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**Author(s):** Virtanen, Aila; Lämsä, Anna-Maija; Takala, Tuomo

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responsible for family and children (Tahvanainen and Kemppainen, 2007). In particular, most often the role of motherhood, which requires not only a close relationship with a child, is idealized as the core of womanhood (Obeidman and Josselson, 1996). To become a war heroine was not easy for women in the First and Second World Wars having acted specifically at their time in a way that was not in line with traditional gender as heroines or even womanhood. Women subverted cultural assumptions about femininity, marriage and by assuming that their place was to be alongside the men performing an active role in the war effort (Brass and 2004). In Britain in the Second World War, women were at first prevented from joining the Home Guard. When they were admitted, in 1943, they were not even allowed to handle guns, but only to do support work for the army. Women in the auxiliary armed forces were not allowed to handle lethal weapons. Women were mothers, not soldiers (Sims, 2010). A war heroine was seen to mirror the ideal of the community and popular virtues of women, not participate directly in the war (Hume, 1997). The war has been aptly 'gendering' activity, casting thought about sex and gender boundaries (Faust, 1997). The literature exploring war heroines is very limited indeed.

The aim of this study is to conceptualize the heroine for women in a highly male-dominated environment in which men are normally viewed as heroes. An empirical qualitative study is conducted with the objective of exploring how a war heroine was represented and how she was perceived in the First and Second World Wars. Additionally, attributes that were linked to the Lottas and how they were expected to be heroines is explored. In light of the research objective, the study seeks to answer the following question: How were women perceived as heroines in the First and Second World Wars?

As a research method we will use content analysis. Content analysis is a flexible method for analyzing text and useful with our study which aims to describe the concept of a war heroine, on which existing literature is limited. The data for this study consists of letters and other stories published in newspapers and magazines during the war period from the beginning of 1939 to November 1944, when Finland had lost the war and the Lotta Svärd organization ceased to exist. Sources included the filed documents of the Lotta Svärd organization stored in the Finnish War Archives. The contribution of this study is that it provides a female perspective on a traditionally thought of as male-dominated topic. We approach the topic from a historical perspective. While war histories are mainly written by men for men, our study aspires to make women's roles visible in their social context for our study in wartime Finland. This women's organization with its masculine military ideology provides not only an interesting but an exceptional social context for researching the war heroines. As the study motivates us to

challenge prevailing power relationships, particularly the dominant male perspective on knowledge at war. According to Hayman, feminism is not merely a perspective on research or a way of knowing, in itself, a way of being in the world. Nor is it a purely subjective or objective ontology, but understood as a way of being *graiwoma meinn sa waern'* (Hayman 2008).

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows. In the next section we discuss women in war, and the ideology and operation of the data and methodology. Finally, we conclude with war hero organization, and our summary and concluding comments.

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

*K c a Y b D g ' < J g h c f m*

Women's history (defined as historical work on women) is a concern about the past and present oppression of women (Deane 1989). It has been said that women's history is writing women back into the dynamics of power and oppression. The history of women has three dimensions. The first, and most obvious, is to locate women in history, recovering their past role. However, there is no common role or place for women, but varying depending on their social class, area and time. This leads us to the second dimension, which is to give the history of the past a perspective; for example, women in economic or social life, women in revolution and war. The third dimension tells of women's lives in societies that have changed over the centuries and shaped their story again and again. Women have worked in minor positions in society and obtained the right to work and freedom more slowly than men. The church and religion, especially in Catholic Europe, have produced a mentality of a world in which the role of women has been (Hempstead 1994). In this study we will focus on women in a war time context in relation to the male soldiers.

Women's history, in fact, has modified the shape of history, influencing its content and explanation through more than 40 years. While the first histories of women in the 1970s focused on notable individuals in women's history, the agenda of this field is this imperative to recover and restore women's history, and hence, contribute a voice from their thus far subordinate position in history writing. The achievement of the gender history pioneers was the development of the concept of gender, rather than biological sense of a sexual difference. In addition, they noticed that relations between men and

cross-culturally and historically, and researchers use women's life stories to the various issues (Rose, 1993; Walker, 2008).

However, this shift involving gender in other social relations was not accepted by researchers whose primary goal of women's history was to show that women's experiences were not the same as men's. In the 1980s and 1990s, historians should rethink the issue (Rose, 1993) as women's history writing merged with new subjects and methodologies in gender history. This phase is known as the linguistic turn in history analysis where discourses and representations were used to reveal power relationships (Walker, 2008) and identities. Women's experience is understood in order to trace meanings and discourses that had constructed masculinity and femininity over time. Gender was seen as a constitutive element of social relations, and as a signifying relationship (Rose, 1993). Experience, in this sense, is discursively produced and there is no experience of the ways that language constructs it. Joan Scott argued that we should move from a study of the construction of gender to the meanings of gender, particularly its use as a metaphor for human relations and activities (Bennett, 1989; Scott, 1997). The other aspect that emerged in gender research came from researchers who challenged the idea that there is something that can be called 'women's history'. They suggested that race, gender and class are interlocking and interdependent dimensions of dominant social relations and dimensions are experienced simultaneously (Rose, 1993).

In the 2000s, a new phase of gender history has been reached, when the studies of discourses and representations have been accepted as a complementary approach. Gender history research operates through the analysis of discourses on gender that are connected to cultural and social practices (Walker, 2008). Gender and feminist history research is moving toward topics of gender as a social and cultural relationship (Rose, 1993).

What can women's history (1997) has shown that crisis studies can give another sort of perspective on patriarchy that will enable us to examine the causes of the remarkable durability of patriarchal structures. Women's history can help us to understand why relations between men and women in our time are as they are and how they have come to be. Second, women's history can be seen as part of a broader social history. Women do not form a unified group; there are women of high and middle class, Muslim and Catholic, young and old, whose experiences are indeed different. Gender, related to other demographic and class factors, is a key to new approaches to historical writing, and therefore writing history (Thompson, 1988).

*Women in War*

During the World Wars traditional gender roles changed. Women were an integral part of the war as they were needed in (Mawra, 2013) the World Wars chahgay (Kelly, 2015) nations. Women had borne heavy responsibilities during the war; they did underground work and took on often saving their lives. With some exceptions, women generally did not participate in armed resistance (Withuis, 1994).

There are few studies exploring how the press represents women when a nation is at war. Many deal with motherhood and they suggest that the relationship between motherhood and the military has been confused (Eglistein, 1987). De Volo (2004) presented three benefits of militaries mobilizing mothers and maternal imagery. The first benefit is channelling maternal grievances. Mothers, mothers, mothers are no less integrated into war propaganda and ideology. Along with their sons, they are usually affected negatively by conscription. For militaries at war, mothers are potential opponents as their sons are drafted or killed, and therefore, a potential threat to the war effort. By mobilizing mothers, organizations, the military attempts to control their anger at the drafting or (Eglistein, 1987; Zeiger, 1976). The second benefit comes from disseminating propaganda. Mobilized mothers can themselves promote propaganda from a perspective which seems apolitical. Mothers are speaking from the heart out of love for their children rather than from a political standpoint. (2004) writes that during the Contra War mothers protested against the Sandinista state policies through a non-oppositional maternal framework, putting the state in the difficult position of either permitting the protests or repressing apolitical mothers. Sandinista mothers, Catholic hierarchy, used a non-oppositional maternal framework to gain the moral upper hand. The third benefit, then, is evoking sympathy nationally and internationally. Through a maternal framework, women for both war and peace by appealing to the emotions to rally a thirst for revenge, a resignation to patriotic duty of hostility (de Volo, 2004).

The media reproduces values, beliefs, and codes of behaviour that integrate individuals into the structure of the greater (Hoschek and Chomsky, 1988). The media tells us what to value, who is important, and how to behave (Vale, 2007). The media is a strong tool for war propaganda. In the US, the national news presented the mothers of US combat soldiers in the Iraq War as archetypally good mothers, who continued maternal work even after their children are deployed. Unlike the archetype of the patriotic mother, combat soldiers were not depicted as necessarily violent. While all the mothers supported their children in combat, some clearly did not support the war. The war effort, and the image created of them by the press does not completely image of the

patriotic mother. The play depicts the picture of wartime motherhood is more nuanced and complex than suggested by the myth of the historical image of the patriotic mother (Sapientich-Gamer, 2007)

Israel is the only Western country that has had a policy of compulsory conscription for both men and women. Although women are drafted into the military, the most dominant presentation of women in the Israeli media has been the icon of women as mothers. When women serve in combat roles on the front lines, they are located in the dual position of a woman in a hyper masculinist environment. In this position, they are expected to mimic the identity of the male combat soldiers. From this contradictory standpoint, they are expected to be a gendered voice, which focuses on criticism of combat masculinity. In fact, they were infantilizing themselves, which allowed them to place themselves in a position of power, and behave like they are soldiers. They were emotionally identifying with the Palestinians victims of the occupation (Sasson, 2011)

'Lone girls' in Israel's Defence Forces (IDF) are a unique phenomenon. Many of these women are finding their way in traditional ways in the army is empowering. They manage to use their gender and femininity to their advantage as IDF soldiers, as a means of attaining a sense of belonging when other paths are blocked. Therefore, from their own experiences at an individual level, while at a collective level their presence does little to strengthen the position of women in the IDF and in Israeli society in general. Rather, it serves to reinforce traditional gender roles for men and women. The IDF attempts to get around this and include women in the military, while at the same time preserving their roles as weak and vulnerable to enemy hostility. Through both formal and informal means, the military has relegated women to traditionally female positions and expressive roles taking on the metaphor of the daughter and even the mother (Havser, 2011)

There is something potentially meaningful and relevant to our understanding of the military through its mediated representation. The military body is a masculine body. However, fundamental to its performance is the implicit and explicit invocation of the feminine body. Indeed, it seems that, in the military body is female, in Lotta Svärd, it must be made masculine. In the military body, she must either conform to the masculine or be excluded as the price of entry into the military. This frequent dichotomy is employed as a gauge against which the masculine is measured or as a foil against which it can appear. In this way, gender categorization creates separation and differentiation. As a disciplining technique, which seeks to codify the military body in carefully coded, masculine ways. The norm becomes an exercise of power or knowledge, and divergence from it becomes a mark of abnormality. In this way, normalization becomes one of the great instruments of power (Foucault, 1977)

In wartime, the relations between sexes were problematic. Abnormal conditions led to an abnormal consequence of the disturbance of normal social patterns. This was the case of venereal disease,

abortion, illegitimacy and divorce were anticipated and controlled. There were ethnic and racial requirements in Britain white women's relationships with black men were subject to sexual patriotism and discipline (Webster, 2013). However, women's experience was complex than the official instructions of mobilised women. The personal stories of women at war testified to conformity to traditional norms of sexual behaviour, as well as rejection of conventional gender norms (Crockett, 1992).

In Britain, there were more than 100,000 women serving in paramilitary units in the First World War. The volunteer corps (Roberts, 1997) British women who wore military uniforms could not be treated as equal partners with soldiers. In the First World War women did not take independent action by themselves (Watson, Vesilind, 1997; Summerfield, 1997). The romantic image of the First World War nurses is well known from several books and publications. Women's involvement in war is a fact, this image was a myth, and the experiences of nurses in the First World War were full of danger and fighting for their country both professionally and personally (Kelly, 2015).

The feminine not only serves to mark subordination, however, it also signifies military identity. Women soldiers serving in 'masculine' identities according to the hegemonic masculinity of the combat soldier through three interrelated practices: bodily and discursive practices of combat soldiers, of distance and sexual harassment. These practices signify both resistance and compliance with the dichotomized gender. Adopting masculine combat norms does not ensure the hegemonic status of the combat soldier. Usually, their military careers are blocked at an early stage and advancement and promotion are curtailed and limited. Moreover, their positive military experiences do not transfer into their civilian life. After their release from the army, they are denied the economic privileges that combat soldiers enjoy, or the political voice and power. The power women soldiers acquire through their military service is revealed as temporary and localized, as it does not lead them to positions of power or in civilian life (Sasson-Levy, 2003).

Female suicide bombers have been active since 2000. They have been called Black Widows by the international press when it became clear that their aim was the death of their husbands. They have been personally deeply traumatized, but in fact they were religiously motivated and were seen as martyrs (Speckhard and Khatib, 2006). They believed they were fighting for Allah and will soon be in Paradise with their families and friends (Froend, 2007; Wat, 2005). It was not a question of women's status in their society. Women were tightly controlled by male leaders in terrorist organizations, and not

with men in peace. The spectacle of female suicide bombers does not challenge male control, but sends a message that they are more valuable to their societies (Blom, 2007).

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The roots of Lotta beginning of the 19th century. The 1800s referred to as the Finnish War (Suomen sota) was documented by Runeberg in an anthology of poetry praising the heroes of the war. One such hero was Lovisa Runeberg (1848), the woman who had organized the Civil War ended in May 1918, the women who had organized the organization named *cacfo* (red right) to promote an ideology of home, creed and fatherland, and to contribute to the spirit. Another central aim was to promote a people's spirit (Kallioniemi, 1986). (Lukkarinen, 2004)

The organizational structure of Lotta Svärd resembled a Board. The Board was elected at the annual general meeting, while the chairperson was nominated as the Chief of the Finnish Army. The country was divided into district units with their own independent administrations, and subdivided further into local and village units. Responsibility for the different tasks was assigned to committees for nursing, provisioning, equipment, fundraising and social support, and office and signal services. Every woman who became a member of the organization was designated a position on a committee based on her education and professional skills (Kallioniemi, 1986).

According to the historical sources, Lotta Svärd had almost 13,000 members. There was also a department which was established in 1931 and by 1935 had 13,000 members. Girls were eligible to join the Lottas at the age of eight. The young girls learned nursing skills, and packed food and clothing for the unknown soldiers on the frontlines. The number of Lottas serving in the years of World War II was around 10,000 at a time, but they did not carry weapons and defend themselves (Lukkarinen, 2004).

As early as summer 1939, under threat of war, they were involved in building defence lines along the coast, for instance, by supplying food to the builders. In the war they served in air surveillance, worked in the rear and arranged provisions and clothing for the army. One of the hardest duties was serving in the casualty centres, from where Finnish soldiers were taken back home and laid to rest. When the war ended the Lottas also helped with the evacuation of the wounded. Although the Lottas took an active part in the war, even on the frontlines were unarmed. Debate on this issue started already during the Civil War, but was called to an end by the Chief of the Finnish Army, Marshal Mannerheim, who wrote in 1918:

I expect help from Finnish women in meeting urgent needs of the army, like in nursing, making clothes, caring for the home and comforting those who have lost their loved ones. Armed battle on the front should hold to be the exclusive right and duty of men. (Lotta Svärd, 2004)

Being on duty to fight as soldiers on the front meant that women were considered outsiders. During the period of peace in the 1920s, the organization received heavy propaganda for war:

We have to rise for eternal peace, and if there is a nation, which will not submit to peace, then it is our duty to fight. (Lotta Svärd yhdistyksen ja keskusjohtokunnan vuosikirja, 1929)

All endeavours that weaken the will for defence are against peace. (Lotta Svärd, 2004)

The values shared within the Lotta Svärd organization were self-reliance, discipline and self-control. New members took their oath in a ceremony usually held in a church, where they promised to serve for the sake of home, motherland, and fulfil their obligation to nation. The most important duty of Lotta Svärd was organizing the activities of the front-line units, such as providing clothing and footwear, food and housing. Even though the front-line units were paid no salary, they did receive a daily allowance plus free board and lodging. Before being sent to their positions, they were also trained in the organization in specialized courses. Women working in hospitals and first aid stations attended medical courses. From 1941 onwards, the training subjects included veterinary medicine, radiotelegraphy, and communication, among others. (Stenroos & Riipinen, 1999: 29)

Whether serving on the war front or at home, they were expected to behave blamelessly at all times and follow the rules of the organization. The regulations concerning the uniform included rules for greeting and appearance, which were recognized by their military authorities. The uniform consisted of a grey dress with white collar and cuffs and the outfit included a cap in summertime and a fur hat in winter, white or grey gloves, and simple, flat shoes. Lottas wore the same grey uniform as the Lottas.

In autumn 1944, it grew evident that Finland had lost the war. In September 1944, a truce was negotiated between Finland and the Soviet Union. Finland had to cede about one-tenth of its territory to the Soviet Union. It was also required to legalize communist parties and the termination of the Lotta Svärd organization. Their Lotta membership cards, badges and memories were stashed away in cupboards and drawers where they remained for five decades. In the post-war period of the 1940s and 1950s, the memory of the Lottas was as much as buried: the Lottas were disparaged, and many gladly mentioned that they had been members of the organization during the war.

3. DATA AND METHOD

Source Material

One of the greatest impediments to capturing work evidence. In this study, historical data of a women's organization opportunity to write a women's journal, which had 22 issues a year from 1929 until 1944 when the organization was abolished. The journals were available in the University main library. Furthermore, our sources included the organization, private and confidential letters, instructions and other documents stored in the Finnish Archives in Helsinki. The data collected from the Lotta Svärd Journal

TABLE 1 - DATA COLLECTED FROM LOTTASVÄRD JOURNAL

Year	Numbers	Pages	Pages of data used in the study
1939	22	334	18
1940	22	421	14
1941	22	441	31
1942	22	451	21
1943	22	428	21
1944	19	425	15
Total	129	2500	120

We examined the articles published from the beginning of 1939 to the end of November 1944. In autumn 1944, it was clear that the journal was liquidated in November, and the magazine discontinued. In 1941, the journal was not published because of an agreement between Finland and the Soviet Union. The number of journals totalled 129 issues and the content of the magazine consists of articles, stories, announcements and other writings, and is rich. There are also pictures, advertisements, love stories and information. Special issues were published for Christmas and New Year. In the first textual level of analysis we picked out articles and other writings, and continued with a thematic analysis. The key words were heroine (Ensbjörk, 1987), military soldier (Sasson-Levy et al., 2011) and female body in a military uniform (Gofrey et al., 2012), as well as martyr (Speckhard, 2006). From our preliminary understanding of the phenomenon based on previous research, we identified categories and new explanations. Data analysis by gaining a greater understanding of the notion of heroine in Lotta Svärd. This kind of approach to data analysis which is appropriate when existing theory or literature is limited (Bryman and Shannon, 2005)

*Content Analysis*

The qualitative content analysis started with the observations we made when scanning the texts in the *Lotta Svärd* magazines. At that time, the use of the words hero and heroine, as one of our study focuses on how the war heroine was represented in the magazine. For example:

So began the legend of the Lotta heroines (1:94)

... There exist women who so easily and persistently take on any heroic task (1:44)

... Her heroic death. ( 1 : 1 9 )

Sometimes the meaning was not as clear, and we endeavoured to understand and interpret the texts. The following text, for example, does not use the words hero or heroine, but the latent meaning was to link it to heroines:

Glory to those (Lottas) who made every effort, carried their valuable sacrifice, then who were faithful to the death (1:58)

We carefully read through the magazine texts for the key words and their latent meaning, and in total 71 texts, which constituted our unit for analysis, and which we wrote into one file. The texts were divided into units of meaning, in total 155 pieces of text that were a group of words that relate to the same meaning. We continued the analysis considering the context and condensed the units into shorter descriptions in the text, condensed meaning. Condensed meaning units were simpler and shorter expressions of the units of meaning; therefore, having the same core message. Since the text was more than 60 years ago, partly for propaganda and partly in a poetic manner, condensation was necessary. This stage, of course, is a subjective process in which we made interpretations of the latent content. We used the Atlas.ti programme as a tool to help categorize the data of source documents. The super codes were Mother, Soldier and Body, and under Heroine we found the sub codes Mother, Soldier and Martyr. It is notable that many of the quotations were linked to more than one code (Graneheim and Lundman, 2004). For example, a quotation receives an ID in the programme, like 1:84, where the first number refers to the primary document and the other number refers to the quotation. We conducted the coding process many times, recoding, changing the codes and categories carefully.

The codes that were finally selected in the interpretation process were Mother, Soldier and Body, which were used in previous literature on women at war. Furthermore, we found two attributers linked to heroines in the *Lotta Svärd* magazine. These were Death and Martyr. The text showed that a woman was able to become a martyr in the war. Death and Martyr were described as a holy destiny.

was offered only for the best among the Lottas who were happy to sacrifice their lives to God. We integrated Death and Martyr under one representation called The number of quotations that reflected the codes was 14 for Mother, 42 for Soldier, 69 for Body, and 117 for Holy Sacrifice.

( " ' K 5 F ' < 9 F C = B 9 G ' = B ' @ C H H 5 ' G J s F 8

This section presents the four representations of the heroine: *Mother*, *Soldier*, *Body*, and *Holy Sacrifice*.

### *Mother*

To be heroines, the women in the Lotta Svärd organization and the lives of their loved ones to this was an indirect contrast to the profile of women in Finnish society, which was to name. Despite their almost masculine appearance, the women were not expected to deny their motherly duties. They were mothers, caregivers, nurses and cooks. The public role was controlled by strict rules concerning their appearance and conduct, which included normal feminine virtues and vices.

The role of mother in war is often presented through the symbol of the good mother, and as an angelic mother. This was the case in Lotta Svärd as well. She was gentle and prayerful when she cared for the wounded (1:84)

The duties of the mother were stressed in the texts in many ways:

Mother is a Lotta and an office lady but primarily she is mother of all the boys cry. (1:64)

The notion of a Mother was communicated using various images that extended the depiction of the heroine to a woman who is brave and strong enough to be active in the war:

Finnish Lottas wash floors, wash the bloody corpses of the fallen men, drudge and raise up heads of Finnish soldiers, work in the kitchen at the front and take care of horses, are awake night and day and do not hesitate to empty the toilet at the front ... (1:47)

In a crisis a mother has the courage to incinerate her own home:

She set her own home on fire ... (1:49)

Mother had to sacrifice everything she had:

The fatherland is calling your husband, your son, maybe your brother, or your loved one to the front and asking for your help in many ways (1:12)

... Those whom they already whose suffering was their friendly and endearing smile... ( 1 : 3 9 )

The Mother portrayed in Lotta Svärd, but an active partner and a sister to the men, fighting alongside them:

Next to me, my sister, you created the home at the front.

The idea of Mother represented by Lotta Svärd in the literature. In Lotta Svärd there is nothing confidential.

The public role of women required a duty to contribute to the war effort, and emphasized female motherhood and in this role (Benhabib, 1987; Welsh, 1990) women in Lotta Svärd were

neutral elements in the war. They actively supported the fighting, and never mentioned any aspirations.

The mother, as represented at home but also at the front where she was

understood to be a mother for all the soldiers. She was physically and mentally very strong and

even capable of changing the front into a home. This mother was solely controlled by the patri

fought at the front willingly and heroically alongside the men.

In sum, Mother in Lotta Svärd was pictured as a self-denying.

Mothers were legitimated and glorified as they were working for the war and rather

abandoned their families than the fight for the fatherland. They were first of all mothers of soldiers

care for them, as well as to contribute in every way to the war effort.

### *Soldier*

In the Lotta Svärd organization, the women's duty

Lotta Svärd organization were described as deriving their

well as the Bible. New members took their oath in a ceremony usually held in a church, where they pledged

serve for the sake of home, creed and fatherland, and fulfil their obligation of national defence. In

the war was understood to be a holy fight for religion and fatherland. The women in Lotta

soldiers, but at the front they had the same experiences as the soldiers, and they were presented

She died while on observation service on a favourable

Like a soldier you are defending your own... ( 1 : 1 5 )

Mimicking soldiers happened in many ways. The most visible way was the grey Lotta uniform, which

to the Finnish military uniform and this presented the women like a female army.

The Lotta uniform unites all of the Lottas to a great equal

The greatest value common to the Lottas and soldiers was the freedom and independence of the country but also for Finland legitimated the representation of the Lotta as a soldier. This was not only for the issue of independence of the country but also for Finland

The big aim for us, the freedom of our fatherland, joined us together (1:24)

The group of the Lottas in grey uniforms has known that question of ideology (1:57)

A Lotta was presented as being highly respected when she looked like a soldier:

You really were like a soldier (1:27)

In the Lotta Svärd magazine as we presented like soldiers in many cases. In fact, the Lotta Svärd organization was all the other women. In other words, the organization was like a strictly women bounded by rules and order. The magazine, however, presented them as real soldiers and that way increased their value.

However, as the war continued, secret letters between the Central Board and the headquarters of the Lottas revealed that the Lottas were worn out on the front. Some of them even planned to escape, like the following letter:

As soon as possible I will escape. Our circumstances are terrible (A letter from the front 7.12.1942).

Lottas felt sick, epidemics were normal and the work was hard:

A half of our group is sick. Terrible diphtheria is raging (A letter from the front, 12.2.1944.)

In sum, women were imagined to be equivalent with men when they wore the uniform in service at the front. In Lotta Svärd female soldiers were highly respected for their taking part in the ideological fight for freedom together with the Finnish Air Force. In the gender was distanced by their military appearance.

### Body

As the *etch h Journal* portrayed her, Lotta was sporty and athletic, a woman who enjoyed skiing and had an international outlook and was interested in culture (Ahola, 1929; Krohn, 1929) as also romantic and beautiful and loving (Baasayell 1929) whether serving on the front or at home, the women

were expected to behave blamelessly at all times and follow the rules of the organization to regulations concerning the women's behaviour, recognized by their military uniform: a modest The outfit included a summertime and a fur hat in winter, white or grey gloves and simple, flat Girl Lottas wore the same grey uniform as the Lottas.

There were many problems with the use of the military dress, however, and the magazine did instructions concerning the outfit and behaviour:

It is not appropriate to wear baubles with a Lotta uniform (1:8).

It is necessary to cover the legs modestly when wearing the Lotta dress (1:54)

When a Lotta wears a dress that is too short aroundly is to control make it longer In this way Lotta Svärd directed women to avoid traditional womanhood and speed, Lottas were expected to behave like a kind and obedient girl:

Her bright and dear appearance (1:33)

She was calm and low and she won the love of her Lotta s

A happy and cheery Lotta (1:33)

She was dutiful always dedicated (1:67)

She was quiet and modest. (1:3)

However, the letters from the women on the front uncovered that the private behaviour of the w always appropriate for a Lotta:

When we arrived, everybody was awake, and the room was black from cigarette smoke. Some of drunk and everybody cussed like lumbermen (A letter from the front, 17.6.1943).

The commands here can often come from drunk officers who are lacking female company. Here who go with them drinking and celebrating (A letter from the front, 2.12.194

We have been dancing lately. And we had a very l then we moved to the canteen. We were drunk; we were dancing and singing (A letter from the

These kinds of letters were permitted, and the censorship stopped that individual members were expelled for reasons of inappropriate conduct, alcohol, venere dishonesty. Expulsions were frequently discussed by the Central Board the last years of the war,

and several disciplinary decisions were made. Young girls under 20 years would not be assigned to the front. Women who gave birth to a child out of wedlock would be expelled from the front. A special disciplinary action was set up in 1944. In conflicting situations between individual Lottas and the Central Board opted to be loyal to the army, not to the Lottas, who may have needed support from the front. For example, when a woman was misbehaving on the front, she was punished, and she was not allowed to return home while this never happened to the men. So, instead of being punished, she was supported the army, and the moral and practical duty of women was to serve the men at home, at work and on the front (Kobontz, 1988)

In sum, the desired characteristics of the women that were expected to be brave and faithful. The idealized image of the Lotta was limited: they should be athletic and energetic, that is masculine, but needed to make their feminine bodily features as invisible as possible. The idealized image concerning the conduct of the Lottas had a special status in the army. However, the organization from the front discover that the real behaviour was different.

### *Holy Sacrifice*

According to information received from Lottamuseo (The Lotta Museum), the total number of Lottas was 90,000. There were casualties in September 1944, when the Soviet-Finnish war ended, 287 Lottas had died in service: 113 of them at the front, 140 of disease and 34 from accidents. Mourning was seen even in those moments when a Lotta was killed while in service at the front. The Lotta Svärd Lottas were glorified with the best attributes, and were presented as heroines:

Don't be sorry for me, my beloved parents. I gave you a flower that has gone (1:103)

Death was a present and possible fate for the Lottas serving at the front, and there are many stories in the Lotta Svärd magazine, which presented death as a fate that was the best of the Lottas, and no bad attributes were connected to those who lost their lives in the war.

Her heroic death (1:19).

Look at the Finnish woman, she stands on guard until death (1:50)

The most happiness is to give the most satisfaction (1:79)

There is among the departed a Lotta who stayed on guard until her death (1:87)

Through death a Lotta could become a real heroine  
place in heaven:

... you are hidden in the grove of a hero's home next to the crushed chest (1:122)

... you have an angel's place... you are a heroine (1:122)

Her death was a holy sacrifice, needed to protect the nation and save it from a future under the Soviet Union. The women that died at When a Lotta on't v died, considerable effort was made to raise her to the status of heroine, and therefore, to an equivalent with the men who died in war.

The relationship between the holy and the war was Women's in new war was seen as a holy service and sacrifice. They were presented as angels dying at the front was seen as a holy call for a young body. To be a Martyr for the fatherland was to reach heroine status presented as a holy service and a sacrifice to the fatherland and to God.

You feel a stirring holy joy when walking to you

You are an angel behind the river of death. You are a heroine! (1:32)

It is notable that only the war could offer such a situation where sacrifice and becoming an angel was possible. The war was a holy battle by which everybody who died in the war was not totally dead, but had a new place in heaven.

You are not sleeping in your graves; you are not captives of dust (1:6)

In sum, again, Holy Sacrifice meant not only a simple death in the war, but the Lottas who died on earth to another reality. Women in Lotta Svärd were the representation of Holy Sacrifice.

## 5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this paper we aimed to find out how the Lotta Svärd magazine represented the war during the Second World War. We found four representations: Mother, Soldier, Body, and Holy Sacrifice. A summary of the representations is presented in Table 2 with the four representations, attributes linked to each representation, how they were legitimated in each representation as well as how Lottas were expected to behave.

TABLE 2-SUMMARY OF REPRESENTATIONS OF THE WAR

Study questions	What were the attributes linked to the heroine?	How was the representation legitimized?	How were Lottas expected to behave?
Mother	Gentle, prayerful, strong, hardworking, smiling, self-sacrificing	Women's duty brought motherly care home to the front.	Mother cared for soldiers contributed so to the war effort.
Soldier	Equivalent, grey, uniform service, fight for fatherland, ideological	Being a soldier was greatest honour that Lottas equivalent with fatherland.	Soldier fought for the freedom and independence of fatherland.
Body	Modest, calm, endearing, happy, dutiful, quiet, kind	The feminine body sexuality needed to be invisible, so clothing and behaviour rigorous.	Lotta's behaviour had to be blameless and modest.
Holy Sacrifice	Summer flower, happiness, sacrifice, heroine, holy joy, martyr	The Death was presented as a greatest happiness a woman could have.	Lottas had to die in the war to give them a holy position as an angel.

Even though the representations detected in this study have similarities with previous research on women's role and image representations as they emerged in Lotta's life and those presented in earlier literature. The first representation, which was not dominated by the Mother, was not represented only as an archetype but brought out in previous studies (Benhabib, 1987; Welsh, 1992). Another in Lotta Svärd was also strong in the war like a man. Mother supported the war effort, and willingly sacrificed her life and the life of her children to the fatherland. This is a difference from those presented by Elshtain, Slattery and Garner and De Volder (Elshtain, 1987; Volz, 2004) who saw the image of wartime motherhood as a different role.

Furthermore, there was no contradiction between the role of Mother and the Soldier in Lotta Svärd. The role of the Soldier was mentioned and respected, even more than the Mother, and women did their best to look like soldiers. Their appearance and their body and behaviour were restricted by discipline. They could not show their emotions, tears or sensitivity, and they were never encouraged to use their feminine means in the war, like the Israeli Army, for example (Holler, 2011). In fact, femininity in Lotta Svärd's aesthetics and promiscuity were forbidden.

The representation of the Body includes not only the physical body but also behaviour and character. The physical body had to be masculine and controlled under discipline, and at the same time, the women had to show humble and submissive characteristics. Discipline created a whole new form of individuality for their physical bodies, which enabled them to perform their duty within the military organization. Their bodies were not their own any more but they were owned by the organization and used for the greater good. If they did not obey, they were punished.

The fourth represent a sacrifice. A dead Lotta was seen as equivalent to a dead soldier, as in Britain in the First World War (Watson, 1997). In fact, the equivalence was only the hope of the women of Lotta Svärd, and the army rarely equipped them otherwise to participate in the fighting.

The idea of the heroine represented by the Lotta Svärd as a wife and a mother. These women in Lotta Svärd lived over their own lives and the lives of their loved ones to their nation. This was in direct contrast to the prevalent role of women in Finnish society which was to act for their public masculine appearance was necessary to be believed in an authoritative position. Instead of adopting the role of victims often seen as a woman's - the women in Lotta Svärd took a more masculine role to be victimized because of their becoming a Lotta, a woman acquired the opportunity to obtain presence in society that extends to today, and which actually transformed the history of gender.

The Lotta Svärd organization only for women, where a feminist ontology is achievable to create the knowledge of this kind of reality. Therefore, gender does matter in war also today. Being conscious of the gender aspect makes it possible to analyze history and the world. The link to today is in the ontology of womanhood. Gender differentiation continues to persist in the gendered society of the 1940s shared similar wartime had to dress men's uniforms, women still suppress themselves in circumstances where men hold most of the power.

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