Social Politics 2022 Volume 29 Number 2

Willing, Caring and Capable: Gendered Ideals of Vernacular Preparedness in Finland

Linda Hart *

This article analyzes women's own emergency preparedness courses within voluntary defense training Finland as a site of "vernacular security". The article introduces a subcategory of vernacular security, "vernacular preparedness" to illustrate what woman citizens familiar with voluntary defense training make of security and defense policies where they are seen as key actors in producing grass-roots security, both as private citizens and when serving state institutions. The interviewees, both participants and course leaders, situate themselves within a gendered division of security labor characterized by male conscription. This produces a civic ideal of a psychologically resilient, altruistically caring, and physically capable civilian whose preparedness covers concerns ranging from emergencies and disasters to potential wartime efforts.

Introduction

This article takes stock of an ethnographic field of women's own NGO-organized and state-supported emergency preparedness training within voluntary defense activities in Finland. In a state relying on mandatory military service for male citizens, what kinds of contributions are expected from the mostly female civilian population in large-scale emergencies or war? The interviewees in this study articulate several functions in which civilians may participate after attending voluntary defense training: evacuation, logistics, clerical work, catering, and provisioning. In addition to this, basic household preparedness in the era of reliance on electricity and information technology, especially in urban environments, is expected from all nondependent adults. The contribution of this analysis is that these articulations of preparedness by lay people produce a civic ideal of a psychologically resilient, altruistically

Department of Leadership and Military Pedagogy, National Defence University, Helsinki, Finland
*linda.hart@alumni.helsinki.fi

socpol: Social Politics, Summer 2022 pp. 405–427
doi:10.1093/sp/jxab012

Advance Access publication May 9, 2021

caring, and physically capable subject within a gendered division of labor in disasters and emergencies.

The anthropological notion of "vernacular security" (Bubandt 2005) acts a key concept for studying the ethnographic context of defense-oriented civil society in Finland. A subcategory of vernacular security, *vernacular preparedness*, emerges from the utterances of the interviewees. Conscious of their tangible circumstances and the hierarchies of gender, age, and physical fitness in the social division of labor in Finnish society in matters relating to security, the women interviewed carve themselves space as both individual citizens and as a distinct social group. When contemplating their place in this division of labor, they need to adopt a key trait of contemporary Finnish security policy, a comprehensive understanding of national defense, encompassing not merely the threat of war but also a range of emergencies, such as natural disasters, blackouts, and pandemics.

Finland is an anomaly among European states with military nonalignment (lack of North Atlantic Treaty Organization membership), criminally sanctioned male conscription, over 20,000 young Finns (most of them men) completing military service annually, and widespread public support for existing defense policies and military spending as well as a state-supported field of voluntary defense training (Advisory Board for Defence Information 2020). Women's emergency preparedness courses, accommodating hundreds of women every year, reside in the margins of voluntary defense in Finland, as this sector is dominated by a majority of mostly male reservists eager to maintain their military skills and social networks. In addition to courses for reservists and many mixed-gender courses for civilians, the National Defense Training Association (NDTA), an association with legally defined public duties, has special policies for targeting women and young people with courses designed for them. Women-only courses offer possibilities to learn and practice various "everywoman's skills" ranging from household preparedness to quotidian cybersecurity.

To an ethnographer's eye, this sector of emergency preparedness courses organized by women's organizations for women under a larger umbrella of voluntary defense training (NDTA) offers a possibility to discover what the state expects from able-bodied civilian women of working age in crises and emergencies. In the Finnish context of male conscription and voluntary military service for young women, it also provides a view into the "social division of security labor" (Tallberg 2017) between citizens in Finnish society structured by legal sex, age, and physical and mental fitness. Defined by these intersecting categories, what forms of participation are open to women in Finland within defense-oriented civil society and what kinds of civic ideals does this field of activity reflect?

This study was initially motivated by interest in the form and content of women's emergency preparedness training in Finland organized by the

Women's National Emergency Preparedness Association (WNEPA),[1] providing the field of empirical study. This research illuminated what kind of lay, civilian, or "vernacular" conceptions of security and preparedness are formed by the participants, as the field is very much underpinned by state policies aiming to enhance citizens' practical skills for emergencies, collective resilience and to promote the "willingness to defend Finland" (*maanpuolustustahto*, see Act on Defence Forces 2007; Act on Voluntary Defence Training 2007; Ministry of Defence 2006). According to the Constitution of Finland (1999) (§ 127), all citizens, both men and women, are bound by a duty to participate in national defense. As, according to law, only male citizens are subject to conscription, the role of female citizens is in many ways unclear, subject to a limited number of studies,[2] ongoing political debate, and incremental social change over the years.

WNEPA courses also provide an interesting laboratory for exploring what the category of "woman" stands for in the field of security-related civic activities in Finland. To attend a WNEPA course, one needs to be a Finnish citizen and to ascribe to the social and legal category of woman to be eligible to participate. This leads to a diverse collective body of female participants of different ages and regional origins. The courses have been popular for many years: they fill up quickly, and quotas are in place for 50 percent newcomers and 50 percent refreshers. The participants constitute a community, but the population is also in constant flux. In the field, the category of "woman" was a relatively straightforward and naturalized categorization in a corporeally dimorphic and socially binary context and not verbally problematized by the participants.

In turn, the contexts of the thematic courses produced expressions of collective womanhood or "societal motherhood" in the spirit of Ellen Key, a Swedish early twentieth-century feminist writer (see Qvarnström 2018) in Finnish society. The female participants spoke of themselves as carers of children and the elderly and as volunteers in civil society organizations offering food, shelter, and psychological support in disasters and emergencies. Especially in the latter form of engagement, their practice and ethos of caring extended not just to their own relatives but to anyone in need. This way, they were inhabiting different functions of security labor that did not require extreme levels physical strength or the use of physical violence.

This article is structured as follows. First, the ethnographic field, data, and methods are described. Second, "vernacular security" (Bubandt 2005) is used as a lens to examine lay views on national defense and a gendered division of security labor in the context of Finland. Third, the historical, political, and legal context of voluntary defense training in Finland is introduced briefly. The next sections analyze the views on security and preparedness of participants in four WNEPA weekend courses and interviews with twenty-two participants and course leaders. The first one focuses on the ethnographic context of the courses and understandings of national defense while the second focuses on

the civic ideals emerging from the courses and interviews: a resilient, caring, and capable citizen.

Ethnographic Field, Methods, and Data Collection

State-supported and NGO-organized voluntary defense activities draw together thousands of Finns every year to learn, practice, and teach military and civic skills. However, the field has not been subject to much empirical data collection or sociological analysis. In this study, small-scale ethnographic observation was carried out by the author in women's emergency preparedness courses organized by the WNEPA and the NDTA in 2018–2019 during four weekends. The weekends are called "exercises", echoing the term used for reservists' military exercises. Twice a year there is a large-scale weekend exercise for 300–400 participants in a garrison area, offering about ten different courses. In addition, there are small-scale exercises, offering about three to four courses at a time. The author carried out participant observation in three large-scale exercises and one small-scale one, observing ten different courses in total. The four exercises took place in garrisons or similar sites in southern, western, and northern Finland in spring, autumn, and wintertime.

In recent studies in Finnish military sociology, "willingness to defend" has been conceptualized with the help of a notion of "citizens relating to national defense", broken down into the dimensions of attitudes, confidence, skills, and agency (Kosonen, Puustinen, and Tallberg 2019a, 2019b). Public support for defending Finland, a long-running question in annual opinion surveys on defense and security policy, can be linked to attitudes towards and confidence in national defense, whereas a personal willingness to participate in national defense, another often posed survey question, is linked to skills and agency (Advisory Board for Defence Information 2020). In this study, the four dimensions mentioned above have been employed as a heuristic device for structuring the interviews and mapping dimensions of how women in NGO-organized emergency preparedness training relate to security, preparedness, and national defense.

The twenty-two interviewees were aged between twenty and seventy, with the majority between fifty and sixty. Most were from urban, population-dense areas in southern or western Finland, but some lived in rural areas and/or northern and eastern Finland. Most interviewees were employed in female-concentrated sectors of employment such as health care, social care, and education. Some were or had been in managerial positions, which made them knowledgeable of organizational preparedness planning and articulate in these matters. Interviewees appear with pseudonyms in this article. The interview data consists of semi-structured group, pair, and individual interviews with women who have participated in, or had organized, WNEPA courses. Access to the interviewees followed from access to the field. First, I contacted the

WNEPA as an organization and obtained permission to do fieldwork. The interviewees were then recruited through course letters sent to participants of the exercises observed, face-to-face in the courses, through participants' networks and with calls for interviews on WNEPA social media accounts. Seventeen interview sessions were held in different locations in Finland, usually in group work rooms of municipal or university libraries. All interviewees provided written consent for recording and transcribing the interviews as well as for archiving anonymized interview data in the Finnish Social Science Data Archive.

Research questions investigated in the field and the interviews were: What kind of training and content is offered in emergency preparedness courses aimed specifically at women in Finland? What kinds of skills are practiced? What motivates non-reservist women to take part in voluntary defense training? How do interviewees describe their attitudes, confidence, agency, and skills regarding national defense? As WNEPA courses were organized in garrison areas and with services from the Finnish Defense Forces (FDF), participants were predisposed towards benign views of the armed forces. What this study investigates and analyzes is not lay views in their full variation, but a sub-category of vernacular security: *vernacular preparedness* as reflected upon by citizens participating in voluntary defense training. The interview data was subject to conceptually and theoretically oriented, descriptive content analysis (Ritchie and Spencer 2002; see also Jarvis and Lister 2013) with the aim of identifying vernacular articulations of preparedness within a wider framework of vernacular security. The process of analysis was conceptually inspired also by perspectives of "policy anthropology" (Shore 2012), combining document analysis with ethnographic data collection to analyze how state policies play out in empirical fields of investigation.

From Vernacular Security to Vernacular Preparedness within a Gendered Division of Labor

Vernacular security is a concept introduced by Nils Bubandt (2005), an anthropologist of Indonesian security politics who analyzed geographical and temporal variation in meanings given to "security" on different levels ranging from the global to the local. Since the mid-2000s, vernacular security has developed into a small field of academic inquiry of its own, situated mostly in (critical) security studies and international relations (e.g., Jarvis 2019). It is characterized by an interest in non-elitist conceptions of security as a local, contextualized, and contested phenomenon. For Bubandt, security is "socially situated and discursively defined" (2005, 275) instead of being solely an analytical category that should be exhaustively defined and consistently used. The concept of security is thus "neither unchanging nor semantically homogenous" (2005, 276). According to Bubandt: "Complex processes of

accommodation, rejection and reformulation take place in the interstices between global, national and local representations of the problem of security. These processes, in turn, are related to the political history of the local ontological ways in which danger, risk and (in)security are defined" (2005, 276).

Bubandt anchors his analysis in a broader field of applying the metaphor of "vernacular" in anthropological studies of modernity and globalization (e.g., Appadurai 1996). "Vernacularization" is an apt way of describing the process of localizing any complex, elite phenomenon anchored in multilevel governance through language that needs to be translated both linguistically and figuratively when applied to local contexts. In an example from social anthropology and the localization of global human rights norms, Sally Engle Merry provides some clarification to the idea of vernacularization:

> As ideas from transnational sources travel to small communities, they are typically vernacularized, or adapted to local institutions and meanings. The concept of "vernacularization" was developed to explain the 19th-century process by which national languages in Europe separated, moving away from the medieval transnational use of Latin and creating a new and more differentiated sense of nationhood in Europe. . . (2006, 39).

Vernacular security has given rise to a variety of empirical studies on lay views on security and theorizing on what might even add up to a "vernacular turn" (Jarvis 2019) in security studies. Vernacular security has been applied to analyze lay opinion on security and security policies as, for example, Jarvis and Lister (2013) and Vaughan-Williams and Stevens (2016) have done in the context of anti-terrorism policies in the United Kingdom.

In the ethnographic context of women's emergency preparedness training in Finland, the target group reached in this study had already been acquainted with, or were active participants in, the defense-oriented voluntary sector. According to a Finnish governmental and administrative model of "comprehensive security" (*kokonaisturvallisuus*, see Virta and Branders 2016), governmental sectors, business and industries, NGOs, and citizens are expected to act together in preparing for and tackling different threats ranging from nonmilitary concerns such as environmental hazards and pandemics to military conflict. To a certain extent, comprehensive defense and comprehensive security overlap. However, they are both bureaucratic concepts associated with expert security discourse. The larger field of voluntary defense training and the narrower field of women's emergency preparedness training organized by WNEPA offer contexts for investigating how lay citizens relate to the political ideas and policies providing the training they attend.

The subjects of this study, mainly middle-aged civilian women, represent the embodied antitheses of newly trained reservists, who are mostly conscripted young men. The views of these women on the "willingness to defend"

and other articulations of vernacular preparedness situate them in a gendered and hierarchical division of crisis-time labor in society. Legal sex and age act as the key aspects of a "social division of security labor" (Tallberg 2017) between citizens in Finnish society, relating to a wider gendered and relational "total social organization of labor" (Glucksmann 1995, 2000, 2005). The total social organization of labor does not refer to a prescriptive division of labor orchestrated or prescribed from above, but rather a set of principles or a grammar of social relations feeding into how different forms of duties, obligations, and forms of work are distributed in society and to whom. In a larger frame, it is part of the Finnish "gender regime" (see Walby 2020) shaping women's place in relation to the state.

The gendered division of security labor might be in flux for younger women able to enter voluntary military service from which their mothers were legally barred. However, it also lays down different pathways depending on, for example, childbirth and micro-level care responsibilities for the young and the elderly. The total social organization of labor is examined here as a relational web, interconnecting different areas and modes of paid and unpaid work (Glucksmann 2005). The approach here is also underpinned by a critical realist philosophy of distinguishing sex and gender. According to Caroline New: ". . . sexual difference is an inescapable part of human embodiment, and thus of our agency . . . it is . . . among the background causal conditions for every form of the sexual division of labour, whether egalitarian or oppressive, segregated or gender-flexible" (2020, 96). What gender is, or appears to be, in the context of preparedness-focused civic activities, may be investigated through ethnographic observation. Individuals marked with their sex, age, and capabilities inhabit different positions in this division of labor, trying to include themselves the positions and hierarchies it offers.

A division of security labor may also be formed also in opposition to a state apparatus, as in ethnographic accounts of the Maidan demonstrations in Ukraine in 2013–2014. The demonstrations began rather peacefully relying on similar contributions from both women and men. However, when the events descended into violence, men tended to take up fighting and violent action while women tended to pick up support functions such as supplying food and caring for the injured. Self-sacrifice and the risk of death were perceived as male domains, and there was aversion from the men to let women into the most dangerous situations. At the same time, motivation to fight led to different forms of action and splinter groups, such as women forming their own groups that took part in the fighting (Onuch and Martsenyuk 2014; Phillips 2014). Modes of willingness, moral, and ethical orientations, and physical capabilities intertwine to produce gendered fighters and their supporters.

Although women can complete voluntary military service and access military careers, the number of reservists among Finnish women remains low.[3] Thus, female citizens constitute most of the civilian adult population in Finland. On a structural and group level, women are in many ways the

epitome of a civilian, or "civilians are a proxy for women", as Sjoberg and Peet (2011, 180) posit (see also Sjoberg 2006; cf. Carpenter 2005). Civilian populations include men as well, but according to Sjoberg and Peet, women as a category represent the reproductive function of a nation in the ultimate event of war. Women-specific courses in voluntary defense training provide fora where the civilian position of potential victimhood and helplessness may be partly overcome through practical and hands-on preparedness training. Emancipation is sought through state-friendliness, not rebellion.

Voluntary Defense Training and the Willingness to Defend As Objects of Social Inquiry

In Finland, the "willingness to defend", a quasi-commonsensical but also highly opaque and politically contested noun (*maanpuolustustahto*) and a supposed indicator of national cohesion, has been enshrined in legislation on the armed forces[4] and voluntary defense training.[5] As described by Anu Sallinen (2007, 157–58), a high degree of consensus within the electorate on the necessity to defend Finland is considered a crucial component of "credible defense capability" (see also Cronberg 2006; Simonen 2019). The "willingness to defend Finland" as a policy objective is promoted by the state, partly by supporting and overseeing voluntary defense training.

The NDTA began as an NGO in the early 1990s after the fall of the Soviet Union. It acquired the status of an association with public duties after a legislative process defining its tasks, duties, and relation to the state in the 2000s.[6] Patriotic, nationalist, and right-wing voluntary defense organizations such as the paramilitary Civil Guard (also known as the "White Guard"), its women's organization Lotta Svärd, and affiliated youth organizations existed in Finland between the First and Second World Wars. These organizations provided possibilities of participation to men, women, boys, and girls (Nevala-Nurmi 2006), but were disbanded after the Second World War due to the demands of the Soviet Union (see Kansikas 2019). These organizations provide historical precedents as well as a politically controversial backdrop for voluntary defense training in Finland, which currently represents itself as a pragmatic, apolitical arena for fostering the "willingness to defend", social cohesion, and societal resilience in Finnish society.

When the NDTA acquired its status as an association with public duties, voluntary defense training was institutionalized to encompass a wide variety of civic training for different types of emergencies and disasters. During this process, critics coming mainly from the political left voiced their concerns of the incorporation of civilian and non-military concerns such as preparedness for emergencies and disasters (e.g., severe blackouts, storms, and epidemics) within voluntary defense training. In addition, promotion of the "willingness to defend", as it is spelled out in Finnish legislation,[7] has been criticized by the

same actors for being too biased in a politically pluralist and democratic state (Hietala 2018, 60–61; Rummakko 2006). It is this comprehensive view of national defense" incorporating a variety of threats and how it is implemented in NGO-organized defense training as "preparedness" that is interesting from an ethnographic point of view.

In addition to being a noun referring generically to different forms of readiness regarding emergencies and disasters, "preparedness" stands out in its dictionary definition referring particularly to "a state of adequate preparation in case of war" (Merriam-Webster n.d.).

Samimian-Darash and Rotem, when describing the Israeli context of ongoing warfare, have noted that "[c]ivilian preparedness, which has evolved over the years, is no longer predominantly driven by historical precedent . . . and has instead become a form of future-oriented emergency practice" (2019, 911). The same can be said for the Finnish context studied. As the legacy of the Second World War is fading, the risk horizons in the twenty-first century consist of dependence on technology, blackouts, rapid and hybrid warfare—as well as pandemics.

Voluntary defense training encompasses a wide variety of activities and thus lowers the threshold for groups ineligible for military service such as women over thirty to participate in defense-related civic activities. According to left-wing and pacifist critiques, this runs the risk of militarizing civic activities related to security. Indeed, in the 2007 Act on voluntary defense training, one of the goals was to make it possible for motivated non-reservists (often women) to commit themselves to wartime tasks in support functions such as provisioning or catering for the FDF (Ministry of Defence 2006).

A comprehensive notion of defense and security in the Nordic context (Wither 2020) provides both a forum for agency and a source of ambivalence about citizens' involvement in a society-wide division of security labor. Within the WNEPA, promoting the "willingness to defend" ties in with memory politics: commemorating war remembrance anniversaries, participating in military parades, and organizing preparedness courses in military settings. WNEPA courses provide opportunities to learn "everyday security skills" such as first aid and household preparedness, contributing to a more resilient society to the benefit of the state. In this imagery, resilient citizens, ideal subjects of a neoliberal state (Brunner and Plotkin Amrami 2019), make up households and communities that are prepared for different kinds of contingencies such as storms, blackouts, epidemics, and the seldom uttered but ever-present possibility of war.

As a civic quality in security discourse, resilience is intertwined with a willingness to stay strong in the face of adversity. "Willingness to fight" for one's country as an object of academic inquiry has been investigated mainly in studies of public opinion and political psychology. Considerable work has been done with the help of the World Values Survey (WVS)[8] through several waves of data collection. Based on WVS data, Inglehart, Puranen, and Welzel (2015,

420) propose that high rates of willingness to fight against a foreign aggressor within Nordic populations may be connected to a strong contrast between value-liberal and choice-directed lifestyles in Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden and a more authoritarian and tradition-oriented political culture in the neighboring Russian Federation.

Fields of often state-friendly civil society similar to Finnish-style voluntary defense training exist in many national contexts such as the Nordic and Baltic countries with pro-social models of engagement and Central and Eastern Europe with more paramilitary framing and possible anti-state sentiment (Kandrik 2020). However, these have not been widely studied empirically by social scientists. A recent exception to this is provided by Weronika Grzebalska (2020) on "paramilitary civil society" in Poland, arguing that citizens turn to this field of civic activity in to bolster their skills in a "post-security state". Grzebalska's Polish example and the Finnish example provide contrasting and complementary views into patriotism, civic engagement, and grassroots civic militarism (see Mann 1996). In Finland, male conscription familiarizes and draws reservists and people close to them into the field. In contrast, in Poland, due to the existence of professional army, the lack of familiarity with military training motivates participants to come and learn skills ranging from everyday security skills to handling weapons. What is common to these to national contexts is that civilians are drawn to voluntary defence activities to become citizens who would be better equipped in emergencies and to promote a sense of community with the common goal of defending the homeland.

Women's Emergency Preparedness Training as Part of "Comprehensive National Defense" in Finland

The courses observed in WNEPA exercises covered a wide range of topics and practical skills related to personal security and disruptions to everyday life such as electrical blackouts, large-scale disasters, and crisis situations. Examples of weekend courses include "Everyday security", "In the eye of the storm", "Coping without electricity", "How to act during a violent attack", and "Coping in the wilderness", covering basic information and hands-on exercises in first aid, household preparedness, techniques for physical self-defense, and leadership in crisis situations. Course themes might be tailored to respond to recent events, such as the influx of asylum seekers including unaccompanied minors in autumn 2015, which led to a course on how to support children in emergencies. Some courses had a more direct link to the armed forces, such as "International Crisis Management", "Medical Care in the Battlefield" and obtaining a permit to drive vehicles of the FDF for voluntary defense training purposes. As many participants were constrained by childcare and caring for the elderly in their daily lives and/or employment, they were

offered insight and skills for being more aware and equipped for disruptions to everyday life. In addition to building civic skills tied to household preparedness, the courses illustrated and concretized what kinds of functions non-reservist women could occupy in wartime.

Participants needed to arrive on time on the first day especially if an exercise was organized in a garrison area, where civilians cannot come and go as they please. They were given army clothing for the weekend including a camouflage-patterned suit, a couple of T-shirts, and a set of bedsheets or possible camping gear. The experience includes sleeping in the communal barracks where conscripts usually are accommodated, eating in the garrison canteen, and standing in line in the opening and closing ceremonies with speeches from a representative of the garrison, a WNEPA representative, and other speakers. The ceremonies include the national anthem and hoisting the Finnish flag.

The courses and activities are defined as "non-military" by the WNEPA, meaning that the training offered does not include soldiers' skills such as handling weapons. Most courses offered are not directly related to preparing for a war-like crisis either, but to "everyday security" much in line with a comprehensive view of national defense. However, the infrastructure and the material culture of the courses are of a visibly militarized character: courses are organized in garrison areas, course participants wear clothing and gear on loan from the FDF, and course teams march as a group when moving from one building to another. Participants were also supposed to wear their army clothing in an appropriate manner with zips and buttons closed and to march neatly in unison. Especially marching in unison tended to create exhilaration and enchant the course groups—sometimes leading them to chant a popular tune.

According to an experienced informant, attention to form, clothing, and movement had increased over the years, being more strictly applied to "pay respect" to the hosting organization, the FDF. Interviewees in a group interview verbalized it thus:

> Maria: In short, [WNEPA training] does not consist of military activities . . .
>
> Helena: Yes, it's made up of activities connected to national defence, but it is not military through and through. It needs to be well organized, though . . .
>
> Johanna: Well yeah, one goes there to learn civic skills, ones that are important. It's just that learning civic skills takes place in those surroundings.
>
> (Interviewees 1–3, 50–70 years, western Finland)

For the participants, the militarized visuals were contextualized and explained to tie in with the narrative of practicality and the core content of the courses, "everyday security". A key rationale given by informants for women-only courses within voluntary defense training was that the threshold to participate was lower for women this way. Many women want to attend courses designed for female participants only, so the courses cater to popular demand.

WNEPA courses form a woman-coded community and subculture within the larger field of voluntary defense training in Finland. The networks created between participants materialized in the events, where it is possible to meet one's "WNEPA mates". As a course weekend begins, the community comes together. According to the interviewees, the weekend courses were about a weekend full of women's energy disrupting the usual order of heavily a male-coded, male-concentrated, and male-dominated garrison space.

> Anneli: It's fabulous, it's just an incredible amount of energy, in women I mean. One could almost cry, it's so incredible . . .
>
> Laura: I don't know how it appears to outsiders. For example, if there are some conscripts who stay at the garrison over the weekend—I wonder what they think of all that female energy coming through from the doors and the windows! (Interviewees 4–5, 40–50 years, southern Finland)

Several interviewees stressed that the metamorphosis from heterogeneous individuals to a visibly homogeneous community achieved by wearing basic camouflage clothing worn normally by conscripts was essential to achieving a common spirit. Everyone's personal and everyday appearance with signs of wealth, style, and social class was replaced by the weekend uniform. Uniformity in appearance and conduct was explained and motivated by the course leaders with the need to play by the rules of the hosting organization, the FDF. According to them, army gear is practical for hands-on exercises and avoiding getting participants' own clothes dirty or torn. At the same time, being part of a larger group in camouflage clothing gave group activities an undeniable visual appearance of militarism. These were replicated in the visual communications on social media and in local and national media during an exercise weekend.

Even though the external appearance of the courses was army clothing, garrison food, marching in unison, and being addressed as "friends of national defense" by hosts from the FDF, several of the interviewees did not connect the courses with the underlying aims of state-supported voluntary defense training such as fostering "the willingness to defend Finland". Among the more than twenty interviewees there was a general ambivalence on how strongly they connected the courses and the activities to national defense. Three somewhat overlapping categories of participants emerged: avowedly

patriotic, family-drawn, and recreational. The more explicitly patriotic interviewees regarded their participation in defense-oriented voluntary work as paying respect to sacrifices of the generation involved in the Second World War. Some expressed a family affinity to national defense through a current or former male partner who was an active reservist or professional officer, or due to their childhood home holding defense-related matters in high esteem. Several interlocutors attended WNEPA courses rather as a hobby that provided contrast to their day jobs. To some, the military setting was a practicality that added a somewhat exotic twist to a course in first aid, camping, and survival or some other set or context of practical skills.

None of the interviewees were reservists. Quite a few women over fifty would have liked to complete military service, but it was not legally possible when they were young enough. Several interviewees had made a written commitment to the NDTA for wartime support tasks, which were listed as catering, provisioning, driving, and clerical work. As Marjatta put it: "For women, maintenance is one, evacuation is another, and there's all sorts of office work. And logistics, driving. Especially women who have not completed military service, they could well carry out these tasks" (Interviewee 7, 60–70 years, western Finland). Outside combat duties for young, fit, and most often male individuals, there were many pockets and locations in the total social organization of war labor for non-reservist volunteers that these women could sign up for.

Participation in voluntary defense training, WNEPA courses being one context, was articulated by a few interviewees as consolidating and validating their place in society: "[WNEPA] courses are not military training; however, many courses and activities build up a collective spirit, one wants to be part of something", said Anna (Interviewee 6, 20–30 years, southern Finland). This involved voluntary labor and activities that were accessible to both adult women and men regardless of age, but often populated by middle-aged or older women: catering work in a soldiers' service club canteen, participating in military parades where WNEPA and other defense-oriented NGOs had their sections, and participating in regional WNEPA activities such as planning and organizing courses.

Due to a history of more than a century of male conscription in Finland, women as a social category are not at the forefront when defense and security policy is played out either as a field of politics, public administration, or civic activity. Indeed, several interviewees articulated a self-professed "lack of expertise" in commenting on defense and security. In everyday parlance, having completed military service is often explicitly given as a badge of honor that offers legitimacy to thoughts on defense policy, and younger women have been able to be included in this group. This is tied to a tradition of male citizen-soldiers as protectors of independence, state, society, and implicitly of women and children (see Jukarainen 2012). Defense-oriented guilds, associations, and voluntary organizations, some of them female-majority or women's

organizations, offered many interviewees a possibility to participate in the wider field of voluntary defense training. Year-round voluntary work in these associations included administration, organizing war remembrance events and visits to defense institutions.

Civilian Women and the Civic Ideal of a Resilient, Caring, and Capable Subject

When interviewed on how they related to national defense under the rubrics of attitudes, confidence, skills, and agency (Kosonen, Puustinen, and Tallberg 2019a, 2019b), the interviewees reflected on an ideal subject of *vernacular preparedness*: psychologically resilient, altruistically caring, and physically capable. First, being psychologically resilient refers to being able to take things in one's stride and to being able to support and console others in times of crisis. It was also underpinned by a taken-for-granted level of patriotism and loyalty to the state, the willingness to stick to the potential fight. Within this strand of thought, one is willing to work hard to cope under uncertainty, either due to lack of alternatives in a geopolitical pocket of existential insecurity or motivated by the collective goal of survival. Second, the subject of vernacular preparedness also involves being altruistically caring towards other people outside one's own immediate family and circle of acquaintances. For example, in a contingency such as a blackout (or perhaps "social distancing" during a pandemic), this could be achieved by checking on one's neighbors to see how they are coping and providing material support. Third, physical capability in preparedness is something that is not tied to young age or a high level of physical fitness as such, but to a set of practical skills and competence acquired during the life course, possibly in the context of NGO-organized emergency preparedness or voluntary defense training.

"Resilience" has in many ways become an expert-level buzzword (for the Nordic context, see for example, Aaltola and Juntunen 2018; Juntunen and Hyvönen 2020) for the collective ability to cope in times of adversity. The interviewees referred to it through different expressions such as "being able to act", "mental strength", and "not falling apart". As Katja put it: "National defense, it's made up of so many things, after all. There are support functions, maintaining the ability to act and so on. In a way, it is connected to national defense, that you don't fall apart if there's a situation, a crisis …" (Interviewee 8, 40–50 years, southern Finland). Existing threats to the stability of Finnish society were understood to be in transformation: cyber security and "hybrid threats" were often cited as contemporary threats to the functioning of Finnish society. For example, Laura wondered: "I'm unsure if we are prepared for something happening, it is not like there will be 'Mainila gunshots' [the beginning of the Second World War in Finland in 1939], you

know, threats will appear through the cables or from the sky" (Interviewee 5, 40–50 years, southern Finland).

Resilience, in its sociopolitical context in world politics in the early twenty-first century, is also connected to an ideal of a competent subject of neoliberal society: "The resilient subject who is self-aware, problem-solving, autonomous, optimistic, physically and mentally fit, as well as rooted in the community, is to present no burden on the state, even in a time of catastrophe" (Brunner and Plotkin Amrami 2019, 230). By being part of a collectivity, but at the same time enhancing psychological strength and practical skills, a resilient citizen may expect a higher possibility of survival in a crisis. For these civilian women, the way to act was to be prepared to take care of their households in emergencies or volunteering for nonspecialist tasks in mainly feminized areas of military-adjacent work such as catering.

The civic ideal of a resilient civilian (woman) was complemented with an ethical dimension of being altruistically caring beyond the confines of one's home. It was self-evident that one was responsible for the members of one's household, such as underage children and possibly other live-in or close relatives, especially if in a vulnerable position due to older age or disability. In the vernacular of the informants, preparedness started from the home, which often entailed children and elderly persons to care for—even if not residing in the same household as the informant. Being caring in the face of possible adversity was first and foremost connected to an awareness of how easily everyday life could be disrupted, for example, during a blackout:

> Ritva: I think that it's everyone's duty to take care of one's own turf and household. Preparedness thinking is one reasons why I'm involved in [a defense-oriented women's organization]. This means basic preparedness for yourself, your family and those close to you. I don't mean just having non-perishable food in the cupboard but being positively prepared for many different kinds of situations. (Interviewee 9, 50–60 years, western Finland)

For Ritva, being resilient, caring, and capable all came from an awareness of how things could go wrong. Implicitly, both the young and the old needed the care, foresight, and preparedness of the civilian woman of working age, able to anticipate the kind of threats that were relevant to urban dwellers.

Another interviewee, Elina, summed up her view as "security, it's in everything". She had experience of preparedness planning from her profession in social and health care. According to her, security could be observed just as well in the room where the interview was held, in natural environments or in the traffic, as part of everything we do. While, according to her, the military aspects of defense belong to professionals, there were tasks civilians could take up. The ethos, according to her, was that one should be able to "take care of oneself and one's closest people, but not extending to the whole village as

such" (Interviewee 10, 60–70 years, eastern Finland). A further interviewee, Tyyne, reflected on experiences of a widely mediatized water-supply disruption (in the town of Nokia in 2007), stressing both the need for personal initiative and an altruistic attitude:

> . . . people just thought that someone would show up at the door with the water. They did not understand that they had to go and get it. One should be aware of things like these—women as well! And they can get water for their elderly and frail neighbors. Help others, a little bit. Of course, you take care of your family first, but others should be helped, too. (Interviewee 11, 60–70, years, southern Finland)

In addition to being resilient and caring, a certain level of capabilities was expected. The ideal subject of vernacular preparedness was not described as possessing a high degree of physical strength, but rather an absence of hindrances or obstacles to act when needed. Being socially capable emerged as a capacity to act together with others, perhaps also in decision-making in organizations and informal situations. Preparedness within national defense was conceptualized as a joint responsibility in a holistic manner, where everyone was able to do something, echoing a slogan of the FDF, reminiscent of the constitutional duty of national defense, where it is "everybody's business":

> Pirkko: So, national defense belongs to everyone, yes there is the national defense duty. But then, men are bound by conscription . . . I myself would like that, for example, people would participate in society. In decision-making, be involved in it . . . You don't have to be a politician . . . you can act, first and foremost, in your own family, village, neighborhood and so on. You could contribute social capital, kind of. (Interviewee 12, 50–60 years, eastern Finland)

The ethos articulated by most interviewees was that almost everyone had the potential to act in emergencies. Security, preparedness, and national defense were all perceived as "belonging to everyone", as there were so many different tasks at different levels of the community where one could be useful. According to Anna, the youngest interviewee, adults who had not completed military service might possess skills that could be useful within a wider division of security labor, in fields such as operative management, information technology, and nursing (Interviewee 6, 20–30 years, southern Finland). Some interviewees had accumulated this kind of social capital and capability in their professions, as some occupied managerial positions where they were involved in or in charge of preparedness at their workplaces. This fed into a slightly different register and vocabulary for discussing preparedness:

> Ritva: . . . preparedness, it is more and more emphasized. I don't see myself as someone who defends, but as someone who maintains the capacity to act. So, in a crisis situation, which does not require an

> external enemy, what is important is that we have practiced, and we are prepared. If another state would attack us, I would not be able to help, it is my task to help in preparing for less serious situations. (Interviewee 9, 50–60 years, western Finland)

Discussion

In Finland, voluntary defense training activities and women's emergency preparedness courses therein offer sites for reflecting on "vernacular security" (Bubandt 2005) in a military-flavored setting with an underlying presumption of state-friendliness: *vernacular preparedness*. This field relies on a consensus on the incorporation of a wide range of civic concerns in emergencies under the umbrella of voluntary defense. Ambivalence on the limits of "comprehensive national defense" makes way for the inclusion of female-typical "everyday security" concerns in this field. As Hedström (2020) notes, women's labor in households and both corporeal and social reproduction make it possible for a state and polity to prepare for war. However, self-assigned as lacking expertise in defense matters because of being women, the interviewees oscillated between narrow and comprehensive conceptions on what kind of activities are included within "national defense". Being materially situated as women, middle-aged or older and civilians, adopting a comprehensive view of national defense was a way of being included in the division of security labor.

The existing "gender regime" (Walby 2020) in Finland, tied to the combination of widespread participation in the labor market and state-supported execution of care duties for women, underpins women's place in this division of tasks. Female-typical forms of work such as care, sustenance, and services, especially outside paid employment in voluntary work and informal care (Glucksmann 2005, see also Taylor 2004), are not highly valued in the total social organization of (security) labor. However, these prestige-wise marginalized forms of work also offer pockets of participation in a heavily male-dominated field of voluntary defense. By reflecting on the ideal of a willing, caring, and capable subject, women in emergency preparedness training situate themselves and legitimize their place in the gendered division of voluntary security labor in Finland.

The emancipation derived from learning practical skills for coping with disasters was combined with the state-friendly modes of operation of the NGOs that the WNEPA is mainly made up of: defense-oriented women's organizations and home economics' NGOs. In addition to state-friendly emancipation, the courses promoted "societal motherhood" (Qvarnström 2018) where willing, caring, and capable civilian women took care of the young, old, and needy beyond their own immediate family and everyday care duties. Simplifying to the point of contention, if men are to protect the state

through the use of force, women are to protect the society through modes of labor they are accustomed to.

Compared to the time before 1995 when women were categorically excluded from combat duties in Finland, the main lines of the division of security labor between women and men in Finnish society are not as clear and prescribed as before. No women in the younger cohorts are barred from military service or a military career merely on the basis of (legal) sex. In Grzebalska's (2020, 180–1) findings, women in the Polish paramilitary context had to fit in male norms to participate in joint activities. Women attending their own preparedness courses in Finnish voluntary defense training benefited from an avenue of participation, avoiding the underlying prerequisites for (male) reservists, namely male-standard physical strength and handling weapons. In Finland, the politically contentious incorporation of "soft" functions into voluntary defense training made it more welcoming for women, especially middle-aged and older.

Grzebalska draws on the work of the historian Andrea Peto in discussing "anti-modernist emancipation" (2010, 192) as a notion capturing women's agency in male-dominated or politically conservative spheres and movements. In Peto's conceptualization, anti-modernist emancipation is also connected to normative motherhood as a trait defining women. In the Finnish context, women's preparedness training cannot really be characterized as "anti-modernist" in the sense of being resistant to social change as such or to widening the breadth of opportunities for women in security labor. In Finnish popular imagination, this field is characterized with reinventing and modernizing the legacy of the Second World War when it comes to women's participation in war efforts. Voluntary catering for soldiers, first aid, and keeping up the "home front" of the early 1940s have been updated to preparedness for blackouts, cyber attacks, and the extremities of urban warfare. By vernacularizing women's participation in preparedness, WNEPA training fostered emancipation hand in hand with "societal motherhood", with an emphasis on working amicably together with the state and male-dominated military and defense organizations.

Conclusion

In this article, "vernacular security" (Bubandt 2005) or how people relate to and conceive of security from their particular geographical, social, and political perspectives, has been applied to examine a further variation of it in a state-supported and military-influenced setting. The contribution, the subcategory of *vernacular preparedness*, introduces how lay civilians relate to national defense within a specific ethnographic field of defense-oriented and state-friendly civil society organizations. The context studied has been women's own emergency preparedness training within voluntary defense training

in Finland. The courses available offer a female-only sphere where women can try out mainly male-coded activities in the infrastructural setting and material culture of the Finnish armed forces. On a policy level, the courses are firmly grounded in state-supported voluntary defense training and the legally framed fostering "the willingness to defend Finland", but also ambivalent in meaning to the course participants and volunteer course leaders themselves.

Gendered divisions of labor in society are subject to historical and political change, but also slow to transform. As formal legal barriers such as not allowing women to do military service were abolished in Finland in the mid-1990s, the variety of roles and functions available for women in different forms of paid and unpaid security labor has increased. In pockets of female-only networks and preparedness courses, women past the age of military service may participate in the male-coded and reservist-dominated world of voluntary national defense. State-friendly voluntary organizations offer low-threshold possibilities for civilians and women to engage in supporting roles for national defense and crisis-time labor, at the same time engaging with civic ideals such as being a psychologically resilient, altruistically caring, and physically capable citizens.

Notes

1. The WNEPA comprises eleven member organizations; among them defense-oriented voluntary organizations, women's organizations, as well as home economics and security-oriented NGOs. In Finland, the WNEPA is known as Naisten Valmiusliitto (in Swedish, Kvinnornas Beredskapsförbund). Similar defence-oriented women's organizations exist in Sweden (Lottakåren), Norway (Lottene), and Estonia (Naiskodukaitse). The WNEPA's Nordic counterparts took their names from the Finnish Lotta Svärd organization, a women's paramilitary voluntary auxiliary organization that became part of the FDF during the Second World War. It was disbanded in 1944 following demands by the Soviet Union. The name for all the Lotta organizations was taken from the nineteenth-century Finnish poet J. L. Runeberg's poem *Lotta Svärd*, which also provided inspiration for Bertolt Brecht's play *Mutter Courage* (see Sjöberg 2016).
2. Some studies on women accumulating leadership skills in military service, women in military profession, and to some extent, the norm of male conscription have been addressed (see Kouri 2018; Jukarainen 2012; Häyrynen and Lämsä 2017).
3. The population of Finland is about 5.5 million inhabitants. Up to 900,000 men and about 10,000 women have completed military service and are counted as reservists. Wartime troops amount to 280,000 soldiers.
4. According to Section 2(1) of the Act on the Defence Forces (551/2007), the duties of the Defence Forces include "providing military training,

guiding voluntary national defence training, and promoting the will to defend the nation".

5. According to Section 25 of the Act on Voluntary Defence Training (556/2007) "[v]oluntary national defence organizations maintain national defence will and skills and also uphold the legacy of the war veterans".
6. Voluntary defense training in Finland has been subject to legislative processes in the mid-2000s and the late 2010s. This resulted first in new legislation in 2007. Revised legislation was adopted in 2019. See Act on Voluntary National Defence 556/2007 and Ministry of Defence 2006.
7. See notes 5 and 6.
8. Data for the WVS have been gathered in seven waves between 1981 and 2020, building up a wealth of quantitative comparative data on public opinion. See https://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/wvs.jsp.

Funding

This work was supported by the Finnish Support Foundation for National Defence (Maanpuolustuksen kannatussäätiö, decision of February 12, 2018.) within the TAHTO2 research project at the Finnish National Defence University.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank the interviewees of this study for their time, effort and input and the Women's National Emergency Preparedness Association for accommodating me to do ethnography in its courses. I also wish to thank the two anonymous reviewers and Teemu Tallberg, Miina Kaarkoski, Weronika Grzebalska and Suvi Kouri for helping improve this text.

Interviews Cited

Interviewee 1, "Maria", participant, western Finland, November 9, 2018.

Interviewee 2, "Helena", participant, western Finland, November 9, 2018.

Interviewee 3, "Johanna", participant, western Finland, November 9, 2018.

Interviewee 4, "Anneli", participant, southern Finland, March 15, 2018.

Interviewee 5, "Laura", participant, southern Finland, March 15, 2019.

Interviewee 6, "Anna", participant, southern Finland, February 6, 2019.

Interviewee 7, "Marjatta", participant, western Finland, November 29, 2018.

Interviewee 8, "Katja", participant, southern Finland, February 1, 2019.

Interviewee 9, "Ritva", participant, western Finland, March 5, 2019.

Interviewee 10, "Elina", participant and course leader, eastern Finland, April 9, 2019.

Interviewee 11, "Tyyne", participant and course leader, southern Finland, March 11, 2019.

Interviewee 12, "Pirkko", participant, eastern Finland, January 26, 2019.

References

Aaltola, Mika, and Tapio Juntunen. 2018. Nordic model meets resilience. In *Societal security in the Baltic region*, ed. Mika Aaltola, Boris Kuznetsov, Andris Spruds and Elisabete Vizgunova, 26–42. Riga: Latvia Institute of International Affairs.

Act on the Defence Forces (2007) *Law 551/2007 of Finland* (unofficial English translation). https://www.finlex.fi/en/laki/kaannokset/2007/en20070551.pdf, accessed February 19, 2021.

Act on Voluntary National Defence (2007) *Law 556/2007 of Finland* (unofficial English translation). https://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/kaannokset/2007/en20070556_20071440.pdf, accessed February 19, 2021.

Advisory Board for Defence Information (2020) *Finns' Opinions on Foreign and Security Policy, National Defence and Security. Helsinki, Ministry Of Defence*. https://www.defmin.fi/files/4830/ABDI_Report_JAnuari_2020_in_englsih.pdf, accessed February 19, 2021.

Appadurai, Arjun. 1996. *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Brunner, José, and Galina Plotkin Amrami. 2019. From the therapeutic to the post-therapeutic: The resilient subject, its social imaginary, and its practices in the shadow of 9/11. *Theory and Psychology* 29 (2): 219–39.

Bubandt, Nils. 2005. Vernacular security: The politics of feeling safe in global, national and local worlds. *Security Dialogue* 36 (3): 275–96.

Carpenter, Charli R. 2005. Women, children, and other vulnerable groups. *International Studies Quarterly* 49 (2): 295–335.

Constitution of Finland. 1999. *Law of 731/1999* (unofficial translation). https://www.finlex.fi/en/laki/kaannokset/1999/en19990731.pdf, accessed February 19, 2021.

Cronberg, Tarja. 2006. The will to defend. In *The Nordic countries and the European Security and Defence Policy*, ed. Alyson J. K. Bailes, Gunilla Herolf and Bengt Sundelius, 315–22. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Engle, Merry Sally. 2006. Transnational human rights and local activism. *American Anthropologist* 108 (1): 38–51.

Glucksmann, Miriam. 1995. Why 'work'? Gender and the 'total social organization of labor'. *Gender, Work and Organization* 2 (2): 63–75.

——— 2000. *Cottons and casuals*. Durham: Sociologypress.

——— 2005. Shifting boundaries and interconnections. *Sociological Review* 53 (2): 19–36.

Grzebalska, Weronika. 2020. *Citizen-soldiers in a post-security state*, unpublished doctoral dissertation. Warsaw: Polish Academy of Sciences.

Häyrynen, Heli, and Anna-Maria Lämsä. 2017. The meaning of military leadership training to women's competency. In *Advances in social change, leadership and organizational decision making*, ed. Ajoy Kumar Dey and Tojo Thatchenkery, 205–15. New Delhi: Bloomsbury.

Hedström, Jenny. 2020. Militarized social reproduction: women's labour and parastate armed conflict. *Critical Military Studies* https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/23337486.2020.1715056 (online publication ahead of print), accessed April 7, 2021.

Hietala, Ossi. 2018. *Suomalainen turvallisuuskäsitys ja vuoden 2007 laki vapaaehtoisesta maanpuolustuksesta* [Finnish Conception of Security and the 2007 Act of Voluntary Defence], unpublished master's thesis. Helsinki: University of Helsinki.

Inglehart, Ronald, Bi Puranen, and Christian Welzel. 2015. Declining willingness to fight for one's country. *Journal of Peace Research* 52 (4): 418–34.

Jarvis, Lee. 2019. Toward a vernacular security studies. *International Studies Review* 21 (1): 107–26.

Jarvis, Lee. and Michael Lister. 2013. Vernacular securities and their study. *International Relations* 27 (2): 158–79.

Jukarainen, Pirjo. 2012. Men making peace in the name of just war. In *Making gender, making war*, ed. Annika Kronsell and Erika Svedberg, 90–103. London: Routledge.

Juntunen, Tapio, and Ari-Elmeri Hyvönen. 2020. From "spiritual defence" to robust resilience in the Finnish comprehensive security model. In *Nordic societal security*, ed. Sebastian Larsson and Mark Rhinard, 154–178. London: Routledge.

Kandrik, Matej. 2020. *The Challenge of Paramilitarism in Central and Eastern Europe*. German Marshall Fund of the United States (policy paper). https://www.gmfus.org/publications/challenge-paramilitarism-central-and-eastern-europe, accessed February 19, 2021.

Kansikas, Suvi. 2019. Dismantling the Soviet security system. *The International History Review* 41 (1): 83–104.

Kosonen Jarkko, Alisa Puustinen, and Teemu Tallberg. 2019a. Maanpuolustustahdosta maanpuolustussuhteeseen [From willingness to defend Finland to relating to national defence]. *Sosiologia* 56 (3): 300–319.

———. 2019b. Saying no to military service. *Journal of Military Studies* 8 (2019): 46–57.

Kouri, Suvi. 2018. Upseerinaisten sukupuolen tekemisen tavat [How officer women do gender]. *Sukupuolentutkimus* 31 (2): 9–22.

Mann, Michael. 1996. Authoritarian and liberal militarism. In *International theory: Positivism and beyond*, ed. Ken Steve Smith Booth and Marysia Zalewski, 221–39. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary (no date) *Preparedness*. https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/preparedness, accessed February 19, 2021.

Ministry of Defence. 2006. Ehdotus vapaaehtoista maanpuolustusta koskevaksi lainsäädännöksi [Proposal for an Act on Voluntary Defence Training], committee report. Helsinki: Ministry of Defence. https://www.defmin.fi/files/313/3056_komiteamietintO.pdf, accessed February 19, 2021.

Nevala-Nurmi, Seija (2006) Girls and boys in the finnish voluntary defence movement. *Ennen ja nyt* 3–4 (2006): 1–15.

New, Caroline (2020) Sex and gender: A critical realist approach. In *Critical realism, feminism, and gender*, ed. Michiel van Ingen, Stephanie Grohman and Lena Gunnarsson, 80–98. New York: Routledge.

Onuch, Olga, and Tamara Martsenyuk. 2014. Mothers and daughters of the Maidan. *Social, Health and Communication Studies Journal* 1 (1): 105–26.

Peto, Andrea. 2010. Anti-modernist political thoughts on motherhood in Europe in a historical perspective. In *Reframing demographic change in Europe*, ed. Heike Kahlert and Ernst Waltraud, 189–201. Berlin: Lit Verlag.

Phillips, Sarah. 2014. The women's squad in Ukraine's protests. *American Ethnologist* 41 (3): 414–26.

Qvarnström, Sofi. 2018. Regarding the pain of mothers. In *War remains*, ed. Marie Cronqvist and Lina Sturfelt, 29–52. Lund: Nordic Academic Press.

Ritchie, Jane, and Liz Spencer. 2002. Qualitative data analysis for applied policy research. In *The qualitative researcher's companion*, ed. A. Michael Huberman and Matthew B. Miles, 305–30. London: Sage.

Rummakko, Sanna. 2006. Vapaaehtoista maanpuolustusta uudessa kuosissa [Voluntary Defence in a New Guise]. In *Tahdon asia [A matter of will]*, ed. Sanna Rummakko, 160–73. Helsinki: Like Publishing.

Sallinen, Anu. 2007. Modernising the Finnish defence. In *Denationalisation of defence: Convergence and diversity*, ed. Matlary Janne Haaland and Østerud Øyvind, 157–80. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Samimian-Darash, Limor, and Rotem Nir (2019) From crisis to emergency. *Ethnos* 84 (5): 910–26.

Shore, Chris. 2012. Anthropology and public policy. In *The Sage handbook of social anthropology*, ed. Fardon Richard, Olivia Harris, Trevor H. J. Marchand, Mark Nuttall, Cris Shore, Veronica Strang and Richard A. Wilson, 89–120. London: Sage.

Simonen, Katariina. 2019. Security in the Northern European flank. In *Security and defence in Europe*, ed. J. Martin Ramírez and Jerzy Biziewski, 139–52. London: Springer.

Sjoberg, Laura. 2006. Gendered realities of the immunity principle. *International Studies Quarterly* 50 (4): 889–910.

Sjoberg, Laura, and Jessica Peet (2011) Targeting civilians in war. In *Feminism and international relations*, ed. Judith Ann Tickner and Laura Sjoberg, 169–78. London: Routledge.

Sjöberg, Maria. 2016. Transformation into manhood. In *Transforming warriors*, ed. Peter Haldén and Peter Jackson. Abingdon: Routledge.

Tallberg, Teemu. 2017. Yhteiskunnallinen turvallisuustyönjako [Social division of security labor]. In *Puolustuslinjalla [On the Line of Defence]*, ed. Tallberg Teemu, Ojajärvi Anni and Laukkanen Tiia, 180–203. Helsinki: Nuorisotutkimusverkosto.

Taylor, Rebecca F. 2004. Extending conceptual boundaries: Work, voluntary work and employment. *Work, Employment and Society*, 18 (1): 29–49.

Vaughan-Williams, Nick and Daniel Stevens. 2016. Vernacular theories of everyday (in)security. *Security Dialogue* 47 (1): 40–58.

Virta, Sirpa, and Minna Branders. 2016. Legitimate security? *British Journal of Criminology* 56 (6): 1146–64.

Walby, Sylvia. 2020. Varieties of gender regimes. *Social Politics* 27 (3): 414–31.

Wither, James Kenneth. 2020. Back to the future? Nordic total defence concepts. *Defence Studies* 20 (1): 61–81.