-125; Rose 1993; Procacci 1998.) The five studies of *The Ethos of Nordic Welfare* project will bring out how the politics of welfare gradually took concrete forms in the Nordic countries, and what were the meanings given to social citizenship in different contexts. In addition, a genealogical inquiry into variations of social citizenship in health, reproduction, sexual, family and consumer policies shed light on the descent of the overt political nature of the Nordic welfare and the related peculiar concept of politics (Hänninen 2001, 27-32).

In every specific study of the project especial attention is paid to the efforts of popular education that are related to the politics of welfare and aim to transform people into self-governing individuals. Democratic and liberal politics of welfare is based on the idea of “community of autonomous persons”, in and through which the government of society happens. The mode of governing characteristic for liberal social states requires free and independent individuals who are capable of governing themselves. Therefore, the education of people to politically and socially free individuals is a cardinal pursuit and problem of welfare societies. (Burchell, G. 1993; Burchell, D. 1995; Hindess 1996; Dean 1999, especially 153-165; Rose 1999, especially 61-97.) Regarding Nordic countries, the latter aspect of the subjectivity of welfare is particularly important, since the Nordic Enlightenment – understanding concerning human progress and modernity, that is – is often considered as exceptional due to its great emphasis on popular education and self-education (Sørensen & Stråth 1997, 5-10; Witoszek 1997). Therefore, the pursuits to bring up and educate social citizen, i.e. social practices such as health and sexual education, advice in family and marital life or consumer education, in which human beings are moulded into members of welfare society, hold a key position in studying the descent of the ethos of Nordic welfare.

Besides social citizenship the subject of welfare refers *individualisation of the practices of life*. ‘Individualisation’ has been a central theme in recent sociological discussions on late modernity and the crisis of the welfare state (e.g. Beck 1986, 300-374; 1993, 149-176, 204-240; Giddens 1991, 209-231; 1994, 82-91; Eräsaari 1993, 102-117). Furthermore, many historians have claimed that the Nordic democracy and welfare politics are very much focused on the individual and regard highly personal independence

(Rothstein 1994, 206-218; Trägårdh 1995; 1997; Sørensen 1998). The studies of *The Ethos of Nordic Welfare* look at practices and contexts in which the possibilities for personal freedom and the necessities to govern one's own life are formed. Thus, the basic question is: How are formation of social orders and individualisation of practices of life entwined in the "Nordic model"? How do politics, regulation of society and education of the social citizen function as "midwives" for the birth of the values and the practices of life based on individuality? How is the governmentality of welfare entangled with the emergence of individualised practices of well-being?

Through the above questions our research project joins the tradition that highlights the mutual influence and affinity between the modern political and social order and the modern western individuality (cf. Foucault 1988; 1991; Weber 1989; Elias 1976; Oestreich 1982.) The specific studies analyse the concrete assemblages and projects in a liberal and democratic welfare society in which freedom of the individuals and government of society are mutually related. In these assemblages, individuals are liberated and made independent to make choice in their lives, and through them personal freedom of choice actually appears as the prerequisite of the modern mode of government. Thus, in its inquiries on birth and metamorphoses of the welfare society, *The Ethos of Nordic Welfare* project points up emergence of political and ethical ambivalences that, for their part, form a basis for 'life-politics' (Giddens 1991; Beck 1993; Roos 1996; Hoikkala & Roos (toim.) 1998) or, in more exact terms, for 'politics of one's own life' (Helén 1997, 13-15, 22-25).

Governing life

The historical moulding of social citizenship and the 'Nordic model' are studied in the project from the perspective of governmentality. The subject of study is the linking of questions concerning the regulation of personal conduct, the household and the state around the same problematics. The constellations of power, institutions and techniques that aim to govern 'vital factors' of population, such as health, fertility and morbidity, working capacity, habitual ways of living and different aspect of personal conduct, are paramount. Equally important are controversies and struggles concerning the forms and goals of this government of *life*. (Foucault 1988, 148-160; 1991, 88-100; 1998b, 59-75, 96-114; Dean 1994, 160-189; 1999, 98-102, 137-148; Helén 1994; 1997, 15-22.) In these assemblages of bio-power and -politics, the ethos of welfare, with the related freedom and obligations to take care of one's own life, is formed and becomes effective.

Government, in foucauldian sense (Foucault 1991; Dean 1999, 10-12; Rose 1999, 15-60), refers to the attempts to channel, with the help of politico-administrative procedures, individual and collective forces, powers and conduct into practices guided by a certain ethos. The efforts of government meet constantly resistance and encounter new problems, whereby governmental practices are renewed, expand and become

effective. The government of life operates through the capacity to locate social "problems" or "questions". By answering the questions and responding to the problems the projects of government gain credibility and legitimacy. At the same time, governmental aspirations are liable to arouse resistance and new conflicts. A good illustration of the dynamics of government is provided by liberalisation of abortion in Finland (Helén 1997, 32-50, 223-232; Meskus 2001).

Thus, we do not conceive of the evolvement of the ethos of welfare as a result of a 'natural process' inherent in overall modernization, and we do not assume that the 'Nordic model' is an outcome of 'functional and historical necessities' of the development of modern society. Neither is the purpose of the project to reduce the ethos of welfare to an original 'cultural root' or 'mentality', for example to Lutheranism or to the tradition of free peasantry (cf. (vrt. Sørensen & Stråth 1997, 7-8, 11-14; Østergård 1997, 68-70; Stenius 1997), and we will not pursue to demonstrate that the Lutheran ethics of humbleness forms the "fundamental" basis for different forms of Nordic welfare politics and morality (cf. Sørensen 1998).

The perspective of our project is defined by the questions of governmentality and bio-power. From this angle we look at the formation of the ethos of welfare in the context of pursuits, discussions and disputes concerning government of life. 'Modernisation' is conceived of as brought about by these assemblages and processes, which are both discursive and practical. We also emphasise that morality of the Nordic welfare, the 'origin' of which is located in Lutheranism and peasant tradition by many recent studies (Sørensen & Stråth 1997; Østergård 1997; Stenius 1997; Sørensen 1998; Knudsen (red.) 2000), has been dispersed, contested and replaced by new values and principles in the mentioned assemblages of government. Thus, the studies of the project trace the actual metamorphoses of the ethos of welfare which have been embedded in the pursuits for governing life and the related political controversies. A formation of practical knowledge that gathers together practices of government of life and political and ethical aspects of welfare – in other words, the core *rationality* of the ethos – emerges out of this context of *conflict*. And it is this practical reason that makes the ethos of Nordic welfare effective and imposes its change.

A genealogy of the reason of welfare

The conceptual and methodological framework for the research project is provided by genealogy (Foucault 1998a; Dreyfus & Rabinow 1983, 104-204; Dean 1994; 1996; 1999, 9-48; Rose 1999, 15-60), which is applied in analysing politics and ethics in the Nordic welfare society. From the genealogical perspective the study of *ethos* means the mapping of the conditions of *practices*. The specific studies of the project focus on the ways the notions of proper and good practices of life, and the relationships between individual and collective action are expressed in discourses and activities concerning health,

procreation, family and marital life, sexuality and consumption. Particular attention is paid to ruptures and turning points which facilitate the unfolding of the historical texture of politics and ethics of welfare. As mentioned, our purpose is not to study 'origin', i.e. assumed fundamental 'mentality' or morality that would remain the 'same' throughout the history of welfare society.

The main aspiration is to trace the effective history of a practical reason. Genealogical analysis is aimed at political and ethical rationalities, which are not search for from political or moral philosophies or ideologies but from discourses that are effective in the practices of government of life. Consequently, the *source material* of our studies consists of scientific and professional publications, legislative documents, administrative research reports, committee minutes and reports, guidelines and recommendations by public authorities, archive sources related to certain procedures (for example, sterilisations and abortions) and literature of popular education (for detailed description of the source materials, see proposal of the specific studies). These texts are analysed as historical documents that contain political and ethical reasoning, programmes and technological outlines for governing of life, and their problematisations. (Cf. Donzelot 1979; Miller & Rose 1992; Rose 1999, 19-31, 47-60.)

The source material is analysed in order to find schemes of things, categories, patterns of reasoning and contexts of practical influence which are characteristic of rationalities, programmes and technologies of government under study. The "inventions", novelties brought about by governmental practices (a new definition or a type of human being, a new model of thought or perception, or a new style of persuasion, for instance) are of special interest. Such an invention, brought out from a past discursive formation that is composed of different historical documents, enables a historical investigation that problematizes the present. By asking what is the relationship between a historical novelty and contemporary conceptions, problems, disputes and values, one can open up a historical connection of descent, ruptures, continuities, transformations and displacements that is the subject of genealogical analysis. (Helén 1997, 355-360.)

Contextualisation is essential for an analysis of the mentioned documents. The texts have *discursive* context, which refers to scientific, political and moral discussions and disputes which the texts are related to. *Practical* context consists of political action, administrative arrangements and social institutions which the texts are connected with. (Helén 1997, 357-358.)

When the ethos is studied genealogically, individualization is considered as brought into being by concrete social forces and orders. With this respect, our project has a close affinity to the questions studied by Michel Foucault under the concept of *technologies et pratiques de soi*, and by Max Weber under the concept of *die methodische Lebensführung*. Our studies are inquiries on a history of contemporary morality; assuming that morality is conceived of as relating directly to morals (*mœurs*) and practices of living. Further, by studying the ethos of welfare historically we try to

envision and understand particular features of the present better. This does not implicate that a specific morality is naturalized. On the contrary, our purpose is to point out how the forms of life and government that nowadays seem indisputable and self-evident have descended from the previous struggles and contradictions.

This project is not an inquiry on the history of the concepts of human nature, or of ethics or regimens, but on the history of the possibility, birth and transformation of a particular practice of living. In short, it asks through which kind of pursuits, disputes and struggles *has the present become possible?*

THE AIMS OF THE PROJECT

The Ethos of Nordic Welfare project studies the historical formation of governmental practices that are characteristic of the welfare state and society. The five studies of the project trace how sexuality, procreation, different aspects of health, family and marital life and consumption have become pivotal questions of welfare and objects of government. The most important topics of research concern social citizenship and individualisation of the practices of life. The basic question is, how the formation of social orders and social citizenship have been historically intertwined with individualisation of practices of life in the 'Nordic model'? In addition, the following questions unite the specific studies in the project:

* What kinds of notions of "good life" and its political and ethical actualisation are included in the Nordic model of welfare?

* What is the ethical and political rationality, *the practical reason*, of the ethos of welfare?

* How do the projects of governing life that pursue welfare of the individuals in terms of equality and social responsibility express the grounds and legitimacy of their activities?

* How have the assemblages of government of life been historically formed? How have they become effective through different programmes, disputes and practices?

Answering these questions requires that varying emphasis and historical development of the political and ethical problematics of welfare in different Nordic countries are included in the idea of the 'Nordic model' (cf. Stråth 1993; Østergård 1997). By comparing Finland and Sweden the project is able to bring out the variation of the ethos of Nordic welfare.

RELEVANCE OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT

Nordic welfare has been studied from various perspectives. First, there are studies of

‘actual’ welfare and its prerequisites. They are closely connected with the problematics of social policy, and ‘the dimensions of welfare’ have been approached from the viewpoint of social integration and political regulation. (E.g. Allardt 1976; Kangas 1992; Uusitalo 1994.) Second, the state has been the primary point of departure for research. The welfare state has been conceived of as a system of social insurance and services that also allocates welfare (e.g. Kangas 1996; Uusitalo 1988; 1997; Kautto et al. 2001). It has also been studied as an integrated system of economy and politics from the perspective provided by the theories of the capitalist mode of society. Many of these studies have focused on ideological and political struggles upon the welfare state. (E.g. Esping-Andersen 1985; Kosonen 1987; 1998). The particular nature of the Nordic welfare state has been seen as embedded in the state-centered political culture that originated from the Lutheran and peasant tradition of equality and loyalty to the king (Sørensen & Stråth 1997, 10-14; Østergård 1997, 69-70; Witoszek 1997; Stenius 1997; Sørensen 1998). Furthermore, the women's studies have emphasised the gendered social contract as the groundwork of the welfare state and pointed out the gendered nature of citizenship (e.g. Sulkunen 1987; 1989; Anttonen et al. 1994; Eräsaari et al. 1995; Satka 1995).

Unlike the previous approaches, *The Ethos of Nordic Welfare* project emphasises governmentalisation and the subject of welfare in the analysis of politics and social order of welfare. Our point of departure is not the welfare state as an integrated political or administrative system; instead the core questions concern the constitution of ‘welfare society’. From this perspective, public authority is conceived to lean on the *social*, which is a sphere of reality that is irreducible to the logics of functioning of economy and the state. Furthermore, phenomena, processes and problems of human community and population which are considered as ‘social’ are the primary objects of the attempts to govern by the public authorities. All in all, the question is about *government of the social*. (Foucault 1998c; Dean 1999; Rose 1999; cf. also Helén 2000.)

This approach brings practices of life expressed in terms of ‘welfare’, the ethos that unites them and the related disputes into the focus of study. The welfare state is governmentalised, i.e. it has dispersed to fields of government of life which involve, for example, health, work and means of living, procreation, security, intimate relations or sexual pleasures (Foucault 1991; Dean 1999, 9-59). The state is re-defined as the framework for the problems that emerge in those fields and struggles on concrete issues of welfare that takes place on them. The government that is social and seeks to liberate individuals is actualised through the mentioned pursuits. Its various assemblages are connected to each other by the question of ‘welfare’; and regarding to this government and its assemblages, ‘welfare’ is politicised and becomes a crucial condition for politics in general (cf. Hänninen 2001). By emphasising the dispersed character of the state power and by highlighting the individualised ethos of welfare our project brings a new dimension to the study of Nordic welfare, especially to inquiries on the morality and politics of welfare.

Furthermore, the research project contributes to the study of the history of

modernisation of the Finnish and Nordic societies. A remarkable part of recent research on this subject is concentrated on the birth and formation of *political citizenship*. Much of the Finnish research has concentrated to analyse the rupture of the social and political order based on the estates and the corresponding development of civil society, the bourgeois public and mass mobilization, which brought about citizenship as the general form of subjectivity and the struggle over the rights of political participation (e.g. Alapuro et al. 1987; Alapuro 1994; Liikanen 1995) Also many Swedish historians have discussed about the close relationship between the state and civil society and the democratic nature of the state rule in the Nordic countries that is given a special mode by the idea of 'the people's home' (e.g. Sørensen & Stråth 1997; Trägårdh 1997).

As the studies of *The Ethos of Nordic Welfare* project are focused on social citizenship, a new perspective to the history of the modern state, citizenship and 'membership of society' is opened. Through these themes, our project has many points of affinity with the contemporary studies in family and women's history which have paid attention to the connections between the development of citizenship, ruptures in personal practices of life and politicisation of the private spheres of life (e.g. Sulkunen 1987; 1989; Ollila 1993; Saarikangas 1993; Häggman 1994; Markkola 1994; Lähteenmäki 1995; Satka 1995). A significant partner for discussion is also a research project on the comparative history of the Nordic alcohol policy that has paid a lot of attention to the making of the modern subject of self-control in the context of Nordic alcohol control and popular temperance education (e.g. Sulkunen et al. 2000; Sulkunen & Warpenius 2000). In addition, the genealogical inquiries on the different areas of government of life that will be carried out in our project make it possible to define accurately in what way Nordic welfare is particularly political and what is the character of its peculiar concept of politics (Hänninen 2001).

In our research project, the evolvement of the Nordic welfare society is conceived of as a moral project. Thus our studies will contribute to the discussion on the values and reshaping of the welfare society that has been lively also in the Nordic countries and Finland and has been mainly articulated through the catchwords of neoliberalism and communitarianism (e.g. Pursiainen 1993; Andersson ym. 1993; Trägårdh (red.) 1995). In *The Ethos of Nordic Welfare*, the moral problematic is not, however, defined by general and abstract values, principles or virtues. On the contrary, by emphasising the practices of life and the subjects of welfare the project aims at bringing forth how the values and virtues of welfare have been formed, actualized, and how they have become problematic in concrete practices. On the one hand, the question is about how people are moulded to the subjects of welfare, and how their political and social citizenship is related to this *moral* subjectivity. On the other hand, the focal question concerns the different assemblages of power, struggle and techniques through which the human communities are organized into a welfare society.

By approaching the morality of welfare from this perspective, the specific studies of our project dissolve, in a concrete and historical manner, the notion that the

value basis of the welfare state and society is obvious and unequivocal (cf. e.g. Hautamäki 1993; Uusitalo 1993). *The Ethos of Nordic Welfare* project stresses the *conflictory* character of values, since it considers the ‘generally accepted’ values and objectives of welfare as outcomes of struggles that contain tension and controversies. Consequently, it is emphasised that there is an element of dispute and contingency included in the ethos of welfare.

Such an emphasis provides a new perspective to the on-going change and ‘crisis’ of the welfare society. The five studies in our research project analyse the project of Nordic welfare as a historical process, through which the main values and the model for good life have become to be embedded in the personal welfare and way of life that require government of one’s own life. Correspondingly, the main objective of the political government is to provide the equal possibilities of this for ‘each and all’. The genealogical approach elucidates the tensions and contradictions inherent in this cluster of values and the practice of government. These tensions and contradictions are formed historically and have brought about the prevailing "crisis".

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