### Det 12. Nordiska kvinno- och genushistorikermötet

# The 12<sup>th</sup> Nordic Women's and Gender History Conference



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#### **ABSTRACTS of**

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- individual papers (in alphabetical order by the presenter)
- full sessions and roundtables (in chronological order by session code)

Detailed programme at: www.kvinhist2018.fi

### ABSTRACTS OF INDIVIDUAL PAPERS

Rakel Adolphsdóttir, head of the Women's History Archives at the National and University Library in Iceland

Women in political and self-identity crisis within the Socialist Party in Iceland, from 1939-1974. Werse they active agents or merely decorations to catch the women's vote?

Women cofounded the Communist Party (1930-1938), later Socialist Party, in Iceland and were about 20% of its members. They started their political awakening as friends and partners with the men, having studied together with them in secondary school, after women were allowed admission to the school. But somewhere in growing up they grew apart. The men became more successful within politics but the women seemed to be silenced within the party.

Their frustration with the party was clear in 1948 when, a newly discovered, handwritten document shows how the only woman in Parliament, Katrín Thoroddsen a member of the Socialist Party, was silenced within her own party. So were the women in the party simply decorations – a way to get the women's vote, or were they an integral part of the operation they themselves wondered.

The frustration of the women can also be seen in the way they organised themselves within the Party. They were part of a special women's division within the party, a tool they saw as necessary to get their message through to women and a space for them to cooperate. However, this space also served to separate them from the men and documents from the women's division, kept at the Women's History Archives, show how the women dealt with this predicament throughout decades.

In my talk, I will look at how the women who were trying to find and figure out their roles as politically active people with their own agency but had traditionally been set out to be supporters of the men reconcile these two factions within themselves, their crisis in values. To do this I will use private papers of individual women members of the Socialist Party as well as the papers of the Socialist Party and the women's division of the Socialist Party.

Eve Annuk, Estonian Cultural History Archives, Estonian Literary Museum, Tartu

### Body, femininity and motherhood: women's unspoken stories about Soviet period Estonia

Soviet gender discourse with its underlying notion of gender equality emphasized the idea that the state is taking care of women in all respects. But which was the everyday reality behind this official statement? It is well known fact that Soviet women were faced with double (or even even triple) burden since, in addition to working full time and being socially active, women had to do all housework and raising children in the condition of permanent shortages which characterized Soviet economy. Concerning reproduction and sexuality, the Soviet puritan attitude toward sexuality and the absence of reliable contraceptions had a strong impact on women's intimate life.

The paper deals with the women's accounts about everyday life in Soviet Estonia concentrating on the women's experiences about pregnancy and childbirth and the surrounding institutional and medical practices. Women's childbirth stories can be understood as historical source material which can describe everyday life from the point of view of femininity and motherhood. As subjective accounts, these memoirs represent the personal viewpoint: what did it mean to give birth in maternity hospital in Soviet Estonia? How the "taking care" looked like in reality? In analyzing women's memoirs it is also important to pay attention to the ways how women will give meaning to their pregnancy and birth experiences in the Soviet context and what is left unspeakable.

### Malin Arvidsson, History, Lund University

#### State redress for involuntary sterilization in Sweden and Denmark

In the context of an international trend of claims for historical justice, several aspects of Swedish contemporary history were re-evaluated in the 1990s. One of the most well known examples is the heated political and scholarly debate on involuntary sexual sterilization, sparked by a series of critical newspaper articles in August 1997 that attracted international media attention and resulted in a political crisis for the Social Democratic government. As a response, the Inquiry on Sterilization was mandated to investigate different aspects of the former sterilization laws, and in 1999 the Swedish Parliament enacted a law that entitled victims of involuntary sterilization to a lump sum payment of 250 000 SEK. This sum was not only to compensate for the physical injury – becoming sterile – but also intended to have a symbolic, a form of personal recognition.

Before the law was passed, legal experts voiced concern that it might be used in the future to make similar claims. The compensation was thus explicitly framed as an exception from Swedish legal standards. However, it was immediately used to sustain an unsuccessful campaign for redress concerning victims of lobotomy. These Swedish efforts to come to terms with painful memories of coercive sterilization practices were also used as an argument to initiate such a process in Denmark. These claims, like similar attempts to get official recognition for abuse in out-of-home care for children, have been met by the counter-argument that today's politicians and taxpayers are not responsible for past decisions.

In this paper, I will compare notions of historical responsibility in Swedish and Danish policy debates regarding compensation for involuntary sexual sterilization. At first glance, there seems to be a striking difference. While Sweden decided to grant compensation, Denmark did not even initiate an inquiry, let alone pay reparations. The Swedish decision to give redress was however not based on the acceptance of a legal liability for past injustices. Redress was granted ex gratia, i.e. as an act of grace, through temporary laws, rather than as an admission of legally established wrongdoing. Deserving victims were to be identified through court-like procedures, which sparked a debate on how to uphold due process and what kind of evidence would be admissible and sufficient. By comparing these two cases, the larger aim is to articulate some of the fundamental dilemmas that arise with reparations for past injustices.

Sophy Bergenheim, University of Helsinki

### Women: bringing down and saving the nation. National and collective crises as gendered issues in Finland and Swedish-speaking Finland, 1920s–1950s

The first half the twentieth century was a difficult time for Finland. The country gained independence from Russia in 1917 – only to descend into a bitter civil war in 1918, in which the bourgeois Whites won over the socialist Reds. This left Finland with a deep class-based mistrust, which at its worst resulted in violence and political prisoners. The 1920s and 1930s entailed bitter language feuds between Finnish- and Swedish-speakers. The late 1920s and early 1930s saw the rise of right-wing extremism – however, in the end, it took a different turn than in, e.g., the Baltic countries, and Finland remained a democratic state. The 1940s were marked by the Second World War, during which Finland fought and lost two wars against the Soviet Union. The late 1940s was a time of recovery, reconstruction and wound-licking.

During the first half of the twentieth century, Finland was, in other words, in a more or less constant state of crisis for varying reasons. Particularly among the bourgeois, centre-right groups, many of which belonged to the political and/or cultural elite, these issues became a matter of the threatened collective – be it the Finnish nation or the Swedish-speaking Finns. It was intertwined with classist population policy, which, in turn, was linked with racial hygiene and social policy.

While the issues were framed as collective matters, they were first and foremost about reproduction and women. On one hand, it was about the right kind of women neglecting their duties as mothers and child-rearers. On the other, it was about the wrong kind of women engaging in unwanted behaviour, such as procreation and immoral behaviour. In my paper, I will illuminate how individuals and NGOs within social and health policy framed markedly gendered ideals, problems and solutions as collective issues – ultimately, as the survival of the nation or people.

Íris Ellenberger, Centre for Research in History, University of Iceland

#### Gendered aspects of foreignness in Reykjavík 1900-1920

The first decade of the 20th century saw great flows of migration when about a million Europeans migrated annually to North-America. As a small island in the middle of the North-Atlantic Iceland was not left untouched by these developments and was additionally within the reach of migration flows within the Danish monarchy, of which it was part. Due to foreign trade, political ties to Denmark, rapid urbanization and a lack of regulation concerning immigration or fishing in coastal waters, Reykjavík, Iceland's capital and largest town, became a hub of activity where rural Icelanders, Danish, English and Scottish merchants, Scandinavian entrepreneurs, German, French, Norwegian and Faroese fishermen intermingled with the local bourgeoisie which was closely connected to Denmark. Reykjavík thus became a contact zone, in Mary Louise Pratt's words, a "social space where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in the context of highly asymmetrical relations of power."

In this paper the gendered aspects of the contact zone will be taken into consideration. As it will show, foreign (especially Danish) clothes, slang, food, education and various items served as cultural capital within the contact zone, a means for the bourgeoisie to distinguish itself from the ever growing working class migrating from rural Iceland. This was especially true for women, who had limited political influence as women acquired to right to vote and run for office in 1915, and then only women over 40. As the paper will show, the value of foreignness also opened up ways for foreign women to establish themselves in town, through their knowledge of culture, such as music, drama, gardening or fashion.

But during the second half of the 1910s dramatic events (the First World War, a financial crisis, Icelandic sovereignty in 1918 etc.), combined with increased nationalism, caused a crisis within the cultural and political fields in Reykjavík. Foreignness decreased in value while more worth was attached to a culture which was deemed national or traditionally Icelandic.

In the paper, this crisis will be explored in order to shed light on the gendered value of cultural capital connected to foreignness in the first two decades of the twentieth century. It will show how women used foreign items, clothes, culture etc. to distinguish themselves from working class women and how they reacted when foreignness lost its value in tandem with the increased influence of nationalism. It will also look into how these women were remembered as time passed further away from the transnational Reykjavík of the early 1900s into a more nationalistic future.

### Ainur Elmgren, University of Helsinki

#### Radical Ambition, Critical Reaction - Ada Norna and the Cultural Crisis of the 1930s

Ada Norna (née Bärlund, 1896-1976) was a Finnish journalist and foreign correspondent in Germany and Italy. She worked for the conservative newspaper Uusi Suomi and the weekly pictorial magazine Suomen Kuvalehti from the 1930s to the 1940s and personally witnessed the entry of the Red Army in Berlin in 1945. As an unmarried working woman, Norna experienced discrimination. However, she increasingly supported the ambitions of Hitler's "national revolution" and promoted Nazi ideology in political journals (e.g. the nationalist Itsenäinen Suomi and the organ of the women's organization of the conservative National Coalition Party, Suomen Nainen). Norna was only one of many self-made women who supported Hitler. Her unique feature was her past in a completely different field expressionist theatre. In the early 1920s, Norna studied under the actor and director Paul Günther, a collaborator of Max Reinhardt, in Berlin. She translated numerous plays of the expressionist school into Finnish. Her stage appearances were panned and her career as an actress ended in the mid-1920s, although she continued to write in theatre magazines. After the Nazi takeover, Norna accepted the almost total destruction of the style of theatre that had meant so much to her. This can perhaps only be explained in the light of the fashionable crisis of the interwar era – the "Crisis of Culture" (kulttuurikriisi, kulturkris) defined initially as a malaise of morals and values and increasingly as a crisis of liberal democracy – which the totalitarian ideologies promised to solve. Independent, childless women were made emblematic of this crisis. On an individual level, Norna could solve the contradiction by riding the wave of radical reaction and gaining the favour of the new leaders, making herself indispensable even under the threat of a general backlash against "the new woman".

### Dalrún J. Eygerðardóttir, University of Iceland

### "What else could I do?" A historical analysis of single-mothers working as housekeepers in the Icelandic rural society

This paper addresses the personal crisis of single-mothers that were employed as housekeepers on farms in Iceland in the second half of the 20th century.

The housekeeping profession in the rural area was mainly, it seems, occupied by single-mothers. This was a job that paid minimum wages but included free housing and free food. These working conditions allowed single-mothers to have their children with them while working. This is an important factor during times when there were no kindergartens in Iceland and when single mothers were looked down on. It will be argued that the housekeeping profession (on farms) was a resource for single-mothers in Iceland in economic (and social) point of view. The primary objective of the paper is to discuss the social barriers to single-mothers in Iceland during a period of social transformation. The discussion will also focus on the personal crisis of housekeepers in relation to their employment e.g., their working conditions, conflicts with the employer, payment, sexual harassment etc. It can be argued that the personal crisis of single-mothers in Iceland, which can be attributed to to their poor social position, was in fact a social crisis.

The paper is based on my ongoing doctoral research on the history of housekeepers in the Icelandic rural society in which I examine the social position of housekeepers with regard to gender and class, e.g. a comparative study on the social position of housekeepers; other domestic workers, farmers and housewives. This research is a novelty in Icelandic history as housekeepers, despite being an old profession, have never been the subject of historical study.

### Henrik Forsberg, University of Helsinki

### Masculine submission: National narratives of the last great famine in Finland, c. 1868–1920

In this paper I will present how the Finnish famine in the 1860s was incorporated into the national narratives from 1868 to the 1920s, and how its public deliberation contributed to the nation-building project and, in particular, how it symbolized a peculiarly masculine form of national identity. The variety of sources includes textbooks, historiography, famine literature, and newspapers, all of which represented, re-interpreted, and re-narrated a more-or-less publically accepted narrative of the famine. Interestingly, these narratives stand out in international comparison, where an increasing awareness of the "feminization of famine," pioneered by Margaret Kelleher, has gained ground. Finland, in contrast, presents a different set of gendered tropes, a much more masculine and militaristic way of narrating the famine in public discourse, despite the fact that during the famine there had been no politically organized violence or rebellious movements.

The narratives about the famine that received publicity and recognition between 1868 and 1920 had to conform to a male-centered narrative, where submissiveness and respect for the law were key characterizations, and they had to approve the government's relief measures as at least well intended. This was basically a Fennoman interpretation for the sake of elevating or guarding Johan Snellman's status as one of the great Finnish men as well as the nation's story of progress, which, in due course, received broad intellectual support.

It seems that Margaret Kelleher's "feminization of famine" is not an accurate description of the Finnish famine representations. However, gender is definitely something that is used as a scale of enquiry: presenting famine as manifesting masculine heroism sidesteps all the complex questions involved and trivializes the anxiety of the event. This was not necessarily used in a conscious way by the contemporaries, but still in a way that limited and directed the topics raised for national deliberation. Moreover, the stress on masculinity and submission was one form of depoliticizing the famine, since it prevented many other complex social issues and grievances from gaining any significant recognition and deliberation in public.

### Christian Gerdov, Mittuniversitetet, Sundsvall

### Kris i befolkningsfrågan - ett (tredje) världsproblem?

På arkeologen Hanna Rydhs initiativ, ordförande för Fredrika Bremer-förbundet och president för International Alliance of Women, anordnades under efterkrigstiden en serie kurser för ett antal "orientaliska" kvinnor att komma och studera det så kallade "Social-Sverige". Här skulle de få en djupare insikt om vad som väntade de själva i industrialiseringens fotspår enligt en historieteleologisk föreställning där "de Andra" placerades i ett tidigare utvecklingsstadium som "Västerlandet" redan hade passerat.

En fråga som diskuterades under dessa så kallade "orientaliska kurser", men som även intresserade Rydh, var befolkningsfrågan i "Tredje världen", där en ökad social levnadsstandard som ett förväntat resultat av modernitetens intåg skapade farhågor om en stundande "befolkningsexplosion" – vilket i sin tur riskerade att hämma (eller rentav omintetgöra) utvecklingen både i och för dessa så kallade utvecklingsländer. Sålunda engagerade sig Rydh i uppstarten av ett familjeplaneringsprojekt i Ceylon (nuvarande Sri Lanka), som därmed var tänkt att både svara på och förhindra denna förväntade befolkningskris.

Parafraseringen av makarna Myrdals famösa Kris i befolkningsfrågan (1934) anspelar på en intressant särskiljning som framträder där krisen för "Väst" handlar om hur "Vi" anses vara för få, medan krisen applicerat på "Tredje Världen" snarare handlar om hur "De" anses vara (och bli) för många. Syftet är dock inte att undersöka de praktiska sidorna eller resultatet av svenska insatser i "Tredje Världen", utan snarare att, med utgångspunkt i de "orientaliska kurserna" och Rydhs skrifter, analysera diskursen kring denna föreställda kris. Vad sägs, eller snarare hur formuleras objektet för analys och intervention, dvs. vad är problemet och hur bör/ska det lösas? Och hur förhåller sig detta projekt vidare till modernitetens projekt?

Det teoretiska ramverket är influerat av Michel Foucaults diskussion om biopolitik, den maktteknologi som reglerar befolkningen och hela människoarten – en reglerande makt som "består i att skapa liv och låta dö."

### Margrét Gunnardóttir, University of Iceland

## The tragedy of a Danish adventurer: "The King of Iceland!" in 1809, Jörgen Jörgensen, as seen in his letters to his mother and siblings

"My dearest loving mother" are the words Jörgen Jörgensen (1780–1843) used when he sat down to write a letter to his mother, Anne Leth Bruun, from the Old Baily, the Central Criminal Court of England, on 24th of December 1822. Jörgensen became notorious for his part in the "Icelandic Revolution" when he took over the reins of government in Iceland for a brief spell during the summer of 1809. He had arrived in Iceland as a part of a British commercial expedition. Jörgensen was depicted as the main instigator of the events that were labelled as "tragic-comic" by contemporaries in Iceland. In London, the political turmoil in Iceland was dismissed as a silly act, an irrelevance, and the blame for what took place was firmly put on Jörgensen. In Demark, Jörgensen was branded a traitor since Iceland was part of the Danish Kingdom at the time. Jörgensen has since been generally regarded as an irresponsible and volatile adventurer.

Jörgensen's mother, Anna Leth Bruun, was married to the Royal Danish Clockmaker, Jürgen Jürgensen. They had four other children besides Jörgen. Jörgensen wrote several letters to his mother and siblings during difficul periods in his life. The letters provide an opportunity to examine politial events in the light of gender. This personal correspondance gives a remarkably different picture of Jörgensen's character than the picture that became officially established after his so-called escapades in Iceland.

### Hafdis Hafsteinsdottir, Reykjavik

### Crises in memory: The image of the "War-bride" in Reykjavík and the construction of female sexual deviance

Iceland was occupied by the British and later the American military in the Second World War. During the occupation, relationships between Icelandic women and foreign soldiers caused a wide spread panic among authorities as well as local people. After a comprehensive police investigation that "proved" the poor state of moral issues in town, the legislative sector was pushed to agree to a legislation which permitted heavy-handed intervention in the lives of young women and girls. Due to the emotionally charged discussions surrounding the alleged danger and immorality of relationships between foreign soldiers and Icelandic women, this episode has in time become a popular research topic as well as inspiration for novels, movies and theatre. As such it has evolved into one of the major signifiers of the war years in public memory in Iceland. In 2012 seals were broken off documentation from Jóhanna Knudsen, a member of the police squat in Reykjavík during the war years, revealing in detail how the actions of the police in Reykjavík turned into institutionalized violence based on gender and class. The disclosure of the documentation allowed for a re-reading and re-evaluation of this part of Icelandic war-time history. This paper examines how such a re-reading, in times of #metoo hashtags, slut-walks and other current feminist trends which focus on structural gender-based violence, can be painful and reveals certain crises in memory construction. Not only does it demonstrate how gender and class directly influence law enforcement but also reveals how collective memory and mainstream history can gloss over and downplay stories of violence which furthermore highlights the potential for feminist history writing as a tool of resistance.

Heini Hakosalo, University of Oulu

# Högbergsgatan 13 at war: A microhistorical case study on the effects of the outbreak of the Winter War (1939–40) on the gender and social relationships of a Helsingfors housing company

The study is based on the letters that Catri Gripenberg wrote to her siblings on the eve of and during the Finnish Winter War. Gripenberg had been born to a well-known but not very affluent noble family in 1884. In 1939, she lived, single, in a one-bedroom flat in central Helsingfors and worked as a clerk in a law office, She was also a published author and an active feminist. When the evacuation of the city started in September 1939, Gripenberg decided to stay in the city and volunteered for home front service (folkskydd). At the end of September, she wrote, with a characteristic blend of Swedish and Finnish, deadpan humour and quiet determination: "Ja synd vore det nog om manspersonerna skulle 'pommitta' [bomb] min lya. Ja ja, men då går jag även helst med själv, ty jag säger som Eine att jag kan icke mera leva under "'russerne.'" She received a short training and was assigned to her "taloryhmä" (the group responsible for organising sheltered space, providing first aid and maintaining order in a house or a block), a task she took seriously and for which she was also decorated after the war. Gripenberg's (mostly typed) letters are not only long but also frequent and detailed. They are full of acute and often humorous observations on life in the warring capital and especially in the small commnity she lived in.

The historiographical contribution of the paper is twofold. First, the window – or perhaps peephole – that we open by looking at Winter War through Gripenberg's letters may not be large but it allows us to view the war from a fresh angle. As far as women are concerned, Winter War historiography has so far highlighted the role and experiences of the (mostly young) women who served in the auxiliary women's defence forces (i.e. in the Lotta Svärd organisation) and the rural mothers who shouldered the responsibility for their families and farms when the men of the house were in active service. In contrast, the war-time experiences of single, urban women with no children has escaped scholarly interest. Second, the letters allow us to study the impact of a major, acute crises on the social, linguistic and gender relationships in a restricted, clearly delineated social context. The outbreak of the war turned the housing company – a practical housing and financial arrangement – into a community, and swiftly and radically reconfigured social, linguistic and gender relationships within it. Gender will be analysed as one variable in this redeployment, and the approach of the paper can therefore be characterised as intersectional.

### Erla Doris Halldórsdóttir, Reykjavik

### Widowers after losing their wives in childbirth in the 19th century

The research focuses on widowers who lost their wives in childbirth in the 19th century. The community in question is the Icelandic farming community. The research will trace the lives of ten widowers i.e. three farmers, three pastors, three doctors and one businessman, all of them lost young wives from childbirth. Some of the women gave birth to live children whereas others gave birth to stillborn children. In some cases, the child was baptised over their mother's coffin. These women left great voids in their families and local communities

The research will look for answers to the following questions: How did the widowers, now single fathers, fare after the death of their wives. How did they deal with their grief? Did they all remarry? Did they give their children up for adoption? The sources used are primary sources i.e. private correspondences and parish registers as well as non-contemporary secondary sources.

### Erla Hulda Halldórsdóttir, University of Iceland

### Housewives in crisis: Conflicting ideologies 1945-1970

This paper focuses on the crisis of the housewife in 1945-1970 Iceland, that is the transformation that was slowly taking place during these 25 years, culminating in the 1970s.

The 25 years that passed between the end of the Second World War and the emergence of the Red Stockings in Iceland in 1970 have generally been viewed as a "stagnated" period, whereas in fact societal change was taking place. This is the era of the Pill, of Simone de Beaouvoir's Second Sex and Betty Friedan's Feminine Mystique, which influenced women in Iceland as elsewhere in the Western world. Old ideas about women's role as housewives were being reconsidered, reshaped and moulded in conflicting discourses and eventually rejected. Women were gradually stepping outside of their roles as mothers and housewives, arguing for being accepted as active citizens at all societal levels. Yet the home and family remained their responsibility and officially the majority of women were defined as housewives. Activists questioned the concept of citizenship and women's agency; where they legitimate agents in society or extensions to their husbands? The housewife ideology, which had dominated the interwar period, was in crisis – what was the role of women in society if not as nurturing mothers and wives? For some women these new ideas meant crisis, not only for women but society.

By using memoirs and journals published by the two major women's associations in Iceland, The Women's Rights Association and Iceland's Women's Association, I will demonstrate conflicting discourse on housewifery and how women were trying to negotiate their place in society.

### Anu Heiskanen, University of Helsinki

### Gendered Coping and Surviving Strategies in the Aftermath of World War II

As a case study I use Finnish women in the post-war Norway and Germany who had worked in non-combatant duties for the German Army, first in Finland and after 1944 in Germany and Nazi occupied Norway. The end of the Second World War left these women in various — and often quite difficult — circumstances after the disastrous war and collapse of the Nazi state. I will examine the ways the women sought to cope and survive in this radically changed situation, especially in Germany divided by foreign armies' occupation. However, at the end of the war a new agency emerged, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, which was set up to assist the millions displaced by war and take care of their repatriation. Through the experience of the Finnish women I will also discuss the early stages of international crisis relief and its challenges. The repatriation and homecoming of Finnish citizens from the post-war Germany proved complicated and the women had to resort in various strategies in order to survive and return home.

Marjaliisa Hentilä, Helsinki University & Finnish Labour Archives

### Dreaming of a peaceful revolution: Hilja Pärssinen, a Member of the Red Cabinet in 1918 in Finland

Hilja Pärssinen (1876-1935) was the first ideological leader of the labour womens movement in Finnland. She was in charge of the labour womens program and parliamentary work and she also edited the periodical Työläisnainen (Labour Woman). She and the whole labour womens movement were against any war and supported revolution through parliamentary elections and reforms. What changed in January 1918? Why did she join the revolution?

In my paper I discuss Hilja Pärssinen's personal contradictions and political reasons for her decision. What was the meaning of her friendship with Alexandra Kollontai and Clara Zetkin for her decision? What was the role of teachers in the making of a revolution?

### Cecilia Hortlund, Umeå Universitet

### För fosterland, hem och fädernetorva: En studie av maskulinitet, nationalism, medborgarskap och identitet inom svenskspråkiga skyddskårer i Österbotten 1918-1944

This paper aims to use the Swedish-speaking Civil Guards in Ostrobothnia during the period 1918 to 1944 as an example of the construction of identity and nation in inter-war Finland. The paper will focus mainly on theories of masculinity in relation to nationalism and citizenship and their important part in this construction during a time of great societal upheaval. The outbreak of the Finnish Civil war in 1918 created what may be seen as a crisis in Finnish society, where the image of the future for this new-born nation played a large part in the building of a national identity that began after the war ended. The newly independent Finnish nation needed stability, and furthermore the need to create their own identity and their own nation also came with the need of clear guidelines regarding the nation's future. Therefore, the Civil War can be said to have acted as a catalyst for a mobilisation of new, different ideals. Part of these ideals consisted of masculinity in relation to nationalism and citizenship which also continued to be reproduced within White Finland. The Civil Guards played a big part in this construction, especially regarding their wide-reaching impact across all of Finland.

For the Swedish speaking Civil Guards in Ostrobothnia the image of the ideal man became one of cultivation, physical strength, discipline, morale, capability, love of one's country and being a good soldier that fought for the well being of the nation in times of crisis and conflict. Added to this, and present within the Civil Guards as well, was yet another aspect in the shape of the language question and the relationship between Finnish and Swedish. Qualities of the ideal man for the Civil Guards were in large part based on the view of a shared Swedish and Germanic cultural heritage. An ethno-nationalist way of looking at the common ties of kinship with Sweden and the heritage of the Germanic cultural world. The Swedish-speakers perceived themselves as separate from the Finnish speakers in some ways, yet at the same time they perceived themselves as an important part of the Finnish nation and thus responsible for the future of the nation. The relationship between Swedish and Finnish was very ambivalent at times and the view of the ideal man, how this man should contribute to the nation's security and what rights and duties he had were closely connected to the construction of a national identity.

Therefore, I believe that by researching the Swedish-speaking Civil Guards in Ostrobothnia during the inter-war period, something can be said about the construction of a national identity in Finland in relation to masculinity, nationalism and citizenship. By assuming a position rooted in gender and drawing attention to the language question paired with these theoretical and analytical premises, one creates the possibility of studying the Civil Guards and the Finnish nation from a new historical perspective with the aid of previously unexplored empirical material.

### Tuija Huuki, University of Oulu

### Affective, historical and material entanglements in a painful past-present lectureassemblage of an Arctic adult-child

in this paper we explore how affective energies are transmitted not only intersubjectively, but also intergenerationally and through material objects. This is done, firstly, by looking at a lecture which turned unprecedentedly painful for the lecturer, who is a Sàmi descendant woman (1st author). Secondly, this is done by looking at her childhood experiences in a rural northern Sàmi community in Finland. We will focus on the 'transversal flashes' (Guattari 1995, 93) where affect jumps across time-space domains, created by experience in a complex network of shifting discursive-material forces that Deleuze & Guattari (1987) call 'assemblages'. In this assemblage, objects, animals, utterances, institutional and recreational bodies, human body parts, and atmospheres among a myriad other fragments pulse and vibrate. We analyse how these vibrations link to the lecturer's personal history coloured by gender violence as well as Sámi families' traumatic past. The research is a part of the recent feminist posthumanist materialist scholarship which brings into question and surpasses the dichotomous child-adult as well as past-present divisions.

Marianne Junila, University of Oulu & Tiina Lintunen, University of Turku

### Thinking back on the Finnish Civil War 1918 – Young girls' ways' of coping with crises and trauma

This paper examines the experiences of girls and young women during the Finnish Civil War 1918. Being interested in the private lives of civilians during the war, our paper represents new military history, a very popular brand of military history in current research. The new military history focuses on social and individual problems arising out of armed conflicts in the past. Here the aim is to study a violent conflict from the perspective of a young person and analyze the techniques they use for surviving the crisis.

Our research materials consist of school essays, letters and diaries of school-girls written during and soon after the war. In these texts, the girls write about their experiences, about violence they had eye-witnessed and about their participation. For the girls, the war was a personal crisis that crossed their sense of security and challenged the moral norms they had learned. The war also undermined gender roles as well as the roles of the family members.

The aim is to examine how the girls dealt with the crises and how they explained their experiences and tried to make sense of the lunacy of war.

### Eira Juntti, University of Jyväskylä

### 'Crises of masculinity' in Finnish literature in the late 19th century

Realism became the dominant literary genre in Finnish literature in the late 19th century. Realist novels published at the time are replete with male characters who struggle with their masculinity, most notably the various student characters that appear for example in Juhani Aho's novels.

In this presentation, I will focus on the representations of masculinity in a number of realist novels and analyze the tensions between different kinds of masculinities, in particular masculinity as represented by the many student protagonists and by the father figures. As a social scientist, I am more interested in analyzing the politics of these representations than analyzing them as illustrative of the literary genre of realism itself.

I will suggest that in realist literature there are plenty of examples of tension between masculinity and femininity, but also between different kinds of masculinities. This can be interpreted as a crisis in masculinity, but this crises went mostly unnoticed, or at least it was not named as such at the time. There was no discussion on 'masculinity', but public discussion was focused on other matters, such as women's rights, workers' rights, and the nature of Finnish nationalism. In a sense the 'crises of masculinity' is a crises internal to Finnish nationalism, as it is an aspect of the generational and political struggle within the nationalist movement itself. Though touching the very core of Finnish nationalism, the crises goes unnoticed due to the way Finnish nationalism (as well as many other nationalisms) defined 'the nation' as a primarily male domain.

### Marjo Kaartinen, University of Turku

### Practices of Coping with Separation: The Case of Vera Hjelt (1857–1947)

In Helsinki in 1901, Vera Hjelt was trying to cope with the separation from her very dear friend Cely Mechelin when the latter lived temporarily in Stockholm to accompany her mother and father, senator Leo Mechelin. Senator Mechelin was the leader of the Finnish opposition to the russification politics of the Russian Emperor and his administration in the arch-duchy of Finland. The political crisis brought tension to life in Finland at large, and a personal crisis to Hjelt particularly because she knew that Cely Mechelin was deeply involved in underground opposition activities – life-threatening as such – and away from her.

This paper looks at Vera Hjelt's preserved letters to Cely Mechelin especially in the autumn of 1901 and teases out the practices of mental coping during the two adult women's separation. At the time, Hjelt was 44 and Mechelin 35 years old. The practices this paper discusses were small, simple and everyday acts, moments of trying to grasp a trace of the friend's past presence, such as staring at the friend's photograph on the desk or walking past her house. Even though Hjelt was not alone during her friend's absence as she lived with a group of women, her long letters betray an emotional turmoil that the circumstances of the Mechelins' absence further enhanced. Her letters add to our understanding of the meanings of women's fin-de-siècle friendships.

### Elina Karvo, University of Turku

### Crises in men's friendships - A televisual view

Friendships, as any human relationship, has crisis points which can create a passing rift or break up a friendship for good. In audio-visual popular culture, especially in television, crises in human relationships are often used to create drama and further plot developments. The significance of television in the latter part of the 20th century affected also the notions of social relationships, as dramatizations could provide guiding on how to live.

Friendships between men have an idealized, even mythical status in Western popular culture. It is based on classical texts of men in warfare fighting side by side and being loyal and devoted to each other. In later depictions, warfare has changed into other dangerous situations and life-threatening moments, from which men survive together. In the modern 1980s and 1990s society, however, heroic actions and life of adventure are in scarce, and the crises men face in friendships are more common and related to everyday life.

In this paper, I examine crises in friendships between men through televisual material. I use three British TV series from the 1980s and early 1990s: Brideshead Revisited, Sherlock Holmes, and Jeeves and Wooster. In these series, crises create tumultuous moments in the lives of men, but act also as moments of redefining friendships and views of men themselves.

The types of crises are also related to the genres of three series. In comedy, crises may seem more trivial and arbitrary than in drama or detective series. Nevertheless, the rift in the men's relationship makes them ponder on the friendship and their own manhood even in comedic situations. Crises the men in my research material meet are, for instance, the death of a friend, alcoholism, and the threat of marriage.

Merlin Kirikal, School of Humanities, Tallinn University

### Obsessive working and divided self – crisis and female creativity in Johannes Semper's "Jealousy" (1934)

Johannes Semper (1892–1970) – the Estonian intellectual, writer, essayist, translator, culture organizer – was a curious type. Approximately from 1910 until 1930s he was interested in all contemporary cultural currents and shifts – symbolism, futurism, expressionism – and furthermore, he was intrigued by "the woman question". This stance culminated with a collection of short stories "Ellinor" (1927), the plot of which are shown through a perspective of a young, active and fit New Woman – a unique text in Estonian culture during 1920s and 1930s. Dipping from the works of Nietzsche, Bergson, Gide and Freud, he wrote the psychological modernist novel "Jealousy" (1934). Later, in 1959 published an uncouth, unbelievably black-and-white, socialist realist propagandistic book "Red Carnations", "making sure" that his previous multifaceted prose would be left out of the Estonian cultural canon.

With my doctoral project I will not ask the most obvious (and probably unsolvable) question about the writer's political choices, but rather I have chosen "the body" to be my first area of interest in his early fictional work. With this paper I aim to look closely at one of his minor female characters — an Estonian pianist Herma, a middle class young woman — and her connections and mainly implicit reflections on art, artistry and life. Taking into consideration the New Woman writer Olive Schreiner's opinion which states that at the root of all intellectual and artistic achievement, lies "something sexual", I try to associate Herma's artistic ambitions with her sexuality/body, asking what happens when the New Women repress their artistic and bodily needs. Taking as my starting point Herma's bitten wrists and tendency to skip meals, I will analyse the severe crisis written inside her body.

Heidi Kurvinen, University of Turku & University of Oulu

### Finnish male journalists participating in the reconstruction of the nation in the 1950s

After the Second World War, a period of reconstruction began in Finland which included both rebuilding the nation and paying the war debt. According to scholars, the most intensive period of reconstruction ended in 1952 but traces of it could be seen until the mid-1950s. Longstanding effects prevailed especially in terms of the mentality of Finnish people.

In this presentation, I will analyse the role of journalism in the process of reconstruction. More specifically, I will focus on journalist Matti Jämsä who was one of the most well-known journalists in Finland in the 1950s. Since starting as a reporter in Apu magazine in 1953, Jämsä specialised in so called stunt journalism in which he based his articles on first hand experiences of different topics such as wrestling with a bear or attending a beauty contest dressed as a woman.

In my presentation, I argue that there was a social demand for this kind of journalism in Finland in the 1950s even though the era of reconstruction was coming to an end. What is more, the development of stunt journalism had a gendered aspect. In the post-Second World War Finland, descriptions of personal experiences in journalism were used by Jämsä and some other male journalists whereas originally stunt journalism was a femaledominated field at the turn of the 19th and 20th Century.

The presentation is based on Matti Jämsä's articles published in Apu magazine between 1953 and 1957. Additionally, Jämsä's professional autobiography Matti Jämsän tempaukset (1960) will be used.

### Liisa Lalu, University of Turku

## "Good ideology ruined." The Collapse of the Soviet Union in personal narratives of Finnish left-wing female activists

In this paper I study the possible personal crisis caused by the collapse of the Soviet Union using oral history (interviews and written testimonies) as a method and as source material. The fall of the Soviet Union caused some ideological confusion in e.g. international labor movement, but I ask how did it affect former left-wing radicals on personal level.

My narrators were born after the Second World War and took part in their youth in the radical leftist (pro-soviet) movement in the 1970s Finland. This movement was part of the international leftist movements of the 1960s and 1970s, but had its own unique form in Finland – the closeness of the Soviet Union was one factor. The loud and passionate movement faded in the 1980s, but most of the former activist didn't abandon the socialist ideals: many describe that the values and ideals are still the same, but the strict orthodoxy of youth communism is softened. In this paper I analyze how the separation from the movement is narrated and I ask, if the collapse of the Soviet Union caused any ideological or personal crisis.

### Ritva Larva, University of Turku

### Acquiring a new skill during the war times – Marta Keravuori becoming a Japan specialist

Marta Keravuori (1888-1976) was a self-taught Japanologist – a lonely rider in Finland in the 1940's and 1950's. At the age of 52, she got interested in the Japanese language at the end of the year 1940 while teaching Finnish to Japanese diplomats and their family members. During the following war years when the sirens of bombings went off Keravuori grabbed her kanji (Japanese character) books and rushed to the bombing shelters. Kanjis kept her attention and offered a mental escape room for her. She forgot the war and the apprehensive atmosphere of the shelter. She became more and more interested in the language and culture. Against her husband's opinion, she also started to translate Japanese fairy tales and poetry in Finnish and devoted herself to make the Japanese culture known better in Finland.

On my paper, I will discuss the role of war allowing Keravuori to study an exotic language. I also examine how the society received her and did the gender have a specific role in it. Did the gender have an impact when Keravuori made contacts with Japanese visiting Finland? Besides her age and the fact she was rather short I believe, the gender lowered the cultural threshold between her and the Japanese.

Ilmari Leppihalme, University of Oulu

### Embodied memories and affective (re)mapping in Anu Kaipainen's evacuee novels

In her very last novel Vihreiksi poltetut puut (Green burnt trees) from 2007 Karelian born author Anu Kaipainen (1933-2009) rewrites her autobiographical "evacuee trilogy" of the 1980's.

The evacuee trilogy describes recent WWII history and resettlement of post-war time. The trilogy also anticipates the wider discussion on wartime experiences in Finland that broke out in the early 1990's, after the collapse of the Soviet Union. At that time the Finnish public discourse got once more entangled with WWII history, which Kinnunen and Kivimäki (2012) have called the "neo-patriotic turn".

However, in the 2000's the neo-patriotic discourse has been challenged by an "affective turn", that emphasizes the emotional legacies of WWII, that were so far largely untold or even taboos: e.g. traumatic and ugly side of the war, subaltern minority histories and politics of memory. Kaipainen's last evacuee novel, Vihreiksi poltetut puut, is a representative of this affective turn.

Besides, the narration of Vihreiksi poltetut puut is highly self-reflexive and metafictive presenting reservations concerning the truth and authenticity of evacuee memories and the whole imagery of lost Karelia. This suspicion and distrust is signalling a fracture in the national and communal narratives in relation to Karelian displacement and Karelia projections but also opens new representational space for untold emotional memories that have been encapsulated in the body and unconscious - the "heavy silence".

I will consider through the analysis of evacuee trilogy and especially Vihreiksi poltetut puut, how in the context of the affective turn of 2000's Kaipainen seeks access to and articulation of the embodied memories. Furthermore, I will reflect, how the affective outburst of embodied memories in Kaipainen's last novel confuses familiar narratives, and maybe could be analysed as a sort of affective (re)mapping or an embodied cartography of memory.

### Katarina Leppänen, Göteborgs universitet

### Crisis of femininity in early 20th century Nordic novels

The popular image of Norden as a place where women's sexuality is understood in less moralizing terms than in many other places has long historical roots. Frederick Hale assert that in the early 20th century foreign interest in especially Sweden was totally unerotic, while earlier periods had found Scandinavian sexuality exotic (e.g. interest in Viking sexualities by their contemporaries; 18th century travelers interest in Scandinavian women's sexuality). In early 20th century Nordic novels, female characters acted out the repertoire of the New Women, as did their contemporaries elsewhere. Yet, something seemed to stick with the Nordic women and that was the understanding that in the Nordic countries love and sexuality were differently organized than elsewhere. Perhaps a crisis of femininity and masculinity? This paper will investigate novels in relation to social and political change to highlight some aspects of the emotional and sexual coolness of the Nordic woman.

### Maarit Leskelä-Kärki, University of Turku

### Life's catastrophes: Interpreting life crises in biographical research

Biography is a genre that demands deep dwelling into other people's lives. It forces us to confront life's big questions: love, sorrow, death, troubles, tragedies. Like Swedish historian Eva-Helen Ulvros has said, it is hard not to be moved by all this. How does a biographer read moments of crises in the protagonist's life from the source material? How do we understand crisis and turning points in life, and how we turn them into narrative practices? What is the role of the relationship between the narrator and the protagonist in this process of analysis?

In my paper I will discuss my ongoing biographical research from this perspective. My biographical research concerning the life of Minna Krohn (1841-1917) deals with a life full of traumatic events and various turning points that could be viewed from the perspective of life crisis (sudden marriage and motherhood, sudden widowhood, psychic illness). I will ponder how I could make use of the history of emotions, or even psychological understanding of life crises in this cultural historical work — or is there are danger of over-analysing and viewing a life course and individual traumatic events too much from our present day understanding of individual psychology?

### Susan Lindholm, Malmö University

### Boundaries of Sisterhood – a comparative approach to US- and Latin American Hip-hop feminism

My presentation engages in a comparative reading of anti-racist and feminist representations created by hip-hop artists, as well as activists or fans in the US and Latin America in the context of social media. In both the United States and Latin America, hip-hop feminists who identify themselves as Black or Latina use hip-hop culture as a platform to create representations that are based on resistance against racism, sexism, and forgetting repressed and violent pasts. However, the global dominance of US-American hip-hop can often serve to render invisible the realities of Latin American women, and thereby further enforce their marginalization. My presentation traces such instances of domination and marginalization by engaging in a comparative reading of hip-hop feminism in the US and Latin America. The material consists of representations created by hip-hop artists on the one hand, and their online and offline reception by the artists' followers on the other. Using a methodological framework that combines netnography and oral history, and a theoretical framework that is based postcolonial feminist theory, as well as historical and cultural studies, it asks the following questions: What (historical) representations do hip-hop feminists in the US and Latin America create and refer to in their lyrics and videos? How are these representations discussed and interpreted by their followers? How is feminism and opposition defined in each historical location and how do the artists and their followers define concepts such as Latina and/or Black? What (historical) representations or narratives are created and opposed in each context?

### Emma Lundin, Queen Mary University of London

### Writing Women Out of History: Post-Crisis Lessons from Southern Africa and Scandinavia

This paper will investigate the gendering of crises in public memory across the world, with a particular focus on the silencing on women in the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC). Women's activists and female politicians played vital roles in solving political and violent conflicts during the transition period when apartheid was brought to an end and democracy was ushered in between 1990 and 1994 in South Africa. Through the Women's National Coalition – an umbrella organisation of 67 national organisations set up and spearheaded by the ANC's Frene Ginwala in 1992 – women forged political and social connections across apartheid divides before mass-mobilising to strengthen the burgeoning democracy. Women's activism opened up channels between warring factions, exposed the apartheid regime's patriarchal oppression of all women, and ensured that the democratic South Africa could be fully representational and gender sensitive.

Nevertheless, women's radical activism and significant contribution has been neglected and ignored in the post-apartheid memorialisation of the era. This shows that hegemonic patriarchal ideas about unity and propriety create a continuous silencing of radical activities undertaken by women. Furthermore, the paper will draw links to other case studies — teasing out connections to Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Sweden and the United Kingdom — to show that South Africa is far from unique and that the silencing of women in post-crisis and post-conflict eras is commonplace. While women are able to unsettle the status quo in times of crisis, their stories and experiences far too often disappear at the first sign of unity. Gender historians play an important role in challenging the assumptions that stem from such silencing.

### Emil Marklund, Umeå University

### Teachers needed! The socio-economic background of teachers in northern Sweden 1870-1950

After the first elementary school act was introduced in Sweden (1842) the number of schools, pupils and teachers increased rapidly right after. The early elementary school experienced a crisis in terms of severe teacher shortage, especially before the Junior School teacher was introduced in the late 1850s. Who were the recruited teachers in terms of sex and socio-economic background and did these patterns change over time? Was there a change when the shortage of teachers turned into a surplus of teachers in the 1930s? How did the socio-economic origin differ within the group of teachers depending on the expected length of their teacher training? The data consists of 123 607 individuals of which 2 400 were officially recognized as teachers. By using logistic regression it is possible to see how the recruitment pattern in relation to social class and sex developed over time, these results are then interpreted through Bourdieusian lenses.

Initial results indicate that teachers with fathers belonging to the social groups 'lower managers and professionals' and especially 'higher professionals' had a higher probability to become teachers. For children of 'higher managers' the probability to become a teacher was much lower. With concepts from Pierre Bourdieu these results can be interpreted as a situation where fathers with a high cultural capital were more likely to be fathers of future teachers than those with a high economic capital. The results also suggest that the probability for a teacher to come from a certain social background remained almost constant over time, which is noteworthy since the sizes and formation of the different social groups changed considerably during the period. Finally, in line with previous studies, the findings confirm a rapid and extensive feminization of the teacher occupation. This was especially true for the junior school teachers. Through this study we can learn more about teachers that worked in the early compulsory school in rural parts of Sweden.

Synne Myrebøe, Umeå universitet

### Rational Crises: Martha Nussbaum and the politics of emotions

For Martha Nussbaum, contemporary crisis in law, in higher education as well as in politics, can be understood from a lack of cultivated emotions. In her forthcoming book, The Monarchy of Fear: A Philosopher Looks at Our Political Crisis (July 2018), she argues that the political is always emotional. Hence, as she has insisted throughout her authorship, historical as well as contemporary political philosophy has ignored the role of emotions for rational choice. In this paper, I explore how Nussbaum confront different aspects of contemporary political crisis with ideas of cultivating political emotions as a re-negotiation of the claim that "the personal is always political". Thus, as she also claims, "we can learn to feel appropriately, just as we can learn to act appropriately".

Drawing on Ancient philosophy, Nussbaum calls for a mass-cultivation of political emotions and sensitivity towards difference of the particulars. My initiate questions to this management of contemporary crisis concerns the art of seeing in Nussbaum's philosophical gaze and defence of rational emotions, as well as how can we understand the politics of emotions appearing in her philosophical work.

Tiina Männistö-Funk, Chalmers University of Technology, Gothenburg

### The Gender of Walking and the Crisis of Mobility in the Car City: Female Pedestrians in Street Photographs 1890–1989

Walking has been both ubiquitous and important in the everyday life of the past, but it is relatively difficult to study historically. This paper uses some 4000 street photographs from the Finnish city Turku, taken between the beginning of the 1890s and the end of the 1980s, to analyse practices of urban walking and their historical changes, both quantitatively and qualitatively. One method of analysis has been to prepare point maps of pedestrians, as well as other modes of mobility, visible in the photographs, using different markers for male and female pedestrians (as assumed on the basis of visual information). This method reveals distinct patterns of gendered pedestrian mobility as well as gender-specific historical changes.

The quantitative analysis shows that 1) women walked a lot in the city without male company already in the late 19th century and the early 20th century; 2) female pedestrians outnumber male pedestrians in the city especially from the mid-20th century on, on certain streets manifold. During the 1970s they start to outnumber men also on the inner-most city streets; 3) the female pedestrian has been the one most numerous and continuous mode of mobility in the city. Combining qualitative practice analysis of the photographs with the quantitative information, this paper will ponder on the reasons of gendered pedestrian patterns and the role women's walking has had in the city.

Specific attention will be given to the crisis of non-motorised mobility that started with the heavy motorisation and car-centred city planning in the 1950s and changed the use of street space dramatically during the 1960s and 1970s. Especially women had been dependent on walking for their daily mobility. The remodelling of the city to serve car mobility changed the practices and conditions of their walking in many ways.

### Anna Niiranen, University of Jyväskylä

### "A Source of dread, anxiety, and subsequent regret"? Pregnancy as a potential crisis in nineteenth century British medicine

In my paper I investigate the period of human gestation and the potential complications and risks connected to pregnancy in nineteenth century medicine. I have examined medical periodicals, mainly the British Medical Journal, and popular health manuals, intended for use by women. These medical writings were published between 1840 and 1902.

In nineteenth century academic medicine, pregnancy was considered a natural state of every married woman; not a disease and a state "demanding only a little more than ordinary care and prudence", as Dr. Thomas Bull noticed in his popular guidebook. However, every pregnancy was threatened by a possibility of miscarriage or premature labour. How a potential miscarriage was treated and how doctors' advices concerning the prevention of miscarriages were connected to the wider idea of the prevention of diseases in nineteenth century medicine?

In addition, abortion, an intended and induced ending of pregnancy, was an important part of this medical discussion. In nineteenth century Britain, "criminal abortion", as the procedure was often called in the medical literature, was a criminal act, and thus, always a potential crisis in a life of an individual woman, seeking a way to terminate her unwanted pregnancy. In my paper, I investigate the real abortion cases reported in the British Medical Journal and compare these reports to more idealistic writings in popular health manuals, warning their female readers against the dangers of "criminal abortion".

Hanna-Leena Nissilä, University of Oulu

## War, memories and women writers – "Evacuee literature" as creative remembrance

Fiction, autofiction and autobiographical novels have had a role in representing and memorizing experiences of forced migrants during and after World War II in Finland. Interestingly, women writers have had a central role publishing literature reminiscing experiences of war and forced displacement during last decades.

In my paper, I will concentrate on so called evacuee literature published by women writers (e.g Salme Aejmalaeus, Eeva Kilpi, Iiris Kähäri, Mirjam Kälkäjä) by reading novels in the context of European refugee experience and history during and after World War II. I am interested in how memorizing experiences of war, trauma, forced displacement, diaspora, belonging and recognition are narrated in the novels. I will also pay attention on unarticulated experiences as silenced, troubled and embodied histories as part of the individual and memory community, and ask how creative remembrance does offer a special narrative space to represent traumatic and embodied memories. I am also interested in why women have such a central role in representing these experiences and memories in literature.

The larger question beyond my paper is methodological, and converses on with my doctoral thesis (Nissilä 2016) by asking how to analyze the evacuee novels and memory communities – and rethink memory studies – beyond national frame as transnational. Methodological nationalism assumes the nation-state as the natural container and telos of collective memory. Methodological transnationalism critically questions and de-naturalizes the concept of nation to conceptualize and contextualize research (Amelina et al. 2012). The transnational turn has meant an interest in tracing complicated histories of displacement, and turning from what used to be a narrow national focus to a global perspective, all of which has helped to recognize the spaces we create in research.

Nissilä (2016) "Sanassa maahanmuuttaja on vähän kitkerä jälkimaku". Kirjallisen elämän ylirajaistuminen 2000-luvun alun Suomessa. Acta Universitatis Ouluensis. Oulun yliopisto, Oulu.

Amelina et al. 2012 (eds.): Beyond Methodological Nationalism. Research Methodologies for Cross-Border Studies. Routledge.

Malin Nordvall, Chalmers University of Technology, Gothenburg

# Reform and resistance: Responses at Chalmers University of Technology to a gender equal recruitment project in the early 1990s

Sweden is considered one of the most gender equal countries worldwide. Still, Swedish engineering universities struggle with low rates of women in a majority of the programs. The male dominance has been addressed since the 1970s by professional organizations and engineering universities through recruitment and reform projects as well as by governmental initiatives. Despite the large number of projects, the percentage of women in many of the engineering fields remains low. How can we understand this resistance to change? Situated in the 1990s, I show in this paper that tensions within the engineering profession regarding gender equality reform projects were expressed by engineering faculty as a result of strong professional ideals.

The paper explores the response at Chalmers University of Technology to a large national initiative for reform of higher education programs in science and technology with the purpose of recruiting women students, later called "Five Gender-Inclusive Projects". Computer and electrical engineering were considered two programs of special interest. Despite an expressed need for reform as well as substantial support from the Chalmers leadership, only the program chair of computer engineering applied for project money and subsequently was awarded funding. Concentrating on the struggles of continuous curriculum reform work that took place within the two programs during the years before the national call, I shed light on the different responses. I stress that a combination of individual and organizational factors resulted in diverting approaches by the management of the two programs.

Inger Nørgård, Archive, Museum of East Jutland, Randers

## More records about individuals! Does it bring us closer to a more gender equal history?

For a long time it has been stressed that the family as an institution under pressure, or at least that the function of the family is changing within the Nordic welfare states. (Hanne Themsen 2008 Familieinstitutionens betydning i dag; Anne Løkke 2009 Familieliv I Danmark). The aim of this paper is to uncover if and how registration of personal data in the municipal administration reflects the crisis of the family in the period of 1950-2015.

In the municipal administration it is a condition that the 'retrieval key' to identify data about citizens, roughly speaking, has changed from being the household (in practice registered under the last name of the male husband), to being the lastname, to being the central personal register (CPR). The research field on municipal administration is limited and has often focused on politics and public services, not on registration practices. (Leon Jespersen (ed.) 2000 Dansk forvaltningshistorie; Jørn Henrik Petersen 2010-14 Dansk Velfærdshistorie). Therefore this study including a gender perspective of records from Randers Commune can shed light on when changes within the registration of personal data occurred. Thereby it will be uncovered how and when data concerning women and children were linked to the individual person – and not the male household head. Theoretically the concept of 'institutionalized individualism' from the book Individualization by Ulrich Beck and Elizabeth Beck-Gernsheim (2002) will be used to analyze the proces.

It is my thesis that the phasing out of the male household head as the primary registration unit came relatively late in the municipal administration and thereby did not keep up with the societal changes, which brought along many forms of families in the 1970'ties and 1980'ties. For example an electronic register, SOS Journal, with personal data on social benefits covering the period of 1998-2006 contains cases of records on married female retirees, whom are registered under their husbands CPR.

As a researcher you are dependent on the set of data that you base your research on. Historians analyze historical changes and settings mostly based on written sources. In the Nordic welfare states the public administration, including municipal administration, is a central producer of written sources. Women and gender historians have correctly pointed out that historically records concerning women and their lives are very limited. (Gro Hagemann 2003 Feminisme og historieskrivning, Bente Rosenbeck 1990 Kvindekøn).

Can it be said that the crisis of the family, which supported a registration of personal data linked to the individual person, gives future researchers ability to make another kind of gender history? Researchers in the future will have access to another set of data, including personal data on women, than hitherto? Will researchers and historians be able to make women more visible and provide insight into their lives in new ways?

### Æsa Sigurjónsdóttir, University of Iceland

### Feckless and hotheaded. Towards an alternative feminist art-historical narrative

Women's radical art production in the Nordic countries was closely related to women's struggle for gender equality and the empowerment of women's political voice in the public space. In the 1970s women's art production was made visible through a number of women's only exhibitions and alternative political events. In concordance with the International Women's Year (IWY) in 1975, important exhibitions, such as "Kvindeudstillingen" in Charlottenborg, Copenhagen, showcased more than 70 Danish and international female artist, and alternative art publications followed.

However, only few Nordic female artists have entered contemporary art histories and current art markets. Still the crises in representation embodied in the neo-avant-garde movements of the early 1960s were the impetus for women artists active in the 1960s and 1970s, similarly as their male counterparts, and their works were alternatively concerned with critique of capitalism, patriarchy, imperialism, and gendered politics and female representations.

French art —historian Marie-Josèphe Bonnet has pointed out: "One needs to reconsider the articulation between the aesthetic and the sociological in order to raise the following questions: how does the avant-garde notion — which relies on the break with the past, with "fathers" and "masters," ...operate as a new way of marginalizing women at the very moment when they get a new status in society?

Focusing on the radical art production by Icelandic artists Róska (1940-1996), who spent her life between Reykjavík, Rome and Paris; my paper addresses the specificity of French, Italian and Icelandic avant-garde movements, she was related to, and at the same time raises questions about cultural production in relation to its political context, and the tensions female art production caused inside the male oriented avant-garde.

### Kirsi Tuohela, University of Turku

## Breakdown - Crisis in Women's Autobiographies of Mental Illness

In this presentation I will analyse "asylym or madness autobiographies", autobiographies written by female writers who have been patients in mental institutions or who have been diagnosed with mental disorder. I focus on the personal crisis, life crisis or health crisis that these women write about as a turning point in their story of getting ill and sometimes hospitalised - treated and sometimes cured.

I use Finnish material but contextualize it with Nordic and other European/Western texts. I start with Aino Manner who wrote the first asylum autobiography in Finnish (Viesti yöstä. Mielisairaalakokemuksia, 1935) and continue to Anni Saastamoinen's (Depressiopäiväkirjat, 2017). Interesting context include Swedish Ann Heberlein (Jag vill inte dö, jag vill bara inte leva, 2010).

### Nina Työlahti, University of Oulu

## Crisis as a Literary Device – Sentimentalism in Heikki Meriläinen's Novel *The Girls of Pietola* (1892)

Heikki Meriläinen (1847-1939), a Finnish folk writer of his time, published a novel, The Girls of Pietola, in 1892. The Girls of Pietola is a "feminist" utopia and a fanfictional equivalent to Aleksis Kivi's Seven Brothers (1870), where siblings plan and execute their life according to their own aspirations. Sisters manage to create a well-balanced and well-cared household with great prospects. This state of bliss is reached only through different types of domestical crisis, real-life hardships. These family crises are often embellished with sentimentalistic, even melodramatic tones, e.g. in the case of the youngest sister, who suffers from epilepsy. Author uses the epileptic scenes, both as a literary tool to indicate certain culmination points in the narration, but one can also see it as a valve for his personal doubts about the dubious task he has embarked with his writing. What is my worth as a writer, is this a subject matter worth discussing? Is the extent of my reading enough?

Meriläinen's correspondance with his publisher from that era, reveals the tension felt towards his work. Inherently inferior position as a folk writer with an "unbelieveable" topic, leads the author to use sentimentality, the over-shown feelings, excess emotions as a sign of high morals of his protagonists. In addition to this, the use of sentimentalism creates a certain level of empathy amongst readers. With a topic such as this – women defining and defending themselves in a self-made utopia – the empathy must have been in demand.

The "distrust" (Bell 2000) expressed towards sentimentalism has been revalued. In Finland, the role of sentimentality in creating the realistic tradition in novel writing, has also been under scrutiny (Launis 2005, Isomaa 2009). Literature, as a vehicle of creating nations, may also work in solving tensions: allowing surviving and coping methods for writers and readers alike.

Lotta Vikström, Umeå University & Erling Häggström Lundevaller, Umeå University

## Did disability bring crisis? Gendered and demographic life-course findings on disabled and non-disabled people in 19th-century Sweden

Contemporary studies suggest that disabilities jeopardize people's health and make them weaker positioned in the labor market than the 'able' majority. Disabled individuals are also less likely to live without a partner. Historically, little is known about whether and how disability brought any crisis to the persons afflicted. Drawing upon Swedish parish registers digitized by the Demographic Data Base, Umeå University, our study clarifies this issue by investigating the life and death among some 35,000 individuals in the 19th-century Sundsvall region. Using these data reporting disabilities while they were 15-34 years old, we run lifecourse analysis on a series of events expected to occur in young adulthood such as taking up work, marrying and family formation. We also account for the migration and mortality risks to gain more information of whether disability implied any crisis. Although a great many variations by gender and type of disability are found, individuals' life courses did not include work nor family to the same extent if they had disability. It further rendered low migration levels and high mortality levels, especially among disabled men and people having mental disabilities. In all, our demographic findings demonstrate that disability was associated with difficulties both in the labor and marriage markets, regardless of gender. It also seems as if these difficulties developed into a crisis across individuals' lifetime, marked by lock-in mechanisms and low survival.

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Marja Vuorinen, University of Helsinki

# Little wives, feminist whores and Valkyries: the threefold imagery of the feminine in the 2010's Nordic far right

Unlike the recent Western European nativists, who typically summon brothers and sisters to reunite under a common flag, the Nordic nativist far right sees modern women as part of the very problem they want to solve. Blaming the feminists for a plethora of sins – broken families and single motherhood; taking over politics, professions and the academe; promoting mass immigration and multiculturalism – they look back towards an imagined 1950s-style past, when men were men and women were homemakers.

In their texts, the modern woman appears as a promiscuous, man-hating feminist. The idealised traditional woman is presented as tender mother and loving wife, who participates in the social activities of the neighbourhood, protected but also belittled by her man. While trying to reinstate a (computer-game style) image of heroic masculinity, some also daydream about female comrades-in-arms.

In my presentation, I analyse the above threefold imagery of the feminine, as presented by Nordic (male) nativist far-right authors, in the context of historical developments, focusing on the social and psychological causes for the (re)appearance of such imagery. I also tentatively ask, whether the difference between Nordic and Western European imageries may relate to the stronger feminist presence in the Nordic countries.

### Piia Vuorinen, University of Turku

# Women who were suspected, followed and possibly interrogated by the Finnish security police in 1919-1944

The Finnish security police (Detective Central Police, called State Police from 1937) suspected, monitored and interrogated a multitude of citizens on suspicion of high treason between the 1920's and 1940's. This politically motivated action by the police was especially directed towards communist and socialist activity in Finland, due to an exaggerated fear of another revolution.

In a period of inconstancy and crisis in 1919-1944, the security police has been seen as a tool and realiser of control policy. The civil war in 1918 was still in fresh memory, right-wing movements gained momentum and the labour movement's left-wing actors were banned from operating in Finland and the second World War had similarly it's own impacts on the attitudes towards political dissidence.

During this period hundreds of women were suspected as potential culprits of high treason. In my PhD thesis I will research the women who became targets of the security police's control policy in 1919-1944. What did they have in common, what separated them from each other? How were they viewed by the police? What was the control policy like? What kinds of opportunities for action did the control policy leave for these women? My posopographic work will greatly supplement the history of women who were seen as dangerous for the state. I will go through the security police's archives to study all the remaining individual folders of women who were suspected of left-wing activity. In my presentation I will go through my preliminary estimations and results.

### Merle Wessel, University of Greifswald

### Motherhood in Crisis - Eugenic Feminism in the Nordic Countries, ca. 1890-1940

Eugenics in the Nordic countries are mostly known through the notorious and longstanding sterilization legislations between the 1930s and the 1970s. However, eugenics was in the Nordic countries a broad social movement which affected various parts of the people's lives. This paper looks at the connection between eugenics and feminism in the Nordic countries during the early twentieth century.

The main question I ask is why did some first-wave feminists find eugenics as appealing ideology to benefit their aim of female empowerment? Additionally, how did the engagement of Nordic feminists in the debate about eugenics in connection with hygiene and public health, and their activity in various eugenic practices, shape the perception of the female body and female sexuality in the young Nordic welfare states?

I argue, by analysing various publications of Nordic feminists, such as sex manuals, articles, pamphlets and books, that eugenic feminists used eugenic ideology as method to empower women in the context of motherhood. The emphasis of the importance of the role of mothers as saviours of race and nation, should strengthen their social role and support demands for equal rights. However, women not fit for motherhood were denied equal rights and the eugenic feminists demanded restricted methods, such as institutionalization or sterilization, to prevent them from harming the national stock.

### Ulla Wikander, Stockholms Universitet

## Finska inbördeskriget 1918 och svensk kvinnoopinion

Ellen Key tog offentligt ställning för den vita sidan strax efter att det finska inbördeskriget brutit ut. Hon fick många andra kvinnor att välja samma sida, med krav på vapensändningar till Finlands s k vita, bland dem sådana som Selma Lagerlöf och Lydia Wahlström. Den senare var starkt engagerad och deltog i en uppvaktning av regeringen om detta. Som svar på denna s k svenska aktivism gick många kvinnor ut i en appell för att regeringen skulle medla mellan de stridande; de kvinnorna ville inte välja sida. Dit hörde sådana som Gulli Petrini, Karolina Widerström och inte minst Anna Bugge Wicksell som skrev en stor artikel i frågan. Även socialdemokratiska kvinnor önskade en medling, t ex Anna Lindhagen. Hela denna "kris" utspelade sig i olika tidningsartiklar. Detta hände mitt under det att frågan om kvinnors rösträtt återigen var uppe till behandling och öppna möten om den hölls. Mitt paper vill undersöka hur de olika ställningstagandena i Finlands-frågan påverkade, eller inte, kvinnors agerande för rösträtten; om och hur de kunde skilja dessa två heta engagemang, ett utrikespolitiskt och ett inrikespolitiskt, från varandra?

## ABSTRACTS OF FULL SESSIONS AND ROUNDTABLES

Sofia Gustafsson, University of Helsinki, & Riina Turunen, University of Jyväskylä

# Session 1a & 2a: Women facing economic crisis and financial distress in Scandinavia in the 16th–19th century

During a woman's lifecycle, there where several phases in which she could possibly face an economic crisis and/or financial distress. An unmarried single woman might have to find innovative ways to support herself, especially if she had children outside wedlock. A married woman might have needed extra incomes to support her family, for example if her husband due to illness or bankruptcy was incapable of contributing economically to the household. The husband could also abandon his family, or the couple end up in divorce. A young widow might have found herself in a difficult situation being the sole provider for her children while an old widow had to figure out how to find possible care-takers and pay for her care.

In all these situations women had to recur to innovative ways of making a living, engage themselves in work outside home or becoming entrepreneurs. They could try to renegotiate their husband's debts, apply for bankruptcy in the court to be absolved from her husband's debts or acquiring new personal loans. Also remarrying might be considered an economic strategy for women in financial distress. In all strategies gender mattered, as women faced legal and institutional constraints that limited their options and possible actions. Their set of choices was more limited than for men, however, there were also some institutional and social norms protecting women, such as rules concerning dowries or the tradition of social support to widows. The crisis women faced were personal, but also collective since many women went through them at some point of their lives. Their personal crisis could also be related to bigger economic crisis, when the international market or wars effected families' every-day life in villages and towns.

Íris Ellenberger, University of Iceland & Riikka Taavetti, University of Helsinki

## Session 1b: Queer history on the margins of the Nordic Region

In the past few decades, queer history and history of sexuality have established themselves as vibrant fields of research in Sweden, Norway and Denmark. In Finland and Iceland, however, queer history is just coming into its own. These countries have a more marginal position within the Nordic region, both geographically and politically. Queering the periphery gives us the opportunity to look at queer history of the Nordic countries from a different point of view.

Paying attention to the margins gives a more diverse picture of the varied experiences and developments in different countries within the Nordic region. Furthermore, a focus on peripheries and margins offers researchers an opportunity to challenge the established historical trajectories and theoretical frameworks.

In this roundtable discussion six history and literature scholars from Finland and Iceland discuss the challenges and possibilities of researching queer history on the margins of the Nordic countries. A number of historiographical and theoretic issues will be taken into consideration, such as: data collection and processing, queer histories in rural and non-metropolitan settings, the effect of late urbanization and late decriminalization on queer sexualities, reading the silences of the queer marginals, homonationalist discourses as well as queer histories within utopian settings.

### Maria Småberg, Lund University

## Session 1c: Humanitarian crises and gender – narratives and practices of transnational relief work in mid-19th to mid-20th Century

Present humanitarian crises have led scholars to look back into the past to provide a long term history of disaster relief work in order to track the empirical knowledge, deepen the understanding of the concept and find ways to contribute to future humanitarian initiatives. However, the complex relation between humanitarianism and gender still lacks systematic exploration, especially from a historical perspective.

The effects of and the responses to humanitarian crises are in many ways gendered. Women and children tend to be the most vulnerable when calamities such as war, climate disaster and epidemic occur. Crises are also often interpreted and defined primarily from a ruling male perspective. Crises such as conflicts are usually perceived also as crises of the dominating gender order (Sjoberg, 2014). Gender is therefore an important perspective when looking into how crises and humanitarian strategies affect different parts of the population. Gender history also allows us to examine women's participation in emergency relief operations and is a challenging way of examining 'women's caring power' (Drenth and Haan, 1999), which this session will look deeper into. The session wants to pay attention to the ambiguities when prioritising relief of women.

Humanitarian crises are also a transnational challenge. Discourses, images and practices weave our world together, sustained by media narrative reporting. However, it is also important to look into the pressing realities people live under. Thus we want to explore the transnational networks through which humanitarian practices and narratives have been promoted, disseminated and standardised and how gender is embedded in religious, political and national ideologies in humanitarian interventions.

In this session we aim to critically explore and analyse the history of humanitarianism from a gender perspective, which put women's, men's and children's humanitarian experiences at the center from the mid-nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century. The papers focus on specific historical cases in order to contextualise humanitarian crises and gender.

The overall guiding questions of this session: How do humanitarian crises influence understandings of gender and the other way around? How can a gender perspective contribute to developing the field of humanitarian history? How did transnational humanitarian narratives and practices frame, and were framed by, gender during the midnineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century?

Fia Sundevall, Swedish Labour Movement's Archive and Library, Huddinge

# Session 2b: Boarders of Nordic Voting Rights: Economic Eligibility and Gender in Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden Before and After Universal Suffrage

Equal and universal suffrage was introduced in all Nordic states between 1906 and 1921. However, the right to vote and the right to stand for election was far from universal. The new voting legislation still excluded a number of citizens in all Nordic countries. Most categories of exclusion were linked to economic competence and autonomy: people who were bankrupt or put under guardianship or dependent on poor relief or had unpaid taxes were without political rights. How did notions of economic eligibility and suffrage relate to gender? And was the so-called democratic breakthrough most of all an economic breakthrough, preparing the ground for the Nordic welfare state in the postwar years? The panel discusses the relationship between gender and economic and political citizenship by focusing on the changing principles and practices of defining eligibility in Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden before and after universal suffrage. The Nordic comparisons allow for the analysis of the common suffrage tradition and the different interpretations of political citizenship.

Jutta Ahlbeck, Åbo Akademi University & Ann-Catrin Östman, Åbo Akademi University

# Session 2c: Otherness, Gender and Boundary Crises: Discourses on Minority Peddlers in Late Nineteenth-Century Finland

In his ground-breaking study Peddlers and Princes (1963), anthropologist Clifford Geertz demonstrates how petty traders, who belonged to ethnic and/or religious minorities, were indispensable to the operation of local, regional, and national economies in periods of strong economic growth. This was the case also in Finland and a substantial share of peddlers in the late 19th century originated in Russia proper, like Russians, Tatars and Jews, in addition to the Roma, who belonged to the 'old' national minorities (similarly as the Swedish-speaking Finns). These, mostly male, peddlers visited homes in the countryside and town markets, providing customers with different commodities and novelties. Nevertheless, minority peddlers represented ethnic, religious, linguistic and cultural otherness in local communities, which, at times, caused anxieties, apprehensions, and fears among the majority population. Newspapers warned citizens to be cautious, and regulations and laws were implemented to regulate both peddling and vagrancy. The implicit (and often explicit) object of interventions and the focal point of societal alarm was the male peddler belonging to an ethnic minority. Narratives of violence, con tricks, begging and dishonesty were common stereotypes used to portray the minority male trader.

This session looks at how minority peddlers were represented differently in public and ethnographic discourses, as well as in laws and regulations. Representations of ethnic minorities were not identical. The peddler is here conceptualized as 'the stranger' (Simmel 1908), suggesting that this figure was both ethnified and gendered, representing social disorder and otherness, causing what we could call 'a boundary crisis' in the community (Erikson 1966). If we regard communities as boundary maintaining, being 'different' from the majority group visualizes the boundaries of a particular cultural universe, which the stranger oversteps, i.e. to which he does not belong. Papers in this session use the concept of boundary crises to scrutinize various understandings of mobile minorities. The session points to different 'degrees' of strangeness and otherness; for instance, trading with 'Ruck-Sack Russians' was not the same as dealing with the Roma.

### Emma Severinsson, Lunds universitet

## Session 3c & 4c: Gendered histories of bodies, nationality and commercialism related to the Swedish popular press 1920-2015

Media has, historically as well as today, been a crucial arena for the creation and reproduction of body ideals, masculinity and femininity. The papers in this proposed session discuss aspects of physicality in different media materials, as well as the gendered production and consumption conditions of the media, during the time period 1920-2015. Through examining phenomena such as beauty contests, bodybuilding and power sports, funerals and commercial sexuality, the papers highlights how the media historically has (re-)produced and shaped gendered bodies. The session also analyzes the mediatized gendered body in relation to other power and identity formations, such as nationality, ethnicity and class.

Klara Arnberg's paper examines the conditions for pornographic media consumption during the period 1960-1990. Starting from Klara norra kyrkogata in Stockholm, which basically formed the city's porn district, she maps pornography retailers and tries to recreate the consumption environment. The paper addresses the presence of sexualized imagery, and whether this street area consolidated gender segregated consumption patterns.

Ulrika Holgersson's contribution concerns how the individual body is related to the greater body of society in medial depictions of funerals of famous female royalties, politicians and cultural personalities in Sweden 1914-2003. Which qualities and characteristics of these women were highlighted as important to the nation and in which ways were these traits incorporated into the developing narrative of a new Sweden of gender equality?

Emma Pihl Skoog contribute by analysing the massmedial images of the muscular and masculine-coded body, in an era of increased consumption and commercialisation. During the 1950s, the patterns of consumption were transformed, which affected the ways that the muscular male body was reproduced in images and in advertising. In order to link to the theme of the conference, my examples will also be discussed in connection with the academic research regarding the conceptions of the so-called masculinity crisis of the Western world in the late 20th century.

Emma Severinsson's paper examines the way in which beauty contests were used in order to construct ideals of Swedishness, whiteness, and femininity in the women's magazine Charme during the 1920s and early 1930s. The paper specifically focuses on how these beauty contests are related to scientific racism in Sweden.

Helena Tolvhed's paper examines textual and visual representations of female bodybuilders in Swedish bodybuilding magazines 1970-2015. Bodybuilding presented new and subversive ideals of femininity, negotiating the gender binary and boundaries. The paper argues that the introduction and development of women's bodybuilding reflect changes in the political and cultural contexts, including discourses on national health, modernity, "naturalness", gender equality and the construction of (heterosexual) femininity.

Fia Sundevall, The Swedish Labour Movement's Archive and Library, Huddinge & Yvonne Svanström, Stockholm University

### Session 4b: Free and unfree labour in the Nordic Countries: a Gender Historic Perspective

In recent years labour historians have been increasingly involved in the field of "free and unfree labour". Gender and intersectional perspectives, however, are fairly absent from much of the international research within the field. This session aims to amend this.

The main focus within the field are developing theoretical, methodical and conceptual discussions as well as empirical studies of labour that can be found on a continuum of two extremes. On the one hand what we conceptualise as "chattel slavery", slavery where human beings are bought and sold as merchandise and on the other hand the idea of "free labour" where the labourer chooses to sell his or her labour on a market, choosing the employer or employing herself.

One point of departure within the research field is that between these two extremes there can be a number of more or less "unfree" labour relations – within state as well as private labour markets – which have been neglected in a theoretically one-sided focus on the extremes.

This (double) session will have a broad focus on grades of force in working relations, over different geographical space and time. In doing so the session explores how gender gives a different understanding of free and unfree labour in history.

Inger Marie Okkenhaug, Volda University College

## Session 4e: Women, War and Survival: Coping With Political Crises, Persecutions and Unrest in China and the Middle East, 1898-1930

During the first half of the 20th century, female Western missionaries were caught up in local and international politics and conflict. As witnesses, help providers or victims, they became part of war, violent revolts and persecutions globally. In certain contexts, the missionaries themselves became targets of local violence and conflict. Some were murdered, others had to flee for their lives. Many missionaries were witnesses to atrocities against civilians. All had to find ways of coping with the loss of stability, predictability and security and some with the loss of colleagues and friends, of homes and physical belongings and of work options. We know that a number of women missionaries transformed their work to performing illegal rescue operations, and many provided relief. We also know that some simply gave up and left. How did war and conflict influence women missionaries' lives? How did women missionaries understand and articulate the violence they encountered? How did local populations view these women? An underlying principle of women's mission work was that it was organized in transnational networks, in a similar manner to mission in general. What did such transnational networks mean for the humanitarian efforts and for women missionaries' personal and spiritual support during times of war and crises?

Through four cases from different cultural contexts in China and the Middle East, the papers in this session will explore the following issues: the conflicts' impact on women missionaries' personal life, local evaluation and missionary transnationalism. Each contribution will include personal accounts or statements, thus writing the marginal voices of women into the larger historical narratives of war, conflict and crisis.

Helena Bergman, Stockholm University & Kirsti Niskanen, Stockholm University

## Session 4f: Kunskapens kön – perspektiv på akademisk maskulinitet

Genushistorisk forskning har ofta studerat akademiska män och maskulinitet i situationer där maskuliniteten konfronteras, hotas eller stöds av kvinnor. Historiskt sett har dock maskulinitet vid universitet, vetenskapliga akademier och andra forskningsinstitutioner, åtminstone fram till 1960- och 70-talen, primärt konstruerats i relationer mellan män.

I denna session vill vi ställa frågor om män, konstruktioner av maskulinitet och förkroppsligandet av kunskap i enkönade vetenskapliga miljöer. Vilka egenskaper och attribut har varit förknippade med den offentliga bilden av "vetenskapsmannen", och hur har denna bild förändrats över tiden? Hur har maskulin auktoritet och status skapats (och återskapats) i skapandet och förmedlingen av kunskap, i forskning och i undervisning? Vilka intellektuella och moraliska egenskaper har en framgångsrik akademisk maskulinitet förknippats med, och vice versa? Hur kan olika manifesta och subtila uttryck för maskulinitet tolkas och avläsas i forskningspraktiker och akademiska arbetsmiljöer? Vilka är det teoretiska och metodologiska utmaningarna?

Mari Välimäki, University of Turku & Saara Hilpinen, University of Helsinki

## Session 4g: Men and Honour in the Time of Crisis from the 17th to the 19th Century

In this session men and masculinities are examined in the intersection of honour and crisis. The theme will be discussed from various perspectives and during a long time period, from early modern to modern times. Crisis is in this session understood to be something that could happen and occur in one's life on micro and macro levels. Crisis is something that men could face in their personal life. It could be a consequence of illegal premarital relationship or the crisis that a divorce could cause for an individual, a family or a certain social circle. However, crisis is also examined on macro level where it will be discussed what the consequences of war was for men. The impact of the time of crisis that affected male lives are considered especially from the viewpoint of honour.

Honour and men are closely linked in studies concerning masculinities. In these studies honour is often connected to different institutions such as the army, universities, crafts and the Church. It has been stated that the understandings of honour guided and determined male behaviour within these communities but also individually. Men controlled and guided their behaviour in order to fulfil the overall and accepted understandings of honour and honourable behaviour. However, they could also question these hegemonic agreements of honour. In the presentations it will be brought forward how the crisis in men's lives affected their honour and how the honour was restored in the turmoil of personal or societal crisis.

In the session presenters will give individual papers. There will first be short presentations (10-15 min) from each participant, which will be followed by a joint discussion with the participants and the audience.

Sigrídur Matthíasdóttir, Reykjavík Academy & Ann-Catrin Östman, Åbo Akademi University

## Session 5a: The conscious emigrant. Emigration as a crisis or conscious act?

The emigration from the Nordic countries to North America has often been interpreted in terms of a crisis. The narrative about the emigration has depicted the emigrants as very poorly situated people who fleed from starvation and destitution. This view has also characterized the interpretation of their arrival in the new country where they accordingly had to accept what came in their way, whether it was good or bad. The decision to emigrate has to a rather limited degree been connected with the idea of "choice" or of individuals who were capable of planning and shaping their own life track.

In this session we will examine another view of the emigration. We will discuss the emigration process in the light of agency, resources and consciousness. And we will examine how gendered aspects have influenced "the conscious emigration process".

Our hypothesis is thus that the emigrants also were people who had rather strong resources and competences to negotiate with their surroundings (se f.eks. Lahlum 2011; Olsson 2001, Lintelman 2009). Individuals who calculated their possibilities, based on information that they also possessed. People who did not necessarily find themselves in a situation of crisis but who consciously concluded that the new surroundings could enable them to realize a potential of some kind. Or also people who were looking for more interesting life experiences than the homely surroundings were able to offer.

Regarding the view of female emigrants, we will for example question a view that labels the emigrating women either as maid servants or as mothers and housewifes (see Matthiasdottir og Einarsdottir, 2016; Schrover og Moloney 2013). We will examine the view that the migrating women also were conscious agents who concluded that the emigration would enhance their or their families' prospects, and even their compatriots. For example the migration could enable women with certain professional skills to put them into better use. A relatively well situated woman from East Iceland could also get the possibility to widen her horizon, for then to return back if that suited her.