

Protecting books from readers

Children in Finnish public libraries, 1930–1959

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Readers can be prevented from gaining access to literature in many ways. Sometimes prohibitory mechanisms are tied to institutional structures and practices. These mechanisms are not necessarily derived from institutions' official goals and policies; they can even operate against them. Therefore, it is possible for a public library to commit to offering free access to books while simultaneously upholding practices that discourage or prevent readers from borrowing. Often control is directed at certain groups of readers, and restrictions cover only some categories of books.

Typically, child readers have faced more obstacles gaining access to literature than adults. The production and distribution of books is entirely in the hands of adults, and in addition children's financial dependence and limited mobility restrict their possibilities to obtain reading material. Children have also been targets of protection from the supposedly harmful effects of reading. The objective of protecting children has sometimes led to actual censorship, but even more often to more vaguely defined practices of regulation. Despite the definition, in the eyes of the child reader the outcome might still be the same: children are denied access to some forms of literature.

In my study, I look at the contradictory goals of children's library services in Finland in 1930–1959. This was an era when children's library services developed from a non-existent or modest level to

a self-evident, even central, part of Finnish public libraries. This process was not accidental, but a conscious effort led by public officials. However, public libraries only gradually embraced child readers, creating a contradictory situation where children gained access to libraries but often did not feel welcome there. Though services were provided, child readers did not necessarily experience that they were allowed to use them.

Children's library services evolved as part of a wider change in children's societal position and in tandem with other public services. The first half of the twentieth century was a period of modernization and institutionalization for Western childhood.¹ There were new professions and institutions concentrated on children, developmental psychology advanced rapidly, and childhood became more uniform as compulsory school reached all children.² Childhood gained ground in the public sphere, ground that was intended for children and was separated from the adult world. New public spaces for children were provided: schools, kindergartens, children's homes, and child welfare clinics. Finland was no exception.

The modernization process of childhood was not always easy or painless for its subjects, children. Saara Tuomaala has shown in her research on children's experiences of compulsory school in agrarian Finland in the 1920s and 1930s that children were often torn between conflicting demands of the modern state and their families' traditional way of life. In Tuomaala's material, these contradictions were symbolized by the transformation of children's hands from working hands into clean, writing hands.³

In addition to compulsory school, clean hands were a matter of great importance in the public library system. In Finland, a network of public libraries had been built in the late nineteenth century, inspired by the ideas of popular enlightenment and national spirit.⁴ However, children's library services were very poor or non-existent in most parts of the country until the 1950s.⁵ It was only after the adoption of the ideals of the North American Public Library Movement that children were considered potential library users.⁶ From the 1920s, the Finnish state played a pivotal role in

this change. The State Library Bureau strongly encouraged public libraries to provide children with the chance to read and lend. In the idealistic view of the library branch developers, the public library was an emancipating force in children's lives—especially for lower-class children. To provide children with books meant to provide them with opportunities for self-improvement and advancement.⁷ But what of children's experiences of their encounters with public libraries during the transformation period? Was the library an emancipating force in their lives, or did they feel unwelcome and discouraged?

As the material for this study, I use childhood memories about three Finnish libraries, 1930–1959. I look at descriptions of the places, services, and staff to understand how children experienced their possibilities for library use. Childhood recollections are analysed against inspection reports by the State Library Bureau in the same period and about the same three libraries. Combining two different sets of material gives an opportunity to examine whether the objectives set by the State Library Bureau had anything in common with the library services the actual child users encountered. Was there a clash between the ideals and reality? If so, what obstacles did the children face?

Libraries as children's places

In my analysis, I use the concept of place. Place can be interpreted as both a spatial location and metaphorically, as a place in society. In modern society, certain places are designated specifically for children. Thus, say, school, children's homes, and the children's department in a library combine the two meanings of children's places: they are at the same time places designated for children and places that mark the children's societal position as separate from the adult world. In addition, children's places can also be understood as places that children use on their own terms and for their own purposes.⁸ Naturally, sometimes places designed for children are also children's places, but that is not always the case. One of the

objectives of this study is to see if children's departments in libraries—places intended for children—were actually children's places.

Room solutions necessarily support some forms of behaviour while excluding others. Architectural decisions are never neutral, but carry with them ideals of desirable human conduct. Modern institutions such as schools, children's homes and libraries, of course, guide their users' conduct with room divisions, schedules, and practices that regulate the use of space and time.⁹ Libraries' room solutions and practices that come with them—age limits, separate opening hours for different age groups, specific rules of conduct in different library rooms—are also effective ways to regulate reading. Therefore, the building of public library rooms is a form of governance in itself.

Children's place in modern society is paradoxical. While children are treated as objects of protection and constant surveillance, they are also expected to be self-managing subjects. According to Eva Gulløv, surveillance and self-management are, in fact, 'co-existing features in the cultural formation of citizenship'.¹⁰ In the modern period, reading has become a central part of subjectivity. Reading—not only the ability to read to keep oneself informed, but also the choices and values connected to leisure reading—is vital for a self-managing, individual, rational, and autonomous modern subject.¹¹ Thus, children's library services are to be expected to contain the contradictory aspects of modern childhood, simultaneously aiming at controlling children and increasing their possibilities for self-management.

The library is an exceptionally multidimensional place in that it contains entrances to fictional and factual universes. Both library users and inspectors acknowledged the worlds that unfolded between the book covers and, on some level, counted them into the square metres of the modest library rooms. For children, these worlds were the reason to come into the library. Inspectors, on the other hand, saw a possibility to open new worlds for children while at the same time guiding them away from literature that was thought to be harmful. The objective was to offer children,

somewhat paradoxically, a controlled and limited freedom.¹² The idea of a limited freedom applied to both the children's behaviour in libraries and the literary universes they were allowed to access.¹³

Regulation of literature was, therefore, inscribed in the very idea of children's services in public libraries. Whereas harmful literature represented a moral danger, suitable literature was believed to strengthen children morally, thus improving their chances of self-management.¹⁴ It did not follow, however, that all practices of regulation in libraries aimed at the same goal. There were surely many intersecting motives for controlling children's access to literature on different levels of power: library inspectors, librarians, and library board members.

Material and method

The material of this study consists of two kinds of primary sources: nine written recollections of childhood library experiences and twenty-four inspection reports produced by the State Library Bureau's inspectors. Both have their advantages and limitations. The recollections are narratives rich with detail, emotion, and impressions, but being written retrospectively by adults they cannot be treated as straightforward representations of children's experiences; the inspection reports were written at the time of the inspection or not more than a few days after, but their form and established practices of reporting unavoidably limit the expression of the inspectors' impressions.

I have chosen recollections from two large collections of library memories, 'Library tradition' (Kirjastoperinne, 1984–5) and 'The Library in my Life' (Kirjasto elämässäni, 2000), collected by the Finnish Literature Society. The Society published open invitations to write about library memories, and both competitions inspired many people to write. Together the two collections comprise thousands of pages of memories. They are held in the Finnish Literature Society's archives and have been used in many studies of Finnish library history.

The State Library Bureau's inspection reports are held in the National Archives of Finland along with the rest of the Bureau's archived material. Most of the reports are written on a form that contains questions about the size and location of the library, departments and collections, lending rules and techniques, opening hours and catalogues, personnel and library boards. The form only changed a little over the years. The heads of the State Library Bureau, Helle Kannila and her successor Mauno Kanninen, usually abandoned the form and wrote their reports freehand.

Because of the heterogeneity of the material, the recollections and inspection reports had to be analysed separately, but both sets of material were treated in a similar manner. I looked for themes that were repeated in the material, and categorized the themes into larger topics.

The evolution of public libraries in Finland

In Finland, the state played a central role in the transformation of libraries into modern public libraries. The State Library Bureau (Valtion kirjastotoimisto) was established in 1921 to provide libraries with official guidance. In 1928, the Popular Library Act (Kansankirjastolaki) prescribed conditions for state funding, thus making governmental oversight normative for libraries that received state funds. State Library Bureau inspectors travelled to municipal libraries and ensured that libraries complied with the conditions for state subsidies. They also tried to influence municipal councils and library boards, and gave concrete advice to librarians, helping with furniture, catalogues, classifications, and lending systems. Over the years—and at least partially because of the system—Finnish libraries were transformed into modern public libraries with open shelves, card catalogues, and services for all customer groups.¹⁵

The first head of the State Library Bureau, Helle Kannila (née Cannelin), strongly encouraged public libraries to provide children with the opportunity to read and lend. In her inspection reports, she stressed the importance of children's library services. In her view,

libraries could not fulfil their purpose as civilizing institutions if they left children out. For Kannila, children's library services were also a pivotal part of child welfare, bringing children in from the dangerous streets to a safe and beneficial environment. The idea of the public library system as a tool for child protection was common in the North American Public Library Movement, and since Kannila adopted her library ideals from it wholesale, it is not surprising that she emphasized the significance of libraries for child welfare.¹⁶

Kannila saw libraries as an emancipatory force in children's lives. In her idealistic point of view, libraries opened new possibilities for all children in the form of books and safe and comfortable spaces. However, reality lagged behind the ideal, and book-craving children faced many obstacles.

The libraries in Kokkola, Lahti, and Oulu

Kokkola is a small town in Western Finland in the Central Ostrobothnia region, where Swedish—the other official language of Finland—is very common. In Kokkola, Swedish was the majority language until the 1930s, and the Swedish and Finnish populations were served by partially separate libraries. During the research period, Kokkola was inspected by the State Library Bureau eight times (in 1930, 1934, 1936, 1937, 1941, 1946, 1950, and 1959), while Kokkola's Finnish library was inspected separately in 1938, 1941, and 1946. In the inspection reports, Kokkola's library received criticism for its small and worn children's collection. Both the Finnish and the Swedish children's departments were criticized for being too small, unpractical and uninviting, until the report of 1950 notes with satisfaction that the separate children's departments have been incorporated. However, the children's collection was still considered too small and worn in the 1959 report, despite several decades of reporting. Also, according to the reports, the library's opening hours were too limited, and it lacked card catalogues. Interestingly, the last report pays attention to Kokkola's children's library work: questions of the week quizzes and story hours, for instance.

Lahti, in the Päijänne Tavastia region in southern Finland, started out as a small town but grew rapidly during the period in question. In this time, Lahti city library was inspected six times (in 1934, 1936, 1939, 1946, 1949, and 1954). Most of the inspections were done by Helle Kannila herself, which is apparent in the emphases of the reports. She pays attention to the small size of the children's department and encourages the library to move the newspaper reading room away from the actual library building to gain more space for the children. Kannila emphasized that children's services were more important to the library's civilizing mission than providing adults with newspapers. Kannila also wrote repeatedly about the meaning of children's services for child welfare. Furthermore, she urged the library board and chief librarian to consider branch libraries to provide children with more opportunities to read.

Oulu is in Northern Ostrobothnia on the west coast of Finland. In the 1930s and 1940s, Oulu city library aimed at developing an extensive reference library, neglecting child users. This policy provoked long and eloquent inspection reports from Helle Kannila. Kannila inspected the Oulu city library in 1930, 1932, 1935, 1938, 1945, and 1947, and in her reports she did her best to convince the chief librarian and library board to provide children with better services. Despite Kannila's tireless efforts, Oulu city library stuck with its policy, and children's library services remained poor for decades. In the 1930s, the children's reading room was only open once a week, one hour for illiterate children and two hours for literate children, and books could not be borrowed.

The library as a system of rules and practices

A modern public library is a complex system that requires its user to adopt practices, rules, and certain forms of behaviour. The library inspectors were somewhat conscious of this, pondering what kind of a card catalogue would be easiest for users and encouraging libraries to pay attention to signage and include instructions for card catalogues. However, children's experiences show that the complexity of

the library system was in fact a more profound problem for children's library use than the library inspectors anticipated. The difficulties went beyond understanding particular parts of the system. It seems that the complexity itself created in some a feeling of not belonging. A woman describes her first encounter with the Kokkola city library:

I stepped inside. I didn't have the courage to talk to anyone. I just saw amazed how the walls of the children's department were covered with bookshelves and books from floor to ceiling, and how small boys and girls looked at the shelves and read books as if they had always been there. Nobody spoke to me and the aunt didn't even ask my name. I didn't know what I should have done. The situation was terribly solemn and I remember that my breath caught in my throat.¹⁷

She goes on to say that it took her months to summon up the nerve to ask for a library card. After that, she progressed from looking around to borrowing books, but the feelings of perplexity and being left out were characteristic for her library use her whole childhood.

Naturally, not all children were as timid as she was, and for some the library rules and practices were easier to adopt. That they still were considered a nuisance comes out in several remarks such as this from a boy in Lahti: 'The library ... was full of rules and customs that existed nowhere else. I learnt them quickly. You only got books if you followed them. It was a small price to pay for that joy.'¹⁸ The will to use the library is so strong in all the material that only one child gives up, even though seven out of nine write about clashes with the library system during their childhood. All the stories describe library rules as unconditional: on the children's part, there is no room for negotiation, but on rare occasions, librarians decide to make exceptions out of pity or other reasons.

Another library user from Lahti felt that the library was nothing but rules:

You were allowed to borrow four books at a time, but two of them had to be fact books. And you weren't allowed to return a book until the next day, even though you'd already read it. It said so in the rules. Somehow the library appeared to be full of rules. They started in the hall—"Take your hat off! Do not spit on the floor! Silence in the library!"—and they continued as separate rules for the three lending departments. On a door at the back of the adults' department it said 'Staff only' as a full stop to all the prohibitions and rules.¹⁹

Lahti city library's policy of allowing returns only after a minimum of one night causes trouble for one boy, who lives so far from the library that he decides to read the books he has borrowed in the park. When he goes back to the library to return the books, he faces a suspicious librarian. In an absurd scene, the librarian starts to interrogate the boy about the plot of one of the books to find out if he has actually read it. Fortunately, the boy passes, and the librarian bends the rules and allows him to return the books and borrow two new ones. 'Take thicker books,' she instructs the boy.²⁰

Lending restrictions and age limits are the most common set of rules the stories talk about. Understandably, these were the rules that affected children the most, because they craved more and more books. All the writers were keen readers—or at least keen borrowers—and the children's collections were small. Consequently, the adults' department soon became their goal; however, only one writer says the librarian made an exception, and all the others had to wait until they were 15 (in Kokkola and Lahti) or 16 (in Oulu). The adults' department, with its long rows of bookshelves, represented a forbidden paradise for these children. In two stories, the bitter sense of being left out of something vitally important is emphasized by the harsh attitude of the librarians who guard the adults' department.

The code of silence

The most important library rule in the stories is silence. Unlike many other rules, children easily understand the code of silence. A man describes his noisy first entrance to Oulu city library with his two friends:

It was only there [behind the library door] that we almost ended up in a fight, but only with one another, because nobody wanted to be the first, and so we pushed ourselves in through the door at the same time with quite a racket. . . . All we saw was a woman with a bun and a cardigan buttoned all the way up to her chin. She stood up behind her horseshoe-shaped desk, turned her specs-shiny face towards us and lifted her index finger before her lips. We got the message and started creeping across that impressive square.²¹

Although the demand for silence was easy to grasp, obeying it was not always simple. In Lahti, stepping on creaking floorboards led to difficulties:

In the children's department, there were a couple of floorboards that creaked viciously every time you happened to step on them. Then the librarian turned her head towards the troublemaker and pointed her index finger towards the door: 'Get out!' I quickly learnt to step over the protesting floorboards to avoid making a noise.²²

Silence also created a solemn and serious atmosphere. For children who felt at home in the library, the reverent silence was an important part of the library's appeal. However, others felt that it made their stay in the library even more difficult, forcing them to observe and control themselves in an unnatural way. In addition, communicating in whispers was difficult for children. A man from Lahti notes that the practice of whispering weakened his position in a conflict with

a librarian—and his position was not strong to begin with—as it was very difficult for him to keep his voice at the right level while at the same time trying to find the right words to defend himself. In his eyes, the librarian was a ‘professional’ whisperer.²³

Librarians

In the children’s eyes, the library was the librarian’s kingdom, and she ruled it with an iron hand. The librarian was the library’s rules and practices incarnate, and the children’s failure to obey to them immediately lead to a frightening encounter with the librarian, who in the children’s view was both the source and the guardian of the rules. Even in memories where children were able to build a safe and trusting relationship with the librarian, her authority was unquestionable.

The descriptions of librarians are detailed and intense, which probably stems from both the frequency of contact between the child and the librarian and the strength of children’s impressions. Gender plays an important role in the descriptions—in my material, all librarians are female—and librarians are often referred to as ‘aunts’. Age is also an important aspect, and in two stories the strict ‘aunt’ is ultimately replaced by a smiling ‘girl’, who has remarkably less authority; in both of those stories the replacement symbolizes the transformation of the library from scary and rigid to a pleasant place of relaxation.

The children paid attention to the librarians’ clothes, hair, and build. The librarians’ similarity with other authority figures, such as teachers or priests’ wives, is pointed out in the descriptions. Black and grey are the most common colours associated with librarians. In one story, the librarian moves ‘like a grey wizard between the dark shelves’. Descriptions of clothing and hairstyle bring out the same dark authority, for example ‘steel-grey curly’ hair or a ‘serious dark dress’.

Because of the most important behaviour code in the library, silence, the librarians controlled children with gestures, looks,

and expressions. The librarian's finger is a recurring motif in the material: the index finger pointing to a disobedient child or raised to tightly pursed lips to silence library users. A boy from Lahti learnt by heart the librarian's wordless multiphase message system:

Quiet whispering was tolerated in the children's department. An occasional cough was also allowed. Louder sounds made the tall librarian look over her glasses. The next warning was a dry cough combined with a look. The third one included lifting a finger before her mouth and a small shush. After that came a rap on the table with a ruler and a stern stare at the disturber. Her finger was lifted to point at the insubordinate. She never needed to go any further. They did say that some boy from Kärpänen [a district in Lahti] had been dragged out to the hall by his ear. That taught the little rascal.²⁴

The fear that the librarian provoked is seen in the threat of physical punishment, though completely based on rumour. The humorous tone of the story and the adult narrator's perspective as an active and (now) well-behaved library user is probably the reason why the victim of the alleged violence is called a 'little rascal'. On the other hand, there is a level of irony in the story, and the narrator continuously criticizes the librarian, which opens the possibility of interpreting this scene too as ironic. In that case, ironically blaming the victim only underlines the despotic attitude of the librarian.

In several stories, children feel that they should not approach the librarian with questions. The librarian's role is to guard the library space and collections and to make sure that rules are obeyed. Children are not even allowed to ask about the rules that they are expected to follow: 'I never dared to ask how to behave in a library and what I was allowed to do in there', a woman writes about her experiences in Kokkola city library.²⁵

In the same story, the child comes across the 'Questions of the week' quiz. Questions of the week or month were a popular way to teach children to use the reference library, and library inspectors

often recommended them in their reports. Kokkola's long tradition with questions of the week, too, was favourably mentioned in an inspection report in 1954. However, putting the questions on display does not yet mean that children will answer them, as is shown in this example:

In the corner of the room, where the aunt was sitting behind the desk to keep watch, there was a round tile stove. In the metal sheet that covered it, there was a big drawn picture on cardboard, I guess from some southern land or some animal, they varied. Under the picture, there were ten numbered questions and an invitation to answer the questions. ... I must have wondered for months, whom the exercise was for, but I never dared to ask. I immensely admired one boy who took a pencil and paper, filled in the answers and dropped it into the box. I thought that I had no right to touch anything. Only look from a distance.²⁶

The narrator goes on to say that ten years later she suddenly realized that the competition was open to all children, and that she still feels annoyed that the librarian never told her, and that she did not have the courage to ask.

In the children's eyes, librarians were guardians of books, doing their best to protect them from avid readers. Because children saw librarians as the source of library rules and practices, all types of lending limitations were also connected to the librarian. Librarians simply seemed reluctant to lend books to children. Thus, autobiographical material shows that the reality in Finnish libraries was still far from the ideals reflected in the inspection reports.

Social class and library use

The State Library Bureau saw children's library services as especially important for children in the lower classes. Libraries were thought to open possibilities for education and self-improvement for poor children, but also to be an important and affordable child

welfare service, as they gave children the chance to spend time in safe indoor space, away from the dangerous streets. However, the material shows that working-class children had a different perspective on their position in public libraries. Two writers with working-class backgrounds point out the contradiction between the ideal of popular education embodied by compulsory school and public libraries, and the way they were treated by teachers and librarians—at least partially because of their less advantaged background.

A knowledge-hungry boy in Lahti was thoroughly disappointed in the library because of the humiliating treatment he received:

When she [the librarian] was checking out books, she must have felt the boundless joy of a despot as she reluctantly opened the bookcases in front of a little boy. At the same time, she trained the young person with her behaviour, remarks, and talks like this: you're not supposed to lend more than *two books at a time* and they must be returned *not later than in two weeks* or else there will be *consequences*. These kinds of incidents influence young minds. Somehow this contemptuous attitude without any reason, unless it is reason enough that my home was a working-class home and I was wearing boots the local authority had given me for walking to school. It felt really bad.²⁷

Children with working-class backgrounds also had to deal with contradictions between their families' values and the society represented by the school and the library. In the 1930s, the people of Finland were still disunited after the 1918 Civil War. The political atmosphere, and even the literary system including libraries, was Rightist.²⁸ In the material, the difficulties of coping with families' Leftist and society's Rightist attitudes come up in one story by a man from Oulu. He writes that his schoolteacher used to leave the classroom bookcase open during detention to tempt children to read books with the right kinds of values. According to the writer, children read with pleasure all the adventure books without

sparing a thought for the values in them, but their parents would not have approved. 'Some serious fights were fought between home and school for the souls of children,' he writes. Unfortunately, this socially alert writer finishes his story of his library use with his first visit to Oulu city library, and we never find out how his family's values fit in with Oulu city library.²⁹

Conclusions

In the material for this study, all writers eventually fall in love with the library system. Two felt at home from the beginning, six had mixed feelings in their childhood, and only one had to wait until adulthood to see his way to the possibilities the library had to offer. In some way, then, the public libraries in Kokkola, Lahti, and Oulu appear to have been successful in fulfilling the objectives the State Library Bureau set them. We must bear in mind, however, that the material used in this study is extremely skewed. The method of collection eliminated almost all stories with unhappy conclusions, since it is very rare for people to take the time to write about something that is insignificant to them. Therefore, it is possible—and even probable—that not all children coped with the confusing rules and humiliating practices in libraries.

When the inspection reports are compared to the picture outlined in the recollections, both similarities and differences between them are apparent. Both express discontent with the size of the children's book collections and the strict age limits. Children and library inspectors appear to have agreed on the ultimate objective of the children's library services: to provide children with as large a collection of books as possible with the existing resources. Similarly, they agreed on some of the obstacles along the way. However, inspection reports paid no attention to the most common problem children faced in the libraries: the scary librarian with her humiliating attitude.

The library itself was an unfamiliar system for children, and as such for some it was intimidating and confusing. Library inspectors

were conscious of the difficulties children had with the library system, but they handled them strictly as a problem of the users' knowledge, to be solved by advising libraries to add more signs and instructions to inform customers of the library system, when in fact these measures could even worsen the children's feeling of being in the wrong place, as is shown in the children's anguish about library signage.

Children's societal position affected the way they experienced places intended for them. Though library services were specifically targeted for children from lower classes of society, libraries upheld practices that discouraged working-class children from using those services. In their recollections, reading and libraries were an important part of constructing identity. The writers defined themselves through their reading history, and especially childhood reading. Therefore, their experiences of using libraries in childhood played a pivotal role in the construction of their adult identity. Painful memories of not feeling welcome in a place of books and reading were connected to other experiences of societal injustice and outsidersness.

I began by asking if libraries' children's departments were actual children's places in the period in question. According to the recollections, they were not. Though some children—a minority—felt that they belonged to the library, they were still on strange turf, and had to obey the librarians' rules, which sometimes were completely arbitrary. Children's departments were far from the cosy nests Helle Kannila envisioned; further from them than she ever could have imagined. They were especially uninviting for Kannila's primary target group: working-class children. A lesson to be learnt is that setting out a service for someone does not mean it is truly available to him or her. Literature can also be forbidden simply by making people feel they are in the wrong place.

Notes

- 1 Cunningham 2005, 41.
- 2 Hendrick 1997, 34–62; Tuomaala 2004.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Mäkinen 2015, 287–99.
- 5 Eskola 2001, 73–4.
- 6 Vatanen 2001, 23–72.
- 7 Savolainen 2020, forthcoming.
- 8 Olwig & Gulløv 2003, 1–19.
- 9 Foucault 1991; Ojakangas 1998, 44–5; Rose 1999.
- 10 Gulløv 2003, 32–48.
- 11 Mäkinen 1997.
- 12 For how this dialectic between limited and unlimited access to books is negotiated with respect to adults, see also Helgason in this volume.
- 13 Savolainen 2020.
- 14 See also Johansson in this volume.
- 15 Eskola 2001, 73–4.
- 16 Lyons 2007, 597–608.
- 17 SKS KRA. Kirjasto elämässäni (The library in my Life), 2566. In Finnish, *täti*, ‘aunt’, is very commonly used for women working in the service sector, for example *kirjastontäti*, ‘library aunt’.
- 18 SKS KRA. Kirjasto elämässäni (The Library in my Life), 2353.
- 19 SKS KRA. Kirjastoperinne (Library Tradition), 114.
- 20 SKS KRA. Kirjasto elämässäni (The Library in my Life), 2353–2354.
- 21 SKS KRA. Kirjastoperinne (Library Tradition), 781–782.
- 22 SKS KRA. Kirjastoperinne (Library Tradition), 114.
- 23 SKS KRA. Kirjasto elämässäni (The Library in my Life), 2354.
- 24 SKS KRA. Kirjasto elämässäni (The Library in my Life), 2353.
- 25 SKS KRA. Kirjasto elämässäni (The Library in my Life), 2571.
- 26 SKS KRA. Kirjasto elämässäni (The Library in my Life), 2568.
- 27 SKS KRA. Kirjasto elämässäni (The Library in my Life), 827.
- 28 Sevänen 1994.
- 29 SKS KRA. Kirjastoperinne (Library Tradition), 777.