

Conference 2:

Gender, War and Culture: From the Age of the World Wars to the Cold War, Anti-colonial Struggle to the Wars of Globalization (1910s-present)

UNC-Chapel Hill • September 11-13, 2014

Part III: Chapter 22 (Presentation)

**WOMEN AND THE MILITARY IN THE AGE OF WORLD WARS:
HISTORY AND MEMORY IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE**

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“War drama stirs Germany on,” wrote the tabloid *Bild* in large letters on its title page after the broadcasting of the three-part TV series *Our Mothers – Our Fathers* in March 2013. More than 7 million Germans, 20 percent of the total TV audience, watched this primetime series produced by the ZDF, one of the two leading public TV stations. The production, sold to the English audience under the title *Generation War*, is a portrait of World War II in Germany and Eastern Europe that includes the atrocities of the German *Wehrmacht* and its important role in the Holocaust and explores the question of the responsibility of ordinary Germans.¹ For German television viewers the series seems to have been indeed quite stirring, because it questions the myth of the unsullied *Wehrmacht* soldiers and demands from viewers to reflect on their own family history. It asks who knew and who was involved in which ways? In the extensive and controversial media discussion, film critics, journalists and historians criticized many aspects of the series as not radical enough or too stereotypical, but interestingly there is one aspect that nobody even noticed: This new production confirms old stereotypes about the World War II gender order in astonishing ways.² German women are presented only as caring nurses, worried soldier’s mothers, Nazi mistresses or victims of Nazi persecution. The only counter images are a female Red Army officer and a Polish girl who joins the partisan movement. The series ignores that women in the Third Reich supported the Second World War quite actively far beyond wartime nursing work: by intensive deployment in the wartime economy, where they increasingly had to replace conscripted men, as well as by their integration into civil aerial defense and the military. Not even a hint to the fact that every twentieth soldier in the *Wehrmacht* was a female auxiliary and many of them served in the East. To be sure, it is especially challenging to German memory of the Second World War and the Holocaust to recall the extensive and very active war support of German women, because such recollections make it far more difficult to construct Germans as victims of World War II.

Interestingly, though, recent TV series and movies produced about World War I and II in the former Allied countries also do not include women as auxiliaries or soldiers. They show them as *Land Girls*, as in the 2009 BBC series focusing on the British Women’s Land Army during World War II;³ as *Bomb Girls*, as in the 2012 Canadian television series profiling the stories of women working in a munitions factory during the same war;⁴ or as *Anzac Girls*, as in the 2014 Australian TV series produced by ABC based on the true stories of nurses serving at Gallipoli and on the Western Front during World War I.⁵ Movies on the

two world wars also tend to show women primarily in these roles. They are mostly portrayed at the home front as worrying and suffering mothers and wives or working girls. Closer to the front they are primarily shown as military nurses.⁶ At best, they are pictured as heroines of the resistance or as secret service agents.⁷

Most mainstream historians seem to agree with such public recollections. In the majority of the monographs and textbooks on the history of World War I or II published in recent years, women are rarely portrayed as active supporters of the wars beyond mentioning their work in war industries and war nursing.⁸ This omission is all the more remarkable, because today we can look back on nearly three decades of research on gender, the military and war. One, if not the most studied time period of this international scholarship is the era of the two World Wars. The history of the military and war in this period is of special interest to gender historians given the power of “total war” to both radically destroy and forcefully impose order.⁹ One challenge of “total war” to the gender order was the increasing use of women by the military. In the following, I will study this challenge by focusing mainly on one core problem: The question of why not only contemporaries, but also later generations found it such a challenge to recognize the increasingly active participation of women in World War I and II as auxiliaries, female soldiers and partisans.

If we want to answer this question it is not enough to simply extend military history to “women’s military history,” and look at the female contribution to the military and war. Instead we need a *gender perspective*, an approach that defines “gender” as both a subject and a method, and uses it as a context specific and relational concept.¹⁰ Only then we can understand the many entangled dimensions that together lead to an answer, which points to the importance of the military and combat for the gender order and with it the social and political order far beyond armed conflict and war. Furthermore, we need a *comparative perspective* that helps to reveal differences and similarities in the development over time and between war powers.¹¹ My focus will be on Britain,¹² France,¹³ Germany,¹⁴ Russia¹⁵ and the United States,¹⁶ mainly because of the differences in their economic, social and political conditions, but also because of the state of the scholarship, which is most developed for these countries. The research on other countries of the British Commonwealth like Australia and Canada¹⁷, Eastern¹⁸ and Southern Europe¹⁹, is less developed. Finally, it is important to look not only at auxiliaries, female soldiers and partisans, but also on other forms of military employment of women, especially in the medical service. Nurses were in most war and post war cultures the accepted female “other” of soldiers.²⁰

In the chapter for the Oxford Handbook, which I already wrote in a first draft, I will develop my answer in three steps. First, I will briefly explore the central relation between war, violence and the gender order and attempt to ‘gender’ the concept of “total war; then I will sketch and discuss the extent of women’s participation in the military during World War I and II in the different countries; afterwards I will compare the wars and countries more systematically; and finally I will focus on the related attempts to re-order postwar societies and re-gender war memories. In the following I can naturally only present some of the main points of the chapter,

1. War, Violence and the Gender Order

The elemental core of war is the execution and experience of violence, marked by the human “power to injure” and “vulnerability to injury”. Of course, the organization and

practice of war changes over time and depending on the conflict and context. But the quintessence remains the same. For this reason, Michael Geyer already contended in his 1995 article “A History of War That Acknowledges Death” that historians of the military and war need to focus more on the “core of war”—violence, killing and death and how they were practiced, perceived and remembered.²¹ This approach leads to the definition of war as an organized violent mass conflict involving two or more armed factions at least one of which must be the regular force of a government. Such an approach, which places violence at the center of the history of war, helps us to understand why female auxiliaries, soldiers and partisans—despite their relatively small numbers—caused astonishingly similar gender trouble during and after both World Wars in states and regions with very divergent economic, social and political systems.²²

The ability and the right to exercise organized and armed violence has been connoted as “masculine” since Antiquity. Since the age of Democratic Revolutions, however, the “power to injure” was associated even more universally as male and “vulnerability to injury” as female. The reasons I plan to discuss in more detail in the chapter. In the imagined gender order of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century nation states, military service and with it the male right—and, in wartime, duty—to kill on behalf of the state or another higher power was the very heart of the gender line that differentiated men from women. During the age of World Wars, a shift occurred however: no longer the service in the military per se, but the participation in combat became the core marker of gender difference. This marker became particularly crucial in “total warfare”, which is differentiated from other forms of war mainly by “its peculiar intensity and extension” and its “tendency to abolish the boundaries that distinguish the front from the homeland.”²³ One far-reaching structural consequence of total warfare was the blurring of the gender lines. On the one hand, civilians became a major target of warfare by mass violence, on the other hand, women were increasingly needed for war support.²⁴

2. Women Serving the Military during World War I and II

A regional and temporal comparison of women’s military service in the age of the World Wars shows on the one hand that this service became more and more important in many war powers. On the other hand it points not only to expected differences, but also to surprising similarities.

Women Serving the Military during World War I

During the First World War the number of women mobilized to work in or for the military was relatively small compared to the Second World War. In Britain, which next to France mobilized the largest numbers, some 90,000 women served as army auxiliaries over the course of the war. They joined the Women’s Army Auxiliary Corps, the Women’s Royal Air Force and Women’s Royal Navy Service created in 1917 and 1918. Their members wore uniforms, were subject to direct military authority and worked mainly in four job categories: domestic, cookery, mechanical, and clerical.²⁵ The German War Office also increasingly deployed women as the war went on. Until spring 1917, 56,900 women had replaced male “military personal” in the army administration. This was not enough, however. Because of the growing manpower problems women were now also hired as so-called rear area auxiliaries, who replaced company clerks and staff sergeants in many positions, for example in aircraft, mechanical transport, ordnance, and telephone. These 20,000 women worked in the immediate vicinity of the battle zone, yet, they were

considered merely part of the army's entourage—not as military persons.²⁶ When the United States entered the European War in April 1917, it also marked the first time in the history of that country that its military took on a large number of women; 12,000 in total served as yeomen for the US Navy and Marine Corps. The US military refused to enlist women officially, relying on them as contract employees and civilian volunteers instead. These women did mostly the same jobs as in the other countries.²⁷ A similar policy was pursued by the French military, which too employed women only as clerical and domestic workers—some 120,000 by the end of World War I. The army preferred to recruit local women as much as possible and hired them as civilians.²⁸ Women serving the military seem to have faced the same response in the different countries: Many rank and file did not like them and the military leaders only agreed to their employment because they needed them, but suspected them of being “incompetent and promiscuous.”²⁹ The only state that systematically employed women not just as auxiliaries, but also in combat roles, was Russia after the Menshevik Revolution of February 1917. The Kerenski government enlisted some 6,000 women in all-female combat units, mainly to “shame the men” of the struggling army into battle.³⁰ One of the best-known units was the so-called “Battalion of Death.” These female combat units, however, were only short-lived. The Bolshevik disbanded them after the Revolution of October 1917.³¹

Many more women volunteered during World War I for charity or nursing. This was the first conflict in which professionally trained female nurses, many affiliated with the Red Cross, worked alongside female volunteers. One well-known association was the British Voluntary Aid Detachment. It organized the work of 38,000 voluntary hospital nurses, ambulance drivers and cooks.³² In Germany, 28,000 women signed-up as war nurses, 19,800 of them with the Red Cross.³³ In the United States, nurses were the only group of women employed as military personnel by the armed forces. Over 21,500 of them served in the Army Nurse Corps.³⁴ In all countries only middle- and upper-class women could afford to volunteer for nursing, because they could pay for the costs of training and did not have to work for a living. Different than auxiliaries, nurses only got a small allowance, no salary.³⁵ This was one of many reasons why their “sacrifice for the fatherland” was put on par with the frontline service of soldiers. In contrast to auxiliaries, who were already during the war perceived with far more moral reservation and even rejection, nurses were included in most national war memories, even though more at the margins. In the center stood the male war heroes.³⁶ With the demobilization of the women, who had served the military, the public memory of female war support quickly faded.

Women in Military Service during World War II

Preparations for the Second World War, began long before the conflict itself. A first striking signal that Nazi Germany was preparing for a new war was the reintroduction of universal conscription with the Defense Law of May 1935 in contravention of the Versailles Treaty, which also provided the legal basis for compulsory service for women.³⁷ From the beginning women were intensively involved in the Nazis' genocidal warfare. Next to the Soviet Union they mobilized the highest numbers of women for war support.³⁸ In total, the German Wehrmacht deployed nearly 400,000 German Red Cross nurses and nurses' aides and more than 500,000 female *Wehrmacht* auxiliaries in all war theatres in the army, navy and air force. 160,000 of the latter served as Flak gun auxiliaries in the anti-aircraft defense organized by the air force in which they were directly involved in combat, even though the

Nazis did everything to hide this fact. In addition, the civil Aerial Defense Organization used 500,000 female aerial defense auxiliaries. Half of all female *Wehrmacht* auxiliaries volunteered, only young women aged 17 to 25 were conscripted for the “Wartime Auxiliary Service” starting in the summer 1941. Women also voluntarily joined the female auxiliary corps of the central institutions of Nazi persecution such as the SS, the Nazi *Schutzstaffel* or Protection Squadron, where some 10,000 women were active alone.³⁹

The scale of women’s deployment far outstripped that of the First World War in all other war powers as well. In Britain, approximately 600,000 women entered military service as auxiliaries. The largest organization by far was the Commonwealth-wide Auxiliary Territorial Service, essentially a revival of the Women’s Army Auxiliary Corps, fewer women joined the Women’s Auxiliary Air Force, which also organized female service in the anti-aircraft batteries, and the Women’s Royal Naval Service. The manpower need was already so strong in 1941 that women between the ages of 20 and 30 were conscripted to service.⁴⁰ The United States deployed about 140,000 women as auxiliaries during World War II, 20,000 served in the overseas theatres, in addition to more than 66,000 nurses, who all volunteered.⁴¹ Scholars estimate that the proportion of women in the Western Allied armed forces reached 2–3 percent.⁴² The female auxiliaries essentially did the same kind of jobs in the American, British and German armies as during World War I, but in addition got access to several new positions in communication and anti-aircraft defense, the latter especially in the British and German military. In Britain and the United States they became part of the army personal and were placed under military discipline. In Germany they legally kept the status of civil employees. The Nazis tried to avoid with all means the impression that they used women as soldiers. In all three countries the military administration primarily targeted young and unmarried women. Again, it was mainly the dramatically increasing losses and the resulting replacement problems, which forced the army leaderships to accept women in their ranks.⁴³

These problems were most pronounced in the Soviet Union, where 520,000 women served in the Red Army’s regular troops. At least 120,000 of them fought on the front line, 200,000 fought as combat medics and 80,000 as doctors in the moving frontline hospitals. Another 300,000 women were enlisted in combat and home front anti-aircraft formations. Many of these female soldiers had volunteered.⁴⁴ In addition, the Russian Red Cross trained in total 500,000 women as paramedics for the local air defense, 300,000 as nurses and paramedics for all regions of the Soviet Union including battle zone during the war.⁴⁵ In 1942–43, the losses and with them the replacement problems were so dramatic that the Soviet regime too started to conscript women for the army. Despite a political rhetoric of female equality, however, the Stalinist state hushed up the extent of female military mobilization. This suggests that the regime anticipated public disapproval, if not outright resistance in society had its measures been publicized.⁴⁶ In the partisan units in Eastern, Southern and Western Europe, including France that fought against Nazi occupation, the manpower needs too were the main reason why women were accepted in combat positions. The average proportion of female combatants reached 10–15 percent.⁴⁷

3. Comparing Wars and Countries

A comparison of female military service in both World Wars and different countries reveals expected differences and astonishing similarities. The differences relate mainly to the rhetorical strategies used for their mobilization and the extent, legal status and organization

of women's service for and in the military. The similarities can be discovered in the cultural strategies to maintain the gender order, challenged by women serving in the 'manly realm' of the military, and in the social perception, post-war demobilization and recollection of their war service in war memories.

The most important difference was that the Third Reich mobilized German women for a war of conquest and annihilation. A murderous will to destruction characterized the Third Reich's conduct of war.⁴⁸ This agenda was supported especially by many of the young female volunteers for auxiliary service and nursing. For Germany's Allied enemies, in contrast, the Second World War was a "war of defense." This made easier to gain voluntary female war support. In compliance with their different war aims, the powers used different rhetorical strategies in their propagandistic attempts to mobilize women for war. These differences were further reinforced by their conflicting political ideologies. In addition, the legal status and the forms of organization were dissimilar. One factor of crucial influence was here the institutional tradition.⁴⁹

One major similarity was the political and public rejection (except in the Soviet Union) of female participation in combat, defined as "an organized lethal attack on an organized army."⁵⁰ Laws and regulations reserved the duty and right to kill for men and political rhetoric connected it to male citizenship rights, privilege and power. The Nazis and their Western adversaries alike strongly rejected "female soldiers," who symbolized for them the collapse of the gender order and with it the social order. Thus they did everything to classify female service as "noncombatant." But the needs of war resulted in less rigid practices, especially in the British and German armies, which politicians and the military sought to conceal in their war propaganda.⁵¹ An ambivalent exception is here the Soviet Union. Three main factors seem to have led to a different practice: first, the situation of a dramatic military crisis, the occupation of large parts of the country and the danger of devastating defeat; second, a tradition of female military units in World War I; and third, a political ideology of women's equality that the large number of young female volunteers cited to legitimate their attempts to join the Red Army as soldiers on the front line. But here too, the extent of female combatant service was kept hidden from the public by the government.

Related to the different attempts to prohibit, control or hide female participation in combat was a second important similarity which we can observe in Britain, the United States and their German enemy alike: the cultural strategies that the different armies deployed to control women in the military and their attempts to maintain sharp gender boundaries, despite the challenges of "total war." On the one hand, women who served the military in all countries were now uniformed and their appearance was tightly regulated. The aim was to emphasize their femininity while controlling their independence and taming their sex appeal. This agenda becomes quite visible in the many propaganda posters.⁵² On the other hand, the public placed women who worked for the military under the general suspicion of adventurous and immoral behavior.⁵³

A third similarity involves the attempts of the Western War powers and their German enemy to reinforce, through propaganda and in popular culture, the model of the gender order of national wars as the ideal per se—despite, or because, of the quite opposite reality. In this model, men still went off to war as "defenders of the fatherland" to protect and preserve the "homeland" embodied by women. The main function of this model was to give ordinary soldiers a cause worth fighting for. War movies in particular reinforced this

model, which contrasted even more starkly with the practice of war than had been the case in World War I.⁵⁴ In the age of aerial warfare and genocide, soldiers became increasingly ineffective as “protectors.” War propaganda attempted to uphold the gender order in hearts and minds and supported with this attempt not only the war, but already prepared for post-war times.

4. Re-Ordering Postwar Societies and Re-Gendering War Memories

There is much evidence that in most societies, the postwar era that followed both World Wars was a period in which the process of “re-gendering” the social order proceeded with great intensity. The political elites of the different postwar societies tried with vengeance to re-establish the prewar gender order. They sought to counteract the de facto expansion of women's scope of action during the war by intensively propagating the model of the “breadwinner-housewife family,” at least in the West. Britain was no different here from West Germany or the United States. Their practical policies, too, aimed to stabilize this model and even to generalize it still further.⁵⁵ In the context of the postwar “economic miracle,” the 1950s became in the West the “golden age” of this family form.⁵⁶

Despite the socialist rhetoric of gender equality we can observe a similar trend even in the Soviet Union and the new Communist states of Eastern Europe in the first decade after 1945. In 1944, at the latest, the image of women as family-bound housewives and mothers came to dominate Soviet propaganda. Because of the vast losses of the population, the regime emphasized women's reproductive role. To be able to integrate the returning soldiers in the economy, women had to vacate their jobs in the war industries of the East too. But the more they were needed in the workforce of the recovering economy, the more the “double-earner family model” was propagated by all communist states in contrast to the West.⁵⁷

A central part of this cultural and social demobilization in the West and the East alike was the lasting concealment of women's mass military deployment, and especially their role in military combat, which was the ultimate challenge to the gender order and with it the social order. Postwar memory thus played a crucial role in the reconstruction of the gender order.⁵⁸ Not even in the Soviet Union the large number of female combatants was remembered. Already before the war was over, Soviet propaganda reduced women's war participation largely to the role of medics, supposedly working far from the combat zone.⁵⁹ At the center of the national war memories in all Allied countries stood the male war heroes: millions of fallen warriors and returning front-line soldiers. The sacrifice of war widows, especially mothers, and the selfless care work of nurses were recalled as the female counterpart to male heroism. Women in military uniforms, especially women in combat positions, did not fit in these postwar recollections. The fact that they had been needed, did their duty and mostly did it well, needed to be suppressed in memory.⁶⁰ The postwar paradox was that the more women had been necessary in the different forms of war service, but especially in combat roles, the less this could be remembered, because these memories threatened to jeopardize social stability—a prospect particularly worrying in societies already strained to breaking point by the impact of war. Thus, it was far easier for the United States, than for Britain, but especially the Soviet Union to include female military service in their collective memories. This was even more challenging for both post-war Germanies. The grueling past was countered in the East with the myth of the heroic anti-fascist resistance of the communists; and in the West with a victimization narrative that

focused on bomb-war and postwar displacement. In this narrative women and children became the incarnation of innocent victims of war. Until today there is no place in public memory for the women supporting Nazi Germany with their military service.⁶¹

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- ¹ See: <http://umuv.zdf.de/unsere-muetter-unsere-vaeter/unsere-muetter-unsere-vaeter-26223848.html> and <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1883092/>
- ² See ZDF Hauptabteilung Kommunikation Pressestelle, *Online-Artikel (Auswahl)* (Mainz, 2013); idem., *Printartikel (chronologisch)* (Mainz, 2013); and idem., *Presseauswertung "Unsere Mütter, Unsere Väter,"* (Mainz, 2013).
- ³ See: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b00mrg41>
- ⁴ See: <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1955311/>
- ⁵ See: <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-06-30/anzac-girls/5560754>
- ⁶ One example is the British drama *Atonement* from 2007. See: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Atonement_%28film%29
- ⁷ As in the 2008 French film *Les femmes de l'ombre—Women of the Shadow*. See: <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0824330/>
- ⁸ Recent examples on World War I are: Jay Winter, ed., *The Cambridge History of the First World War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014); John Horne, ed., *A Companion to World War I* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010); Gerhard Hirschfeld et al., eds., *Enzyklopädie Erster Weltkrieg* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2009); for World War II, see Antony Beevor, *The Second World War* (New York: Little, Brown and Co., 2012); Militärgeschichtlichen Forschungsamt, ed., *Germany and the Second World War*, vol. 1–9.1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990–2008).
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- ¹⁰ Joan W. Scott, "Unanswered Questions," contribution to AHR Forum, "Revisiting 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,'" *American Historical Review* 113:5 (2008): 1422–30.
- ¹¹ Comparative articles are, D'Ann Campbell, "Women in Combat: The World War II Experience in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and the Soviet Union," *Journal of Military History* 57.2 (1993): 301–323; and Franka Maubach and Silke Satjukow, "Zwischen Emanzipation und Trauma: Soldatinnen im Zweiten Weltkrieg (Deutschland, Sowjetunion, USA)," *Historische Zeitschrift* 288 (2009): 347–384. Older studies include, John Laffin, *Women in Battle* (London: Abelard-Schuman, 1967); and as a quite critical portrayal of women in the military, Martin Van Creveld, *Men, Women and War* (London: Cassell, 2001).
- ¹² See Deborah Thom, *Nice Girls and Rude Girls: Women Workers in World War I* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1998); Penny Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives: Discourse and Subjectivity in Oral Histories of the Second World War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998); Susan R. Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood, and Politics in Britain and France during the First World War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); Nicoletta F. Gullace, "The Blood of our Sons": *Men, Women, and the Renegotiation of British Citizenship during the Great War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); Sonya O. Rose, *Which People's War?: National Identity and Citizenship in Britain, 1939–1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Janet S. K. Watson, *Fighting Different Wars:*

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- ¹³ See Margaret Collins Weitz, *Sisters in the Resistance: How Women Fought to Free France, 1940–1945* (New York: J. Wiley, 1995); Hanna Diamond, *Women and the Second World War in France 1939–1948: Choices and Constraints* (Harlow: Longman, 1999); Grayzel, *Women's Identities*; Margaret H. Darrow, *French Women and the First World War: War Stories of the Home Front* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2000); Nicole Dombrowski Risser, *France under Fire: German Invasion, Civilian Flight and Family Survival during World War II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
- ¹⁴ As research overviews see, Karen Hagemann, “Military, War and the Mainstreams: Gendering Modern German Military History,” in *Gendering Modern German History: Rewriting Historiography*, ed. Karen Hagemann and Jean Quataert, Oxford, 2007, 63–85; and *ibid.*, “Mobilizing Women for War: The History, Historiography, and Memory of German Women’s War Service in the Two World Wars,” *Journal of Military History* 75:3 (2011): 1055–1093; also Ursula von Gersdorff, *Frauen im Kriegsdienst, 1914–1945* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1969); Dörte Winkler, *Frauenarbeit im „Dritten Reich“*, Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1977); Leila J. Rupp, *Mobilizing Women for War: German and American Propaganda, 1939–1945* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978); Karen Hagemann and Stefanie Schüler-Springorum, eds., *Home/Front: The Military, War and Gender in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2002); Franka Maubach, *Die Stellung halten: Kriegserfahrungen und Lebensgeschichten von Wehrmachthelferinnen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009).
- ¹⁵ See Laurie S. Stoff, *They Fought for the Motherland: Russia's Women Soldiers in World War I & the Revolution* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2006); Anna Krylova, *Soviet Women in Combat: A History of Violence on the Eastern Front*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); and Roger D. Markwick and Charon Cardona Euridice, *Soviet Women on the Frontline in the Second World War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
- ¹⁶ See Susan Zeiger, *In Uncle Sam's Service: Women Workers with the American Expeditionary Force, 1917–1919* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999); Carrie Brown, *Rosie's Mom: Forgotten Women Workers of the First World War* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2002); Kimberly Jensen, *Mobilizing Minerva: American Women in the First World War* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008); M. Michaela Hampf, *Release a Man for Combat: The Women's Army Corps during World War II* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2010).
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61

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