1. Purpose of the project

*Queer(y)ing kinship in the Baltic region* was an interdisciplinary qualitative research project aimed to study cultural, social and legal conceptualizations and configurations of queer (non-heterosexual) kinship formations and family practices around the Baltic Sea with an empirical focus in four Baltic states: Sweden, Finland, Poland and Estonia. The overarching objective was to make a contribution to an understudied dimension within Baltic and Eastern/Central European Studies, namely queer kinship and family making, as well as to provide Baltic perspectives to the broader fields of feminist and queer studies of kinship and reproduction. Empirically grounded and in critical dialogue with a rapidly growing field of international scholarship, it aimed to decentre the Western, Anglo-American dominance of feminist and queer kinship studies while also highlighting the theoretical importance of geopolitics to queer kinship, national identity, community making and social life. Emphasising national specificities rather than universal ideas of what is queer or what makes family and kinship queer, and attending to both local and transnational activism and community knowledge, the project also sought to challenge hegemonic progress narratives that tend to cast the “East” as “behind” the “West”, including in terms of lesbian, gay, bi, transgender and queer (LGBTQ) rights. The core project questions have been: How are kinship and family bonds created, practiced and narrated among LGBTQ people, within and beyond the confines of the law? What challenges do queer family-makers meet in the four national contexts and how are they negotiated? How does queer kinship extend and reconfigure the meaning of kinship and family more broadly and what are the implications of this for Baltic cohesion and collaboration? Instead of a comparative approach however, the project aimed to focus distinct and locally relevant research questions and to highlight complexities, nuances and exchanges within these nations’ respective legal and cultural frameworks and thus to deepen knowledge of the socio-cultural and political situation of queer people in the 21st century.

The project built on a unique research design based on long-term intellectual kinship of participants as queer researchers and aimed to bring together resources and empirical findings from existing networks and funded projects to create a strong base for theorizing the complexities of queer(y)ing kinship. Centrally, the project also aimed to practice queer intellectual kinship by extending and developing regional networks for scholars who are often marginalized in their academic settings in their work on queer kinship and reproduction and to train and support junior scholars.

2. The three most important results of the project and what conclusions can be drawn from them

1. The value of an intersectional, interdisciplinary and multi-methods approach to queer kinship and LGBTQ+ family-making

The project’s design utilized the distinct and overlapping expertise of project participants, both their respective disciplinary training and their experience in interdisciplinary research. Grounded in and contributing to interdisciplinary queer studies, each of the separate sub-
projects employed multiple and mixed methods including surveys, focus groups, in-depth interviews, participant observation, and analyses of policy documents and popular representations. The value of mixed and multi method research lies in bringing in-depth analysis and multi-perspective insights which a single method approach could not grasp and thereby to be able to intervene on the level of conceptual and theoretical frameworks. Through this largely qualitative approach, nuanced and complex pictures of queer kinship and family-making around the Baltic region emerged. Importantly, by drawing on one another’s methods and research questions and insights, all participants gained new skills. For instance, Mizielinska’s survey of families of choice in Poland inspired Uibo and Dahl to conduct surveys which led to important, albeit different findings in their projects. Mizielinska’s survey answered by 3038 queer persons demonstrated the existence of queer families in Poland previously silenced and marginalised in public surveys and other family research. A national survey in Sweden answered by 645 people provided important demographic information about contemporary LGBTQ+ families indicating that location, class (education and income), race and above all gender profoundly shapes paths to and everyday experiences of parenthood and family making. Dahl’s focus on gender and racialisation added important new data to research on LGBTQ families in Sweden thus far centered only on the majoritarian population. Uibo’s pioneering survey provided demographics, helped recruitment, and supported the shift of theoretical approach from kinship to practices of care as an effect of survey findings.

A crucial finding of the project was the complex and varied constellations of queer families within each of the national contexts. Differently put, gender, age, class, race and health crucially shape experiences of becoming and being parents and making family. Given that previous research has largely focused on white Swedish lesbian couples with children, Dahl’s empirical research shifted its focus to three understudied dimensions of queer kinship in Sweden; 1) multi-parent families by design and default, 2) queers of colour and 3) the less “happy” stories of family making, namely conflict and divorce. In Mizielinska’s research on queer parenthood intersectional perspective was crucial in demonstrating diverse ways of becoming queer parents and choosing reproductive paths in the future. In Uibo’s project class and ethnicity were shown to be extremely decisive in the ways queers in Estonia navigated their relationships, thus shifting her initial focus from queerness to also other intersectional axes of power.

2. The importance of local and geopolitical context

The project demonstrated the necessity of paying close attention to local practices and avoiding uncritical application of Western conceptual frameworks to non-Western contexts. Firstly, Uibo’s PhD research on queers doing close relationships in Estonia found that unlike in several Western contexts where “coming out” of the closet and openly claiming visibility through LGBT identity has been the central way of relating to queerness, that was hardly the case in Estonia. Queers in Estonia did not organize their lives around proclamations about their identity or relationship status, but instead navigated their everyday life and relationships on the border between visibility and invisibility, silence and speech. Not directly hiding their queer partners or other queer aspects of their lives but instead engaging in various practices of opacity was thus a local way of navigating the heteronormative context. The custom of not actively claiming an LGBT identity should not be interpreted through the imperative lens of the closet that is prevalent in various parts of the Western hemisphere. Tacit agreements, conditional relationships and vague references all speak instead of the willingness to both accommodate queer aspects in one’s life, at the same as maintaining relationships to families of origin and surviving the cis-heteronormative context of Estonia.
Another example of sensitivity to geopolitical context can be found in Mizielinska’s project, where using the very term “family” in relation to LGBTIQ families was done with a very specific purpose and awareness of the local context. Mizielinska claimed the political importance of using this term in given Polish circumstances. In the country where “family” is strictly reserved to nuclear model, and other models are refused to be called families, using the term in the context of same-sex relational life aimed to change the mainstream discourse as well as the self-perception of LGBT communities. Mizielinska paid close attention to the local complexities of queer family-making, which differ widely from the research on families of choice in the “West”. For example, because of lack of recognition of queer families and queer parenthood as well as the lack of LGBTIQ organizations, queer families often have to depend on family ties and wish to be included into kin network. Also, families of origin rely on the help of queer families in a much greater extent than in the West because of the obligation to take care of an elderly family members. Such mutual dependence in fact facilitates the process of acceptance (and inclusion) of queers in their families of origin. So, in fact inclusion and growing acceptance might not be a result of more LGBTIQ friendly policy but emerge out of necessity.

Dahl’s project was conducted in a “post-rights era” in a Sweden that is often cast as exceptional in terms of gender and sexual politics. She found that legal recognition of same-sex parenthood and regulation of access to reproductive technologies leads to a narrower understanding of family and to a continued emphasis on donors as significant to how the state understands kinship. Dahl also found that paths to parenthood and legal recognition are stratified along lines of class, race and gender and that queers simultaneously view parenting as every-day practices of care and as a question of legal and biological kinship. Attending to the role of donated gametes in queer assisted reproduction meant that greater attention had to be paid to the role of Scandinavia as an imagined homogenous geopolitical entity, in part because of the centrality of Danish donor sperm for lesbian and queer family making. This finding has contributed to developing a new project on Scandinavian border crossings and to substantive contributions to the field of critical whiteness studies.

Sorainen’s focus on inheritance practices and will-writing among queers in Finland brought a material dimension to understandings of queer kinship, pointing to how legal definitions of kinship are both reproduced and subverted by queers with or without children and partners. This approach in turn was helpful for understanding why and how matters of recognition become meaningful and important to queer parents in Sweden and Poland.

3. Building and strengthening geopolitically based networks around research on queer kinship in the Baltic region and mentoring junior scholars

The team worked to create and strengthen networks for scholars working on queer kinship in the Baltic/CEE region and the Nordic region. This has been done through 1) bi-annual research group meetings and 2) through organizing and participating in a number of workshops and conferences (see below). Given that project members have largely worked in separate locations, regular meetings to discuss research design, results and publications have been vital for meeting project goals. Queer researchers are often marginalized in their respective academic locations, and developing and maintaining contact and support has taken considerable project time, both for the PI and for the 2 senior researchers. The aim of mentoring junior researchers was met both through supporting Raili Uibo’s PhD in gender studies until her successful defense in 2021, and in addition to supervisor Dahl, the senior researchers’ mentorship of Uibo. Dahl also trained a research assistant (Johan Sundell, MA) who conducted 10 interviews and assisted with a number of project chores, and she
alongside work in the project also supervised two additional completed PhD projects (Alasuutari, U. of Turku and Jetha, UC Santa Cruz) and a Marie Curie postdoc (Leibetseder, Uppsala University). The network was expanded to include several PhD students working on topics related to queer kinship in Poland, Finland, Russia, the Ukraine and the US and worked to provide funding for conference participation, and through organizing a number of joint workshops and publications (including two special issues and a joint anthology), securing additional funding from CBEES, Riksbankens jubileumsfond and Forte (see below). Sorainen organized a PhD course involving Mizielinska and Dahl as co-teachers (Helsinki, 2016) and senior researchers developed courses and master classes at several different universities. This dimension of the project has both extended intellectual kinship and provided skill-sharing and training of a new generation of scholars, thus contributing to further developing a distinct field of Baltic queer kinship studies.

3. The project’s contribution to the international research frontline

The project has placed questions of the geopolitics of queer kinship at the heart of an emergent research field and at the same time, made project members leading scholars in the international field of queer kinship, as is evident by the many article citations, invitations to give keynote lectures and to serve as reviewers of articles, theses, grant applications and book manuscripts.

Mizielinska’s work on Families of Choice in Poland as well as her continuous work of challenging the epistemic imbalances in knowledge production, has made her a leading name in the queer kinship research in the CEE and more widely (reflected most recently in an invitation to give the annual lecture at ReproSoc, University of Cambridge in 2021, where Dahl also serves on the advisory board). Her thorough contextualization of the question whether queer families transgress or accommodate normative family models has resulted in calling into question the applicability of Anglo-American concept of homonormativity in CEE settings. Instead, she proposes to bridge the binary by shifting the focus to practices and to the role of contexts influencing how queers create, experience, display, and do family/intimacy/parenthood.

Inspired by the work of Mizielinska, Uibo’s project also aimed to participate in decentering the Western epistemic privileges in the context of knowledge production. Paying close attention to local way of doing queer kinship, Uibo chose to actively distance from the prevalent Anglo-American concept of “families of choice” (e.g. Weston 1991). Unlike Mizilienska’s strategic use of the concept in the Polish context, that framework did not fit the particular context of Estonian queer lives. Introducing a local term of lähedased (close ones) as a way of understanding the complex networks of care, support and obligation rather than imposing the less suitable Anglo-American terminology was thus Uibo’s direct contribution to theorizing queer kinship.

Building on previous empirical work in Sweden which had largely focused on lesbian families with children, Dahl focused on understudied questions and populations: queers of colour, multi-parent families by design and default, and queer parents who have undergone divorce and custody battles. Several important insights were drawn: one being that race and racism profoundly shape experiences of queer parenthood, that LGBTQ people continue to practice kinship beyond what the law recognizes and that legal recognition of some ties and not others shapes power relations between parents. Dahl’s ethnographic research pointed to a diverse range of experiences of family-making and how paths to parenthood are shaped by material and legal possibilities. The diversity of results complicated the picture of Sweden as an LGBTQ paradise of rights and Dahl’s focus on affect and critical race perspectives have made her a leading scholar in the international field of queer kinship studies.
4. New research questions that the project has led to

With geopolitics, including the politics of nation and region, at the center of the study of queer kinship, project participants have built both on empirical findings and on the collaborations in the project to develop new research questions.

One of the highly pertinent questions to be explored in further research is in which ways precarity shapes kinship networks of queers in different contexts. There is a need to investigate the constraints that neoliberal policies and lacking welfare state impose on queers’ possibilities to form, maintain and choose their families and close ones. A related question that needs more research is the growing outsourcing of public healthcare and the marketisation of fertility medicine and care labor. This seemingly unstoppable phenomena, while taking different shapes in different contexts, is likely to affect the reproductive futurities and possibilities for family and intimacy in a range of ways in coming years, and importantly have significant effects on aging populations of LGBTQ+ people; many of whom are without both children and other family networks.

Another urgent question is how intimacy and care are increasingly practiced through digital means. With growing digitalization and mobility, networks of care are not necessarily located at a close geographical distance but take place online, both within the confines of the nation and transnationally. Exploring digital kinship-making (and breaking) would therefore help to move beyond methodological nationalism that constrains analysis to separate national contexts.

In terms of the project’s aim to challenge hegemonic progress narratives, it is clear that the rapid shift towards right-wing populist, nationalist and racist politics in all four national contexts raises a range of urgent both empirical and political questions. In particular, we are witnessing a growing prevalence of anti-democratic and anti-gender politics, often specifically targeting LGBTQ+ people and their families, along with migrants and people of colour, and undermining gender, sexual and racial diversity across Europe. This current shift towards more conservative understandings of family, gender and reproduction simultaneously also clearly challenges the idea of LGBTQ rights as a measure of progress; and the shift’s causes, spread and effects on LGBTQ families and their health and well-being urgently need further study.

The project has contributed to developing several successful new projects: Antu Sorainen’s CoreKin - Contrasting and Re-imagining Margins of Kinship, (Academy of Finland 2016-2020); Ulrika Dahl & Rikke Andreassen’s Scandinavian Border Crossings: Race and Nation in Queer Assisted Reproduction (Forte 2021-2023), Joanna Mizielsinska’s Queer Kinship in Central and Eastern Europe (Submitted to ERC in 2021), and Doing Right(s): Innovative tools for professionals working with LGBT families (Erasmus+, Co-I, 2016-2020).

5. The contribution of the research to the knowledge of the Baltic Sea Region and Eastern Europe

Both the whole project as well as its subprojects were pioneering, as they were the first to study the particularities of queer family-making and kinship in the area. For example, the subproject on queers doing close relationships in Estonia was the very first research project of its kind and was thus a valuable source of knowledge about queer livelihoods in that particular Baltic country. Similarly, “Families of choice in Poland” fills up the lack of knowledge about queer families beyond the pink curtain, sheds light on queer kinship and families in the still under-scrutinized CEE region, provides the site of comparison between “Western” and “non-Western” constructions of families and kin ties.

The results countries also constitute a relevant contribution to knowledge production about queer lives in the wider CEE context. Many countries in the region share a similar socialist
past as well as similar transnational and globalized flows of information and policies in the present, which means that the knowledge about Estonian/Polish queer kinship-making is highly valuable and inspirational for research in other CEE settings.

6. Dissemination of the results of the project within and outside the research community

PROJECT PUBLICATIONS:

**Monographs**

Uibo, Raili. 2021. “And I don’t know who we really are to each other”: Queers doing close relationships in Estonia, Södertörn Academic Studies. Dissertation (OA)

Dahl, Ulrika, Joanna Mizielinska, Antu Sorainen, Raili Uiibo, eds. (forthc.) Queer(y)ing Kinship in the Baltic Region and beyond: The geopolitics of LGBTQ reproduction, family and intimate life. Stockholm: Södertörn Academic Studies. (OA; under review)

**Special Issues**

Dahl, Ulrika & Jenny Gunnarsson Payne “Kinship and reproduction” *lambda nordica* vol 19 (3-4). 4 articles, 3 essays (OA)

Dahl, Ulrika & Jenny Björklund “Queer kinship revisited” *lambda nordica*, vol 24(2-3); 5 articles, 3 essays (OA)

**Articles**

Dahl, Ulrika


Mizielińska, Joanna


Mizielińska, J. and Stasińska, A.


Sorainen, Antu


**Essays, introductions, reviews:**


Dahl, Ulrika & Jenny Gunnarsson Payne (2014) ”Rethinking queer kinship and reproduction in Europe: Guest editors’ introduction” *lambda Nordica* nr. 3-4:11-27

Dahl, Ulrika (2014a) “Not Gay as in Happy, but Queer as in Fuck You: Notes on Love and Failure in Queer(ing) kinship” *lambda Nordica* nr. 3-4:143-168. (OA)

**Book chapters:**


**Workshop organized by the project:**
“Queer(y)ing Kinship in the Baltic Region: An international workshop”, 22 participants, Södertörns högskola, 25-27/4/2017, Funded by the Centre for Baltic and East European Studies.

Conferences & Workshops organized by project members:

Conferences:
Dahl, Ulrika
“The Feeling of Biological Ties: Affect, Intimate Labour and the Biopolitics of Race and Nation in Swedish LGBTQ Reproduction” Accepted paper, Close relations, international conference Uppsala University 24-26/10/2019
"Queer affects of relatedness: Social relations and (in)formal ties among LGBTQ familymakers” Invited paper, for the NOP-HS workshop, "Methodological developments and challenges in researching informal social relations”. Copenhagen 26-27/4/2017
“Becoming In/fertile: Rethinking (lesbian) femininity in an age of queer reproduction” Invited paper, (In)fertile citizens: anthropological and legal challenges of ARTS, University of Agean, Lesbos, 28-30/5/2015
"Monsters and mothers: Femininity, (in)fertility and the (im)possibilities of queering kinship” Keynote at Queer kinship and relationships international conference, Poland, 8-12/6/2015
"Not gay as in happy but queer as in fuck you: Queer(y)ing kinship as/through failure” Keynote at Critical Kinship Studies, University of Southern Denmark, Odense 10-12/10/2014
Mizielska, Joanna
Keynote talks/invited papers in interdisciplinary conferences/workshops across the world, including 5th European Geographies of Sexualities Conference, Prague (2019); States of Parenthood Conference, Uppsala (2019); RN-23: Sexualities mid-term conference of European Sociological Association (2019); The Political Is Personal. Families and Sexualities in Times of Social Change in Europe conference, Louvain-de-Neuve (2018); Queer(y)ing Kinship in the Baltic Region workshop, Södertörn (2017); Significant Others workshop, Copenhagen (2017); Sex and Sexuality in East Central Europe conference, Budapest (2015); Men and Women in Post-family world conference.

Uibo, Raili

“Pride in Estonia - (whose) solidarity, (which) community, (what) politics?, accepted paper Postsocialist Revolutions of Intimacy: Sexuality, Rights and Backlash, Stockholm, Oct 2018

“Estonia's geo-temporal yearnings through politicization around queer family, accepted paper, IV European Geographies of Sexualities Conference, Barcelona September 2017

“LGBTQ close relationships in the midst of rapid social transformations in Estonia, accepted paper at 13th Conference of the European Sociological Association: (Un)Making Europe: Capitalism, Solidarities, Subjectivities, Athens, 29/8-1/9 2017

“Politicalisation around queer families as an example for spatial and temporal fantasies of belonging” accepted paper at “Researching, reworking and representing Soviet and Socialist LGBT histories”, Tallinn, Okt 2016


Invited presentations:

Dahl, Ulrika


Mizielinska, Joanna


Courses offered:


PhD and Postdoc Supervision:

Dahl, Ulrika

Uibo, Raili (2015-2021) “And I don’t know who we really are to each other”: Queers doing close relationships in Estonia (Main supervisor)


Outreach:
Invited presentations to, among others, RFSL, Uppsala Student Associations, Stockholm Pride and Malmö Pride. Articles written in Estonian, Polish and Swedish magazines and newspapers.