



GENDER AND NATIONAL IDENTITY IN FINLAND An Exploration into Women's Political Agency

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Synopsis — This article explores the nature of women's political agency in Finland. Finnish national identity and ideology is framed by the national narrative authored in Finland's preindependence period. The authorship of the narrative and the nature of female encoding in that narrative afforded women a certain degree of political legitimacy as participants in public policy. Women's political agency can be seen in their high level of public political participation and ongoing involvement in the development and implementation of welfare state policies. This political power is nonetheless bound by the ideology of a national "image-appropriate" female and state understanding of equality. A portrait of two different women's voluntary associations illustrates the limits of women's political agency in Finland and also provides a brief introduction to the unique difficulties encountered by a feminist movement in a social welfare state.

Finnish women were the first in Europe to gain the right to vote, in 1906.¹ Immediately following this suffrage victory, 19 women were elected to the national parliament, nearly 10% of the total. The Council for Equality Between Men and Women, an official government body, was established in 1972 in part as a response to demands of the Finnish equality movement. And, early in 1994, Elisabeth Rehn, the Minister of Defence, only narrowly lost the Presidential election. Women currently make up 38.8% of the national parliament.

The high level of participation by women in the public political arena in Finland may cause outsiders to stop and admire the achievements of Finnish women. While there is no doubt that the position of women in Finland is quite remarkable in terms of political representation, it is not, however, a paradise for women in political life. One finds many of the same problems found in states less receptive to equality

issues, such as patterns of sexism and discrimination. Women have been disproportionately represented in cabinet positions dealing with welfare and social services.² In the corporate avenues of political participation, such as networks of commissions and boards, women are more or less absent in top-level positions (Kuusipalo, 1992).

This article explores the nature of women's political agency in Finland. How is it that Finnish women are so actively involved in some dimensions of politics and yet find limitations on their access to others? How can we begin to unravel the complicated relationship of women and feminism to the state in Finland? An investigation of the conditions surrounding the development of Finland's emerging national identity during the country's preautonomous period, from the mid-to-late 19th century to the early 20th century, offers some clues.

Current literature on nationalism and nation creation posits a "national narrative" (Anderson, 1983, p. 15); a kind of storyline which a group of people creates to conceive of itself as a nation.³ This story is made up of the myths, ideologies, icons, and connective images which create a sense of community among geographically,

Some of the material for this article was gathered through a 2-year fieldwork project in Finland between 1987-1989. This project was funded through generous grants from the Fulbright Foundation, The Finnish Ministry of Education, and The American-Scandinavian Foundation.

economically, and often culturally distinct groups. Anderson describes the population which accepts this story as an "imagined community" built not on concrete ties, but on a set of shared ideas.

Typically thought to be authored by men, these narratives also feature men as the principal actors. I argue that Finland's national narrative is uniquely gender inclusive, and that, in fact, women were coauthors of this text. The role women ascribed to themselves in this narrative was that of practical and highly skilled caretakers. They contributed to the formation of the new nation in a capacity different from, but as highly valued as, that of their male counterparts. Unlike situations such as Nazi Germany and Vichy France, where images of women were used by the state to promote nationalist goals, in Finland, women, themselves, defined their role and controlled its practical implementation. Women produced a gender interdependent narrative that was essential to the formation of the nation and ultimately to the nature of the state. Women's design for the nation resulted in what I term the "domestication of the state."

Finnish women's exceptional position of agency in shaping Finnish national identity afforded them a degree of power in state development, but only within the confines of the skilled caretaker role. Those women who step outside of that image and its implications, particularly in their analysis of equality and male-female relations, have much more difficulty in establishing political legitimacy for their goals. An independent feminist movement, which places women at the vortex of a shift in ideological structures and gender relations, finds its efficacy limited in Finland (Marakowitz, 1993).

This article offers a portrait of two Finnish women's associations. Each were active in the writing of the narrative, and each still exist today. Their histories reveal the problematic shape of women's political agency in Finland. One group, a homemaker's association called *Martta*, clearly embodied the female image found in the national narrative. At its inception, *Martta* consciously modelled a role for women in the state, both in the private and the public spheres.³ *Naisasialiitto Unioni* [hereafter the Feminist Union], the second group, was founded by the same women who began *Martta*, but its focus was on women's rights.

A NATIONAL NARRATIVE

Nationalism is often considered in the literature (see, e.g., Parker, Russo, Sommer, & Yaeger, 1992) to pivot on male fraternities and male-male bonding. Anderson (1983), discussing the "national narrative," states: "regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (p. 16). This central role of brotherhood in nationalism has a range of social implications for women and men including the idealization of motherhood, the harnessing of homosociality into certain "appropriate" male-male bonds, and the invisibility of nonreproductive oriented sexualities such as lesbianism.⁴ In the Finnish national narrative, "passionate brotherhood," as Anderson (1983, p. 16) terms it, seems muted at most. Instead, the focus is on women as caretakers of a multigenerational family and the national narrative is anchored firmly in *female* nurturance and care. Through women's organizations, Finnish women clearly articulated a position within the narrative. The Finnish nation thus is constituted through "nurturance" — both by and for the entire imagined community of the state — rather than brotherhood.

The imagery of female as caretaker/nurturer resonates in Finnish welfare state ideology. Extensive social support for its citizenry, which includes both women and men, is a key element of the ideology. In Finland, this imagery is united with a strong emphasis on state-sanctioned equality policies which rest on the idea of an egalitarian social democratic welfare state structure. Finnish national identity is rooted in a *belief* in equality and the absence of difference of worth (value), either gender- or class-based.⁵ Distinctions between female and male imagery and behavior clearly exist as defining characteristics, but they are perceived to be differences which exist as part of an *interdependent* relationship between male and female.

FEMALE SOLIDARITY IN PREINDEPENDENT FINLAND

In late 19th century Finland, women's solidarity and women's rights organizations formed an integral part of the nationalist agenda. It is significant that in Finland the suffrage battle was fought on behalf of the rights of both women

and men. Many types of organizations fought for suffrage, including working-class groups. Women's rights groups were but one group among many in the struggle. The combined struggles for women's rights and social welfare became priorities in the national imaginings. These issues did not become isolated as private women's issues but instead were considered an integral part of national identity and as such were of concern to the nation and the state. Agricultural divisions of labor as well as images in folklore in the preindependence period resonate with the gender interdependent theme of the national narrative. In Eastern Finland for example, the control of cattle lay in women's hands (Frölander-Ulf, 1978). Not only were women the main cattle keepers, but they also owned the cattle they kept, thus adding productive value to their domestic life. Women developed special relationships with their cattle, and even today, when going into farmhouses of women in the villages in Eastern Finland, it is not uncommon to see a picture of their favorite cow hanging on the wall of the living/kitchen area. Men were responsible for all of the work in the fields. On the farm, men and women related interdependently as joint workers/owners.

In folklore as well, the strong, practical woman appears. In the *Kalevala*, Finland's folk epic of emerging national identity — once described as a work through which the Finnish people "actually sang themselves into existence" (Friberg, 1988, quoted in Karner, 1991, p. 154) and as the "heart of a whole nation irresistibly blooming into song" (Billson, 1900, quoted in Karner, 1991, p. 155)⁶ — the country was believed to be the creation of an all-embracing water mother. Mothers in the *Kalevala* represent strength, particularly in relation to their families. The powerful position of the mother-in-law is clearly seen in the many verses which express the lament of a woman going off to live in the village of her future husband. The bride fears his mother more than she fears her husband. Mothers in the *Kalevala* are able to bring their dead sons back to life through faith, the use of potions, or by actually sewing torn bodies back together again. In preindependent Finland the realities of the division of labor and the images of strong and competent women found in the folklore set the stage for female coauthorship of the national narrative.

WOMEN'S AUTHORSHIP AND DIFFERENCE

Women's coauthorship of the national narrative reinforces and articulates a clear sense of male-female difference and its implications. In the Finnish case, the issue of difference is critical to understanding a woman's identity as citizen. The caretaker, the image of the woman taking care of the new national whole, is both dangerous and liberating. Difference as present in the narrative is both complementary and interdependent, and therein lies both its power and its weakness. Women's equality rests on an understanding that interdependent male-female relations are the operative structure of relations; this legitimates equality as a political goal. The legitimate *value* of women's difference translates into public political power within the confines of the caretaker image. This is the site of power. But the weakness and danger is found in the fact that power is relegated to an acceptance of gendered difference as essential and instrumental to maintaining national identity.

THE SOCIAL WELFARE STATE AND WOMEN

For women, all democratic state forms, wherever they lie on the continuum of social welfare development, are dualistic in nature. Women are always a part of the body of citizens of the state structures and practices but at the same time are also clients of a unique body of legislation which relates to women specifically as women (Yuval-Davis, 1993, p. 626).

In the Finnish social welfare state one finds what Maria Hernes (1987) has described as "state feminism," the "'woman-friendly' state, a state which enables women to have a *natural* [italics added] relationship to their children, their work, and their public life" (p. 15). The state has, in effect, made the domestic go public — and consequently made reproduction go public. To the extent that the state assumes responsibility for reproduction, the state structure becomes one in which women's lives are more dependent on and determined by state policies than men's lives, as men may be less involved with reproductive tasks. Women, in their reproductive roles in the domestic spheres as wives and mothers, and their reproductive roles in public spheres in their employment in caregiving professions,

find themselves multifaceted participants in welfare state policies.

Within the realm of state feminism, the mission of caretaking has become part of the founding block of the social welfare state, and motherhood and nurturance have become part of what is termed "social citizenship."⁷ Siim (1987) argues that although this welfare state model has afforded women some measure of integration into the labor market and other public spheres, women have nonetheless remained essentially objects in the development of welfare state policies, with little political and social agency. In the Finnish case, however, I believe that the gender-inclusive narrative affords women a larger degree of agency than is typically ascribed to them both in politics and the marketplace.

WOMEN'S AUTHORSHIP AND THE FINNISH NARRATIVE

How is it that the image of the "culturally appropriate female" in Finland's national narrative could be used by women to promote female power and agency? How could this be possible, particularly when the image of female — the gender construct — which dominated the narrative was the very traditional one of caretaker? The answer lies in the value ascribed to this role in the development of national identity and citizenry. Motherhood in Finland is transformed in the national consciousness into a central facet in the development of a future set of Finnish citizens. As we shall see, it was not just motherhood as an ideal, but mothering as a practice which was instrumental in solidifying this traditional role as a power base.

At the turn of the century, in the approximately 20 years before Finland gained its independence, women developed several roles within the rising autonomy movement. They worked both in women's rights organizations such as the Feminist Union, in homemakers' associations such as *Martta*, and in working-class groups and trade unions. All groups shared the overarching goal of providing productive citizens for the future nation (Sulkunen, 1989).

This goal cut across class lines. Upper-class and upper-middle-class women believed that in order to create a Finnish nation it was necessary to raise the status, education, and living standards of lower-class women. It should be

noted, however, that upper-class women's interests were not purely nationalistic; upper-class women had an interest in educating women of the lower classes because they would form the domestic service labor force. All groups, though, were engaged in raising the standards of caretaking and mothering — almost the professionalization of motherhood. For example, in Tampere in 1880, the Workers' Association suggested founding a school of domestic science for women (Simonen, 1991, p. 38).

What is significant about women's involvement in the professionalization of motherhood is that as they worked at the forefront of that movement they also shifted its focus or aims from household control to organizational control and ultimately state control. Women were already prepared, through organizations such as *Martta*, to take their place in the public realms of power through elected and appointed positions.

Mothering and its relationship to caretaking and ultimately social policy in Finland is given a full analysis by Leila Simonen (1991). She delineates three categories of mothering: biological mothering (human reproduction); political mothering (women as the major unpaid caregivers for small children); and social mothering (welfare state formation and its division of labor, where women are typically employed outside of the home in caring/service professions). In the Finnish case, the third type of mothering, social mothering, is the most relevant to women's authorship of the national narrative. The process of social mothering illustrates a visible transition from women's activities in family and volunteer work to state subsidies for that work and ultimately to employment by the state. The shift in women's activities from the household to voluntary organization to government is very clear. Although with the shift to government employment women gained a place in the public marketplace, they lost some of the autonomy they enjoyed in their associational status.

FEMALE IMAGERY, MARTTA AND THE FEMINIST UNION, AND NATIONALISM

Martta and the Feminist Union, founded in 1899 and 1892, respectively, were central actors in the surge of associational development that took place in Finland at the end of the 19th century. The *Martta* organization was, in a sense, a daughter organization of the Feminist

Union. Some of its original goals, such as suffrage, were similar to the Feminist Union's. Over time, however, the groups' aims diverged and each group came to represent a decidedly different relationship to the polity. As the history of the two groups unfolds, it becomes apparent that it is Martta's female imagery which takes hold in the Finnish nationalist narrative.

THE MARTTAS — AUTHORS OF THE NARRATIVE

If women would have understood . . . that all state institutions and activities have an impact on a generation's upbringing, their ideals and the building of character, then certainly women would experience a greater enthusiasm to have an impact on and do what is best for the direction of humanity. (Hagman in Hasunen, 1989, p. 17)

Lucina Hagman, a founding member of Martta, urged women to recognize that a woman's responsibility to her family could not be separated from the greater humanity, namely the state. The domestication of the state begins here, in the inner identity of women. Hagman stresses that in order for women to maintain the influence they have over their family in the private domain, they must also realize the role that activity plays in the development of the state.

From the beginning, the Martta group focussed on the unique and special skills and opportunities that women had as mothers to influence the development of the next set of citizens. Lucina Hagman's exhortive speech at the first Martta meeting illustrates this theme:

If Finnish women would begin . . . to spread among the women of the country and share information about our most important calling [vocation] . . . women would be able to unite in widespread cultural work in order to advance our countrywomen in respect to raising spiritual and educational ideals . . . The raising of patriotism and the understanding of civil duties would be an important goal to have in view. (Hagman in Hasunen, 1989, p. 20)

Women are viewed not only as those who should do this important "nation-building"

work — or actually "citizen-creating" work — but, in fact, are touted as the only ones who *can* or are able to do this work.

Martta's barely shrouded nationalist aims quickly conflicted with the Russification which was occurring at the same time in Finland. Under its status as a Grand Duchy of Tsarist Russia, all registered organizations had to be approved through Russian bureaucratic channels. At the time of Martta's initial application, in 1899, the name proposed for the group was *Sivistysta kodeille* [*Culture/Education for the Home*]. The founding members were shocked when they received word that the Senate had not approved the organization and its by-laws. After some discussion, the members realized that the educational aims of the organization seemed too threatening to the bureaucrats responsible for approval. They determined that the stumbling block for approval lay in the name of the organization — particularly the word education/culture (*sivistys*). The group was prepared to compromise to attain state approval.

Alli Nissinen, a founding member, suggested calling the group Martta, after Martta (Martha) in the bible. Religious groups were viewed favorably and certainly as nonthreatening. In addition, the by-laws were modified to read "the goal of the group is to spread information to our countrywomen about the care of children and to promote their skills in simple women's handicrafts" (*Martan yhdistysopas*, 1988). The following year, in 1900, the organization was approved under that name. The aims of the group had not changed, however. Already in its earliest period, then, it is apparent that this most traditional of groups was perceived as a potentially revolutionary factor in the ideological work of creating and mobilizing Finnish nationalist sentiment.

The Marttas came into existence by couching their name and aims within the rubric of a biblical and presumably nonthreatening female role. The choice of the biblical "Martta" says much about how the caretaker image of women in Finland is encoded. In the Bible, Martha has a leading role as homeowner and hostess, and deals directly with Jesus and other guests by bringing them food, washing their feet, and altogether making sure their needs are met. In contrast to Mary, who is sitting at the feet of Jesus and absorbing his teachings, Martha is busy running a house and taking care of the needs of the guests. She is in control and recognizes

her duty as homeowner and hostess as well as the power that role wields. The biblical story shows Martta in a strong, albeit complementary and servicing role.

Interestingly, in the Martta analysis, women's work and being was not essentialised into natural tasks. It is rather learned work, skills that have to be honed, and developed through practice and training. The Martta organization professionalized mothering skills in several ways. Culturally, the ability to develop much out of a little and to work hard and proudly in what one produced were key elements of the Martta strategy for women's role in citizenship development. The Martta organization addressed this issue by constantly striving to develop new and innovative ways to improve living standards, particularly nutritional standards. The Martta association set up an organizational system which spread information systematically throughout the countryside.⁸ This nationally organized network of small local groups offered women as homemakers and cattle keepers the opportunity to feel part of a larger community of women, all working for the common goal of Finnish nationalism and patriotism, in part through the strength of the nuclear family.

The Marttas made a clear connection between work designed to increase Finnish patriotic sentiment and practical work. Early speeches by Helena Fellman, a Martta member, on topics such as patriotism, hard work, and temperance evoked strong positive responses from the public. It soon became clear, however, that Martta's most important, and perhaps necessary work was its work in practical areas.

Martta's magazine, *Emäntälehti* [*Homemaker Magazine*] was an excellent forum linking ideological and practical issues. The issue of egg production is a telling example. At the beginning of the 20th century, Finland was still importing eggs from Russia. Martta took on the goal of instructing Finnish women in the art of raising chickens so that they could create rewards both for themselves, through acquiring extra income, and for the country, by passively shedding attempts at Russification. Even in writing about chicken care, *Emäntälehti* editors managed to offer some barely hidden words of Finnish nationalist ideals, as well as details about what were believed to be important characteristics of women. An example:

A chicken who is a good egg layer is up early and active. She is busy the whole day. She gladly spends time in the company of other chickens, and she's so happy with herself that friends never irritate her. . . . She's always hungry. She sees her care as if through the motto: if I have to give you a lot of eggs, then you have to give me a lot of food. (Hasunen, 1989, p. 23)

In addition to tips on what will make a chicken productive, we see ideals that would be considered appropriate in a hard-working female human being — namely, industriousness, satisfaction with self, hunger to do well, and the idea that all of these characteristics must be fed and nurtured.

Once women did gain the vote, in 1906, at least five of Martta's founding member,⁹ including Lucina Hagman and Alli Nissinen [*Emäntälehti* editor] were elected to Parliament. These Martta members initiated parliamentary debates concerning marriage reforms, including inheritance and debt obligation issues, and then disseminated information about them through the Martta magazine.

Martta women were, thus, working for the family as a whole, including the national family. Women became critical to the national political order as caretakers as well as women in public office. But at the national political level, this influence was limited to the domestic issues of concern to women as caretakers. Kuusipalo's (1992) work on Finnish women in politics points this out in a description of the first woman in a cabinet position, Miina Sillanpää, appointed in 1926. She had been the founder of a woman's craft union, a union of domestic servants, a leader in the suffragette movement, and was elected to parliament with a focus on three areas: domestic politics, domestic servants' working conditions, and the position of unmarried mothers and their children. She was clearly representing women's interests as a woman and, thus, maintained her culturally appropriate female status.

Unlike Iceland, for example, where Koester (1992, p. 8) argues that "the nation itself began to be perceived as a woman," the Finnish welfare state imagines the nation as a caretaker — an image that Martta women stressed and embodied. The history and development of the Martta group in the 20th century supports the idea that it is the Martta imagery of the female

which ultimately became closely aligned with the Finnish state. Martta's area of work began as volunteer and remained volunteer, but became heavily subsidized by the state early in its history, and was ultimately taken over by state agencies.¹⁰

At the present time, the Martta organization has about 80,000 members throughout Finland. Much of its work has been taken over by the government's welfare state policies, but during the current economic recession, Martta's popularity has increased among young women, and the organization recently republished their "thrifty" cookbook.

THE FEMINIST UNION

The Feminist Union was founded in 1892 and was one of the major women's rights organizations of that period. In contrast to the Martta group whose members cut across class lines (even if its leadership was from the upper and educated classes), membership in women's rights associations in Finland consisted primarily of highly-educated, upper-class women. Much more specifically tied to legislative reforms and gender informed analyses, women's rights organizations never attained the same niche in the nationalist narrative as women's groups such as Martta.

The Feminist Union's early goals included educational reforms and political and economic rights for women and, of course, universal suffrage. Women's organizations were the only groups to specify suffrage as specifically a women's issue, that is, to highlight the gendered dimension. Doing so had the effect of removing the suffrage fight from the nationalist cause by characterizing the issue as specific to women rather than as a critical piece of a larger national identity. As previously stated, a common political goal of most organizations of that time period was universal suffrage, framed as a nationalist need. The right of women to vote was not particularized, but rather subsumed in the general struggle for universal and equal suffrage.

The Feminist Union's interests rested in political, economic, and social rights for women. As early as 1895, the Feminist Union made several proposals to Parliament. These proposals included the eligibility of women to hold municipal office; the improvement of women's status in marriage; full adulthood for women at 21; the broadened right of women to be legal

agents, delegates, and witnesses; and the lowering of the tuition fees at state schools for girls to the level boys paid. The 1895 Parliament either threw out or ignored the proposals. They were discounted in particular by the nobility, who viewed them as evidence of the destruction of the entire society.

Finnish women did not attain complete suffrage in local government until 1917, and it wasn't until 1929 and the passage of the Marriage Act that the last vestiges of male guardianship over women were repealed. The first maternity legislation, which provided some help for women in the workplace, was passed in 1927. The postsuffrage victory years saw the Feminist Union's involvement revolving around humanitarian work as well as educational initiatives for working-class women such as training programs to develop handicraft skills into income-producing ventures.

The Feminist Union's other major line of activity, particularly after the suffrage victory, was in the area of international peace work. Maikki Friberg, the chairperson between 1920–1927, was a founder member of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) in 1926. All told, though, the years between 1920 and the mid-to-late 1960s were relatively quiet times for the Feminist Union. Membership remained small and projects were pretty much limited to peace work, small welfare projects, and maintaining international connections.

The above thumbnail sketch of the Feminist Union illustrates how it, and its interpretation of women and political agency, became somewhat marginalized from the nation-state structure and national imagining. We do not see the same convergence with the nation-state as was evident in the case of Martta. In effect, the cultural setting which allowed for universal suffrage to so easily include women was also the setting which limited a feminist-centered perspective. Women working within the Martta frame were clearly working for the good of a larger family, whereas the Feminist Union's efforts, because they were for women only, became edited out of the national story. The Union's framework was one of sisterhood, not of interdependent male-female positions, and thus did not have a place within the nationalist narrative.

Only in the 1970s, with the international revitalization of feminism, did the Feminist Union become fully reengaged with women's

issues. A new group of women joined who brought with them a push for equality in the workplace, access to restaurants (social norms did not allow for women to visit restaurants alone), and reform of marriage laws. Feminist Union women represented the goal of equality as one which would show the progression of the state form into a more democratic and inclusive one. In enlarging the scope of women's opportunities, the state itself would be improved and thus so, too, would the lives of all its citizens.

To achieve these goals, the Feminist Union women turned to legislation and the state apparatus as the most effective form of women's political agency. During the 1970s and early 1980s Feminist Union members adopted a more radical analysis of gender relations and patriarchal forms but ultimately concluded that advocating equality outside of state forms would not be a particularly effective way to effect change. The Feminist Union's approach remained quite closely linked to the state and legislative initiatives (Bergman, 1987). Thus, in the 1970s, the Feminist Union's policies were marked by an ideology of equality and interdependence, two powerful strands in the national narrative. The Feminist Union's goals were appropriate in the state context and beneficial to all citizens. Feminist Union members could argue that they were members of the polity simply aiming to reform the system and to improve it, not to challenge its very basis. This approach to equality solidifies national identity as it presents no threat to the interdependent narrative. Women in the Feminist Union during this revival were not questioning this image, nor were they questioning the state as the place to implement change.

In the late 1980s, however, as the debates of the body politic, sexuality, and radical cultural feminism became stronger among Finnish feminists, the Feminist Union again experienced a struggle for its distinct identity. A new group of women joined the organization who pushed it even further away from a comfortable fit within national narrative storylines. These women demanded that the Feminist Union's agenda shift away from reformist and state-oriented strategies and instead focus on individual, radical transformations of the women themselves. In essence, they argued that individual change and growth was the place to start to develop a new set of ideas toward true gender equality and the improvement of women's position and status.¹¹

This approach afforded women the least legitimate form of political agency in Finland for several reasons. In challenging the idea of state legislation as the most effective strategy, it removed itself from the ideology of the receptive state and, ultimately, from state feminism. In addition, its emphasis on individual discovery chipped away at a primary element of the national narrative, namely a unified and interdependent set of male-female relations. It turned attention away from the advancement of women's position through improvement of the entire society, and as such is not perceived of as legitimate within the national understanding.

In conclusion, women's political agency in Finland has been circumscribed by their very active role in authoring the national narrative. The challenge for women in Finland is to rewrite parts of the national narrative story to include powerful alternative plots for women.

ENDNOTES

1. Women in New Zealand gained the right to vote in 1893, considerably earlier than Finnish women.
2. Elisabeth Rehn, mentioned above, is, of course, an exception.
3. Other theories concerning national identity and nationalism include the following. Gellner (1983) explores aspects of political legitimacy and the invention of nations, looking at how high culture glorifies folk culture. Fox (1990) looks at the role nationalist ideologies play in the production of national cultures. Combs-Schilling (1990); Parker, Russo, Sommer, & Yaeger (1992); and Koester (1992) all explore the inventions of nation and sexuality and gender. Yuval-Davis (1993) considers the boundaries that nations and nationalism construct and considers the role of gender relations in those forms.
4. For articles on these two aspects of the fraternity of nationhood, see Parker, Russo, Sommer, & Yaeger (1992). Lesbian invisibility is discussed in Duberman (1990) and de Lauretis (1988).
5. There is ample evidence that Finland's social structure is class-based in reality. See, for example, Allardt (1964) and Roos (1985). For an examination of class conflict in Finland's civil war, see Alapuro (1988). Lander (1976) provides an ethnographic portrait of class in a small industrial town.
6. For an interesting discussion of the role the *Kalevala* played in developing Finnish nationalism, see Karner (1991). He argues that because Finland was autonomous under Russian rule, it needed the *Kalevala* to find its identity because opposition to an outside dominating force was lacking.
7. For a general overview of care-giving work and gender, see Ungerson (1990). Waerness (1987) provides a perspective on how community care has been founded on women's unpaid labor.
8. This method of information dissemination was really a precursor to the type of extension work with which the Marttas became very involved in the early-to-mid 20th century.

9. Although these women were founding members of Martta, they were also founding members of Unioni, and as such, their identity in the public political world was based more in their Unioni membership and legislative work for women's rights issues.
10. One example of this is that the Marttas used to run many educational courses on a variety of topics. These courses eventually became less and less popular as women could take them much more inexpensively through municipally run classes.
11. The symbol of this new individual approach to feminist questions was an activity called Feminist Radical Therapy (FRT). The Feminist Union offered courses in this model, which combines a group therapy model with a feminist analysis of individual problems. FRT was somewhat controversial among Feminist Union members as some members believed that it was a "navel-gazing group," rather than an effective tool for social change (Marakowitz, 1993, p. 188).

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