

HEX Conference 2-4 March 2020

”History of Experience: Methodologies and Practices”

Programme

Monday, 2 March

9.15–9.30: Opening (D11)

9.30–10.30: Keynote I (D11), **Professor Raisa Toivo:**

Premodern and modern problems of right and wrong experience

Chair: Pirjo Markkola

10.30–10.45: Coffee (Gallery)

10.45–12.15: Parallel I (A2b, A3, A4)

1) War Experiences and the Nation, A2b

Chair: Antti Malinen

Matthew Lenoe: Experience and Official Discourse in the Red Army: Front Life and Rodina in the Great Patriotic War, 1941-1945

Tanja Vahtikari, Sami Suodenjoki & Ville Kivimäki: Lived Nation: Messy and Entangled Experiences

Richard Wilkins: British Morale: Affective performance as historicized, social, and cultural artifacts

2) (Post)colonialism and Minority History, A3

Chair: Riikka Miettinen

Julia Hurst: Epic and messy narratives: Aboriginal identity across urban geographies

Hanna Lindberg: Documenting and Exploring Experiences within Minority History. Methodological and Ethical Considerations

Ismay Milford: Frustration in the making of an anticolonial culture, 1950s East and Central Africa

3) The “Expertise of Experience” in Britain, A4

Chair: Johanna Annola

Ruth Davidson: Women, welfare and poverty: experiential expertise, a comparative approach

Caitriona Beaumont: Housewives’ Associations, Collective Experience and Voluntary Action: How wives and mothers influenced social policy reform through ‘experiential expertise’ in post-war Britain

Eve Colpus: Mediating professionalism and participation in the project of a children’s telephone helpline: ChildLine UK and the politics of experiential expertise, c. 1986-2006

12.15–13.15: Lunch (Restaurant Aleksis, Kalevantie 2)

13.15–15.15: Parallel II (A2b, A3, A4)

4) Experiences and Hagiography, A2b

Chair: Päivi Räisänen-Schröder

Jenni Kuuliala: Hagiography and Religious Experience of Infirmary in Catholic Reformation Era Italy

Rose-Marie Peake: Saints' Vitae and Identity-Shaping in an Early Modern Catholic Community in France

Thomas Devaney: Feeling with Miracles: Emotional Management in Early Modern Spain

Päivi Räisänen-Schröder: Commentator

5) Witnessing Conflict and Repression, A3

Chair: Marko Tikka

Eileen Groth Lyon: Lived religion in Dachau: analyzing the multiplicity of witnesses in the 'priest barracks'

Virva Liski: In-between: role conflicts and intersecting identities in experiences of the Finnish civil war

Pablo Toro-Blanco: The experience of political fear in three critical junctures: Chile, 1905, 1957, 2019

6) Senses and the Archives, A4

Chair: Rob Boddice

Laura Nissin: Gone with the wind — studying the ancient olfactory sensations

Ilaria Scaglia: The Source and I: Archival Emotions (or Experiences?) in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction, 1850–1950

Viliina Silvonon: Performed and experienced emotions on archival audio recordings of Karelian laments

15.15–15.30: Coffee (Gallery)

15.30–17.30: Parallel III (A2b, A3, A4)

7) Experiences of Everyday Life, A2b

Chair: Sami Suodenjoki

Kalle Kallio: Like one big family

Ilona Pajari: Secular Finnish funeral – a good death or a bad one?

Ann-Catrin Östman: Respectable enough? Understandings of mobility, community and edification in early life stories of migrant men

8) Languages, Narrative and Experience, A3

Chair: Ville Vuolanto

Xavier Biron-Quellet: From experientia to sentimentum: the semantics of religious experience in the Middle Ages

Outi Lehtipuu: Lived Scriptures in Late Antiquity

Liv Helene Willumsen: A Narratological Approach to Witchcraft Trials: A Contribution to the History of Experience and Emotion

9) Experience as an Analytical Category, A4

Chair: Pertti Haapala

Georg Gangl: The History of Experiences: A history like anything else?

Minna Harjula & Heikki Kokko: Experience as social construction: towards a structural approach

Klaudia Muca: Between Criticism and Affirmation. Experience Studies in Poland in 20th and 21st Century

Andreas Rydberg: Inner Experience

19.00 – Gettogether (Restaurant Telakka, Tullikamarinaukio 3)

Tuesday, 3 March

9.30–10.30: Keynote II (D11), Professor Javier Moscoso

Local Rhetoric and Global Experiences: the Forgotten History of the Swing

Chair: Ville Kivimäki

10.30–10.45: Coffee (Gallery)

10.45–12.15: Parallel IV (A2b, A3)

10) Experience and Emotion in Legal and Judicial Sources, A2b

Chair: Raisa Toivo

Sari Katajala Peltomaa: Experiencing Demonic Presence: corporeality, emotions and the sensate in late medieval canonization processes

Louise Nyholm Kallestrup: Methodological Considerations in the Emotions and Experience of Witchcraft

Emilie Luther Sjøby: How to be(come) the perfect inmate: Feeling rules as basis for emotional labour within an eighteenth-century prison workhouse

11) Childhood Experiences, A3

Chair: Stephanie Olsen

Ulla Aatsinki: Childhood Experiences in Politicians' Memoirs

Kirsi-Maria Hytönen: Interviewing on experiences of difficult childhood

Heidi Morrison: Portraiture as a Method of Capturing Past Human Experience: A case study of war trauma in Palestinian history

12.15–13.15: Lunch (Restaurant Aleksis, Kalevantie 2)

13.15–15.15: Parallel V (A2b, A3, A4)

12) Institutions and Margins, A2b

Chair: Minna Harjula

Johanna Annola: Tracing spiritual experiences in poorhouse inspection records, 1890s–1910s

Sophy Bergenheim: Preserving the 'welfare spirit': Explorations into a professional-personal-political concept in social welfare, 1940–1950s Finland

Jesper Vaczy Kragh & Stine Grønbak Jensen: Living with Coercion: Past and Present Experiences in Danish Residential Institutions

Katariina Parhi: Using drugs in Finland in the 1960s and 70s

13) Experiencing Intimacy, A3

Chair: Reetta Eiranen

Eva Johanna Holmberg: Nightmarish travel experiences in the journal of Richard Norwood (1590-1670)

Ina Lindblom: Making sense of romantic jealousy in late 18th-century Sweden

Ulla Ijäs: Mobile people and mobile goods – The urban experience in the Great Northern War

Tomasz Wiślicz: The experience of intimacy in pre-modern peasant societies

14) Experience and Idealism, A4

Chair: Pertti Haapala

Ville Erkkilä: “The peculiar experience of law”. ‘Experience’ in German legal science and legal history

Tuukka Brunila: War and the origin of contemporary sovereignty: Re-examining Carl Schmitt’s writings during the First World War

Pedro Magalhaes: Can Ideology Be Meaningfully Experienced?

Ville Suuronen: Debating the twentieth-century experience of crisis and the new concept of human rights

15.15–15.30: Coffee (Gallery)

15.30–17.30: Parallel VI (A2b, A3, A4)

15) Experiences of War, Mass Violence and Persecution, A2b

Chair: Ville Kivimäki

Ismee Tames: Liminality and the Use of Digitized Sources: How to Explore the Experiences of the Stateless

Thijs Bouwknecht: Re-Experiencing Atrocity in Ethiopia Through Transitional Justice

Peter Romijn: Colonial War as a “Prefab Experience”

Marleen van der Berg: Describing the persecution, return and redress of ‘the’ Jewish Community in Rotterdam

16) Sources and Methods of Studying Experience, A3

Chair: Tanja Vahtikari

Anneleen Arnout: Fishwrap: The digitized newspaper as a source for the history of emotional experience

Girija Kizhakke Pattathil: The Transgressive potential of Narrative Tropes: Interplay of Knowledge and Experience

Pia Koivunen: Autoethnographic approach to experience: what can we historians learn from it?

Bruno Lefort: Documenting and conceptualizing experiences in postwar societies through collaborative methods

17) Immigration and Cultural Encounters, A4

Chair: Hanna Lindberg

Laurence Prempain: “Je vous prie d’agr er mes salutations les plus respectueuses”: Migrants’ letters to the French administration: strategies versus control. 1930s-1940s

Kirsti Salmi-Niklander: Exploring the immigrant experience through narrative analysis of archival materials

Samira Saramo: Feeling Places of Historical Inquiry

Mirko Sardelić: The Influence of Culture and Identity on the Experience and Expression of Emotions: Historical Examples from Southeast Europe

19.00 – Dinner (Restaurant Tampella, Kelloportinkatu 1)

Wednesday, 4 March

9.30–11.30: Parallel VII (A3, A4)

18) Contingency of Emotion and Experience, A3

Chair: Ville Kivim ki & Tuomas Tepora

Rob Boddice: Neuroscience and History: Fellow Travellers in the New Turn to Experience

Jeremy Burman: Further toward ‘histories from within’: Lessons worth remembering from forgotten developmental theories

Tsiona Lida: Emotions at the Intersection of Science and History

Ville Kivim ki & Tuomas Tepora: Commentators

19) Norms, Regulations and Breaches, A4

Chair: Mervi Kaarninen

Lucy Brown: ‘Honest, Authentic, and Modern’: The Experience of Marital Conflict in Mid-Twentieth-Century Britain

Heini Hakosalo: ‘Cheerfulness is the best remedy!’ The significance and means of emotion regulation in tuberculosis sanatoria (Finland c. 1900–60)

Antti Malinen: Seeking Safety in an Insecure World: Role of Everyday Mobilities in Children’s Experience of Distress in post-WWII Finland

Anna Kantanen: Intimate partner violence as a continued historical experience

11.30–12.30: Lunch (Restaurant Aleksis, Kalevantie 2)

12.30–14.00: Parallel VIII (A2a, A3, A4)

20) Experiences and Politics, A2a

Chair: Kati Katajisto

Jenni Karim ki: Presentation: Heckler, rival, friend or foe? – Trust and the stabilization of a new political force

Vesa Vares: The question of trust and competency

Kati Katajisto: Experiences and trust in politics – the case Paavo V yrynen in 1980s

21) Experiences of Sound and Voice in History, A3

Chair: Josephine Hoegaerts

Ludovic Marionneau: 'The president shakes the bell to no avail': a study of performance in the parliamentary debates leading to Jacques-Antoine Manuel's exclusion (February-March 1823)

Karen Lauwers: Mapping acoustic spaces of loyalty and resistance by using institutional documents. The case of the Arab bureaus in French colonial Algeria (1846-1871)

Josephine Hoegaerts: The historian's ear: a challenge for those who love the silence of the archives

22) Experiences of Refuge and Terror, A4

Chair: Heikki Kokko

Outi Kähäri: Transnational Insecurity among the Ingrian Community – Oral History from Sweden

Johanna Leinonen: Refugee Journey as an Experience, Memory, and a Metaphor

Ulla Savolainen: Approaching Memory Ideologies: Ingrian Finnish Experiences and Testimonies of the Soviet Terror

14.00–14.30: Coffee (Gallery)

14.30–16.00: Joint Session (D11)

23) Panel discussion: Methodologies and Practices in Studying Experience

Chair: Pertti Haapala

Josephine Hoegaerts

Stephanie Olsen

Javier Moscoso

Ann-Catrin Östman

Keynote lectures

Mon, 2 March, 9.30–10.30: Keynote I (D11)

Professor Raisa Toivo

"Premodern and modern problems of right and wrong experience"

Tue, 3 March, 9.30–10.30: Keynote II (D11)

Professor Javier Moscoso

"Local Rhetoric and Global Experiences: the Forgotten History of the Swing"

In this presentation, I will address the limitations of traditional history of emotions when it comes to explain trans-cultural and trans-historical experiences. I will focus on some of the cultural variations of the almost universal practice of swinging. The mechanical excitation of the vestibular system, a neglected chapter within the history of the senses, has been however at the core of many social practices worldwide. As part of rituals of status reversal, the history of the swing, mainly associated today (wrongly) with a children's game, can shed some light about how and why some experiences were so widely spread and why and how they were forgotten.

Parallel sessions

Parallel I

Mon, 2 March, 10.45–12.15 (A2b, A3, A4)

1) War Experiences and the Nation, A2b

Chair: Antti Malinen

Matthew Lenoë:

Experience and Official Discourse in the Red Army: Front Life and Rodina in the Great Patriotic War, 1941-1945

The term *rodina* (literally, "birthland", though usually translated as "motherland") was ubiquitous both in Soviet state propaganda during World War II and in Red Army soldiers' personal writings – letters, diaries and memoirs. Within the universe of state discourse, it had for the most part two possible referents, which might bleed into one another – the Soviet Union as a whole (the "soviet" or "socialist" *rodina*) and/or Russia. However, in individual vernacular speech the word had a wider range of meanings. It often referred to one's home village or region, and it applied in a very concrete way to the landscape itself – to local crossroads, copses, fields, wells and other features.

My paper will explore the relationship between the experiences soldiers at the front associated with *rodina* – viewing a grove of birch trees from a moving train, digging a grave for a comrade on a hillock, eating breakfast with their mothers at home - and the official deployment of the word. To use the terminology of the conference statement of purpose, I aim to "bridge the gap" between soldiers' individual experiences and state-generated discourse. How did official propaganda's employment of *rodina* and soldiers' uses influence one another? Did soldiers find that the experiences they associated with the word confirmed or disconfirmed meanings intended

by state propaganda officials and writers? Can we speak of the many uses of *rodina* as part of the experience of a “lived nation”?

Central to my analysis of soldiers’ experiences will be David Carr’s argument (based on Edmund Husserl’s phenomenology) that individual human experience is inherently narrative in character, and his analysis of the way in which higher order narratives emerge from such “primitive” narrative experience.¹ I hope to operationalize Carr’s account to demonstrate that soldiers’ embodied experiences (including those emerging not just from passive perception but from taking action in the world) impacted their understandings of the word *rodina*, which were not simply determined by official discourse.

Tanja Vahtikari, Sami Suodenjoki & Ville Kivimäki:

Lived Nation: Messy and Entangled Experiences

Since the nineteenth century, nations and nation-states have been one of the major contexts for collective and subjective experiences and emotions. National systems of meaning have consigned social and political substance to individual experiences, and nations have become an important object of action, thoughts, and emotions. Furthermore, one can see nation states as institutionalized experiences which, in turn, create new experiences and emotions for different groups of citizens. Over the course of two centuries, this system has produced multi-layered, trans-generational, gendered, as well as socially and regionally divergent matrices of “national” experiences: often complex and conflicting personal, family, and “collective biographies”. People have been invited to integrate their own experiences and future expectations into these “scripts” of the nation; and while they have done so, they have also felt marginalized and reacted to such invitations with resistance and indifference.

In our paper, we will discuss the idea and concept of “lived nation” as a framework to study the entanglement of personal and collective experiences of the nation. This entanglement is a messy thing which does not have clear boundaries: it has not been borne out from above to below or vice versa and there have existed many parallel and overlapping “scripts” for the nation. Rather, we perceive lived nation as a series of encounters and negotiations in different material and spatial realities between individuals, social groups and explicitly nationalist advocates and policy-makers. Through this discussion and by drawing from concrete case examples from our own research, we aim to develop the methodology of studying the nation as lived experiences.

Richard Wilkins:

British Morale: Affective performance as historicized, social, and cultural artifacts

In recent decades cultural discourse analysis has emerged out of the need to hear about the varied communication practices identified with myriad cultures and co-cultures. This exposure to the diversity of cultural meanings embedded in communication has enabled us to recognize that realities—the ontological, social, and rhetorical conditions of human existence—are largely a product of the discursive terrain in which we reside (Wilkins and Wolf, 2016). This paper brings together research in the history of emotions and the ethnography of communication to examine an array of affective states as reactions to war experiences such as air raids, the destruction of homes, evacuation and attitudes toward evacuees, shelters, goofing, and the purchase tax as well as reported reactions to ongoing news events. The data is drawn from the Mass Observation (MO) project in Britain through the period 1939-44. The MO, then led by Tom Harrisson and Charles

¹ See David Carr, *Experience and History: Phenomenological Perspectives on the Historical World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014) and David Carr, *Time, Narrative and History* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1991).

Madge, was tasked to submit weekly reports to the ministry on the state of the country's morale. Terms such as cheerfulness, wishful thinking, and depression punctuate these reports throughout and largely serve to construct an understanding of British morale. By approaching these scenes through the terms used to describe affective performance, and the affective performance in the terms used to describe the scenes, I aim to facilitate a better understanding of both. The resulting finding is a description of a speech community in terms of affective performance and emotion in terms of the speech community.

2) (Post)colonialism and Minority History, A3

Chair: Riikka Miettinen

Julia Hurst:

Epic and messy narratives: Aboriginal identity across urban geographies

This paper will introduce the concept of an Aboriginal social-scape. An Aboriginal social-scape is a people-centric approach to creating history with Aboriginal people, which includes but does not reify place as the foundation of Aboriginal identity. Its aim is to enable an ethical practice and experience of history-making and refers to a web of intricate storytelling informed by personal narratives of Storytellers and the relationships they have to people-centric networks rather than place.

Analysing and contrasting research undertaken in Sydney and Melbourne (Australia), I demonstrate the messy complexity of colonialism that is experienced by urban Aboriginal people, whose community identity continues to be historically and socially conditioned in ways that are harmful and against colonial 'norms'.

In this paper I argue an Aboriginal social-scape will enable historians to partner with Aboriginal people to create history that better acknowledges the subtleties of how individuals construct their identity in urban geographies. The paper identifies that history making can disrupt individual and group identities in ways that are harmful, especially for Aboriginal people whose sense of self and wellbeing is often reliant on the 'recognition' provided by the settler state and powerful history-making tropes such as histories associated with mission-places, the Stolen Generations, Dreaming stories and land rights.

Hanna Lindberg:

Documenting and Exploring Experiences within Minority History. Methodological and Ethical Considerations

The history of minorities, marginalized groups and so-called fragile subjects has drawn the attention of historians over the last decades. While historians have previously explored institutional and discursive forms of discrimination, focus has recently shifted towards experiential sources and methodologies, giving precedence to the studied minority's own voice. Simultaneously, the ethics of history writing has become topical, highlighting the need for greater ethical considerations in all forms of historical research, especially that of sensitive nature.

When studying minorities, however, both the ways experiences are conveyed, and ethics are understood vary depending on the group in question. This paper takes the history of the deaf as a case in point. Deaf history is both a representative example of the narrative of minority history, and presents unique challenges. Especially the mediation of experiences through sign language gives rise to particular questions and problems. Interviews can only be filmed, rendering anonymization impossible. However, as a minority whose history is unknown to the general

population and to a large part undocumented, anonymization, even when dealing with traumatic events, is often not the wish of the interviewee. Thus, historians who utilize and participate in the production of historical materials, such as interviews and life-stories, of deaf history, have to balance between demands posed by the research community and the deaf community.

Ismay Milford:

Frustration in the making of an anticolonial culture, 1950s East and Central Africa

This paper argues that 'experience' as an analytical category can make legible a swathe of previously ignored organisational ephemera and thus allow a new reading of anticolonialism in the context of 1950s East and Central Africa. Intellectual historians have typically relied on the speeches, resolutions, and published political tracts of nationalist father figures to narrate the history of African anticolonialism. Pamphlets, newsletters, circulars, minutes, and scraps of correspondence, produced by mobile activists and intermediaries from East and Central Africa in the 1950s were poorly circulated and poorly archived: they appear intellectually incoherent and politically negligible. However, when read to understand experience rather than political worldviews, they reveal a different picture of anticolonial activism, one where the frustrations of working transnationally in a system of colonial constraints informed a set of ideas relating to the role of information circulation in the anticolonial struggle.

This argument is presented by way of the work of Zambian activist Munu Sipalo (1929-94), who attempted, largely without success, to coordinate regional and pan-African solidarity movements from New Delhi, Cairo, and London during the 1950s, leaving traces of abortive conferences and short-lived publications in his wake. Taking seriously these archival scraps and attending to his experiences of frustration, as a colonial subject carrying out transnational anticolonial work, can elucidate the development of ideas about information circulation and knowledge production that went on to assume a central position in the global anticolonial struggle.

3) The "Expertise of Experience" in Britain, A4

Chair: Johanna Annola

In recent years, notions of expertise and the 'expert' have become sharpened tools in mainstream political debate in Britain. Discourses of expertise are fluid; they can be highly specific or synthetic; be located within individuals or groups; and be used to exert the powers of governance, or to contest them. Models of experience, often pitted in opposition to expertise, are also diverse. Experience, by its very nature, illuminates the range and specificity of individuals' social and cultural engagement, and the mechanisms for interpreting those contributions in collective narratives. Since the later decades of the twentieth century, the concept of 'experiential expertise' has taken on the mantle of a specialist contribution with distinctive claims to authenticity of engagement. This concept is itself often deeply politicised in relation to models of professional structural expertise, and the growth (and fragmentation) of identity politics since the 1960s.

It is the multivalent and contested nature of 'experiential expertise' within the UK voluntary sector in the mid-to-late twentieth century that this panel will consider. We argue in our work that experience and expertise are helpfully understood as narratives which perform specific meanings within the policy and practice of voluntary organizations in the broad goal of social enhancement. At the various levels of campaigning, policy work, and advocacy, the histories of voluntary groups' activity illuminates the contested and constructed work done both of notions of expertise and experience. Looking at 'experiential expertise' through the prism of voluntary organizations forces

historians specifically to acknowledge the impact of structural inequalities, issues of contested agency, subjectivity and voice on the formulation of social knowledge. Empowering for some, the application of modes of expertise and experience could be limiting and exclusionary for others.

Our papers consider how voluntary organizations have used and shaped 'experiential expertise' to influence public policy and reflect on how shifting social and cultural contexts have seen both continuities and changes in the impact of activism-based public and political engagement that leverages these ideas.

Ruth Davidson:

Women, welfare and poverty: experiential expertise, a comparative approach

Poverty is a political concept infused with expert debate, but it is also a deeply felt lived experience. The contested nature of definitions and measurements has meant poverty campaigning has often been expert dominated. The exclusionary nature of the experience of living in poverty, economic, social and cultural, all reinforce this expert focus. Therefore, whilst more recently expert-led poverty groups have worked on the inclusion of experiential voices, it can be argued, that in this area expertise and experience encompass different forms of social knowledge.

The subjectivities of those in living poverty are extremely important, intensely personal but also shaped by class, ethnicity and gender. To explore the nature of campaigns around poverty alleviation requires a sensitivity to all these issues and an appreciation of the historical context. Ruth Lister notes how difficult it has been to organise around issues of poverty "'proud to be poor" is a banner few would march under'.¹ However, she has also argued that there are identities around which grassroots groups have been able to organise, such as mothers, pensioners or as part of community activism. In this paper I want to reinforce this point and reflect on the specific ways in which women living in poverty have campaigned. Multiply disadvantaged, women in poverty are often at the sharp edge of the domestic impact of managing a household on limited means. For this reason, it is often as mothers and carers that they have asserted an experiential identity that has allowed them agency and political presence. I will use this paper to explore some examples of working-class women's voluntary action from the 1930s and the 1960s. This comparative approach will allow me to draw out some threads around the campaigning strategies and policy impact of this activism. It will also allow me to look at how context, social and cultural, has influenced the nature of the 'experiential expertise' that working-class women have leveraged to claim their political voice.

Caitriona Beaumont:

Housewives' Associations, Collective Experience and Voluntary Action: How wives and mothers influenced social policy reform through 'experiential expertise' in post-war Britain

Until recently histories of female activism and the women's movement in post-war Britain have been dominated by the Women's Liberation Movement and the actions of feminist pressure groups. However, new research reveals that a more diverse range of women's organisations existed throughout the second half of the twentieth century. These groups, including religious, voluntary and charitable societies, shared a common aim of enhancing the lives of women and their families in post-war society.

Here the focus is on three such groups, the Mothers' Union, the Women's Institutes and the Townswomen's Guilds. Taken together these groups represented over one million British women throughout the second half of the twentieth century. The paper will consider how each group harnessed the collective experiences of members, as wives and mothers, and used this to claim 'experiential expertise' in public debates on social policy and legislative reform.

Identifying a number of policy areas, for example divorce law reform, pension rights, healthcare provision, re-productive rights and social welfare benefits, the paper will assess how successful these groups were in influencing social policy and bringing about reform. It will examine how they shaped the collective experience of their members. Doing so will reveal any tensions that emerged within the organisations over whose experiences were considered the most valid and whose were ignored.

This paper will conclude by considering how effective utilising collective experience as a means to legitimate expertise was for these organisations and the longer-term implications of this strategy for the groups, and for wider society.

Eve Colpus:

Mediating professionalism and participation in the project of a children's telephone helpline: ChildLine UK and the politics of experiential expertise, c. 1986-2006

ChildLine UK was launched in October 1986 as a free national telephone helpline service for 'children in trouble or danger', including, but not limited to, children who were victims of child abuse. As a 'new' charity of the 1980s, ChildLine fashioned itself as an alternative to the logic of state-run children's services in stressing the confidentiality of the helpline service, but also in the tone and style of its provision, notably its close connection with media, television and celebrity cultures.

This paper draws upon organizational literature, ChildLine's publications and media sources to trace how ChildLine both invoked and contested 'professional' narratives about children's health and wellbeing as the charity worked to establish its reputation as a conduit for children's authentic experience, and an authority itself on issues of children's policy and practice. ChildLine exemplified the social embeddedness of the social sciences, social work, medicine and psychiatry in social and political debates in the late-twentieth century, as evidenced in the professional make-up of the charity's advisory board, and in the directions taken in its policy work in the 1990s and 2000s. Yet the charity's founding praxis — 'speaking with the voice of the child' — foregrounded the model of the agentic child, who was individually capable, if also in need of protection. My interest is in the cultural work that ChildLine performed in bridging, mediating, and translating these distinct frameworks of social knowledge, and more broadly in the role of voluntary organizations in the late-twentieth century in shaping and curating the implications of expert and authentic perspectives on children's welfare and rights.

Parallel II

Mon, 2 March, 13.15–15.15 (A2b, A3, A4)

4) Experiences and Hagiography, A2b

Chair: Päivi Räisänen-Schröder

This session will discuss the use of early modern hagiography for the study of lived religion and everyday life. The session is based on the recent publication *Lived Religion and Everyday Life in Early Modern Hagiographic Material* (Jenni Kuuliala, Rose-Marie Peake & Päivi Räisänen-Schröder, eds., Palgrave Macmillan, 2019). In the session, we bring forth three examples of how to use early modern hagiography when studying the historical experiences of early modern people and discuss the possibilities and challenges of this material. The session is opened by Jenni Kuuliala's paper, which looks at the interplay of lived medicine and lived religion in early modern canonisation

processes, analysing how miraculous experiences were investigated and created in the catholic reformation era inquests. Thomas Devaney focuses on the popular genre of miracle stories to suggest that, although the stories were highly formulaic, their very repetitiveness may show how and why early modern people may have read them. Rose-Marie Peake's paper focuses on seventeenth-century France and the way hagiography was used in the internal education of the Catholic congregation the Daughters of Charity.

Jenni Kuuliala:

Hagiography and Religious Experience of Infirmity in Catholic Reformation Era Italy

This paper analyses the interplay of lived religion and lived medicine in the Catholic Reformation era canonization inquests. The main focus is on the ways miraculous experiences and experiences of infirmity were shaped by and investigated in canonisation inquests. This paper will discuss especially the methodological challenges of using this material for the study of lived religion and its interplay with health-care and experienced infirmity. Religious experience of infirmity was formed as a result of various overlapping factors, such as bodily sensations, communal negotiations, medical ideas, and religious practices. All of them served a purpose in the investigation of miracles, but the auditors as well as the witnesses gave varying emphases and roles for them. The main focus of the paper will be on the records of the 1606 apostolic canonisation inquest of St Andrea Corsini, held in Florence.

Rose-Marie Peake:

Saints' Vitae and Identity-Shaping in an Early Modern Catholic Community in France

The focus of the paper is on the use of hagiography of shepherdesses in the internal formation of the Filles de la Charité, or the Daughters of Charity (founded in Paris in 1633). Combining prayer with charity work the Company quickly found itself treading a fine line regarding the stipulations of the Council of Trent confining women religious to strict enclosure. One important solution of the founders was to implement a comprehensive programme of psychological training. The legends of shepherdesses formed one of the most important foundations of this formation. The examination of the use of these hagiographic narratives offer valuable glimpses into the everyday life of early modern French sisters and show how the founders aimed to transmit to the sisters values deemed "rustic", such as humility and obedience. Hagiography was also used as a tool to unify the body of sisters in terms of social standing and to motivate them in their hard work.

Thomas Devaney:

Feeling with Miracles: Emotional Management in Early Modern Spain

Printed collections of miracle stories, each of which might detail hundreds of miracles, proliferated in sixteenth and seventeenth century Spain. The clerical compilers of these collections self-consciously wrote for a lay audience, proclaiming that their books were "written to go into the hands of all." Their repetitiveness and formulaic nature, however, has led modern scholars mostly to dismiss these collections. I show that close attention to how they presented wondrous healings can enhance our understanding of miracles as emotional, physical, communal, and textual experiences that provided early modern people a means of coping with calamities in their lives. In particular, the stories modelled emotional practices through which believers could manage unwanted feelings, replacing grief, despair, or fear with positive action and the confident hope of a miracle. Not only did they aim to instil faith in the populace, I argue, they also provided a form of emotional training.

Päivi Räisänen-Schröder: Commentator

5) Witnessing Conflict and Repression, A3

Chair: Marko Tikka

Eileen Groth Lyon:

Lived religion in Dachau: analyzing the multiplicity of witnesses in the ‘priest barracks’

About 2,720 clerics from twenty different nations were held in the Dachau Concentration Camp. Approximately 95% of them were Roman Catholic and hence the blocks where they were held came to be known as the “priest barracks.” A significant number of memoirs have been written by the survivors of the priest barracks. A picture of their shared experience emerges powerfully in these remembrances, but there are also significant divergences. Lived experiences in the camp varied considerably depending on the nationality of the prisoner, date of arrival, time spent in the camp, time spent in other camps prior to transfer to Dachau, work assignments, and connections outside the camp. Intentionality and timing of the memoirs are also key factors. Memoirs were crafted with a desire to witness to the atrocities committed in the camp, as a means of memorializing those who did not survive, or to provide a witness to faith. Such differences have often been glossed over as the persistent trauma of the camp has made it difficult to parse objective from subjective experience. In more recent years, a martyrological idiom has become the dominant (almost exclusive) narrative in describing the collective experience of the priest-prisoners. Through greater attention to individual stories, I wish to broaden the collective narrative of their experiences and acknowledge the much wider range of ways in which faith and life itself were sustained in the camp. Lived religion in Dachau not only included adherence to pre-camp practices but was also marked by the emergence of more flexible forms that were important influences on post-liberation praxis.

Virva Liski:

In-between: role conflicts and intersecting identities in experiences of the Finnish civil war

My presentation approaches theoretical questions concerning individual experience, intersectional belongings, conflicting identities and formation of historical knowledge regimes through in-between experiences of the Finnish civil war and its aftermath. I’m interested in experiences that didn’t follow the expected, accepted and repeated forms of red or white side experience: the experiences of drifters, part-changers and in-betweeners. Unlike in interstate conflicts, after internal war the old enemies had to settle back into normal life with people they had fought against in war. In addition to obvious revengeful suspicion between former enemy parties, mistrustfulness was present within red and white communities. This was the case especially for individuals with conflicting or intersecting identities, for example people with working class background who chose or were forced to fight in the White army. Experiences of in-betweeners are important in relation to memory politics, formation of oral history materials and construction of historical narratives: the people with indistinct experiences of the civil war were not those whose stories were told or whose memoirs were published or filed in the archives. These experiences are also important in the sense of healing and the aftermath: how did the people whose experience was not emotionally, ideologically or politically canonized cope with it? The knowledge regime formed from the civil war is dichotomous, and this dichotomy has further shaped the politics of memory, history and historiography.

Pablo Toro-Blanco:

The experience of political fear in three critical junctures: Chile, 1905, 1957, 2019

In his discussions about fear as a political emotion, Corey Robin (2016, 39) distinguishes that it has two natures: a horizontal one (the fear of an external enemy) and a vertical one (to the subordinates within society itself). The second is the endemic fear of any form of domination, which risks collapsing when there are episodes of the crisis of social control. On the other hand, modern press and media serve the role of shaping what Charles Taylor calls "social imaginaries," that is, "an idea of the normal expectations we maintain for each other, the kind of common understanding that allows us to develop the collective practices that inform our social life" (Taylor, 2006, 38).

Based on the two considerations just mentioned, the purpose of this paper is to intertwine them in order to present an analysis of the social representations of fear experienced by the hegemonic groups of Chilean society in three episodes of critical social mobilisation, joined by the presence of expanded use of violence by popular groups. In the first instance, 1905 represents a social outburst around the higher cost of living, an episode in which Santiago (the capital of Chile) was the scene of a cycle of unsatiated violence that generated widening fear in the ruling oligarchic. In a different context, within the framework of an increasingly democratic society, in 1957 a new general outbreak (caused by a rise in the price of public transport) provoked panic and fear as violence threatened social and political inter classes consensus. In the third place, still an open historical process, the vast social uprising started in October 2019 spread new fears through Chilean society.

Accordingly, the leading question on which this paper will shed light is how was the expression, conceptualisation and experience of fear in these three critical junctures.

6) *Senses and the Archives, A4*

Chair: Rob Boddice

Laura Nissin:

Gone with the wind — studying the ancient olfactory sensations

Smells are made up of volatilized chemical compounds and our ability to notice odors results from the number of molecules available to our olfactory receptors. Measuring smells is a complex and uncertain process, even though different olfactometric tools have been developed in recent times and commercial smell detection and odor control services are readily available when needed. Smelling is, however, not only a physiological phenomenon but also a cultural and historical one, as the premise for humanities-based research of smelling goes.²

In this paper, I investigate the ancient Roman/Campanian cultural concepts associated with olfaction and how these sensory experiences can be traced in the evidence available, focusing on the irritating olfactory sensations in Pompeian neighborhoods.

For finding out how disturbing some smells are considered, there is no single objective method even in the modern world. Odor annoyance in particular regions can be investigated

² As Constance Classen, the pioneering scholar on sensory studies, puts it, smell is not "a simply biological and psychological phenomenon [but] cultural, hence a social and historical phenomenon." (C. Classen, D. Howes and A. Synnott, *Aroma: the cultural history of smell*, London 1994, 3)

through surveys, where inhabitants either answer smell-related questions or keep diaries on odors specifying where and when these occur and how inconvenient they are perceived.³

In historical research, such methods are obviously not available, which raises the question how does one study such fleeting experiences? The ancient Roman literature deals widely with olfaction and while the data is scattered and biased, a careful reading of the sources reveals an overall view of ancient cultural concepts associated with olfaction.

In this paper, I aim to show, that these experiences can be traced in archaeological evidence as well. By pinpointing the sources of smells in archaeological material we can infer the ways the sensory experiences influenced urban space. In addition, the analysis of evidence reveals how social hierarchies and power relations played part in Pompeian odor regulation.

Ilaria Scaglia:

The Source and I: Archival Emotions (or Experiences?) in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction, 1850–1950

My project seeks to explore the evolution of what archives “felt like” from the mid-nineteenth century—a time of institutionalization, nationalization, and also internationalization for archival repositories and for disciplines such as history—to the outset of the digital age in the 1970s.

In this paper, I reflect on the methodological questions that derive from this endeavour and on the implications of framing this study as a history of emotions vs. the senses vs. experience. To be sure, each of these terms can be defined to encompass the meaning of the others. Yet, prioritizing one over the other switches emphasis (and thus historical practices and methodologies). My case study on the history of the British Library illustrates how thinking about “emotions” anchored my work in evolving notions of the self. Even when analysing materialities, texts describing and regulating what one felt (or should have felt) took centre stage, as did moments of deviation from these norms. “Senses” moved my focus to objects and to how touching and smelling original documents changed over time; how the sight and sounds of others affected individuals; and how the aesthetic features of the reading rooms played a part in shaping what it meant to be there. “Experience” stretched the chronological framework to include preparation before archival trips, the practicalities of travel, and memory, and also forced me to think about how broader changes (e.g., industrialization to urbanization) affected the body. I wish the result to be an integrated, holistic narrative enriched by these multi-prong approaches.

Vilina Silvonen:

Performed and experienced emotions on archival audio recordings of Karelian laments

Laments are traditional, ritual expressions of sorrow. In Karelia, laments were an essential element in rites of passages such as funerals and weddings, and the traditional lamenting has nowadays waned. This paper focus on discussing the ways that the emotional experiences of the lamenter can be traced, interpret and analysed from archival audio recordings made during a few decades in the mid-20th century mostly within an ethnographic fieldwork interview situations.

Laments convey emotions verbally, musically and by multimodal affect displays, as several researches have shown. The factors that express and convey emotions, also performatively raise the emotional state of the lamenter during the performance. Audible emotion emblems are an essential feature of laments and the bodily expressions of emotions appear as intentionally produced, performed emblems as well as automatic reactions that have neuropsychological base.

3 See for instance “Effects and assessment of odours; determination of annoyance parameters by questioning; repeated brief questioning of neighbour panelists” in <https://standards.globalspec.com/std/756722/VDI%203883%20BLATT%202> (accessed 23.7.2019).

I have combined theories and perspectives of cultural studies and neuropsychology to examine the mechanisms that are effective behind the performative power of a lament that gradually enfolds the lamenter into deep melancholy emotions. The method could be described close listening (close reading) with some more precise music, text and sound analyses. The neuropsychological aspect helps to understand the process in which intentionally produced emblems together with genre specific characteristics provoke the affective state. The stimuli for the neuropsychological reactions are both physical and sociocultural, and the inner experience is interpreted within sociocultural environment. In a way, the stereotypic expression become alive and deepens the emotional state.

Keywords: emotion, archival audio records, song, music, ritual

Parallel III

Mon, 2 March, 15.30–17.30 (A2b, A3, A4)

7) Experiences of Everyday Life, A2b

Chair: Sami Suodenjoki

Kalle Kallio:

Like one big family

Finland's first railroad was completed in 1862. During the following decades, new lines were cleared and built all around the country. Machinery was relatively rare and the hard work was done by thousands of men and horses. Professional group of railroad builders, navvies, was formed when the state started to build consecutive lines in 1880s. Navvy life was characterized with poor housing, accidents, instability, migration and harsh conditions but pretty tempting piecework. Railroads offered first paid jobs for many unskilled rural men.

In my presentation, I will focus on experiences of navy community. Some written memories repeat the story that navvies were just like "one big family". It is quite natural that shared experiences of itinerant labour, exclusion and everyday hardships created a community of memory. However, there was a considerable diversity inside navy communities as well. Seasonal workers, local peasants, professional navvies, masters and engineers had plenty of tensions and confrontations with each other.

Why written navy memories highlight the ideal of belonging and mutual experience? Is it possible that these informants excluded or simply forgot some divergent groups of the working community? Perhaps retired men just romanticized their youth experiences on railway lines? After all, some informants mention also labour conflicts, discrimination and difficulties between navvies.

Methodologically, it is crucial to combine different sources to understand life in navy communities. Newspapers, court cases, technical journals, novels and papers of construct administration or trade union add something to the confusing picture of navy experience. Memories of "one big family" were one part of navy experiences as well. Notwithstanding, it was also a narrative used to silence conflicting voices in that "big but broken navy family".

Ilona Pajari:

Secular Finnish funeral – a good death or a bad one?

This paper is based on my research project "One hundred years of secular funerals in Finland". I use mostly oral history materials to motivate my argument in this particular case of the experience of secular funerals. Interpreting oral history materials in matters of emotions, ideologies and

traditions is often challenging. Telling a story of a “good death” may hide tensions and discontinuities in tradition.

The law on freedom of religion was passed in 1923; some secular funerals had been held through the years even before that. Especially the Civil War of 1918 was a time when non-religious funerals were held to the Red fallen soldiers. But only after 1923 could a proper tradition be built.

In this tradition the collective and private trauma of 1918 was strongly present. Funerals were still public gatherings and a chance to show political strength and symbols. People who participated in 1918 veterans’ funerals after the Second World War report intense atmosphere and emotional speeches. Since secular funerals were largely considered communist, as they are naturally atheist, they became part of the experience of the working classes before the last decades of the 20th century.

Be they secular funerals communist, politically neutral or rightist, they are always considered bringing justice to the dead. This experience of doing the right thing is central in all death rituals. But are the rituals right to the mourners? The concept of good death is essential: a secular death may be considered a bad one in Finnish culture where the Evangelical-Lutheran church has had a strong ritual monopoly until recently. Also burying an atheist with religious rituals may be considered a bad death, as some materials testify.

Ann-Catrin Östman:

Respectable enough? Understandings of mobility, community and edification in early life stories of migrant men

In the paper, I will discuss five life stories written by men born in rural districts in Finland in the 1860s. In the early 1940s, Anders Myhrman started to collect life stories written by immigrants of “Finland-Swedish” origin. Myhrman called these texts “emigrant biographies”, and these five texts are a part of a greater collection of migrant stories, almost exclusively by or about men. They had all experienced subsistence agriculture and these writers had received very little formal schooling.

What was the underlying political grammar for accounting for one’s life? How were experiences of mobility expressed? I will shortly relate these life stories to traditions of writing autobiographies or memoirs in rural contexts and present the collection made by Anders Myhrman. As these texts were written by low status, self-educated writers, I will also comment on social contexts and societal discourses in the country of origin and in the new country.

These men wanted to account for decent lives and they seemed to have been writing in relations to classed and racialized understandings of modernity. These texts depicts not so much a story of ethnic backwardness as understandings of American assimilation. This was pivotal for Anders Myhrman, who organized the collection, but also for the writers. In doing so, they depicted ideals of manhood that resembles the concept of manliness as used by Gail Bederman. I want point to the connections between gender ideals and understandings of the social position and argue that understandings of manhood were invoked, formulated and used.

8) Languages, Narrative and Experience, A3

Chair: Ville Vuolanto

Xavier Biron-Ouellet:

From experientia to sentimentum: the semantics of religious experience in the Middle Ages

Historians looking at the concept of experience in the Middle Ages are mostly interested by its scientific dimension. As such, it is often said that religious writers disregarded experience as

deceitful and that it is only with the “scientific minds” of the late Middle Ages that it became a source of truth. However, a close reading of religious texts shows that this narrative does not hold. Both scientific and religious writers shared the same idea of experience as a knowledge acquired through the senses.

This paper is intended as a methodological attempt to define the medieval concept of experience through an investigation of its semantic transformation in religious texts between Late Antiquity and the Late Middle Ages. In my lexicographical study of the words “experientia” and “experimentum”, I found that these terms were always associated with the verb “sentire” (to feel). From a religious perspective, the goal of medieval meditative practices was to feel the Scriptures with the spiritual senses of the soul in order to understand it properly. Toward the end of the thirteenth century, religious knowledge became more than just a spiritual experience: it also had to be felt with the bodily senses. To express this new religious reality, the Franciscan theologian Pierre of John Olivi used the vernacular word “sentiment” to create a new Latin word: *sentimentum*. From then on, religious experience and scientific experience were clearly distinguished.

Outi Lehtipuu:

Lived Scriptures in Late Antiquity

The aim of this presentation is to introduce the Academy of Finland funded research project Lived Scriptures in Late Antiquity: Ascetics, Martyrs, Miracle Workers (2018 – 2022), led by Dr. Outi Lehtipuu and hosted by the Faculty of Theology at the University of Helsinki. The project asks in what various ways the ancients related to authoritative texts, how these ways shaped what they understood as “biblical”, and how this notion influenced their lives. Characterizing scriptures in antiquity as lived, the research directs attention to the corporeality of practices described and implied in them. While acknowledging that sources do not represent all voices in equal measure, the project scrutinizes the variety of lived realities reflected in these texts. Thus, the project contributes to a better understanding of the reciprocal relations between scriptures and their various users, and the formation of collections of authoritative texts.

The project studies early *acta* literature – apocryphal acts, martyr literature and hagiography – as biblical texts. In this way, the project highlights their importance as texts which build on biblical traditions and at the same time sustain and create them. The research is informed by culture and gender critical approaches, appreciating the corporeality of the past, as well as the framework of lived religion. Focusing on biblical texts as lived scriptures, it takes into account the situatedness of each textual act in a particular sociohistorical, cultural and geographical location. We believe that the perspective of lived scriptures provides analytical tools to evaluate developing traditions critically, as well as to reassess contemporary readings which are on a continuum with the past.

For more information please visit <https://www.helsinki.fi/en/researchgroups/lived-scriptures-in-late-antiquity>

Liv Helene Willumsen:

A Narratological Approach to Witchcraft Trials: A Contribution to the History of Experience and Emotion

This presentation will focus on court records from witchcraft trials, particularly the confessions of the accused women, which are narratives, but also courtroom discourse as a whole, as it comes to the fore during the trials. By using a narratological approach to courtroom discourse, and

especially listening out the voices of the accused persons, light will be shed on personalized expressions and individualized accents of each person's voice.

Narratology may be clearly connected to experience or emotion via the narratological category 'Voice' – an analytical tool. Focusing on the Voice of different participants during the trial, it is possible to get access to the emotions and experiences. This holds true particularly for the voice of the accused person and the voices of the witnesses. However, also the voices of the interrogators, the voice of the law, and the voice of the scribe will be possible to listen out.

My outset methodologically is based on Gérard Genette's works on narrative discourse, an interdisciplinary approach combining linguistics and history. Close-readings of sources makes it possible to get access to the various accents of each person's voice, and furthermore to get an understanding of what each person's individual voice expresses.

The presentation will include examples of performed analyses, where close-readings based on narratology are used to show how experience, included emotions, come to the fore in the courtroom during interrogation and confession in witchcraft trials. A methodological practice which aims at letting experienced and emotional strings come to the fore in the discourse of individual accused persons will be focused.

9) Experience as an Analytical Category, A4

Chair: Pertti Haapala

Georg Gangl:

The History of Experiences: A history like anything else?

Experiences have traditionally been given short shrift in historiography and in recent decades lost much of their defining quality in philosophy too. They are often thought of as fleeting, difficult to document, and unreliable and at best only of passing or anecdotal interest in scientific enquiries. However, there is no reason why past experiences should not be the object of a properly conceived (scientific) historiography. While not all history is the history of experiences, I argue that historiography has a common core consisting of ontological presuppositions and epistemic procedures that apply just as well to the study of past experiences as to any other object of historiographic interest. Concretely, I propose a mechanistic account of (social) reality locating experiences at the upper edge of agency and an informational and coherentist account of knowledge and justification through which we can deal with the evidence of past experiences just like with any other form of historical evidence. From this perspective, past experiences might be scrutinized with very different methods—qualitatively, quantitatively including Big Data approaches—depending on the research interest at hand.

The history of experiences incurs in this sense no special problems for historiography or its philosophy and can be considered a normal part of the discipline, though there are other reasons why it might be deemed of special interest to historians and a wider public.

Minna Harjula & Heikki Kokko:

Experience as social construction: towards a structural approach

Our starting point is to approach experiencing as the construction of reality instead of the observation of reality. Our framework is an application of the social constructionism of Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann, combined with the conceptualisations of historically changing temporal structures of experiencing by Reinhart Koselleck. This framework avoids the dichotomy of the nature and culture, because experiencing is seen as a constant dialectic process between

nature and the socially constructed world. The framework does not reduce experiences to language and discourses only, but recognizes the significance of non-lingual and unconscious factors as well. Nevertheless, language is seen as essential in making experiences societally shared.

Based on Berger and Luckmann, we approach experiencing not as an inner process of individual in its essence, but based on constant interaction between subjects. This highlights the experiencing and experiences as societally shared phenomenon, instead of individual psychology. For both Berger & Luckmann and Koselleck, *sedimentation* refers to the process of sharing experiences socially. As experiences are *objectified* via sign systems (such as language and institutional practices), this makes them sedimented and socially shared even to next generations.

Our paper aims to develop the concept of *layer of experience* to analyse the temporal change of the socially shared, sedimented experiences by presenting two case studies. First, Heikki Kokko's macro analysis focuses on how a major change in the social structures creates a new layer of experiences that transforms the structure of experiencing itself. Secondly, Minna Harjula analyses the temporal and spatial structures of lived welfare state institutions in Finland by combining the concepts *layer of experience* and *scene of experience*.

Klaudia Muca:

Between Criticism and Affirmation. Experience Studies in Poland in 20th and 21st Century

Polish experience studies developed as a current of cultural analysis and accompanied the development of such currents of studies as women studies, queer studies, minority studies or disability studies. What is significant while constructing and presenting narration on experience studies in Poland is the fact that experience as a category of humanistic discourse existed long before the introduction of cultural studies in Poland, that is why we might say that there is a tradition of studies on experience. In the presentation this tradition and its dominants are going to be linked with experience studies that came after the dynamic introduction of cultural studies after the democratic transition of 1989. While experience as an objective category of analysis, marking a narration on personal experience and directly leading to a particular point in time, started to become a part of cultural studies discourse, affirmation of this category was to some extent eradicated through introduction of a critical attitude towards the experience as an analytical category. Criticism towards the experience was initially based on assumption that what we think is a narration on experience in fact is a representation of experience. This notion developed in the second half of the 20th century and resulted in establishing a belief that the experience cannot be directly addressed and adequately represented. Humanistic discourse in Poland after 1989 intercepted this belief and developed a particular scientific attitude towards experience as a nomadic concept that is inescapable in the context of narration and representation. The main objective of the presentation is to present and critically address the process of differentiating the concept of experience and scientific attitudes towards it in Poland in 20th and 21st century.

Andreas Rydberg:

Inner Experience

In the last decades a number of studies have shed light on early modern scientific experience. While some of these studies have focused on how new facts were forced out of nature in so-called experimental situations, others have charted long-term transformations. In this paper, which is based on my dissertation *Inner Experience: An Analysis of Scientific Experience in Early Modern Germany* (2017), I explore a rather different facet of scientific experience by focusing on the case of the Prussian university town Halle in the period from the late seventeenth till the mid-eighteenth century. At this site philosophers and physicians were preoccupied with categories such

as *inner senses, inner experience, psychological experiments* and *psychometrics*. In the study I argue that these hitherto almost completely overlooked categories take us away from observations of external things to the internal organisation of experience and to entirely internal objects of experience. Rather than seeing this internal side of scientific experience as mere theory and epistemology, I argue that it was an integral and central part of what has been referred to as the *cultura animi* tradition, that is, the philosophical tradition of approaching the soul as something in need of cultivation, education, discipline and cure.

Parallel IV

Tue, 3 March, 10.45–12.15 (A2b, A3)

10) Experience and Emotion in Legal and Judicial Sources, A2b

Chair: Raisa Toivo

The session explores experience and emotion in legal and judicial source materials from the middle ages to the eighteenth century. We ask how legal conventions shape experience and emotion, how do they make it possible to share emotion – or do they, and, how do we study that. Furthermore, we explore the relationship between experience and emotion in historical analysis?

Sari Katajala Peltomaa:

Experiencing Demonic Presence: corporeality, emotions and the sensate in late medieval canonization processes

Our joint paper explores the relationship between emotion and experience as concepts of historical analysis. Starting with case studies of judicial court records (medieval canonization processes and early modern secular court records), it will explore emotions as judicial proof, and how past experiences of lived religion can be analysed through them. The case studies deal with miraculous cure and communion in medieval and early modern contexts. Focusing on, ritual and materiality, we aim at further understanding of the concept of experience.

Louise Nyholm Kallestrup:

Methodological Considerations in the Emotions and Experience of Witchcraft

In my presentation, I intend to discuss some of the methodological considerations in my current project on the emotions and experience of witchcraft. The Danish king Christian IV provides an interesting case when historicising these concepts. On the one hand he was a learned man and deeply religious. On the other he was convinced of the powers of witches. His own encounters with witchcraft illustrates the way emotions, experience and subjectivity become important drivers in the course of history. The king himself encountered witchcraft on several occasions inside as well as outside the courts. In my presentation I will draw on some of the trials in which he personally interfered.

Emilie Luther Sjøby:

How to be(come) the perfect inmate: Feeling rules as basis for emotional labour within an eighteenth-century prison workhouse

I am currently working on a project exploring the experience of imprisonment in eighteenth century Denmark. Here, I often come across the question of representativity in my source material; which largely can be contributed to the fact that most of my sources were

constructed by the prison warden and not the inmates themselves. For instance, between 1769 and 1789, the warden of the Copenhagen prison workhouse wrote c. 300 statements on inmates' behaviour in connection to petitions made for their release from the institution. For a prisoner to obtain early release, they had to show improvement in their behaviour, and they had to have a way of obtaining a reliable income outside of the prison. At least, that is what the prison warden expressed in several of his statements. But are these statements then merely a representation of the prison warden's beliefs and his interpretation of the feeling rules of society? Or will they also allow us to access to the experiences and efforts made by those of the inmates whom the statements concerned?

In this paper, I seek to explore the representational value of the statements. Inspired by Arlie Russel Hochschild's theory of feeling rules and emotional labour, I contend that if an inmate knew how to "work the system" (that is, the feeling rules as dictated by the prison warden) the inmate would be able to portray themselves as "the perfect inmate" (that is, use emotional labour) in order to receive a positive statement from the warden and thereby obtain early release from the prison workhouse.

11) Childhood Experiences, A3

Chair: Stephanie Olsen

Ulla Aatsinki:

Childhood Experiences in Politicians' Memoirs

I examine childhood experiences of Finnish Members of Parliament, more closely, how they have told that they have learned political and social attitudes and values through every-day discussions, practices and actions. I am interested, how they strengthen members' belonging to their community, but also exclusion of other communities – also after childhood. I ask how experiences of the post-civil war society and civic education were membered as affecting factors of world view. My hypothesis is that childhood experiences do matter for world view, but how much they have been covered by time, is an issue. Research data consists of the interviews of the former Members of Parliament in the Library of Parliament. The first interviews were made in the 90's and among them I chose the ones which were born in 1925 or before that. I have already researched childhood experiences of the Socialist MPs. They underlined their social background and activities in the working-class environment as important factors for their political awareness. In my paper I will compare socialist MPs' experiences with conservative MPs' experiences to study if the experiences of the post-war society were carried into ideas, world view and political choices by the both sides. Methodologically examining child's experiences through interviews made 60 or more years later is demanding, is it at least possible! I look through the data by classifying, close-reading, and combining memory, experience and emotion with layers of context to find out and date individual and collective learning outcomes of the MPs.

Kirsi-Maria Hytönen:

Interviewing on experiences of difficult childhood

Oral history interviews about difficult childhood experiences are never easy, either for the interviewee or the interviewer. This paper addresses the role of the interviewer on a fairly practical, methodological level. I analyse the challenges I have faced when interviewing informants about their difficult childhood memories. I contemplate questions of trust, safety, silence, empathy and sympathy. How to elicit difficult memories? How to break a silence, or how to respect

interviewee's wish to maintain silence on certain themes? The interviewer's responsibility is to create a safe space where the interviewee can feel comfortable and able to recount traumatic memories. What does this safe space mean, and is it also safe for the interviewer? Sometimes the interviewee suddenly divulges disturbing information and interviewer should react supportively and sympathetically. In my experience, this is not always possible. The paper maintains claim that interviewers are also humans, and it is not always possible to maintain a so-called "professional face" while doing research on sensitive, difficult topics. The paper proposes ways to support the interviewer, to prepare for disharmonies in interviews, and to move on after a challenging interview.

Heidi Morrison:

Portraiture as a Method of Capturing Past Human Experience: A case study of war trauma in Palestinian history

This paper looks at how historians can use Sarah Lawrence-Lightfoot's method of "Portraiture" to conceptualize and understand past human experience. The goal of portraiture is to blend artistic expression with systematic empirical research to capture the complex and subtle dynamics of human experience (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1994). The portraitist paints with words a person's life story. Portraiture is a method employed by anthropologists and sociologists who reject the constraints of ethnography and biography to capture contemporary human experience.

Historians are well suited to employ Portraiture to their work on the past. Portraiture requires the historical method, i.e. systematic and empirical description based on primary sources and contextualization. To a certain extent, Portraiture is similar to microhistory, in that they both ask larger questions in small places. History emerges from the intimate spaces in which humans function. However, the distinguishing feature of Portraiture is its use of aesthetic and sensory expression (i.e. metaphors, rhythms, tone, etc.) to capture what it means to be human. The portraitist recovers past experiences without imposing his/her own. He/she does so in a way that engages the senses and makes room for affect, unqualified emotion. If the historian of experiences seeks to capture the way people felt in the past, then why not imbue feeling in the method of writing itself?

This paper explores these issues through the case study of Palestinians who grew up during the second intifada, a period of intensified conflict between 2000-2006. The paper seeks to use Portraiture to capture the experience of childhood war trauma in the recent past. The paper includes a sample portrait, as well as analysis of that portrait. The portrait is based on oral histories, artifacts, and observations I have collected in Palestine for the last eight years. The paper pushes the bounds of conventional war history in its use of Portraiture.

Parallel V

Tue, 3 March, 13.15–15.15 (A2b, A3, A4)

12) Institutions and Margins

Chair: Minna Harjula

Johanna Annola:

Tracing spiritual experiences in poorhouse inspection records, 1890s–1910s

Tracing spiritual experiences in poorhouse inspection records, 1890s–1910s A network of municipal poorhouses was established in Finland after English, Danish and Swedish models from

the 1860s onwards. These institutions were intended for the able-bodied and the infirm poor alike. Poorhouses were regularly inspected by state poor relief officials. In addition, an inspection was often held if there were shortcomings or conflicts in the institution – to set things right. As a result, there exists an ample collection of inspection records that cover the years from the early 1890s to the late 1910s. This paper discusses the ways in which individual experiences can be traced by close reading of normative documents. What kind of spiritual experiences can be found in poorhouse inspection records? How does the researcher deal with the fact that these documents often include accounts of difficulties and anomalies rather than those of normal life? Does this kind of source material inevitably lead into a study that presents spiritual experiencing as problematic?

Sophy Bergenheim:

Preserving the ‘welfare spirit’: Explorations into a professional-personal-political concept in social welfare, 1940–1950s Finland

In one of the case studies in my doctoral dissertations, I set out to analyse how a non-governmental social welfare organisation positioned and profiled itself in a professional journal in respect to, firstly, social welfare as a profession and as a policy field, and secondly, the expanding welfare state.

My analysis revealed an unexpected but interesting key concept: the ‘welfare spirit’ (huoltohenki). It was a professional concept that nonetheless seemed to transcend the tensioned borders between organisations, policies and individuals; the social welfare worker’s professional self and personal self; rational and objective expertise, and spiritual and idealistic calling. The welfare spirit crystallised a social welfare ideal that was based on an ideational ‘holy trinity’ of expertise, collective solidarity and inspired dedication. It served as a guiding principle for social welfare workers as individuals, social welfare organisations as well as social welfare policy.

In my presentation, I take a deep dive into the concept, including methodological approaches and reflections as well as historical contextualisation. I discuss the connection between professional expertise, objective fairness in governance and policy practices, and Christian/spiritual rhetoric. I also bring forth gendered aspects and tensions in perceptions of profession and calling: are they mutually exclusive or complementary features?

Jesper Vaczy Kragh & Stine Grønbak Jensen:

Living with Coercion: Past and Present Experiences in Danish Residential Institutions

During the early 20th century, an increasing number of Danes with intellectual disabilities were institutionalised, and by the late 1960s, more than 9,000 children and adults were placed in large residential institutions. According to the Danish Constitution, the right to personal freedom is inviolable. For persons with intellectual disabilities, however, exceptions to this right have been enacted. In the early 20th century, these exceptions were extensive, permitting measures such as enforced detention and compulsory sterilisation. Today, coercion can still be applied, but only to ensure care of persons with disabilities. Little is known, however, how Danes with intellectual disability have experienced this. In an ongoing research project, we explore experiences of people in 20th and 21st century residential care by analysing archival sources and life history interviews. In our talk, we will link the history of disability with that of the Danish welfare state and discuss how political decisions have affected the lives of people with intellectual disabilities. Then, we compare past and present experiences of coercion in residential care. Finally, we discuss issues relating to methodology: what are the pitfalls and advantages of using interviews and comparing historical and current experiences of institutional care?

Katariina Parhi:

Using drugs in Finland in the 1960s and 70s

The so-called first drug wave at the end of the 1960s caused a lot of heated discussion in Finland. Although drugs were not a new phenomenon, the use had been more or less marginal. Suddenly there were thousands of young people experimenting on drugs.

The experiences of those young people have been a challenging topic to study due to many reasons. For example, the use was illegal, which meant that there were only very few who spoke openly about life in the streets. Many of the records that used to exist have been destroyed by now. Experts who were trying to help people battling with addiction often remark that many of them were not able to verbalise their experiences and feelings, which is another challenge in trying to understand what they went through. And many of them died young or suffered from serious health problems.

Medical records offer some angles to drug use and drug culture in Finland in the 1960s and 70s. The voice of people with addiction is mediated in the records because it was the professionals who wrote down their own interpretations as part of treatment plans and as evidence of diagnoses. Despite this, the records are valuable sources in studying drugs and their users in the past. My paper takes a closer look at records of the Järvenpää Addiction Hospital, which was and is an institution located 45 kilometres away from the capital city Helsinki. I present some of my findings as examples of ways to use medical records in studying the history of experiences.

13) *Experiencing Intimacy*, A3

Chair: Reetta Eiranen

Eva Johanna Holmberg:

Nightmarish travel experiences in the journal of Richard Norwood (1590-1670)

Richard Norwood's manuscript journal and travel autobiography 'Confessions' is a fascinating source for studies of early modern life writing and travel in addition to being a personal account of conversion and the many spiritual and bodily trials this included. Born about 1590, Norwood had a complex history of seafaring and maritime employment already behind him when he wrote his journal in Bermuda c. 1639-40, having been employed as a sailor, diver, teacher of mathematics, and a land surveyor. This paper explores the ways in which Norwood's peculiar and idiosyncratic manuscript marries the forms and modes of picaresque travel writing and retrospective spiritual autobiography, influencing the ways in which we can read it as a testimony and reconstruction of a mobile life full of emotion, self-doubt and spiritual struggles. Especially Norwood's youthful wanderings in continental Europe (being lured by Catholicism, and bodily sin) is in the journal as if sandwiched between long deliberations about faith, providence and struggles to find a calling in life. I will argue that in order to gain a fuller understanding of these themes, the structural building blocks, construction processes, and later transmission of the journal should be taken into account.

Ina Lindblom:

Making sense of romantic jealousy in late 18th-century Sweden

In 1796, shortly after marrying for the second time, Swedish priest Pehr Stenberg (1758-1824) started to experience intense romantic jealousy characterised by strong suspicions that his new wife was being unfaithful to him – suspicions that would with time grow increasingly delusional

and take over his life completely. This experience is portrayed in minute detail in Stenberg's life description – a 5 000-page starkly emotional depiction he wrote of his life.

The purpose of this paper is to examine Stenberg's attempt to make sense of this experience of emotional turmoil and discuss what this example can tell us about wider conceptions of jealousy. There is little historical research concentrating on the emotion of jealousy and existing research indicate a paucity of early modern sources explicitly grappling with this emotion. From Stenberg's point of view, his painful emotional state is both related to the lack of love within his marriage, seen as a bout of insanity, as a punishment from God and as a case of gout attaching itself to his heart. It is also connected to conceptions of honour. These discursive and conceptual links will be examined in this paper. With little research to offer connection to early modern thoughts on jealousy, what can be said of Stenberg's single, albeit detailed, experience?

Ulla Ijäs:

Mobile people and mobile goods – The urban experience in the Great Northern War

“Knowing about people's possessions is crucial to understand their experience of daily life” are the opening words of Tara Hamling and Catharine Richardson in their *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings* (2010). Indeed, material objects may help us to understand how people saw themselves and their peers, how they reacted to and interacted with the social, cultural and economic structures and changes. Hence, in this paper, I will demonstrate that by studying material culture we will gain a deeper understanding about the past human experiences, we will be able to connect individual and society and pass the gap between individual agency and social and cultural structures.

The case study in this paper is based on the close reading of lower court protocols from three northern Baltic towns, namely Vyborg, Narva and Tallinn during the Great Northern War. Then, there were a great number of people on the move, carrying various material objects with them. At the period of scarcity, even the tiniest material object had a value in exchange and surviving processes. The aim is to understand human experiences during a crisis period; what goods people carried with them, what sort of goods were valued, how goods were traded and exchanged and what can be said about gendered practices and experiences?

Tomasz Wiślicz:

The experience of intimacy in pre-modern peasant societies

The aim of the presentation is to conceptualize the experience of intimacy in the scope of the research on pre-modern peasant societies. Intimacy is understood here as a historically and culturally specific type of interpersonal relations that is based on physical and emotional closeness, occurring in both sexual and non-sexual contexts (e.g. within family or friendship). The relevance of the use of this concept for pre-modern peasants will be discussed in the light of current theorizations of the issue and historical research, as well as in regard to the functioning representations of pre-modern peasant culture. Subsequently, the social, mental and material framework within which the peasant experience of intimacy may have taken place will be characterized.

Such conceptualisation of the research subject raises questions about the potential sources for analysis and the method of their interpretation. This problem will be discussed on the basis of data from a survey I have conducted on the individual experience of marriage and various forms of informal relationships in the Polish countryside from the 17th to 18th centuries. Presentation of this material will allow for the showing of opportunities and limitations of research on the

experience in premodern social contexts and it will also indicate the possible comparisons in the long term and in the wider social perspective.

14) Experience and Idealism, A4

Chair: Pertti Haapala

All the papers in our session take as their starting point the German idealistic conceptualization of 'Experience'. The romantic notion of the reality as we know it as a primarily mentally constructed phenomenon – as suggested by e.g. G.W.F. Hegel – was a point of reference to a multitude of theories in political science, philosophy and jurisprudence, which shaped the intellectual history of continental Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries. Rather than concentrating on that original idealistic perception of 'Experience', our papers seek to analyze its afterlife, show the ways in which 'Experience' became a contested idea and concept in Continental European social sciences and how its meaning changed according to the personal experiences of the ones who reinterpreted it. The individual papers of the session scrutinize how a) intellectuals used this discourse to give meaning to their personal experiences within the turbulent events of the 20th century, b) it was used to address new political and social imperatives (for example human rights) in contemporary society, c) it was refined with the means of historiography as a heuristic and pragmatic tool in jurisprudence, and lastly, d) how can we critically evaluate the tradition and seek novel ways to understand ideologies with the means of 'Experience'.

Ville Erkkilä:

"The peculiar experience of law". 'Experience' in German legal science and legal history

This paper scrutinizes the conceptual history of 'legal experience' in 20th century Germany. Since the establishment of genuine legal "science" in the 19th century, continental legal scholars were engaged in defining the rules and standards of morally right and fair interpretation and adjudication. To come up with the task, legal scholars borrowed the concept of 'Experience' from German idealistic philosophy and shaped it into a jurisprudential idea. 'Legal experience' was a means to give a just adjudication in cases where the letter of law did not provide a straight answer, and a heuristic tool that helped to understand the meaning of law in the legal history of Europe.

To National Socialist 'Experience' was a central theme. To Nazis war experience and experience of comradeship between fellow soldiers were above any other form of knowing. With the help of collaborative scholars, Nazis introduced their conceptualization into the realm of Academia and legal science. 'Legal experience' in the jurisprudence and legal historiography of the 1930s and early 1940s Germany was an affective understanding of justice which helped to distinct between "foreign" (Jewish) law" and national legal tradition and to reinterpret legal history in a way that it backed the coercive National Socialist politics.

After the Second World War, German legal science had to provide an explanation to the havoc of legal system in the Third Reich, justify the deeds of the legal professoriate who had more or less collaborated with the Fascists, and reinstate the foundations for the new "healthy" jurisprudence without losing the conceptual core of the national legal order. That reconstructive process was carried out by redefining the concept of 'legal experience' as an implementation of personal conscience and metaphysical capability. Legal historiography concentrated on vast narratives of European legal history, and the development of the scholarly experience of law in European legal tradition. Such a history enabled an explanation to the Nazi "aberration" as well as

justified the place of the legal scholars within the national legal system, despite the wrong turn taken after the National Socialist seizure of power.

Tuukka Brunila:

War and the origin of contemporary sovereignty: Re-examining Carl Schmitt's writings during the First World War

The First World War, in its intensity and destruction, brought about a consciousness in European societies that they were "mortal," as Paul Valéry phrased it. Valéry writes that, now, after the war "the abyss of history is broad enough for everyone." Peter Sloterdijk elaborates this poetic articulation by noting that before the war, people spoke of nations such as France, England, and Russia "as universals in national forms," whereas "the 9 million men sent into the fire on the fronts, gave mortality a new meaning." Nations, as Sloterdijk claims, thus realized their own mortality

My paper discusses how this experience of mortality influenced political theory. I will establish this by analysing Carl Schmitt, who writes in the 1922 version of his Political Theology (clearly echoing this experience of mortality) that "the victory of evil is self-evident and certain. Only a God's miracle can deter it." I will establish this by analysing an article written by Schmitt in 1917, called Dictatorship and the State of Siege, and discuss its relevance to Schmitt's Weimar era political theory. In this article, Schmitt wants to work out the space within which the military commander – appointed specifically to conquer a state of exception – can succeed in fulfilling the task that he is given. I argue that this text already presages his transformative Weimar era theory of sovereignty.

My paper suggests that in the wartime article Schmitt already seems to work out the 20th century problem of sovereignty. In this sense, the First World War is a historically novel event in the history of political theory. The war had total in the sense that it called for the total organization and mobilization of society. For Schmitt this meant that the limits of sovereign power must be re-negotiated during the state of war in order to save the state from collapsing, either from external or internal pressure. What my presentation thus discusses is how historical experiences can have an effect on how the structures of political power are rearticulated.

Pedro Magalhaes:

Can Ideology Be Meaningfully Experienced?

The word 'ideology' has a reputation and that reputation, in principle, would exclude the possibility of it being meaningfully experienced. If, indeed, ideology designates a distortion, a false set of ideas and beliefs that people adhere to without recognizing the 'real' conditions from which they arise, then there is scarcely anything meaningful in the domain of 'lived' or 'experienced' ideology. On the contrary, according to this perspective, meaning lies in the critique of ideology, in shredding through it to get to the heart and bottom of things – a job which is reserved either to the social thinker or to the vanguard political activist, but not to the 'common people'. Another, more benign but perhaps less sophisticated reading of ideology, interprets the concept simply as the ideas and beliefs people use to justify the ways they navigate through the most diverse issues on the political agenda. In that sense, ideologies are of course meaningful components of one's political experience, but also omnipresent and, in a way, trivial.

In this paper, I seek to bridge the gap between these two contrasting conceptions of ideology. In order to do so, I will discuss and compare two distinct literatures on the topic: on the one hand, the reconsideration of ideology in the Western Marxist and neo-positivist traditions (Gramsci, Lefort, Kelsen), on the other, the more recent approach to political ideologies put

forward by Michael Freeden. My contention is that one can treat ideologies as meaningful experiences without losing the critical edge of the original Marxian conception.

Ville Suuronen:

Debating the twentieth-century experience of crisis and the new concept of human rights

This paper compares the two radically diverging diagnoses of crisis that defines the work of the two German political theorists, Carl Schmitt and Hannah Arendt. While both thinkers understand the modern era as one in which the Greco-Roman tradition of Western thought gradually begins to lose its authoritative stance through secularization, individualization and atomization of modern societies, both thinkers offer vastly different diagnoses of the inner mechanics of this process. Whereas Schmitt always emphasized that World War I formed the decisive break in the continuum of Euro-centric history and saw World War II as a consequence of the first, Arendt argued that it was only the completely unprecedented catastrophe of the holocaust that forced us to fundamentally rethink our understanding of politics, ethics and law. The paper argues that the differences between Schmitt and Arendt are crystallized in their utterly opposing understandings of the meaning of human rights as a new political concept in the twentieth century: While Schmitt argues that this universalistic and profoundly anti-political notion of human rights is nothing but a new imperialistic concept devised to subdue the losing party of the great wars, the Germans, Arendt maintains the catastrophes the twentieth century force us to reconceptualize politics on a new ethical-juridical basis, on the “the right to have rights,” as Arendt famously puts it in *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1951).

Parallel VI

Tue, 3 March, 15.30–17.30 (A2b, A3, A4)

15) Experiences of War, Mass Violence and Persecution, A2b

Chair: Ville Kivimäki

In this panel we'll explore ways to study experiences of war and mass violence, both the direct experiences and the meaning making for individuals and societies. Four NIOD researchers will reflect on their specific topics of expertise and the ways in which they study the experiences of the people caught up in war, mass violence and persecution.

Ismee Tames:

Liminality and the Use of Digitized Sources: How to Explore the Experiences of the Stateless

This paper explores how a concept like liminality can help us developing a sensitivity for the ambiguity of historical sources and data. I will elaborate on this by looking at the case study of people who became stateless in the context of war and persecution in Europe in the first half of the 20th century. How can a concept like liminality and the availability of more (digitalized) sources like those in the Arolsen Archives on Europe's Displaced Persons (DPs) help us come closer to the experience of statelessness?

People who become or are made stateless often also experience a specific kind of persecution or precariousness closely connected to dynamics around the idea of 'the enemy within' or those who are deemed disloyal, outsiders or traitors who need to be evicted, controlled, punished or otherwise purged from the imagined community. Revoking nationality thus is an act by the state that renders part of its own former citizens vulnerable to the violence of the state

itself or other actors and without a state that protects their rights. A crucial part of the experience of the stateless is (life-long) mobility: either because of deportation, persecution, war or simply looking for (more permanent) shelter.

This mobility means that much of the data we have are those of organizations that register DPs or refugees and their whereabouts, giving us a clue of these organizations and their employees but also of the ways in which stateless people 'negotiated' their way through these systems: what kinds of information did they provide or not and how did that change? What stands out when we look at the heterogeneous group of stateless people in Europe in the mid-20th century? Next to former Jewish citizens of for instance Germany and Austria, we will find people stateless due to the Armenian genocide, the Russian Civil War, the Spanish Civil War, due to being born from stateless parents, people from Roma or Sinti descend, people stateless because of border shifts after the First World War, maybe even people from outside Europe, etcetera. Exploring the sources looking for the stateless people's (lack of) agency can give us a hint of their experiences, emotions and expectations in this liminal situation.

Thijs Bouwknecht:

Re-Experiencing Atrocity in Ethiopia Through Transitional Justice

In transitional justice, historical injustices catalyse contemporary justice initiatives. Trials and truth commissions summon the past, historical sources and historical testimony. In order to do so: these post-mass violence justice mechanisms must catch up with time and re-experience the haunting past. Such revisiting of the past, by itself, is a historical experience. This presentation discusses how victims, survivors and perpetrators of mass atrocity violence re-experience historical injustices through giving public oral testimony in criminal trials and before truth commissions. It will do so by discussing a unique war crimes trial. In 2017 I attended and recorded a unique trial in the Netherlands against an Ethiopian man, Eshetu Alemu. He was accused of war crimes, massacre and torture in Ethiopia during the rule of the ultra-communist and violence Dergue-regime (1978-1981).

Through the perspective of the Alemu trial, the paper shows the methodological necessity for historians of mass violence of observing and treating transitional justice phenomena a live experience of historical reckoning. By doing so, the presentation argues that testifying about mass violence is a particular experience as well, which is part of a coming to terms with the past. Trial attendance allows for witnessing, experiencing and recording such experiences. Overall, such research practice does not only broadly inform and nuance, but also enrich historians' understandings, analyses and writings about mass violence and the subsequent dealing with that mass violence.

Peter Romijn:

Colonial War as a "Prefab Experience"

After the Second World War in Europe had come to an end in May 1945, the Netherlands engaged in a continuation of war and mass violence as part of the effort to restore colonial rule in Indonesia. In 1942, this former Dutch colony had been occupied by Japan. After the defeat of Japan, the Indonesian national movement had proclaimed an independent Republic in order to sever colonial ties. In the subsequent years, the Dutch sent an expeditionary force overseas, consisting of some 150.000 volunteers, conscripts and professional military. The war would last until the end of 1949, as the Dutch finally decided to concede to Indonesian independence. The conflict had cost the lives of at least 1 Million Indonesian fighters and civilians, as well as of some 6000 Dutch soldiers and 15.000 up to 25.000 Dutch and Eurasian civilians. I discuss the way in

which the Dutch troops that were sent overseas experienced their own role in the conflict. I will argue that these experiences were not just generated by a day-to-day participation in the conflict as such. From my point of view, the training of the troops included a discursive preparation for the troubles they would meet.

I will focus on the interpretative frameworks of the conflict that were intended to enable them to make sense of their role, in particular during their 5-6 weeks transport by ship to the colonial combat zone. I assume that the term “prefab” may be a fitting metaphor because the industrial principle of applying basic elements for constructing collective, homogeneous, “one size fits all”, elements is applicable. A dominating colonial mentality of the nation as well as the recent collective experience of the Second World War was translated into purposes and values of the war: fighting insurgents incited by Japan, restoring peace and order, promoting development. At the same time, the massive deployment of troops was seen as an instrument to restore national cohesion and solidarity. In such a way the discourses were offered by which the troops would be able to make sense of their mission, and, in the end, explain why they had to resort to acts of cruelty, mass violence, and crimes of war

Marleen van der Berg:

Describing the persecution, return and redress of ‘the’ Jewish Community in Rotterdam

“I lost my hope, and I only have faith in you.”... , a Jewish woman from Rotterdam writes during the Second World War to her daughter about her loss of everything; her house, her possessions, and her life before the arrival of the Nazis in the Netherlands. The letters are one of the few insights we have in how someone from the Jewish community of Rotterdam has experienced the persecution by the Nazis.

Although the Jewish community of Rotterdam was the third largest in the Netherlands on the verge of the Second World War, little is known about them. Both in the historiography of the Jewish community in the Netherlands and the historiography of the persecution of the Jews in the Netherlands, the Jews of Rotterdam are rarely mentioned. Problematic in researching the persecution of the Jews is therefore the relative lack of personal documents about this era. How did they experience the persecution, the removal of possessions, and more importantly, the loss of their family, relatives and community?

This raises the methodological question: how to reflect on this history, that is so personal, without much personal insights? Can the individual speak for the community? Is it possible to write a history of a community with few personal resources available?

16) Sources and Methods of Studying Experience, A3

Chair: Tanja Vahtikari

Anneleen Arnout:

Fishwrap: The digitized newspaper as a source for the history of emotional experience

In the fall of 2019, an article published in Nature caused turmoil among historians. In the article, scholars had applied text mining techniques to historical newspapers and novels to uncover the year in which the British people had been at their happiest. In an opinion piece in The New Statesman historian dr. Hannah Rose Woods rightfully criticized the approach. Apart from taking issue with the anachronistic approach to emotion, her criticism was mainly focused on the irresponsible way in which newspapers had been used to gauge the ‘mood’ of the nation. The

authors – and the journalists that had summarized their arguments – had neglected to perform even the most basic of source criticism practices.

In this paper, I want to start from this debate to explore whether there is a historically sound and responsible way of using newspapers to study the emotional experiences of people in the past. To what degree do newspapers offer us access to past experiences? What methods and techniques could we use to study them? What benefits might they have over more ‘traditional’ sources used to trace individuals’ experiences, such as diaries and letters. In this paper I will apply these methodological questions to the case of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century urban space. Over the years, scholars have used different types of sources to try and understand how people experienced their changing urban surroundings in this critical moment of urbanization. Using empirical evidence for Amsterdam, I will explore the possibilities of using newspapers to recover emotional experience.

Girija Kizhakke Pattathil:

The Transgressive potential of Narrative Tropes: Interplay of Knowledge and Experience

The life narratives of Ayurveda practitioners in India are often an amalgamation of facts, imagination, and exaggeration. They fall between hagiography and history that consists of mythological and imaginative narratives mixed with their personal experiences of treatment. They represent a historical moment and a gradually changing phase of society and show the transgressive potential of corporeal behaviour within the rigid caste system of the early twentieth centuries. The narratives consist of metaphors and symbols which can be interpreted in many ways even though in the narration, a practitioner’s role is sometimes subversive to the caste narratives. This was also a time of transition: many of the rigid and enclosed boundaries of the caste system had started transforming in myriad ways. Some of the narrative tropes in the life narratives of the practitioners that I have analysed in this work show the potential for transgressing taboos and rigid norms set within a colonial and post-colonial historical time when the transition as well as the resistance to change co-existed. There were unique ways to deal with or circumvent the norms set by a social order in which corporeal behaviour had a distinct role in exhibiting the rigidity of the social order. In fact, the code of conduct that preserved the hierarchy was entrenched and ritualized through corporeal practices. The ideas and status created within the restricted codes of tactility, visibility as well as the utilization of space were subverted through the transgressive potential of a narrative trope.

Pia Koivunen:

Autoethnographic approach to experience: what can we historians learn from it?

This paper explores the possibilities of autoethnographic approach to the study of experience. Autoethnography is a form of qualitative research that is based on researcher’s self-reflection and writing as a means to examine one’s personal experiences and to connect this autobiographical material to wider cultural, social and political meanings and understandings.

This paper has been inspired by the work of scholars in educational studies Iveta Silova, Nelli Piattoeva and Zsuzsa Millei. In their previous and current projects, Silova, Piattoeva and Millei have employed their own personal memories to explore the cultural, political and social aspects of their childhoods in socialist societies. One of the aims of their project has been de-colonizing knowledge production: to make children actors in their own stories and their voices heard.

By drawing on my experiences in Piattoeva’s and Millei’s method workshop, where we explored autoethnography in practice, this paper discusses the possibilities and difficulties of employing the method in the historical research of experience. It tackles three issues. First, it

ponders in which type of research we could use our own memories as sources, if at all. Second, the paper lists the limits that being simultaneously a researcher and an object of research poses. Last, it explains how autoethnography – studying a topic as an insider – may help us to become better historians by making us more conscious of predetermined patterns in our thinking and allowing us to see through processing our own memories how the stories of the past are constructed.

Bruno Lefort:

Documenting and conceptualizing experiences in postwar societies through collaborative methods

This paper examines the use of collaborative methods in my ethnographic exploration of human experiences in a postwar society. It argues that these collaborative methods not only enable to collect subjective experiences, but also underline how these experiences have been composed in practice as the result of the interplay between individual trajectories and collective constructions of meaning.

Collaborative methods refer to methods that deliberately emphasize collaboration with the research participants. Because they shift the mission of the ethnographer from “reading above the native’s shoulder” to “reading with the native”, they offer a heuristic tool to document human experiences as embedded in their societal contexts. The paper details how in my ethnographic study of the interplay between identification and memory among the Lebanese youth, I relied on three kinds of collaborative methods: photo-elicited interviews, map-elicited interviews and date-elicited interviews. Each of these techniques enables an exploration of experiences at the same time flexible (adapting to every participant) and systematic (the same photos, blank maps and dates were used for all). Offering a stable element from which the participants are free to construct the narration of their experiences, these techniques illustrate how much, to narrate one’s own experiences, people draw on specific tropes, collective and/or ideological stories existing in their society or social group. Therefore, the collaborative methods highlight the bridges and the gaps between individual and collective interpretations of experiences. Accordingly, they become for me not only the practical methods to collect lived experiences but also the key to conceptualize the dialogic constructions connecting individuals and society.

17) Immigration and Cultural Encounters, A4

Chair: Hanna Lindberg

Laurence Prempain:

“Je vous prie d’agr er mes salutations les plus respectueuses”*: Migrants’ letters to the French administration: strategies versus control. 1930s-1940s

In the course of my presentation, I will demonstrate how migrants’ letters preserved in administrative nominative files of the French “Bureau des  trangers” [office of foreigners] can reinforce our knowledge on migrants themselves as well as on host country’s policies. I will investigate the question of what do these letters tell about connections between individual and society.

In the French historiography, studies on the 1930s and 1940s’ migrations mostly focus on politics and policies of the host country in terms of assimilation and integration or exclusion. Consequently, migrants are always seen as an informal and mostly passive mass, incapable of acting. Regardless the degree of dependence of foreigners upon the French administration, which

turns this population group from an inclusive space into an exclusive one, I argue that men and women actively try to find solutions.

Through concrete study cases of foreigners settled in France and confronted to French politic of exclusion, I will show that letters reveal of their strategies which French administration take into account to modify policies and narrow if not close regulatory gaps. Beforehand, I will explain how a process in which a collection of letters scattered in thousands of files forms a forceful gateway system. Indeed, in terms of gathered similar subjective experiences, it permits exploring migrants' experiences and administration counter reaction.

* Please accept my most respectful greetings

Kirsti Salmi-Niklander:

Exploring the immigrant experience through narrative analysis of archival materials

Narrative analysis is an important tool for approaching the immediate experience in historical archival materials. Previously, I have applied the “small stories”-methodology (Michael Bamberg, Alexandra Georgakopoulou) for the analysis of travel stories and local event narratives in handwritten newspapers in 19th and early-20th-century Finland (Salmi-Niklander 2014, 2017). Analysing the narrative interaction with historical archival materials is a challenging task, but digital materials provide new possibilities for contextualization and exploration of large materials. In my paper I will focus on *Walotar*, a hand-written newspaper written in the temperance society *Walon Leimu* in the Finnish community of Rockport, Massachusetts, 1903-1925. Running into ca 1200 pages, *Walotar* is an exceptionally large and complete collection of handwritten newspapers. It was written to empty ledgers and rather resembles a collective diary or a commonplace book. *Walotar* is archived at Finnish American Heritage Center (Hancock, MI). The writers *Walotar* openly reflect the immigrant experience and everyday life in the immigrant community. The language is a mixture of “Finglish” (English vocabulary spelled in Finnish manner), nonstandard Finnish and dialect expressions.

I will focus on two genres, which depict everyday interaction and experiences: local event narratives and wellerisms, popular sayings published under the title “*Luuknapei*”. The main questions are: How do Finnish immigrants create and maintain their community, their own time and space? How are the social and political tensions and gender aspects reflected?

Samira Saramo:

Feeling Places of Historical Inquiry

As a researcher of Finnish immigrant history in Canada and the United States, over time, the communities, events, and organizations I study have come to seem quite familiar. With a commitment to transdisciplinary history of everyday life, I aim in my work to get at what something may feel like – a particular moment in time, a particular encounter, a particular place. My quest is one to “see and feel, and occasionally hear, taste, and smell” the moments and experiences I am researching (Atteberry, 2007, 166). Most often, I turn to the archives in order to piece together documents and traces that may together offer some sense of the feelings of being present in that moment which is now past. I have developed a strong mental map of Finnish immigrant social, cultural, and physical landscapes, yet I found myself feeling increasingly unsettled. While a place name may begin to trigger in mind a series of historical events and actors, how much can I know about the lay of the land or the feel of a place and how its landscape works in relation to the people, economies, and structures operating there if I have never actually stepped foot there? In this presentation, I will share my ongoing journey to build place- and sense-based ethnographic fieldwork practice(s) into my historical inquiry. Through theoretical

engagement with emotional geographies, assemblage, and reverie, I ask what, if anything, can change if I allow myself to feel all the things that came from being in place.

Mirko Sardelić:

The Influence of Culture and Identity on the Experience and Expression of Emotions: Historical Examples from Southeast Europe

Culture, socialization, and experience influence how we think. Culture and identity affect how we experience and express emotions as well. Culture tends to regulate behaviour, values, and emotions; it supports some emotional practices and suppresses others; it also has more elaborate cognitive elaboration for some emotions ('hypercognized' and 'hypocognized' emotions). Physical/social/political environment shapes the culture, which in turn influences experience of space and time, sense of (in)security, nature of contacts and other.

The author presents some examples of perception and reactions to Others (especially in conflict), and of experiencing and expressing emotions in wartime and migration. In focus of his research are Christian communities of late medieval and early modern Southeast Europe and their relations with the Mongol/Ottoman Other within the (perceived) opposition:

Christian/civilised/sedentary vs infidel/barbaric/nomadic. Christian worldview influences descriptions, experiences, emotional states, references, perceptions, coping mechanisms etc.

One of author's suggestions on research of experience can be summarized as follows: 1) (Cultural) Historians should be acquainted (as much as possible) with methodologies and theories in cognitive and other sciences in order to better identify and more accurately interpret cultural influences and historical changes of experience; 2) In turn, history of experience, like history of emotions, can provide a sort of collective anamnesis to be referred to by sciences; i.e. a base for analysing and comparative study of variations of experience in different periods and/or across cultures.

Parallel VII

Wed, 4 March, 9.30–11.30 (A3, A4)

18) Contingency of Emotion and Experience, A3

Chair: Ville Kivimäki & Tuomas Tepora

The history of emotions has become a thriving focus within the discipline of history, but it has in the process gained a critical purchase that makes it relevant for other disciplines concerned with emotion research. Work within the history of emotions has reached a level of maturity and sophistication, both in its theoretical and methodological orientation, and in its sheer quantity of empirical research, that its contribution to emotion knowledge within the broad framework of emotion research has now to be acknowledged and applied. History is not merely additive to psychological methods, nor is it merely background. If history's contribution to emotion knowledge means anything, then it should mean the disruption of the very starting point of emotion research. A deep collaboration between historians and emotion scientists is sorely needed in order to reach a better understanding of how and why emotion concepts, emotional experiences and sensory perceptions change. Why are emotions unstable, historically speaking? Why is experience contingent? These questions get to the heart of the biocultural dynamics of 'emotions', and no one discipline is kitted out to tackle them alone. This panel, comprised of historians who are on the front line of transdisciplinary emotion research, aims both to explore what historians can glean

from bioconstruction in the neurosciences and other bioplasticities – whether they can help us get at the ‘how’ of past experiences – and to reflect on the potential impact of historicism on the kinds of questions that psychologists and biologists ask.

Rob Boddice:

Neuroscience and History: Fellow Travellers in the New Turn to Experience

Joan Scott’s 1991 criticism of appeals to experience was couched in the primacy of discourse and the abandonment of the body. She criticized those who turned to ‘feelings’ because they assumed that the category represented a reality that could not be ‘subsumed by “language”’, a so called ‘prediscursive reality directly felt, seen, and known’. Experience, on these terms, ‘establishes a realm of reality outside of discourse and it authorizes the historian who has access to it’. She insisted that ‘experience is a linguistic event’ that is not ‘confined to a fixed order of meaning’. Her inability to see how to include the body and the brain, feelings and senses, to see beyond discourse, while retaining a grip on the historicization of everything, now seems naïve. She wanted to take ‘all categories of analysis as contextual, contested, and contingent’, but could not work out how this could apply to the brain or body, so dismissed them. The new history of experience shares the desire to treat ‘the emergence of concepts and identities as historical events in need of explanation’, but it does not any longer assume that it can do this within the realm of language alone. We no longer presume to isolate conceptual history from the history of the brain, from the history of emotions and/or senses, from the history of the plastic body. But the change of perspective mutually implicates historians and social neuroscientists in each others’ work. This paper reflects on our common goals and points of divergence.

Jeremy Burman:

Further toward ‘histories from within’: Lessons worth remembering from forgotten developmental theories

The work being done today by biologists to construct an “extended evolutionary synthesis” (Pigliucci & Müller, 2010) returns several useful conceptual tools to the natural-historical discourse that were disallowed, and disavowed, after the modern synthesis of Darwinian natural selection with Mendelian particulate inheritance. We are no longer forced to speak about the changing distribution of genes in a population. Instead, we can once again speak of individuals. And we can return to the language of selection pressures, but in light of developmental plasticity. This then enables us to think with, for example, Conrad Waddington’s epigenetic landscape: an illustration of the developmental pathways that an organism can travel that produces the outcomes we then end up seeing. Adopting the perspective of that organism, we also have a new way to talk about what it’s like before the final selection event that is normally the focus of evolutionary biologists. When that organism is us, and the remaining evidentiary traces are cultural, we can then engage with neurohistory. This talk therefore picks up from the author’s engagements (Burman, 2012, 2014) with Hunt’s and Smail’s original neurohistorical proposals to consider brains-in-contexts as historical actors, but in the particular light of Boddice’s (2019) recent critical comments on contemporary developmental psychology (see also Burman, 2019). By considering how the biologists are presently updating their tools for thought, and what was forgotten in the disciplining of their original making, we can then advance both neurohistory and developmental psychology as disciplines that inherit biological metatheory.

Tsiona Lida:

Emotions at the Intersection of Science and History

This paper examines change and continuity in the science of emotion in 20th century American psychology. We focus on the three major but overlooked US symposia in 1927, 1948 and 1970 to examine their ontological assumptions. These assumptions set the scientific context for the boom in emotions research that emerged during the 1960s and continues to this day. A careful consideration of these symposia reveals that questions about evolution, biological mapping, and universality have always been central to debates about the nature of emotion. We trace the conceptual trajectory of these influences, as well as resistance to them. We find recurring concern for the practical or moral utility of emotions, as well as for the value of 'emotion' as a scientific category. Answering the call for transdisciplinary emotions research, our methodology is informed by insights from a constructionist approach to brain function. This approach is conditioned on findings from evolutionary and developmental neuroscience, neuroanatomy and physiology, and emphasizes the role of neuroplasticity and concepts, as well as contextual and cultural contingency. It considers normative features of emotion as conditioned by culture; when the concerns of a culture change, so do the concepts that guide meaning-making, and therefore so does the nature of emotion. We demonstrate how a constructionist approach to emotion is compatible with historical inquiry and provides conceptual tools to assess classical scientific approaches to the nature of emotions at crucial moments in the scientific literature.

Ville Kivimäki & Tuomas Tepora: Commentators

19) Norms, Regulations and Breaches, A4

Chair: Mervi Kaarninen

Lucy Brown:

'Honest, Authentic, and Modern': The Experience of Marital Conflict in Mid-Twentieth-Century Britain

Spontaneous emotional expression, honesty, and transparency were enshrined as fundamental to ideas of British 'emotional modernity' between the late-1950s and early-1970s. Marriage became the testing ground for this new vision of 'healthy' emotional life, redefined as a 'therapeutic' relationship characterised by shared experiences of openness and personal growth. The experience of emotional pain during arguments was portrayed as fundamental to a more 'modern' and authentic intimacy. Examples of couples' experiences of conflict saturated the popular discussion of relationships. Psychologists, agony aunts and marriage counsellors encouraged Britons to experience the emotions associated with conflict – anger and hatred – as positive and productive. With expertise, correct self-knowledge, and hard work, individuals could rid themselves of Victorian models of restraint and experience 'emotionally authentic' personal lives. This paper will explore the discussion of experiences of marital conflict in the popular press, magazines and advice literature in mid-century Britain. It is particularly concerned with the role played by the psychologist's or counsellor's case study within popular culture. Specific examples of couples experiencing and working through conflict were employed by authors of marital advice as a reference for individuals to measure and interpret their own experiences of intimacy (and levels of 'modernity'). Yet although presented as 'authentic' descriptions of subjective experience, such case studies were often fictional, or an amalgamation of separate cases, creating tension. The

paper will explore the currency of 'authentic experience' in this period, but also how historians might use these sources to consider the relationship between structures and experiences, and the connection between the individual and society.

Heini Hakosalo:

'Cheerfulness is the best remedy!' The significance and means of emotion regulation in tuberculosis sanatoria (Finland c. 1900–60)

The paper discusses the role of emotions and emotion regulation in the context of the traditional TB sanatorium. In the Finnish context, the age of the sanatorium lasted from 1900 to circa 1970, with the heyday falling between 1930 and 1960. During this period, the TB sanatorium was a prominent institution with several idiosyncratic features. These features pertained to the disease, to the patient population, to the treatment regimen, to the way that institutional time and space was organised, to architectural solutions, and to the emotional regime. The paper focuses on the latter and is based on two main kinds of sources, namely written retrospective patient narratives and patient magazines. Both have been very little used in the voluminous international literature on sanatorium history. I occasionally also refer to other kinds of source material – letters, diaries, photographs. I will discuss the relative merits of the concepts of emotional community and emotional regime in making sense of the emotional economy of the sanatorium, and make some use of the notion of emotional practice. The main goal is to analyse what "cheerfulness" meant for the patients, how it was maintained and what was its place in patients' conception of disease. I will argue that the oft-repeated adage "cheerfulness is the best remedy" was not mere rhetoric, but expressed a core belief in the patients' conception of disease. Patients attributed states of mind – especially emotions – a causal influence both in the manifestation of the disease and in determining its future course. Against this conceptual background, emotion control was indeed perceived as a matter of life and death.

Antti Malinen:

Seeking Safety in an Insecure World: Role of Everyday Mobilities in Children's Experience of Distress in post-WWII Finland

One major theme emerging from recent studies and oral histories of Finnish post-WWII childhood is the memory of being left alone to cope with feelings and experiences of distress. (Malinen & Tamminen 2017; Hytönen & Malinen 2018) Parents' preoccupation with their own worries and war-related psychological problems increased the risk of inadequate parenting. In some cases, children were discouraged from expressing pain, sadness and anger in the presence of caregivers, whether at home or in care (Malinen & Tamminen 2017; Hytönen et. al. 2016). In Finland state actors promoted a culture of resilience and self-restraint, and citizens, children included, were encouraged put aside their personal burdens past and present. (Kivimäki & Hytönen 2015; Malinen & Tamminen 2017) These studies have served to illustrate the ways in which social structures constrained children's social action, including their emotional lives.

In the paper I suggest that in order to reconstruct a full picture of children's experiences of distress and loneliness, we must take children's agency seriously, and ask in how social structures also enable social action. Karen Vallgård et al. have coined the concept of 'emotional frontiers' as a way to describe children's daily realities and emotional lives. Children often have to move between different environments, such as home, school, playground and adapt to changing social and cultural expectations. (Vallgård, Alexander & Olsen 2015; Olsen 2017)

By focusing on children's independent mobility and geographies, I believe we have better opportunities to historicize children's experiences and their everyday mechanisms for coping with

emotions and wellbeing. In order to discuss the role of everyday mobilities in children's lives, I will take two case study examples from my Academy of Finland postdoctoral project (323947, "Small Bodies, Heavy Burdens: Children's Experiences and Management of Distress in Post-War Finland 1945–1960"). First, I will discuss how children used both human and non-human surroundings as a way to find positive emotional experiences and maintain their wellbeing. Second, I will examine how children tried to monitor the spatial and emotional horizons of the home and realign their use of space accordingly.

The primary research material consists of written reminiscences dealing with post-WWII childhood and is analysed using oral history methods.

Anna Kantanen:

Intimate partner violence as a continued historical experience

The history of family violence and the history of gender-based violence has been rapidly emerging area of historical research, yet gaps remain in our knowledge of what was the role of emotions and experiences regarding spousal homicides. Some studies have suggested that homicides appeared to have new characteristics when emotions and emotional disturbance were increasingly connected with violence in intimate relationships. Some scholars portray this shift occurring during the nineteenth century and suggest that the qualitative change in intimate partner violence was due to changes in balance of power between genders and due to changes in attitudes towards marriages.

The focus of this paper is to trace emotions and experiences relating to spousal homicides in Finland at the end of 19th century and the beginning of 20th century, and reflect how historian's practices may be done in this context. I approach this multifaceted phenomenon, spousal homicides, through two different source material. The first main source consists of homicide cases from the Courts of Appeal and the second encompasses digital newspaper sources. A combination of these sources offer a view of continuities concerning intimate partner violence. I explore the ways in which experiences and emotions surrounding the homicides were represented in the court records and newspaper articles in Finland.

Additionally, I study if these homicides were spontaneous acts of violence or premeditated killings. Homicides represent the worst culmination of conjugal conflict, and I ought to explore, what role gender had concerning experiences and emotions in spousal homicides. (Please note: This is part of my larger doctoral thesis project, titled Spousal homicide in Finland, c. 1894–1930.)

Key words: intimate partner homicide; history of domestic violence; gender; Finland

Parallel VIII

Wed, 4 March, 12.30–14.00 (A2a, A3, A4)

20) Experiences and Politics, A2a

Chair: Kati Katajisto

Trust is one of the key words you can spot when you study autobiographies and memories of politicians. Trust is often miraculous medium, sort of political life blood, which enables political interaction and decision making – although often behind the scenes, unarticulated. In political debates and negotiations politicians emphasize substance, but when time has passed enough, trust is being heightened. Trust is indeed very personal experience, but it requires in order to function mutual understanding and reciprocal deeds. Trust is also a key word when you look at the

relations between different political parties and even among states and nations. However, trust is very difficult to define. What trust really means? The aim of this session is to analyze and observe in concrete historical contexts how the word trust has been used in different political circumstances and situations, between politicians and “states”. What kind of experiences lies behind the trust? How it could be methodologically and theoretically useful tool in political history. How do personal and collective experiences intertwine in political power structures of society, and is it only experiences that define trust. Are the words as well deeds of trust?

Jenni Karimäki:

Presentation: Heckler, rival, friend or foe? – Trust and the stabilization of a new political force

When a new political actor, movement or party is being established, trust is an essential concept. Trust among actives, between leaders and supporters, and between different parties constitutes an integral part of any given political culture. It enables co-operation and compromise, and the lack thereof provokes a risk of marginalization and extinction. Especially in a pluralistic multiparty democracy, an upcoming party has to build and nurture trust to successfully capitalize power and influence. Sometimes achieving macrolevel outcomes might come at the expense of losing microlevel trust.

This presentation examines what kind of implications the concept of trust has when stabilizing a new political force, the Green Party, in the Finnish political culture. The focus will be especially on trust between the Greens and other parties. The hypothesis is that during the 1980s and 1990s, the image of the Greens developed from an adolescent heckler to a trustworthy government coalition partner. How did the Greens themselves understand trustworthiness? How if in any way did they attempt to change their image? What were the internal and external factors contributing to the alleged change? The aim of the presentation and the entire session is to analyse and observe in concrete historical contexts what kind of implications the concept of trust has had in different political circumstances and situations.

Vesa Vares:

The question of trust and competency

Between the world wars, democracy and parliamentarism were relatively new in Finland. Moreover, the country had experienced a series of political crisis and upheavals: the Great Strike of 1905, the rise of new, mass-based parties, the domestic turmoil in 1917, the Civil War in 1918. The political culture was burdened by suspicion between political parties during the 1920's and 1930's.

In the end, the policy of integration and democratic pacification managed to salvage democracy, but this was by no means certain at first. In the extreme Left and the extreme Right there were forces which were considered to have revolutionary and authoritarian aims, and they were shunned from cooperation with the democratic parties. To make the matters more complicated, the issue of trust included also the question of meritocracy. Many leading conservatives, who accepted the principle of democracy, had strong doubts if the new political forces in the center were at all competent to take care of administration and order in the society. Democracy might be accepted, but not necessarily parliamentarism.

Thus the issue of trust also became a question of democracy. However, in the end center forces, social democrats and moderate conservatives managed to accept the legitimacy of each other and a division of influence. This paper deals with the process that brought this wide consensus about and simultaneously enabled Finland to be an exception in Europe, a newly-independent country which managed to maintain its democracy.

Kati Katajisto:

Experiences and trust in politics – the case Paavo Väyrynen in 1980s

The focal person of this paper is Paavo Väyrynen (1946-), who was one of the leading politicians in Finland in 1980s. He became a member of a Parliament when he was only 23 years old in 1970, and he was appointed for the first time Minister for Foreign Affairs in 1977. Väyrynen was elected the Chairman of the Centre party (former Agrarian Union) in years 1980-1990. The sudden rise of his political career was aided by President Kekkonen, who supported the election of Väyrynen to the Chairman of the Centre party. Väyrynen was ambitious and controversial political figure from the start of his political path. Especially as a Chairman, he challenged Social Democrats, main political rivals of the Centre party. Parties competed of the power both in foreign and domestic politics. Trust was the key denominator in relations to the Soviet Union, although ambiguously defined. Trust was also tested in party politics, between parties/members of the parties, and inside the Centre party. The paper studies from the point of view of a single politician (case Väyrynen) in which occasions and in which circumstances trust manifested and was meaningful element of political life. How trust was built, broken and why trust was not achieved? What kind of experiences, beliefs or deeds lied behind political phenomenon called as trust.

21) Experiences of Sound and Voice in History, A3

Chair: Josephine Hoegaerts

Historical writing is replete with sounds and voices: the din of the factory has symbolized the industrial revolution, the inclusion of the voice of the disenfranchised has propelled research in social history, and important ‘speeches’ are read as deciding moments in political history. Despite this centrality of (man-made) sound in historical narratives, its acoustic quality and the sensory practices attached to it often seems to remain out of the historian’s grasp. There is no direct documentary evidence – sound is inherently fleeting and dependent on experience for its existence (if a tree falls in a forest and there’s no one there to hear it...)

This workshop aims to think through ways to engage with this experiential aspect of sound (i.e. practices of ‘hearing’ and ‘producing’ sound) and to address how its immaterial nature not only presents a problem to historians, but also offers them opportunities to rethink intersubjectivity and the interplay between individual embodied practice and collective cultural expectations. Examining what and how historical actors sounded and heard is relevant, we argue, because it shows how cultural norms (about good speech, for example, or about ‘noisy’ or pleasing utterances) have impacted and changed sensory experience itself over time.

The workshop will consist of an example of historical research into public speech (L. Marionneau), a methodological discussion (K. Lauwers) about using institutional documents for the study of sound, and a challenge to historians’ ears and throats (J. Hoegaerts) engaging the researcher’s body and senses in the practice of history.

NB: we hope for a lively and wide-ranging discussion, rather than a presentation of ‘results’. To that end, we will make a conscious effort to make the workshop and its material as accessible as possible to different bodies, ears and voices. Normative or ‘perfect’ hearing and speech are historical constructs to be questioned in this workshop, and are by no means necessary or desirable for participation. We also warmly encourage participants to bring any questions, sources or material they would like to discuss with regards to their ‘sounding’ quality.

Ludovic Marionneau:

‘The president shakes the bell to no avail’: a study of performance in the parliamentary debates leading to Jacques-Antoine Manuel’s exclusion (February-March 1823)

The reproduction of parliamentary transcripts in newspapers during the 19th century confirms the enthusiasm for political debates from the public. However, as writer and journalist Honoré de Balzac satirically pointed out, the assemblies were made by stenographers to suit the political color of newspapers, therefore tailoring the parliamentary experience for the expected readers. The thickness of the event was therefore not only perceived differently, but recorded in a partial manner. In addition to the words spoken in the assembly, journalists rendered the performative aspects of the sessions as well. This melting of speeches, together with scenographic comments (vocal qualities, movements and reactions) contributed to fashion a mental image for the reading audience.

This presentation aims to analyze the tumultuous parliamentary context of Jacques Antoine Manuel’s exclusion from the Chambre des députés in March 1823 by reconstructing the events from several available transcripts. It argues that, if the focus on the core verbal content has guided historians’ understanding of the debates, the scrutiny of the embodied performances recorded in the transcripts can augment and qualify previous interpretations. This presentation examines the sonic geometry of contested spaces in the French Assembly, the dynamics of embodied power, and reflects on the continuity of parliamentary performances in newspapers as slices of the same experienced events.

Karen Lauwers:

Mapping acoustic spaces of loyalty and resistance by using institutional documents. The case of the Arab bureaus in French colonial Algeria (1846-1871)

Central to this paper are the methodological challenges posed by the use of institutional documents for the study of the role of sound in political transfer. My research zooms in on how (a)political rumors, gossip and songs travelled through nineteenth-century French-Algeria. Where did the rumors originate from? How, by whom and with what intention were they spread? To what extent were they triggered or altered by regime changes and political decisions in the French metropolis? And how did the French colonial officials of the so-called Arab bureaus experience and respond to the effects of “fake news” and its circulation?

These Arab bureaus were installed by the French army in the conquered areas of northern Algeria. They governed and administered the Arab and Berber tribes of their locality, while functioning as an intelligence service in their political-administrative circumscription and its unsubdued surroundings. Gathering knowledge of the diverse (and highly oral) indigenous political culture was their first goal, followed by taking control of the news and the physical spaces in which it circulated. Seen as gauges of indigenous loyalty or resistance towards the French authorities, rumors and their circulation influenced French colonial policies and political practices at a local level.

I am currently investigating two-weekly (1846-1850) and monthly (1850-1871) reports drawn up by Arab bureaus in three geographically and culturally different areas of Algeria under French military rule. Rather than offering clear-cut answers to all the questions above, this section of the workshop aims to discuss the possibilities of such institutional documents for mapping the acoustic spaces of loyalty and resistance (in this particular case, in French colonial Algeria), and for answering questions on the (acoustic) experiences of the parties involved.

Josephine Hoegaerts:

The historian's ear: a challenge for those who love the silence of the archives

The sepulchral silence of historical work – usually taking place in environments shared with other researchers – is often felt to be typical or even symbolic of the craft, a stint in the archives serving as a rite of passage for junior historians. But does this practice serve us well if our aim is to uncover historical experiences – often a matter of bodily turbulence more than the practiced stillness of archival work? And are there other ways to engage with documents that describe, prescribe, or denounce particular embodied actions?

Especially now that digitization projects have made a 'sensory' engagement with archival material less common for historians, it seems important to devise new ways conceptualizing not only historical experience, but the experience of the historian as well. Proposing a temporary break with professional silence, this section of the workshop delves into documents showcasing the various, creative ways in which archives of modern history represent sound through 'mute' media (such as texts, images and objects). And it attempts to engage with these media in equally creative ways, appealing to the historian's ears, throat and body to come to different understandings of the experience of sound in the nineteenth century. What if we read self-help manuals not just as normative discourse, for example, but as a direct exhortation to act; what if we took the claim of precision and veracity of transcriptions of sound seriously; what if we read objects as producers of sound and not as 'sediments' of history?

22) Experiences of Refuge and Terror, A4

Chair: Heikki Kokko

Outi Kähäri:

Transnational Insecurity among the Ingrian Community – Oral History from Sweden

Conventional narratives of Finnish history have mainly omitted histories of refugees and displaced communities. For instance, experiences of Ingrians (Ingrian Finnish) have remained in the margin. In the field of Finnish history, partly ethnically motivated labor migration of Ingrians during the World War 2, and deportations of these Soviet citizens back to Soviet Union during the after-war period have been to some extent researched by using archive materials. However, this research has been quite disconnected from the European context. Moreover, the mundane experiences and voices of migrated and deported, or individuals lived under fear of deportation, have not been rigorously researched.

I argue, that during the World War 2, the majority of German and Finnish authorities used Ingrian people mainly for geopolitical and precarious labor purposes, and considered them as "undesirable Other" during the after-war period. In this context, I present actions, thoughts and emotions of Ingrians indicating insecurity and fear experienced with state authorities and employees in Finland during the World War 2 and after war-time period. In many occasions, institutional mistrust, generalized insecurity and fear of forced repatriation to Soviet Union made it impossible to stay in Finland. Hence, ca. 4000 Ingrians fled to Sweden during 1944–1953.

As a data, I use oral history and family memories of Ingrian people living in Sweden. The research material has collected in the project Ingria and Ingrians – recording histories, preserving memories (Finnish Literature Society) during the year 2019. Interviewees are all born in the Soviet Union, but grown in Finland and Sweden. I use sociological (mis)trust research as a background theory to analyze the data by the methods of content analysis.

Johanna Leinonen:

Refugee Journey as an Experience, Memory, and a Metaphor

My paper examines memories of refugee journeys in the narratives of Karelian evacuees during World War II and international refugees who arrived in Finland in the 2010s. While these periods of significant forced migration have been extensively examined, a crucial aspect of the refugee experience – the journey – has received less scholarly attention. This is even though the studies that exist on the topic suggest that displaced persons consider the journey as a formative experience. As BenEzer and Zetter argued in 2014, “the process of flight (...) is one of the most significant processes of ‘becoming’ and ‘being’ a refugee.” The journeys that I study occurred in widely different historical, societal, and political contexts. Nevertheless, my research seeks to explore similarities and differences in the journey experiences – of being forced to leave one’s home, journeying, and arriving and settling in new surroundings – regardless of these differences. The paper is based on 20 interviews with Karelian evacuees and 10 interviews with international refugees, along with archival materials. I tentatively conceptualize the refugee journey as a biographical rupture for those who experience it, one which is constituted by its spatiality and temporality as well as by its emotional, embodied, social, and material dimensions. I view refugees as mnemonic agents, for whom remembering the journey is part of the process in which they make sense of their past experience from the perspective of today, and in negotiation with the future.

Ulla Savolainen:

Approaching Memory Ideologies: Ingrian Finnish Experiences and Testimonies of the Soviet Terror

The presentation focuses on what will be termed ‘memory ideologies’, namely, the underlying conceptions concerning the nature, functions, and consequences of memory reflected in testimonies of Ingrian Finns of the Gulag and Soviet terror. Ingrian Finns are a historical Finnish speaking minority of Russia who used to live in the area surrounding the city of Saint Petersburg/Leningrad. Although individuals’ and communities’ experiences of the past have been studied in various research fields, the issue of what kinds of assumptions and communicative functions are assigned and attributed with the notion of memory has been to some extent bypassed. For this reason, the presentation approaches such reflexive regimentation in Ingrian Finnish testimonies through the concept of ‘memory ideology’, a term coined on the basis of the concept ‘linguistic/semiotic ideology’, developed in linguistic anthropology. Moreover, the presentation suggests that the significance of the notion of memory ideology is that it affords systematic analysis of the ways in which memory (as a relationship between the past, present, and future) is conceptualised on various levels of culture in general and mobilised in oral histories, testimonies, and life stories in particular. It is a useful concept for analysing conceptions and principles that people and societies reflexively associate with memory, its functions, and its corollaries. The importance of understanding memory ideologies lies in the fact that they reflexively regiment the ways in which people and societies use and interpret memory, and in these processes make evaluations with social, political, and ethical ramifications.

Joint Session

Wed, 4 March, 14.30–16.00 (D11)

23) Panel discussion: Methodologies and Practices in Studying Experience

Chair: Pertti Haapala

Josephine Hoegaerts

Stephanie Olsen

Javier Moscoso

Ann-Catrin Östman