POST-COLONIAL CRITIQUE AND THE POLITICS OF WRITING WOMEN'S HISTORY

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There have been striking parallels in the general course of women's history since the late 19th century in Japan and Finland. This serves as a reminder of how women's histories in the two countries have been part of transnationally shared trends and ideas. For example, women's activities in both countries were informed by first-wave feminism, nationalism, patriotism, socialism, and second-wave feminism. Women's rights, domesticity and maternity were some of the major concerns.

With this historical background in mind, a striking difference is noticed in the ways that the recent history of women, particularly in relation to war, is interpreted and rewritten in the context of the post-Cold War era. In Japan, women's war collaboration in the 1930s and 40s started to be critically assessed. In Finland, women's war collaboration in the same historical period started to be officially acknowledged. One of the most prominent manifestations of this is the restoration of honor to the Lotta Svärd Organization, the women's national defense organization which was disbanded in 1944.

It is interesting to note a contradictory relation between the nature of the state and the location of feminist concern in the two countries. Japan was a colonialist and imperialist state between the 1860s and 1945. However, as Katsenstein discusses, Japan since 1945 has been a non-militarist, pacifist state (Katsenstein 1996). Yet Japanese feminists are developing a critical theory of the state, partially drawing

upon a Weberian idea that defines the state in terms of a monopoly on the use of violence, sustained by the military. The military is more prevalent in Finland in various ways (presence of army, compulsory male military service, celebration of Mother's Day, etc.) Discussion of militarism or the more subtle ways that militarization infiltrates the every day, however, is not within the spectrum of Finnish feminists. Their major concern has been child care and other domestic services (Kantola 2006, 47-72). The Finnish state, or for that matter the Nordic state, has been seen as a benign and woman-friendly welfare state (Anttonen 1994, Julkunen 1992).

The divergence in the post-Cold War context provides an interesting starting point in examining the production and reproduction of historical knowledge in general and the politics of writing women's history in particular. It is important to examine what constitutes locations of interest and what kinds of questions are asked or unasked. This also illuminates how the subjects of research are shaped and conditioned by larger historical and political contexts.

The goal of my paper is to provoke a dialogue between the two scholarships, which are separated not only by linguistic and geographical distance but also by a number of imagined differences. I strategically start with a common ground of colonial modernity in which the two countries are a part, rather than with often dichotomized difference such as West vs. non-West, and individualist society vs. collectivist society. It is the forces in colonial modernity that construct, naturalize and sustain the imagined differences and dichotomies. In order to destabilize such forces, my strategy is post-colonialist.

Below, I first discuss the theoretical framework of the paper. After outlining historical backgrounds, I delineate recent discussions in writing women's history in both countries. Possible reasons for differences in the politics of writing women's history in present-day Japan and Finland will be suggested at the end.

Post-colonial Critique And The Nation-state

In the most general terms, post-colonial might be used as a description for a time period to refer to the second half of the 20th century, when many colonies in Africa, Asia and Latin America became inde-

pendent. However, more specifically, post-colonial is not about the historical period when colonialism ended. Rather, it refers to critical perspectives and positions for politicizing continuing legacies of power relations in their various guises, which are not necessarily confined to political forms of colonialism. Until recently, studies on colonialism have tended to focus on political and military relationships, leaving cultural and ideological aspects largely unexamined. However, it is crucially important to examine colonialism also as a cultural process. In fact, post-colonial critique primarily addresses cultural rather than political and military colonialism with a keen awareness of their interrelatedness. As Nicholas Thomas writes, colonial cultures are "expressive and constitute of colonial relationships in themselves" (Thomas 1994, 2). Building upon Edward Said (1978), Homi Bhabha (1994) and Gayatri Spivak (1999), among many others, post-colonial critique politicizes the production, institutionalization and naturalization of cultural knowledge and practice under unequal power relations.

As colonialism and European modernity are seen to be inseparably interlinked, post-colonial critique levels criticism at European modernity and at its various projects. One such project is the dichotomization of the world into the West and non-West. Over the past decades, the violence inherent in such a division has been thoroughly discussed and contested (e.g. Hall 1992, Sakai 1997). West and non-West are a part of the long list of dicotomies invented by European colonial modernity such as public/private, modernity/tradition, culture/nature, male/female, rational/emotional, individual/collective.

There is no question about the importance of the critique of hierarchized dichotomies, it needs to be developed futher. However, post-colonial critique does not render the oppressor and the oppressed as two mutually exclusive categories. It does not mark the oppressed simply as being victimized either. Rather, it provides a tool to uncover the complex, contradictory and ironic interrelatedness between the oppressor and the oppressed that is not confined to domination and oppression on one hand, and subordination and resistance on the other. For instance, appropriation, contesting dialogue and complicity are some of the cultural processes that could be mutually shared.

Furthermore, post-colonial critique provides a perspective to see the so-called oppressed not as a monolithic entity, but as a dynamic agent, rife with conflicting and competing interests, that incessantly generates differences and otherness within itself. Thus, post-colonial

critique urges examination of the so-called oppressed as an agent that reproduces the very oppression that it has suffered, and provides a tool to examine complex and ironical processes of reproduction of domination by and within the dominated. In other words, post-colonial critique politicizes the continuing chain of oppression and reproduction of colonial modernity in different locales.

As such, post-colonial critique enables us to broaden the range of examination to more subtle cultural relations that are not confined to explicit and formal colonialism. Importantly, this has a gendered implication. Often women are seen as being oppressed and victimized by men. Yet post-colonial critique could offer more nuanced and challenging readings of women not simply as being oppressed but as active agents in consciously or unwittingly implicating, assisting and reproducing the oppression that they suffer or attempt to resist.

Another key concept here is the nation-state. Since the making of the nation-state is another monumental project of European colonial modernity, it becomes an object of scrutiny from a post-colonial perspective. Historian Nagao Nishikawa discusses the nationalization project of the nation-state in divergent locations such as economics, politics, military, transportation, communication, language, culture and ideology. Time and space, body and mind are also nationalized (Nishikawa 1995).

The process of nationalization entails the creation of a distinct national culture that is internally homogeneous but exclusive in relation to other national cultures. This has at least two dimensions. On one hand, this necessarily involves hierarchization, oppression and marginalization of a multiplicity of languages, cultures and histories that have existed in the space which came to be circumscribed as being national. On the other hand, the sovereign state and its integrity start to be defined in terms of defense — something that needs to be defended against external threat or assault, whether military or cultural. Japanese critics pay special attention to coercion and oppression that the building and maintenance of the nation-state necessarily entails. Violence embedded in the nation-state is brought under scrutiny not only in war making, but in its symbolic means of creating and sustaining a sense of national unity and homogeneity.

Nishikawa sees all the nation-states as variants of a globally shared model. They do not exist autonomously by themselves, but exist in relation to other nation-states. Being inspired by Immanuel Waller-

stein's concept of the world system, he emphasizes that it is the interrelatedness of the nation-state and the intra-states relations, rather than internal organic growth as has often been claimed, that generate the nation-state (Nishikawa 1995). This view not only de-nationalizes nation-states into a transnational system, but contests the fictive narrative about a nation's capability or incapability of natural growth as it is unfolded from within. By extension, it can also de-mystify various mythological narratives about the origin of a nation-state.

Nishikawa uses the concept of modular, borrowing Benedict Anderson's idea. Anderson discusses nation-ness as a modular, which is "capable of being transplanted … to a great variety of social terrains, to merge and be merged with a correspondingly wide variety of political and ideological constellations" (Anderson 1983, 13-14). Nishikawa uses this idea to refer to various apparatus, practices, symbols and ideologies of the nation-state for the project of nationalization (Nishikawa 1995). This enables us to see various concepts and practices of the nation-state as globally shared modulars, without particularizing them as being national. For example, concepts such as public and private spheres, family, motherhood, sacred war as well as various practices around war such as sacrifice and memorials of war dead can be understood as modulars of the nation-state.

According to the sociologist Chizuko Ueno, a merit of using the concept of the nation-state as an analytical tool is that it relativizes the relation of states and enables comparison. She states that earlier social approaches have assumed capitalism, democracy and individualism as a set of conditions for the modern state. Accordingly, Western states have been considered modern as this triplet is habitually localized in the West, while the non-Western states are not, because of an alleged lack of the condition. She holds that the concept of the nation-state provides a tool for deconstructing the Eurocentrism inherent in such a model and realign various states on a common basis. By making use of the nation-state as an analytical concept, different types of contemporary state can be understood as variants within the constellation of nation-state (Ueno 1998, 22-23).

Post-colonial critique provides a vital tool to examine the nation-state. A critique of nationalism would be effective for discussing nationalism within each national space. However, it does not explain why nationalism is so international and shares similar (or identical) features across nations. In order to de-nationalize nationalism, post-

colonial critique provides a broader perspective by situating the nation-state within colonial modernity.

Historical Background - Japan

Following the abolition of the Shogunal regime, which had continued since the late twelfth century, and the subsequent Meiji Restoration in 1868, Japan faced two major undertakings: turning the country into a colonizer and nation-state. In order to escape from Euro-American colonization on the one hand, and to become part of the Western world on the other, the country shaped itself as a colonialist nation-state. The Japanese empire extended to East Asia and the Pacific areas. Japan waged a number of wars such as the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95), the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), and the Fifteen Years War (1931-1945). The last war started by a military attack on China, and ended in a defeat in World War II (1941-1945). The colonial mission was carried out with a political trope of liberating Asia from Western colonialism. Having internalized the idea of "white man's burden", it was thought that Japan's mission was to uplift "pre-modern" Asia under the Japanese banner. The much publicized ideology between the late 1930s and 1945, the Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere, epitomizes this political stand. Reversing a historical relation in which Japan had been peripheral to the Chinese civilization, Japan turned Asia into its Orient (on Japan's Orient, see Tanaka 1993).

Yet, Japanese leaders saw themselves as being culturally and ideologically colonized by the West. Through their scholarly and other intellectual activities, they attempted to counter and contest authoritative Western knowledge. However, they had internalized and reproduced the colonial knowledge that they had attempted to counter. Post-colonial critique has elucidated how various fields of scholarship in Japan have been shaped as an integral part of nation-state building, and how they have inscribed colonial knowledge upon themselves (e.g. Lee 1996, Oguma 1998).

For a discussion of women's role in the building of the nation-state and in colonial modernity, two national defense women's organizations need to be mentioned: the Patriotic Women's Association (PWA, *Aikoku Fujinkai*) founded in 1901, and the National Defense Women's Association (NDWA, *Kokubo Fujinkai*) founded in 1932. The major ac-

tivity of the former was to advance the rationalization of home, and to take care of bereaved families and of war invalids (Katano 2001). Members of the latter association served tea and did laundry for solders, sent gift bags to the war front and attended memorial services for the war dead (Fujii 1985). Both organizations expanded their networks nationwide and competed for membership. In 1941, the publicized membership of the PWA was about 6 million, while that of the NDWA was 9 million although it is likely that the numbers were inflated. The associations further extended their spheres of activity by founding branch offices in Taiwan, Southern Sakhalin, Korea and Manchuria. Tens of thousands of Japanese women immigrated to the newly acquired territories and spread their missions to every corner of the empire.

Following the defeat in World War II in 1945, the empire collapsed and Japan lost all its colonies. The new Constitution stipulated in 1947 banned the possession of military and renounced war forever.[1] Within the Cold-War regime, Japan, as a faithful ally to the United States, concentrated on demilitarization, democratization and economic development, emphasizing its victimization by the atomic bombs, and consciously forgetting its colonialist past. The collapse of the Soviet Union, however, broke the amnesia, which led to a post-colonial turn in the humanities and social sciences in general.

Within the framework of the Cold War, Japanese feminists in the main saw women primarily as victims of social inequality; however, the post-colonial turn provided a completely new perspective. Women started to be seen not simply as passive victims but as active agents in shaping and sustaining social orders. This has led to a more nuanced reading of women, both elite and ordinary, as historical agents who were involved in state projects.

Furthermore, so-called military comfort women (*ianfu*) have radicalized feminist criticism of violence of the nation-state against the body of women. The debate was provoked by lawsuits brought against the Japanese government in 1991 by three former comfort women from Korea who were placed in military brothels during the Fifteen Years War period. Since then, wartime sexual violence and violence of the nation-state have become some of the key issues in Japanese feminism (Ehara 1998, Suzuki 1993).

Ueno calls this turn "women's history in the third period". According to her, the first period is between the 1940s and 1970s when

women's histories were written chronologically from the ancient period up to the present, drawing upon a Marxist-evolutionist scheme and using the trope of women's victimization and emancipation. The beginning of the second period is around the 1970s, when an increasing interest in non-elite and marginalized women led to writings of women's history in the form of a personal or regional history based on empirical studies. In the third period, studies started to be conducted away from earlier "women's emancipation" as well as "women as having been victimized and oppressed" approaches (Ueno 2002a, 56-79). A more challenging reading of gendered history in relation to nation-state building and colonial modernity has become a major concern.

Historical Background – Finland

Finland was part of the Swedish empire for about six centuries up to 1809. In a resultant conflict of the Napoleonic Wars, the Finnish War was fought between 1808 and 1809, after which the country became a Grand Duchy of Russia. The Fennoman movement, a nationalist movement by intellectuals in the nineteenth century, which attempted to uplifting the status of Finnish from peasant tongue to national language, had both cultural and political significance. Finnish adults over 24 years of age, regardless of gender, obtained suffrage as well as the right to stand for elective office in 1906, as a consequence of the Great Strike which broke out in 1905, following Russia's defeat in the Russo-Japanese War. After the Russian revolution and Finland's declaration of independence in 1917, the Civil War broke out in 1918. The nationalist Whites consisted of bourgeoisie and well-to-do peasantry and were supported by Imperial Germany, while the socialist Reds consisted of industrial workers and were supported by Bolshevist Russia. The schism of the nation and victory of the Whites has left a deep psychological scar to this day.

Between the 1920s and 1944, Greater Finland was a dominant state ideology. It was an expansionist attempt to liberate linguistically kindred, the Karelians, a minority population in Soviet Karelia across the Eastern border. It might be possible to see a parallel, in its expansionism and in ideology, with Japanese policy of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. In fact, Finland, Japan and Nazi Germany were

part of the Axis powers during World War II. The Winter War (1939-1940) and the Continuation War (1941-1944) were fought against the Soviet Union, the latter with the aid of Germany. Finnish troops occupied Karelia between 1941 and 1944, but Karelia was ceded to the Soviet Union as the Continuation War ended in defeat.

In relation to women's role, the national defense association, the Lotta Svärd Organization (LSO) needs to be mentioned. Having incorporated various women's groups which had helped and taken care of the Whites' solders in the Civil War, it was founded in 1921. The name of the organization was taken from a fictive figure, Lotta Svärd, in the war epic, *Vänrikki Stool* (*Ensign Stool*, 1848, 1860) written by poet Johan Ludvig Runeberg (1804-1877). Identifying themselves with Lotta Svärd, a member of the LSO was called Lotta. Its major task was to assist the Civil Guard (*suojeluskunta*), the civil-military male organization. Having accepted only the nationalist and religiously committed women in the first decades, the LSO opened its door to socialist women at the outbreak of the Winter War. A national crisis worked to unite women beyond ideological disparity. In 1943, the number of member was about 180,000. It was the largest women's organization in a country with a population of less than 4 million. A number of Lotta were sent to the war front where they engaged in dangerous tasks. Although they never participated in military battle, about 270 members lost their lives as a result of bombing, accidents and illness (Lukkarinen 1981). The LSO, was disgraced as fascist and was disbanded according to the demand made by the Soviet Union in 1944.

The collapse of the Soviet Union, however, loosened the political tension inflicted by the gigantic neighbor state. The end of the Cold War provoked a renewed interest in war and nationalism in Finland. Some of its important features are an emergence of a "new military history" (Kinnunen and Kivimäki 2006a, Siltala 1999, Jokispilä 2005), an interest in nationalization process (Helén and Jauho 2003, Tuomaala 2004) and the introduction of gender perspectives (Gordon, Komulainen and Lempiäinen 2002, Valenius 1998).

New military history takes issue with the earlier approach to war which is rooted in classical historicism. History was seen as a neutral descriptive category and the historian's task was to reconstruct fragmentary archival materials as precisely as possible to determine what happened. The historian's interpretation was needed only in evaluating the reliability of materials. In contrast, new military history is

more reflexive and interdisciplinary, although the two approaches are complementary rather than mutually exclusive (Kinnunen and Kivimäki 2006b).

Another important trend in this context is an increasing interest in microhistory, which emerged as a contestation to heroic history writing that focused upon great men. Microhistory reoriented the direction of historical writing toward the everyday life of ordinary people, women and people on the margin. It has also opened up ways to give voices to those who were forgotten or forced to be silent. As such, it is more multi-vocal and corrects the gender-blindness of earlier mainstream history writing (Tuomaala 2005).

The above-mentioned trend then means an increasing interest in women's war experiences in general (Raitis and Haavio-Mannila 1993) and in the LSO in particular (Sulamaa 1999, Olsson 1999, 2005, Latva-Ärjö 2004, Kinnunen 2006).

In relation to introducing post-colonial perspectives in discussing Finnish history, there has been a reservation. As has been pointed out by the film scholar Anu Koivunen, it has been generally held that Finland has had nothing to do with imperialism and colonialism (Koivunen 1998, 25), although in recent years the situation is gradually changing. For example, Anu Hirsiaho refers to the 19th-century European racist gaze toward the speakers of non-Indo-European languages, and ponders its possible continuation today. She also asks whether the outlook of the 19th-century Finnish explorer-researchers was a colonizing gaze, and what could be its post-colonial implication today (Hirsiaho 2007, 240-241).

The folklorist Lotte Tarkka's discussion on cultural colonialism in the Finnish discourse on Karelia is probably one of the earliest of its kind (Tarkka 1989). Karelia is taken to mean a geopolitical concept that has been used by Finns to designate Russian Orthodox Karelia across the present-day national border, which has been imagined as a "homeland of folklore and *Kalevala*" (Sihvo 1981, 30). The Finnish relationship with Karelia, going at least as far back as Elias Lönnrot's compilation of the Finnish national epic *Kalevala* (1835, 1849) is disputable. *Kalevala* created a history for Finns who perceived a lack of "their own" national history, apart from having been part of the Swedish empire. Contemporary Karelian culture was antiquated as the Finnish past and Finnish modernity was imagined in contrast to Karelia, Finland's Orient (Iwatake 2004, 201-206). From the perspec-

tive of post-colonialist critique of the nation-state, such a way of creating national history and culture can be questioned (For recent critical approaches to Karelia, see Fingerroos and Loipponen 2007).

In photographic representations of Karelia, old women and old men, children and crying women have constituted recurrent and favorite themes since the late 19th century. Among them, crying women (*itkijänaiset*) are the most disturbing to the eyes. The art of crying (*itkuvirsi*) is a ritual genre which was performed by Karelian women at funerals or weddings. It is a genre that is marginalized and feminized in relation to the heroic and masculinized *Kalevala* epic. Finnish male scholars such as I. K. Inha, Väinö Kaukonen, J. Lukkarinen , A.O. Väisänen, A.R. Niemi, Martti Haavio, Lauri Honko and many others photographed women who were crying at the grave, at the wedding or in front of a folklore collector's microphone. In fact, crying women at the grave are often pictorialized as part of the natural landscape of Karelia (e.g. Paavolainen 1965, Sarmela 1981, Räty-Hämäläinen 2002). As I discuss later, I see a parallel between the ways in which Japanese intellectuals represented Korea and China through woman and children.

Furthermore, it was in reference to the image of crying Karelian women that the often claimed identity of the "strong Finnish woman", re-asserted in the context of a welfare state, was formulated. As I discussed elsewhere, the identity was partially shaped by masculinizing patriotic Finnish women and feminizing the image of crying Karelian women (Iwatake 2008b, forthcoming). I argue that post-colonial critique would provide a working tool in discussing various cultural issues, including writing women's history in Finland.

Present-day Discussions In Japan

Out of the diverse feminist and gender critique today, I outline four areas for the discussion of this paper. The first is a critique of elite women's collaboration with the state in the hope of obtaining higher social status and political rights. Starting in the 1910s, female leaders have participated in the governmental project, "Life Reformation Movement", which was aimed at rationalizing and enlightening the home. This movement, which I see as a Japanese equivalent to what the Martha Organization (*Marttayhdistys*) has undertaken since its

foundation in 1899 in Finland (On the Organization, see Ollila 1993), has produced the disciplined home front that was needed to sustain the war front.

During the Fifteen Years War, the government expanded women's incorporation into state affairs by appointing a number of female leaders to important positions in the state as well as "half-state, half-civil" organizations such as the National Spiritual Mobilization Central League. While the government needed to listen to women for more effective war time policy making, elite women seized the opportunity to increase their power to influence state affairs and to raise their social status. Furthermore, a majority of female leaders saw their collaboration with the state as a good opportunity to raise women's status in general and to eventually obtain political rights.[2] However, this is an issue that disturbs a number of feminists today. In this line of critique, many of the famous and influential feminists such as Fusae Ichikawa (1893-1981), Raicho Hiratsuka (1886-1971) and others came under critical scrutiny (Suzuki 1997, Igeta 2000, Nishikawa 2000, Muta 2006). The historian Yuko Suzuki not only sees them having made mistakes (Suzuki 1989) but problematizes the fact that feminists' aspirations for gender equality and political rights entails war collaboration (Suzuki 1997).

Critical examination was also extended to ordinary women who were members of the PWA and the NDWA (Kano 1987, Ogoshi 2004a). Participation in various activities that the organizations offered provided ordinary women with new social spaces, away from the confinement of their home. The historian Kazuko Nagahara's critique of the former members who remember various activities in a positive manner sounds rather harsh. Yet, she thinks it is regrettable that they fail to see the implications that their activities carried in the colonialist war. Her critique is also directed at the situation in which an expansion of the social sphere is obtained through war collaboration, and a means of liberation is attained in exchange for mobilization. She sees this as a "trap set by the state" (Nagahara 1989, 180, 192).

The historian Ryuichi Narita points out that women's modern history has been split into two separate fields of inquiry - one concerning before and the other after 1945 (Narita 1995, 166-167). This is because in Japanese historical consciousness the year 1945 is deeply inscribed as "the fictive moment when the past ended and the present began" (Gluck 1993, 64). However, such a split has a danger of overlooking

the possible continuity between the two in different guises, and therefore a focus on war collaboration is insufficient in examining the relationship between women and the state. Narita goes on to examine the feminist activist and politician Mumeo Oku (1895-1997) from a perspective of "continuation historical view", meaning an approach that examines historical continuity between before and after 1945.

An important implication of such an approach is that, as Ueno puts it, it does not particularize war as an irrational, accidental or unfortunate deviation from the "normal course" of modern history. On the contrary, it sees war as a continuation of or even central to the project of the nation-state (Ueno 1998, 15-22). By doing so, she tries not to "particularize" discussions in Japan as something belonging to the non-Western other, but to "universalize" various historical questions including the relationship between women and the state as being generated by the institution of the nation-state, and to problematize the very foundation of the nation-state.

The second area of critique, which is closely related to the first, is the violence of the nation-state. The nation-state can legally deploy the military when necessary and endows itself with the right to kill and destroy. They are crimes when committed by the individual, but they are not when committed by the nation-state.

Furthermore, the nation-state claims a right to demand a citizen's sacrifice as an indication of loyalty, normally employing the trope of defense. Militarism and citizenship have been closely interlinked in terms of a set of obligations and rights, although conditions for citizenship have been asymmetrically gendered. Military service has become a critical aspect of male citizenship, which in return has ensured a political right. In other words, in order to obtain a political right, men need to die or kill. Tsujimura, a scholar of the constitution, envisions building an anti-military theory of the state from the perspective of human rights. She postulates that war is a violation of human rights, and therefore a right not to be forced to die and to kill for the state should be induced. (Tsujimura 2005, 2007).

Until recently, in many countries women have been distanced from military service because of the idea of women being the fairer sex or in possession of a reproductive body, which needs protection by the masculine principle. Aiko Ogoshi holds that in reality the idea of the protection of women's bodies means the protection of the body of "their own" women and she draws attention to the ambivalence of

women in the rhetorical language of protection. It is a common trope of the nation-state that men protect "their own" women from the masculinized enemy. In other words, women are to be protected by the violence of their own men, because women are potentially subject to the violence perpetrated by other men. This in turn justifies masculinized violence against the bodies of the women who belong to the others, and women's own perception of their sexualized self that needs to be protected by the violence of their own men makes them passively approve of their own men's assault on other women (Ogoshi 2004b, 284–286).

Ueno sees interrelatedness between the state and the private sphere. Just as the use of violence by the state is legal, domestic violence, until recently, neither required intervention nor was regarded as criminal. This suggests that both the state and the private sphere are located outside of the civil society, and therefore the laws governing the use of violence no longer apply. She argues that in this complicity, citizens (that is, first class male citizens) can be defined in terms of their use of violence – citizens are those who are given a license to use violence in the private sphere and who are mobilized in the violence exercised by the state. Put another way, citizens are as though legally sanctioned to use violence in the private sphere in exchange for their military service. Of the criminalization of both private and state violence that Ueno discusses, the latter is of greater concern here. She states that discussing war crime is not sufficient because the definition of what constitutes war crime inevitably and arbitrarily exonerates all other associated acts of violence. What is needed is not to legalize non-criminal war conduct but to work on constructing a theory which criminalizes war itself (Ueno 2002b; 2006, 103-128).

The third area is critique of Orientalism. This includes critique of an elite woman's Orientalist attitude to Korea (Takahashi 2003) and representation of Asia in one of the most edifying newspapers that was published between 1900 and 1942, the *Female Newspaper* (*Fujo Shimbun*). Nagahara examines ways in which contributors to the newspaper likened Korea and China to a child and an old lady, using a trope of feminization (Nagahara 1997).

This line of critiques can be situated within a broader critical assessment of the relationship between gender and representation under unequal power relations. For example, the Korean scholar Park

Yooha criticizes the gendered Orientalism of Japanese male folk art advocator, Soetsu Yanagi (1889-1961), who aestheticized and laurelled Korean folk art. Yet he used a metaphor of woman, who is tender, sorrowful and dying, in representing Korean folk art and by extension Korea (Park 2001, see also Brandt 2000).

The fourth feature in the post-Cold War years is that history came to be examined not only within the territorial confinement of present-day Japan but its spatiality was expanded to Japan's former empire, especially in East Asia. This led to a growing realization that women's histories are interlinked through complex channels of inclusion, exclusion, resistance and complicity beyond the national boundary. This trend was further enriched by an emergence of a younger generation of Korean, Taiwanese and Chinese scholars writing in Japanese or having their researches translated into Japanese (e.g. Kim 1999, Park 2001, Houng 2005). A study on the transmission and introduction of the ideology "good wife, wise mother" to East Asia is an example of this line of studies (Cheng 2006, Lee 2006). The idea of "good wife, wise mother" emphasizes women's role in the nuclear family as a wife who takes care of her husband and a mother who nurtures and educates children. Through such an act, women were thought to contribute to society, the nation and the state at large. The idea was introduced to Japan from the Anglophone world around the 1870s and started to penetrate around the 1910s, significantly modifying historical practices up to then (Koyama 1991, see also Sand 2003, 1-94).

I see the ideology of "good wife, wise mother" as ultimately being derived from the Enlightenment thinkers such as Rousseau and Hegel who advocated a division between public and private spheres, allocating women and domesticity to the latter. I also see it as an equivalent to the Finnish concept of societal motherhood (*yhteiskunnallinen äitiys*, for this see Sulkunen 1987). The important point here is that having originated in the European Enlightenment, the ideology was transmitted through colonial modernity and shared as a modular of the nation-state across nations. The ideology then was instrumental in producing a disciplined home front which has sustained the war front.

Finnish Studies On Women's History

In comparison to Japanese studies, what stands out in the Finnish counterpart is its avoidance of open critique of women and the state, appreciation rather than politicization of women's war collaboration, and strong presence of liberal feminism. As I will discuss later, in my view, these features are structurally interrelated.

I start with one of the most significant anthologies discussing war, *The Individual in War* (*Ihminen sodassa*, Kinnunen and Kivimäki 2006a). Although it is not specifically about women and war, it includes some discussion on women's experiences. Approximately twenty articles in the book include good critical discussion of male military service (Ahlbäck 2006), national flag as a totem (Tepora 2006) and a war widow's application for pension (Loipponen 2006). However, as the title of the anthology indicates, its focus is on people rather than the state. A number of touching illustrations, portraying the life and emotions of people underlines the major goal of the book, namely elucidating ordinary people's humane experiences. While offering critical and important perspectives, the book appears to be cautious about confronting the state as an agent in war-making while favoring ordinary people's everyday or emotional experiences

Ilona Kemppainen's book *The Fatherland's sacrifices* (*Isänmaan uhrit*, 2006) is topical and important as it discusses sacrifice that the nation-state demands from its citizens in war. Kemppainen examines sacrifice for fatherland from a broad range of perspectives, including culture of death, history of mentality, emotions, nationalism, religion and gender. The chapter entitled Women and Hero's Death discusses women's duty to give birth and to raise their son into a patriotic citizen. An ideal mother is saddened by her son's death in battle, but she is also proud of the sacrifice he made for the fatherland. A section that outlines the maternity protection policy, the war widow who needed governmental support, and parents who obtained financial support to compensate the death of their son suggests the gradual consolidation of a welfare system. Out of a number of issues that sacrifice could raise, however, the major questions that the book asks are how sacrifice was responded to, narrated and represented. Robert Dahl has discussed the relationship between making sacrifices, membership in a nation, and the citizen's right to a share in governing (Dahl 1989). While discussing sacrifice, these political issues are not brought up in

Kemppainen's book. In a manner reminiscent of *The Individual in War*, *The Fatherland's Sacrifices*, while discussing war, renders the existence of a state that demands and remunerates sacrifice transparent.

More specifically, discussing the changing ways in which the LSO has been interpreted between 1944 and 2006, Tiina Kinnunen's book makes an important contribution to the issue of women and war (Kinnunen 2006). After having been labeled as fascist by extreme leftists immediately after the Continuation War, another attack came from two Finnish male authors. Väinö Linna's *Unknown Solder* (*Tuntematon sotilas* 1954) and Paavo Rintala's Guerilla Lieutenant (Sissiluuttnanti 1963) depicted Lotta as sexualized and eroticized woman. Both books, aimed at reconstructing male identity in the post-war period by stigmatizing women's work in war time, had a long-lasting harmful impact on the image of Lotta until a watershed was reached in the 1990s. In 1991, the 70th anniversary of the foundation of the LSO was celebrated with the attendance of president, prime minister and defense minister. For the first time since 1944, Lotta's self-sacrificing wartime undertakings were rewarded by official indications of gratitude and respect. Kinnunen points out importantly that the governmental re-evaluation in the 1990s was based solely on the LSO's activities in the war years. In the speech of politicians at the anniversary celebration, Lotta's self-sacrificing activities between 1939 and 1944 were appreciated as a factor in national independence.

Kinnunen is critical and is well aware of the political nature of historical memory and representation, as well as of shifting and competing interpretations. Her basic stance, however, is strong empathy for the former members whose reputation and feelings have been deeply hurt despite the work they did for the sake of national defense. Lotta's activities on the home front, such as baking a huge amount of bread for the solders, have not been given due attention until recently, although such contributions were as important as what men did at the war front. This is partially because Lotta themselves found it necessary to emphasize their participation in national defense in the same manner as men did. Lotta is a human, mostly a young woman, with humane characteristics. While fulfilling her duty, she endured the war years also with joy and a sense of humor.

The title of the book, *The Praised and the Slandered* (*Kiitetyt ja parjatut*) indicates the dramatic contrast that Lotta has gone through. The book depicts Lotta's victimization and restoration, while the role of

the state in waging wars and selectively appropriating history of the LSO for the rhetoric of national independence are not explicitly discussed.

An indication of respect for women who went through hardships during the war period also can be observed in *Women's Weapons* (*Naisten Aseet*, Raitis and Haavio-Mannila 1993). The book is based on over 1100 answers to the questionnaires sent by various organizations and institutions in 1987 and 1988. Its major interest is in ordinary women's ordinary war experiences, particularly on the home front, which have remained invisible during the post-war years despite the significant contributions that women made. Although critical perspectives on personal narrative are present, the book nevertheless expresses respect for the hardships that ordinary women went through during the war period.

In this context, it is probably not out of place to encounter books that offer an almost positive visual representation of ordinary people's war experiences with pictures of smiling children, women and solders (Nevala 2007, Näre et al. 2008).

In addition to the reservation of direct confrontation with the state, as well as an absence of a critical assessment of women's war collaboration with the state, a strong presence of liberal feminism is another characteristics in writing women's history. Kemppainen's article, which received the 2007 prize of the journal *Women's Studies* (*Naistutkimus*), is a case in point. It discusses a story written by Martta Haatanen, *The Brightened Heart* (*Kirkastetty sydän* 1943), based on the life of Saimi Havas, the wife of a pastor and mother of ten children. Modifying and dramatizing her life, the story depicts a devoted woman and mother who is at home, supports her husband and accepts his death in battle. Kemppainen suspects that the woman that Haatanen, together with the governmental officials of the day, has idealized – selfless and willing to accept her husband's death - might have been rare in reality. Referring to the presence of women who tried to prevent their husband's departure to the battlefield, Kemppainen asks whether or not women's own war experiences were acceptable.

Haatanen has described the heroine as a mother and wife who sacrifices herself, rather than as an independent actor. Kemppainen explains this as the writer's attempt to ease the social forces which try to bastardize women's allegedly weakened morality. In this connection, Kamppainen refers to the stigmatization of Lotta in the 1950s and

1960s by two male authors as an example of victimization of women, although in my opinion, Haatanen's story, having been published in 1943, has a little to do with what happened years after its publication.

Kemppainen's central question is whether or not a woman can be a hero, and if she can, ultimately whose hero story *The Brightened Heart* is - is it about woman being a hero, or woman's heroic acceptance of man's heroism? This question inscribes an unmistakable mark of liberal feminism – striving for becoming on a par with men on the one hand, and women's victimization on the other. And this is one of the major areas where the difference between Finnish and Japanese feminists' concerns comes to the fore.

Behind Kemppainen's question is the idea that just as there is male hero, there has to be female hero as well. If men are actor, women also have to be independent actor as well. It is interesting to note that liberal feminism, in its constant pursuit of becoming on a par with men, keeps reproducing (or inventing) a narrative of women's marginalization and victimization. However, it needs to be remembered that there were at least two women actors in the popularization of *The Brightened Heart* who internalized the state ideology of the ideal wartime woman – the writer Martta Haatanen and a woman who appears to be Saimi Havas' close relative and who helped construct the picture of Havas as an ideal hero's wife. Yet, instead of politicizing women's active role and complicity in the narrative construction, Kemppainen emphasizes women´s victimization.

Kemppainen's argument brings to mind a very different perspective put forward by Ueno and other Japanese feminists. Ueno criticizes the liberal feminist striving to become on a par with men, since it does not question the nature of citizenship which is based on the male model. She argues for the need to de-masculinize and deconstruct the citizenship of the nation-state instead of striving to be like men (Ueno 2006, 3-45). Without such a critique that seeks to get at the very foundation of the nation-state, liberal feminists' efforts simply would sustain and strengthen various institutions of the nation-state, such as militarization and war making. In fact, Ueno argues that "women's liberation" is impossible within the framework of the nation-state or without deconstructing it (Ueno 1998, 92-96, 194-199).

I now go on to discuss what I see as the liberal-evolutionist feminist approach to history writing, which is not necessarily confined to

the issue of women and war, using *A Desk of One's Own* (*Oma pöytä*, Katainen, Kinnunen, Packalén and Tuomaala 2005) as an example. The book consists of eighteen articles, the majority of which outline pioneer Finnish women in terms of their career-building in university as doctors, docents, scholars and professors, with some exceptions who worked outside of academia.

In the last chapter, which is one of the best in the book, Saara Tuomaala discusses a lack of theory in historical studies in general and women's studies in particular, which comes from the understanding that historical studies are empirical and they deal with existent materials (Tuomaala 2005, 370). However, I would argue that there is a liberal-evolutionist feminist theory in writing women's history in Finland (e.g. *Women in Finland* 1999; Lähteenmäki 2000). By liberal-evolutionist feminist history writing, I mean a style of narrative that underpins a developmental scheme of women's victimization and empowerment. Women fight for equality and aspire to become the first and pioneers in various arenas. It is evolutionist not only in women's linear progression, but also in a particular temporal order. It is noticed that a special value is attached to being the first. Being the first is about a temporal order, and it is an evolutionist temporal order that is appraised.

In the book, the majority of essays are written in the style of personal history. To my mind, one of the challenges in writing personal history is to do so without depoliticizing the subject. If personal history remains to be a celebratory description of an individual, it easily loses its cutting edge. Here a question asked by Griselda Pollock – "[C]an we escape the idealized story of Great Men without longing for Heroised Women?" (Pollock 1999, xiii) is well taken. As a way to acknowledge the presence of critique by female Finnish scholars, I would like to refer to this critique here. Political scientist Tuija Parvikko summarizes the features of women's studies in Finland as therapeutic, nationalistic and internally consoling (Parvikko 1998).

The title, *A Desk of One's Own*, is inspired by Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own*. However, Pollock challenges Woolf's view in the book as a "feminist myth, which paradoxically confirms the canonical negation of women and creativity". She also points out a situatedness of Woolf's thought in her own time and her own personal experience, which cannot be conflated or universalized as representing the reality for women authors in general (Pollock 1999, 129-132).

As a site from which to show how liberal-evolutionist feminist historical writing delimits the range of intellectual inquiry, I would like to comment on an article on Aira Kemiläinen (1919 - 2006) in *A Desk of One's Own*. Her portrayal as a hard-working, pioneer female professor in history and internationally renowned scholar of nationalism (Kaarninen 2005, 312-315) leaves out another fascinating, yet disturbing aspect of her work. Kemiläinen discussed in detail how Finns as non-Indo-European language speakers have been subjected to racism by European racial theorists and how the racist prejudice has persisted to this day outside of academia and as popular knowledge (Kemiläinen 1993, 1998, Kemiläinen, Hietala, Suvanto 1985). A merit of Kemiläinen's research on racism is that it has elucidated heterogeneity, differences and hierarchy within the concept of "European". This is a point that has a potential for post-colonial critique. However, she set out to argue that Finns are European both in appearance and ability. Discussed this way, her idea of race comes surprisingly close to that of Gobineau and other racial theorists for whom the "Aryans" are the most beautiful and the most intelligent of all races. Furthermore, behind the zeal in discussing European racism seems to lie her desire to remove from the Finns the "dishonor" of having being associated with the Mongoloids, and to bestow the "honor" of being European. In fact, this scheme itself bears a liberal feminist doctrine of victimization and empowerment. As I have discussed elsewhere, despite her critique of European racism, she ultimately enhances and reproduces, rather than deconstructs, the racism that she criticizes (Iwatake 2004, 210-211). This is an issue that requires post-colonial critique rather than liberal-evolutionist feminism.

Women, The State And Liberal Feminism

Having outlined some of the major differences in the politics of writing women's history, I would like to offer three possible reasons for them. The first concerns historical consciousness about continuity and discontinuity. In Finland, there is no sense of historical discontinuity before and after 1944. Such a historical whole and continuity seems to be precious for a country that achieved its independence in 1917. In Japan, on the other hand, year 1945 is perceived as a deep historical disjuncture. Imagining continuity is an endeavor that necessitates conscious and strategic problematization.

The second is constitutional difference. As the Japanese constitution denounces war, it lacks the right to command ultimate sacrifice from the citizen in defense of the state. This anomaly has cultivated anti-militarist discourse over the past six decades. In fact, it can be said that anti-militarism has become the politically correct, mainstream academic stance in the context of so-called "post-war democracy". Therefore many Japanese feminists, despite their anti-state position, share the anti-military principles adopted by the government. It should not be understated, however, that the anomaly of Japan is made possible by its dependence on the United States for security, and distressingly, Japan's demilitarization is partially achieved through the militarization of Okinawa, a chain of small southern islands, which was incorporated into Japan between 1872 and 1879. However this anomaly has provided a vantage point to resist the violence of the nation-state.

Article 127 of the Finnish Constitution, on the other hand, stipulates that every Finnish citizen is obliged to participate in defense of the fatherland or to come to its assistance (Mäki 2007, 114). This works to constrain anti-military discourse and to sanction the citizen's military collaboration.

In this connection, the idea of a citizen's duty as it is discussed in recent research needs to be noted. It is acknowledged that women, either as Lotta or those who were on the home front, performed their duty during war time[3] (Kinnunen 2006, 196, 197, 200; Peltonen 1993, 68). If women collaborated with war out of their patriotic zeal for a citizen's duty to defend national independence, it follows that they need to be appreciated but should not be criticized. Another important implication here is that, understood this way, the military is considered as a means for national defense and independence, rather than violence monopolized by the nation-state. Finland fought against the evil East which attacked Finland. This simple logic renders both women and the state blameless.

This complicity between women and the state leads to the third point – institutionalization of state feminism in Finland. Johanna Kantola writes that Finnish feminists act "from within established state structures", and epitomizes them as being "in" the state, rather than "out" of the state (Kantola 2006, 47-72). In fact, not only feminists but also the majority of women seems to be or are expected to be located "in" the state. The state, which is seen to be benign, facilitates women's objectives in the area that concerns liberal feminist such as

gender equality, women's wage work and child care. Women and the state work together for a promotion of common interests. Even in the mid-1990s, such a Finnish welfare state was said to be "utopia" and "women's ally or even woman-friendly" (Anttonen 1994, 203). The flip side of this is that it probably leaves little space for critique of the state. The woman-friendliness of the state could disempower women as they dispossess the language with which to criticize the state regarding the issues beyond liberal feminist concerns.

A model woman in the woman-friendly state is simultaneously mother and wageworker. In the words of Päivi Lipponen and Päivi Setälä, "Finnish women … are citizens both as wage-earners and as mothers" (Lipponen and Setälä 1999). In other words, motherhood is part of the female citizen's duty (and rights) in Finland. This seems to explain the continuing militarization and nationalization of motherhood. Mother's Day is an official flag day when the president grants decorations to representatives of motherhood. In Japan, motherhood is not a part of a female citizen's duty. Mother's Day exists today as a commercial practice. Mother's Day as it is practiced in Finland would immediately be problematized as an indication of militarization and nationalization of motherhood.

The woman-friendly face of welfare state also works to obscure the dark side of its genealogy. It has been pointed out that, paradoxically enough, there is a historical link between the warfare state and the welfare state. The state seeks power by waging war and mobilizing material as well as human resources. The state as a military, bureaucratic and policing agent then provides the necessary material and ideological conditions for the expansion and generalization of citizenship rights (Dandeker 1990, 214-227). On the part of people, sacrifices required in war-making help enhance their sense of membership in their particular political community. Such a consciousness leads to a consolidation of citizenship that consists of a set of rights and duties, which ensures a membership in that national community (Held 1996, 76-79). More specifically, Susan Pedersen argues that the two total wars in the 20th century nurtured the development of the welfare state in England and France (Pedersen 1995). However, an examination of the genealogy of the welfare state that might extend to a militant past is an unpopular topic in Finland. Although there are scholars who seem to be aware of a link between warfare and welfare state (e.g. Satka 1994), it does not necessarily become an object of critical assessment.

As I have shown above, Japanese feminists are more critical and distrustful of liberal feminism. Being a faithful daughter of European modernity, liberal feminism ultimately works for the realization and penetration of modern European ideologies, such as equality, by means of social reformation, education and enlightenment activities. By doing so, it also works to enhance various ideologies of the nation-state. However, deeply embedded in colonial modernity, it reproduces the same kind of oppression that colonial modernity has been accused of. Liberal feminists, while being unaware of the oppression that they themselves reproduce, keep weaving a narrative of victimization.

The Fundamental Law for a Gender-Equal Society stipulated in 1999 in Japan by a governmental incentive is meant to promote liberal feminist principles. While cautiously welcoming the idea of the increase in female representation entailed in this law, feminists' responses are far from outright acceptance. A suspicious look was cast on the implications of "state feminism" (Ueno 2006, 30) as well as on the possible rhetoric behind the valorization of heterosexism and pro-natalist projects in the face of a declining birth rate (Muta 2006, 194-219). Disparate attitudes to state feminism – acceptance and resistance – highlight the controversy surrounding the issues of women and war in these two countries today.

NOTES

1. Japan has had the Self Defense Forces since 1954. However, as military activities are unconstitutional, they have in the main engaged in rescue activities in case of natural catastrophes. For the debates on possible changes in their activities and in the constitution, see Iwatake 2008a (forthcoming).
2. Japanese women obtained suffrage in 1945 as part of the post-war democratization process conducted by the American Occupation Army.
3. It needs to be remembered, however, that in the earlier decades, it was voluntariness in national defense activities that was emphasized (e.g. Lotta-Svärd järjestö 1941). The concept of "voluntary" which is central in the perception of a citizen and which paradoxically entails negation of duty raises an interesting question in analyzing the relationship between citizen and the state (Iwatake 2005).

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