

# OXFORD HANDBOOK of Gender and War since 1600

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## OUTLINE

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## 1. ABSTRACT

The volume is a reference work of thirty-two essays jointly written by specialist in the history of military and war and experts in gender and women's history. The collection, covering the period from the seventeenth century to the present, investigates how gender, an amalgam of ideals and practices that give meaning to and socially differentiate male and female, contributed to the shaping of warfare and related to it the military and was at the same time transformed by them. The essays explore these two questions by focusing on themes such as the cultural representations of military and war and their role in war (de)mobilization, the interconnectedness of the military and civil society and its transformations, war violence, war experiences on the home and battle fronts, the consequences of participation in war and the military for citizenship, attempts to regulate and tame warfare and prevent new wars by peace movements, international agreements and institutions such as the United Nations and post-war cultures and the memories of war. The volume covers chronologically the major periods in the development of warfare since 1600. While its main geographical focus is on Europe and the Americas (including the Caribbean), this history has to include the long-term processes of colonization and empire-building originating from sixteenth-century Europe, and their aftermath in the Americas, Asia, Africa and Australia. Thus, the handbook allows for both, temporal comparisons that explore continuities and changes in a long-term perspective, and regional comparisons as well as an assessment of transnational influences on the entangled relationships between and among gender, warfare and military culture.

## 2. AIMS AND AGENDA

The history of the military and war is of special interest to gender historians given the power of war to both radically destroy and forcefully impose order. From the perspective of the historical study of gender this makes the military and war fascinating objects of research, because they promise to demonstrate the variability and contingency of specific regimes of gender as well as their stability and longevity over time. More than three decades of research on the history of gender, the military and war have brought to light the many ways in which armed conflict produced both challenges to and confirmations of specific gender regimes. At the same time this research has highlighted how, vice versa, gender helped shape the military and war in their historically specific forms. The aim of this handbook is to make this specialized field of research accessible to a wider audience, critically evaluate its strengths and weaknesses, and shape its future form by exploring avenues of innovation.

The handbook's central question is how gender, an amalgam of ideals and practices that give meaning to and socially differentiate male and female, was shaped by war and military culture and at the same time helped shape them. It understands 'gender' as an analytical concept, which 'is above all an invitation to think critically about how the meanings of sexed bodies are produced, deployed, and changed' (J.W. Scott). In contrast to many existing works in the field that focus on women and the military and war, the handbook will emphatically take gender to refer to women and men, femininity and masculinity. In doing so it avoids the (implicit) assumption guiding a part of the existing work that it is women's relation to the military and war that requires explanation—an assumption that makes men's place in the military and war seem somehow self-evident or natural and not worthy of exploration. Drawing on and expanding the emerging field of the history of masculinity and war, the handbook approaches the relations of both women and men as well as femininity and masculinity, to the military and war as the variable outcomes of multiple historical processes and, as such, in need of historical explanation.

Many studies of gender and war tend to analyze changing constructions of gender deeply and in great detail, and discuss war in relatively general terms of armed conflict, violence, and social upheaval. In its approach to war and military culture the handbook will aim for greater historical specificity by making full use of both, the insights offered by the scholarship on the history of the military and war and the history of women and gender. Its analysis of the relations of gender, war and military culture is chronologically organized by the following four periods:

- I: From the Thirty Years War and colonial conquest to the wars of revolution and independence (1600s-1830s)
- II: Wars of nations and empires (1830s-1910s)
- III: The age of the world wars (1910s-1940s)
- IV: From the global cold war and wars of decolonization to the conflicts of the post-cold war era (1940s-present)

We do not assume that these periods are fixed; their borders are open and vary in different regions. We intend to use them as a starting point for long-durée explorations of the transformations in modes of warfare and military culture. We hope that these explorations will bring into view variable and changing ways of organizing for and waging war with an emphasis on their mutually constitutive relations with gender. This approach does not entail a view of the military and war as prime motors of historical change. But we believe that a chronologically organized basic structure that follows the major transformations in warfare and military culture provides a good starting point for understanding long-term changes in their relations to gender—and vice versa. In the context of this handbook this approach is essential to accomplish the overall aim to deeply historicize not just war and the military, but also gender.

Most of the existing work in the field consists of detailed and contextualized case studies with a relatively limited temporal and spatial scope. In emphasizing the many mutually constitutive relations between gender, war and military culture, this handbook will draw on the wealth of existing studies on the subject, many of them with a focus on Europe, its colonies and the Americas, especially North-America. Following recent developments in historical scholarship, it will also take the field in a new direction by integrating the existing body of work into a framework that covers both a longer time span and a wider geographical terrain than is usually the case. Spanning the period from the seventeenth century to the present, the handbook offers long-term narratives of continuity and change in which to situate more detailed studies on specific themes. Limited to the period often referred to as ‘modernity’, these narratives will not assume a given, singular nature of ‘modernity,’ or its inevitable and unidirectional rise, but will offer challenges to these assumptions from the perspective of a history of gender, the military and war. What happens, for instance, to histories of war and state formation, with their assumptions about the emergence of clear-cut boundaries between state and society, military and civilian spheres, when gender is integrated into them? It seems not unlikely that the emergence of these presumably firm boundaries partly rested on their symbolic association with notions of dichotomous gender differences and that these associations served to mask the persistent instability of such boundaries. Here, a focus on gender will help to re-think some of the central tenets of histories of political and military modernity.

In a similar way, the handbook will engage with recent developments in imperial and world history in order to move beyond the nation-state as the seemingly self-evident framework for the writing of history. While the volume’s focus is on ‘the Western world’, it approaches the history of Europe and the Americas (including the Caribbean) as a specific history, that is, as one among others. We do not see the Western world as representing a model that was, or necessarily became, universal. Its focus on specificity also does not imply that the volume endorses notions of a ‘Western way of war’ and its impact on gender. The Western world will be treated as a historical phenomenon, as a world that in the course of the last

four centuries changed shape due to colonial expansion and was in many ways formed by the colonial and imperial relations in which it became embedded. Therefore, the histories of gender, war and military culture of Europe and the Americas will emphatically include the long-term processes of colonization and empire-building originating from sixteenth century Europe, and their aftermath in the America's, Asia, Africa, and Australia. Here, too, insights drawn from the history of gender, war and military culture will serve to critically rethink prevailing assumptions about the nature of the nation-state and its putative rise to dominance as well as the connections between nation-state building and the creation of empires. What happens, for instance, to histories of the emergence of the so-called Westphalian state system, resulting from the Thirty Years War and based on the principle of mutually acknowledged territorial sovereignty, when we acknowledge that the independence of these states emerged simultaneously with, and partly rested on, their violent subjugation of peoples and states outside Europe as part of a highly gendered process of exploration and conquest? A focus on gender may be a useful tool here for illuminating and thinking about the co-existence of sovereignty and subjugation, of nation-state and empire, in the modern world.

This approach and scope will result in a persistent focus from a gendered perspective on the following five historical processes throughout the handbook (they will, of course, be of greater or lesser relevance depending on the period and subject under discussion):

- Changes in the form and technology of warfare but also of specific types of war (i.e. mercenary wars, national wars, colonial and imperial wars, wars of liberation, small wars, guerilla warfare, civil wars)
- State-formation and nation-building,
- Colonialism and imperialism,
- National liberation and anti-colonialism,
- The promulgation of war and violence and the attempts to control and prevent them (i.e. state control, peace movements, international agreements, institutions and laws).

The gendered analysis of these five historical processes will set the stage for analyses of the ways gender, war and military culture have mutually shaped each other, which will focus in particular on the following six topics (their relevance, too, will be greater or lesser depending on the period and subject under discussion):

- Gendered representations of the military and war,
- Gender, war mobilization, war participation and war support,
- Gendered experiences on the battle and home fronts,
- Gender, war, and (sexual) violence,
- Gender, war/military service and citizenship,
- Gendered demobilization, post-war cultures and war memories.
- Depending on the subject, materials and methods from cultural, social, economic, and political history, as well as anthropology, sociology and political science will be used.

### 3. ORGANIZATION

As the Table of Contents below indicates, the handbook opens with an *Introduction* (17,000 words) that discusses the volume's aims, central questions, approach and scope, and explains the book's structure. Here the discussion of our understanding of gender and its relation to war and military culture will be a central theme. Bringing gender into our approach to the study of warfare, military culture and violence is innovative as it brings together two fields that are often still separated: the history of military and war and

the study of gender thus extending the boundaries are both fields. We approach gender and war as mutually constitutive, socio-historically situated amalgams of practices and discourses. Rather than attempting to define them, we argue that they are contested concepts and that the political, as well as academic, struggles over their meanings needs to be part of historical analysis. This will also be the place to reflect more generally upon the state of the scholarship in the different disciplines and for the different time periods related to our subject.

Following this, *four major parts* will chronologically cover the volume's time period from the seventeenth century to the present. The division into parts reflects the major transformations in modes of warfare and military culture, enabling systematic analysis of the ways these transformations were connected to gender. The division has been made in full awareness of the fact that the origins and effects of some transformations in modes of warfare and military culture might lie beyond the time period covered by the individual parts. The boundaries between the parts are therefore relatively fluid, and long-term developments and links between various periods will be addressed throughout. Each part includes thematic chapters that cross the temporal boundaries in order to enable the analysis of *long durée* developments.

Each of the four parts opens with an *introductory overview* (each 17,000-18,000 words) jointly written each by two of the editors that discusses the state of research and describes the major developments in modes of warfare and military culture for the period under discussion and links these to gender – as well as to other relevant categories of difference, such as race, class, sexuality, age etcetera. These analyses will be developed against the background of the five historical processes mentioned, and will focus on (a selection of) the six topics relevant to the period. Finally, these introductory chapters will assess the degree to which a focus on gender results in challenges to dominant narratives in the history of war and military culture and vice versa. They will conclude with a discussion of important trends and questions for future research. General in character, these chapters build on existing work in the field and on the other essays in the handbook; they also provide a general framework for these essays, allowing their authors to discuss relevant general developments in this period in a more concise way.

After the opening chapter *each part continues with 4 to 9 essays* (each 9,000-10,000 words including notes) with varying geographical and time scopes. They represent crucial aspects of the relations between gender, war and military culture in the period under discussion and also address a selection of the six topics mentioned above. The chapters are interpretative overviews of the scholarship that make substantive and/or theoretical interventions and reflect on future research. Each essay will start with an introduction in which the regional and temporal scope of the chapter, the specifics of the explored time period, region(s) and wars and important concepts are clearly defined and in which the structure of the chapter is argued and justified; followed by a historiographical discussion of its themes. After this introduction a more general comparative and relational overview should follow and then the essay might focus on one or more specific case studies, which will allow analysis of the subject in more detail. Comparisons are preferably long-term and cover a wide geographical terrain. Comparisons and analyses of case studies are undertaken in service of the chapters' general argument. The essays will include a discussion of the major trends and questions for future research. Furthermore, authors will provide a selected bibliography of not more than 20 titles for their chapter, which will be published at the end of each handbook chapter.

## 4. TABLE OF CONTENTS

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## *Notes on the Contributors*

### **1. INTRODUCTION: GENDER AND THE HISTORY OF WAR**

*(Karen Hagemann, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)*

The introduction provides a broad overview of the development and state of research on the subject of gender and war in political and social sciences and history and discusses the understanding of the central concepts “gender,” “war” and “violence” used in the handbook. At the end it describes in more detail the aims, central questions and theoretical approach of the handbook, its regional and temporal focus as well as its organization.

### **PART I: FROM THE THIRTY YEARS WAR AND COLONIAL CONQUEST TO THE WARS OF REVOLUTION AND INDEPENDENCE**

#### **2. War and Gender: From The Thirty Years War and Colonial Conquest to the Wars of Revolution and Independence—Overview**

*(Stefan Dudink, Radboud University Nijmegen, Institute for Gender Studies and Karen Hagemann, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Department of History)*

This chapter offers an introduction to the entangled histories of gender and war from the Thirty Years War to the Wars of Revolution and Independence, against the background of a wider history of war and warfare in the early modern period. It starts with a critical discussion of some of the concepts historians have used to capture the nature and development of early modern war and warfare, such as “military revolution,” “limited war,” and “total war.” An important aspect of this discussion are the relations between transformations in early modern warfare and processes of state-formation, which are central to various arguments made by historians about gender and war in the early modern period. Against this conceptual background the chapter then presents an overview of the major wars from this period with a focus on the Thirty Years War, the Seven Years War and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars which points, among other things, to the increasing entwinement of European and colonial war in this era. The chapter concludes with an introduction to the state of research and central themes in the history gender and war.

#### **3. Consolidating States, Professionalizing Armies and Controlling Violence in the Long-term Aftermath of the Thirty Years War, 1600s–1780s**

*(Peter H. Wilson, Oxford University, All Souls College)*

The major changes in preparing, conducting and controlling war in Europe from around 1650 to about 1780 are the central themes of this chapter, which studies them from the perspective of gender history. The opening historiographical section advocates a closer integration of approaches so that we may understand the impact of gender on war, as well as its place in war and military institutions. The next section explains how gender featured in the regulatory framework consolidated by later seventeenth-century states to curb warfare’s costs and excesses. The place of gender in command, combat and logistical support is explored in the third part, while the final section examines military institutions as elements within a corporate social order. Throughout, it

will be argued that change across this period remained a matter of degrees rather than absolutes, with the characterization of male and female roles and spaces broadly similar to those prior to 1650, but were marked by greater regulation and permanence.

#### **4. War, Culture and Gender in Colonial and Revolutionary North America**

*(Serena Zabin, Carleton College, Department of History)*

The warfare of colonial and revolutionary North America, from European-native conflicts and the Seven Years War (1756–63) to the American Revolutionary War (1775–83) and the War of 1812, has only recently come to be considered in gendered terms. The roles of both women and men in North American warfare underwent enormous changes from the last quarter of the sixteenth century to the first quarter of the nineteenth. Two major themes are in the centre of this chapter: On the one hand the theme of the contested and changing constructions of military masculinity of Native Americans, British and French white settlers and the British and French armies that were brought to North America in the context especially of the Seven Years War; on the other hand the theme of women's different and changing involvement in warfare, which is related to the contested and changing representations of femininity in the different war societies.

#### **5. War, Gender and Society in Late Colonial and Revolutionary Spanish America**

*(Catherine Davies, University of London, Institute of Modern Languages Research, School of Advanced Study)*

Military conflicts and wars shaped Spanish America in the transformative period from the 1780s to the 1830s with its first anticolonial uprisings and the Spanish American Wars of Independence. This essay explores the impact of warfare and militarization on the social and gender order in the Spanish Atlantic Empire in this transformative period, and examines conversely, how ideas about the gender order shaped society, warfare and military culture. It focuses on the first anticolonial uprisings, especially the Tupac Amaru Rebellion (1780-82) in the South American Andes and the Rebellion of the Comuneros (1781) in New Granada—two of the largest and earliest in the history of Latin America—, the following Spanish American Wars of Independence (1808–33) and their aftermath.

#### **6. Gender, Slavery, War and Violence in and beyond the Age of Revolutions**

*(Elizabeth Colwill, University of Hawaii, Department of American Studies)*

A definition of war limited to fields of battle orchestrated by monarchs or nation states elides a primary form of state-sponsored violence at the heart of European wars of empire—slavery. Slavery involved the forcible conversion of persons to chattel through the legal and military arms of the state—a conversion secured through the subjection of sexual, productive, and reproductive labor, and the erasure of genealogies and family ties. In this sense, slavery could be seen as a protracted state of war. Armed conflict fuelled the slave trade, slave revolts blended into “official” wars, and enslaved people sometimes spoke of slavery as a state of war. Soldiers and the state march front and center in the archives, their presence camouflaging the gendered implications of warfare for women, families, and statecraft. Yet armed conflict in the Age of Revolution spilled beyond the battlefield, constructed distinct pathways to emancipation for men and women, and enshrined new, gendered forms of citizenship. These interrelated themes are the focus of this chapter.

## **7. Society, Mass Warfare and Gender in Europe during and after the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars**

*(Alan Forrest, University of York, Department of History)*

The period of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars between 1792 and 1815 was characterized by mass warfare on an unprecedented scale. All the belligerent states used large armies that were principally composed of volunteers, militias and conscripts and were increasingly mobilized by patriotic and nationalist rhetoric. But warfare on this scale did not depend only on the military; it also required the mobilization of civil society to provide material war support, medical care and war charity. Civilians played a significant role in these wars. They were the victims of war violence and were also a target for economic warfare. This chapter explores the implications of this new form of mass warfare for women and for the gender order. After discussing the major changes in the political and military order and their consequences for the waging of war during this period, it examines the costs of the new forms of mass warfare for society and explores the different forms of encounter between soldiers and civilians. A final section looks at the variety of ways in which women contributed to the war effort.

## **8. History and Memory of Army Women and Female Soldiers in Comparative Perspective, 1770s–1860s**

*(Thomas Cardoza, Truckee Meadows Community College, Department of Humanities and Karen Hagemann, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Department of History)*

The chapter addresses the ways women were involved in warfare on both sides of the Atlantic between the American Revolutionary Wars, the French Revolutionary Wars and Napoleonic Wars and the US Civil Wars as cross-dressed female soldiers and camp followers, and how their active war support was perceived and remembered during the nineteenth century. Collective memory of these women, especially the small number of cross-dresses female soldiers, represents a complex picture. First, many of these women fell into obscurity, especially if they survived the wars, yet by the latter half of the nineteenth century, researchers rediscovered these women, and their public image became more positive. Yet their public portrayal was essentially one-dimensional: they were girls who rose above the limitations of their sex to defend a “nation in danger.” They now became examples of extraordinary female patriotism.

## **8. Citizenship, Mass Mobilization and Masculinity in a Transatlantic Perspective, 1770s–1870s**

*(Stefan Dudink, Radboud University Nijmegen, Institute for Gender Studies)*

The chapter explores the interrelationship between the emergence of new ways of mass mobilization with volunteers, militias, and universal conscription, the rise of notions of gender as a universal, natural binary opposition, and of the notion of men as universal male political subjects in particular in the Age of Revolutions, in particular the American Revolutionary Wars, the French Revolutionary Wars and Napoleonic Wars, the Revolution of 1848/49 and the Wars of Nation-building and Nation-keeping in the mid of the nineteenth century. Especially the introduction of universal male conscription-cum-citizenship during the French Revolution and the wars it spawned started a transnational dynamic of dispersion. The French model of the citizen-soldier, often



considered to be effective in military terms but politically dangerous, was introduced and transformed in other contexts. Where it was rejected, it nevertheless made its presence felt in what became a conscious refusal of the model of modern citizen-soldier army in favor of other, perhaps less effective but politically more reliable, modes of mobilization. Always controversial and never fully implemented, even in contexts where it was supposedly fully endorsed, the model of universal conscription loomed large in the background of all nineteenth-century debates over military reform and political citizenship.

## **PART II: WARS OF NATIONS AND EMPIRES**

### **10. War and Gender: Wars of Nations and Empires—Overview**

*(Stefan Dudink, Radboud University Nijmegen, Institute for Gender Studies and Karen Hagemann, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Department of History, and Mischa Honeck, Humboldt University of Berlin, Department of History)*

This chapter offers an introduction to the intertwined histories of gender and war from the end of the period of transatlantic revolutions and warfare in the early nineteenth century to the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. In the opening section, we offer a reconsideration of the notion of Europe's post-Napoleonic century as an era of peace without or mostly without war, and of key concepts that historians have used to make sense of pursuits of war and military force during this time period, such as "total war," "imperialism" and "militarism." We then offer a panoramic view of the major wars waged from the 1830s to the 1910s, paying special attention to the often porous and fluid boundaries between national, colonial, and imperial armed conflicts, and survey the peacetime militarization of the 'western world' before the era of the two world wars, analyzing it as part of the movement of politics, society, culture, and economics in what is by mid-nineteenth century a global age. The chapter concludes with an exploration of the intersections of war and gender and a reflection on the state of scholarship.

### **11. Mobilization for War: Gendered Military Cultures in Nineteenth-Century Western Societies**

*(Robert A. Nye, Oregon State University, Department of History)*

Gender served as an important structural and organizing principle for the mobilization of peoples for war and nation in Europe and the United States during the nineteenth century. This chapter explores from a gender perspective how military and civilian cultures became more intimately conjoined and societies were militarized. Men experienced induction in mass conscription armies as a rite of passage to manhood and citizenship and prolonged their military identities in veteran's organizations. Women participated in voluntary and nursing organizations that supported military and combat activities throughout the century and figured as national symbols and in the commemoration of civilian and military suffering. Popular culture, art, music, and military display made use of deeply gendered images linking military culture to nationalist themes.

### **12. Gender and the Wars of Nation-building and Nation-keeping in the Americas, 1830s–1870s**

*(Amy S. Greenberg, Penn State University, Department of History)*

The middle decades of the nineteenth-century in the Americas were marked by dramatic warfare in the name of nationalism. The two most important conflicts were the US-Mexican Wars (1846–48) and the US Civil War (1861–65). Both participants and observers interpreted the causes and outcomes of these most important conflicts as crucial to gender relations. As this chapter demonstrates, war and martial masculinity were often mutually reinforcing during wartime, while more restrained practices of manhood gained precedence after war's end. Practices of womanhood were also shaped by the demands of war, leading in many cases to short-term increases in female autonomy and authority. In the long term, however, women rarely benefited from the larger equation that citizenship was grounded in military sacrifice. Female subservience was ensured by a widespread division between public and private that granted authority and the right to privacy to male heads of households within their domains.

### **13. Imperial Conquest, Violent Encounters and Changing Gender Relations in Colonial Warfare, 1830s–1910s**

*(Angela Woollacott, Australian National University, School of History)*

The period between the 1830s and 1910s is significant for the rapid expansion of the British and French empires in particular, and fierce inter-imperial rivalries, as well as the late rise of the non-European empires. The warfare that characterized imperial expansion and indigenous resistance, as sparked by imperial invasions and gradual conquests of colonial territories, including the suppression of uprisings, was often diffuse and chaotic. This chapter considers how the contact zones of aggressively expanding colonialism were structured by violence, in places ranging from the British settler colonies of Canada, Australia and New Zealand, to crown colonies of various European empires including British India, the Netherlands East Indies and French Indochina. It assesses the intersections of gender and militarized violence on frontiers and in the daily life of colonial societies.

### **14. The “White Man”, Race and Imperial War during the Long Nineteenth Century**

*(Marilyn Lake, The University of Melbourne, The School of Historical and Philosophical Studies)*

This chapter explores the transnational formation of the gendered and racialized figure of the ‘white man’ in the constitutive relations of colonial conquest and imperial rule across the nineteenth and into the twentieth century. The self-styled bearer of a ‘civilizing mission’ to Indigenous peoples, the ‘white man’ became a perpetrator of violence and atrocity as imperial rule and colonial settlement encountered continuing resistance and guerrilla warfare. In the process the older ideal of “moral manliness” gave way to a more modern conception of masculinity characterized by toughness, aggression and a capacity to use firearms to “pacify the natives.” Defined by power, even as he was haunted by his vulnerability, the “white man” engaged in systematic denial and disavowal, evasion and euphemism and narratives of nation-building that justified his right to rule.

### **15. Changing Modes of Warfare and the Gendering of Military Medical Care in Continental and Colonial Wars, 1850s–1920s**

*(Jean H. Quataert, Binghamton University SUNY, Department of History)*

The chapter centers on the gendering of battlefield services found at the nexus of war, law and medicine from the 1850s to the 1920s. It offers a socio-legal analysis of the impact of states’

accession to the Geneva Conventions of 1864 (revised in 1906), which brought a medical reform agenda into national life and simultaneously created a global network of relief associations in the international Red Cross movement. Blending global and local analyses, the chapter examines the diverse national struggles that gained women entry into battlefield nursing and explores the complex motives sustaining the work of the gendered medical staff on the global battlefields. It offers a historically-sensitive assessment of the evolution of humanitarian practices in their formative ties to war and their place in helping shape the new face of international public health under the League of Nations after 1918.

### **PART III: THE AGE OF THE WORLD WARS**

#### **16. War and Gender: The Age of the World Wars and Its Aftermath—Overview**

*(Karen Hagemann, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Department of History and Sonya O. Rose, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Department of History)*

The chapter offers a broad overview of the history of warfare in the Age of the World Wars. In the first part it considers the concept of “total war” and its usefulness for gender history. Then it describes some general trends in the development of warfare during the first half of the twentieth century to provide the historical context for the more detailed analysis of the nine chapters in this third part of the handbook. The chapter interprets the general developments in the history of war and warfare in this period from a gender perspective and explores the research on some of the major themes of a gender history of military of war.

#### **17. Mobilization for War: Gender, Culture and Music in the Age of World Wars**

*(Annegret Fauser, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Department of Music)*

In the Age of World Wars, with the increasing spread of media technologies, music and the other audiovisual arts served as tools for propaganda, as means of commemoration, and as escapist entertainment. This chapter explores how art was instrumentalized in propaganda efforts, how gender intersected with musical composition and performance in both wars, how music’s semantic slipperiness made it a fascinating tool for transnational reinterpretation as notions of gender shifted in the interwar years, and how music intersected with technologies such as radio and film to construct gender roles considered appropriate by government in the 1930s and during World War II, especially in the hands of the state apparatus.

#### **18. “Total Warfare”, Gender and the Home/Front in Europe during the First and Second World War**

*(Susan Grayzel, University of Mississippi, Department of History)*

This chapter traces the fundamental transformation of the European civilian experience of war during the First and Second World Wars. It begins by interrogating the category of the “homefront” at the moment of its entry into common parlance in World War I and looks at the incorporation of non-combatants into the waging of industrialized “total war.” It argues that gender was at the heart of this cultural change as civilian lives and spaces became targets of new modes of warfare and new forms of state intervention into domestic and everyday life. The chapter investigates civilian war work, the meanings of wartime violence and especially the experience of occupation, the growth of

state interest in monitoring sex in order to prevent the spread of venereal disease, and above all, the expansion of state regulation in ways that militarized the home.

### **19. War Societies, Citizenship and Gender on the American and Canadian Homefronts during the First and Second World War**

*(Kimberly Jensen, Western Oregon University, Department of History)*

This chapter analyzes the impact and consequences of the First and Second World War for the homefronts of Canada and the United States with a particular focus on the definitions of and challenges to gendered systems of citizenship. Many Americans and Canadians actively claimed an expanded citizenship as reward for their wartime service. At the same time their wartime service brought imperatives for loyalty and national security that resulted in severe restrictions on civil liberties and citizenship in the name of national security during and after these conflicts. In the First World War both nations designed programs and propaganda to define citizenship in the narrow confines of “100% Americanism” and “Canadian nationalism” at the expense of diversity and dissent, and these reflected notions of traditional gender roles and suspicion of those who did not follow such prescriptions. Gendered wartime citizenship in Canada and the United States during both World Wars related directly to the homefront conceptions of “armed conflict” and “war.”

### **20. History and Memory of Military Women and Female Soldiers in the Age of World Wars**

*(Karen Hagemann, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Department of History)*

During the First and Second World War women's wartime service became increasingly important for the functioning of the homefront and battlefield in Britain, Germany, Russia, the United States and other war powers. Hundreds of thousands of women served during World War II in the military of the belligerents. Scholars estimate that the percentage of women in the Allied armed forces reached up to 2–3 percent. Especially high was the number of women in military service on the one hand in Nazi Germany, and on the other in the Soviet Union, but only in the latter they were officially enlisted as soldiers. Despite their numbers and their importance, until recently mainstream historiography and public memory have largely ignored women's military service. The chapter will take a closer, comparative look at the women's wartime service in the Age of the World Wars in history and memory, and will try to explain the paradox that while it was increasingly needed, it has long been downplayed and overlooked in public perception and memory in all war powers, beyond political differences in the Cold War era.

### **21. Western States, Military Masculinity and Combat in the Age of World Wars**

*(Thomas Kühne, Clark University, Strassler Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies)*

In the age of the two World Wars, traditional concepts of exclusive and heroic masculinity gave way to inclusive, protean masculinities. Their fabric as tutorials for coping with the emotional, moral, and physical challenges of total war allowed for the integration of soldiers with different personalities and different social backgrounds into the cohesive face-to-face combat group that proved crucial for the fighting morale of modern armies. While men within these homo-social groups could perform a broad range of seemingly contradictory, manly and femininely coded emotions and practices, these groups yet relied on the exclusion of women. This chapter tracks

representations and experiences of military masculinities in the first half on the twentieth century and compares the developments in Europe and the United States.

## **22. Colonial Soldiers, Race and Military Masculinity during and beyond World War I and II**

*(Richard Smith, Goldsmiths, University of London, Department of Media and Communications)*

Millions of colonial soldiers served the Empires during World War I and II. Their history and memory received little attention until fresh academic interest towards the end of the twentieth century. This chapter shows how martial race theory, notions of mental capacity and pre-world war experiences impacted on the deployment of colonial troops. These factors included fear of arming colonial subjects, anxieties about the apparent mental and physical incapacity of some white soldiers and pragmatic strategic considerations. The chapter takes a comparative approach to explore how the imperial military service of colonial soldiers contributed to masculine visions of independent nationhood and citizenship following the First and Second World Wars. Visions of heroic masculine sacrifice were appropriated by emerging nations, even where war service involved discrimination and deployment as military labor. The chapter also evaluates the extent to which imperial loyalty and the hope of post-war political patronage motivated colonial troops.

## **23. Sexuality, Sexual Violence and the Military in the Age of the World Wars**

*(Regina Mühlhäuser, Hamburg Institute for Social Research)*

The two World Wars—with the mass mobilization and unprecedented mobility of men and women—presented new opportunities for soldiers and civilians to engage in consensual amorous encounters, instrumental and commercial sex. At the same time, the experience of brutality, destruction and death lowered the threshold at which sexual violence took place. The boundaries between consensual and forced, non-violent and violent were fluid, and different forms of sexuality and violence merged. This coexistence and, indeed, entanglement of extreme violence and sexual pleasure was shocking for the contemporaries. By focusing on practices, constellations and structures of sexual violence, the chapter discusses the meanings and effects in and for total war.

## **24. Gender, Peace and the New International Politics of Humanitarianism in the First Half of the Twentieth Century**

*(Glenda Sluga, University of Sydney, Department of History)*

This chapter examines the changing ideas of peace and their connections with the longer history of humanitarianism in the first half of the twentieth century, using gender as an analytical focus. In particular, it explores the international and internationalist contexts of the emerging peace movement and international humanitarianism and their changing character; the gender dimensions of peace-thinking and policies, especially in the context the League of Nations (founded 1919) and the United Nations (founded 1945); and the ways in which feminism was a significant influence on the development of these two international bodies, even as women were sidelined in their operations. In the first half of the twentieth century, these international (inter-governmental) organizations had as their central rationale the taming of warfare. The chapter analyzes the extent to which, in each

case, they contributed to institutionalization of new gendered international norms of pacifist and humanitarian activism.

## **25. Gender, Demobilization and the Reordering of Society Societies after the First and Second World War**

*(Karen Hagemann, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Department of History)*

As industrialized “total wars” the First and Second World War required the unprecedented involvement of civilians at the battle- and the homefront. After both wars had ended, the demobilization of great numbers of soldiers, workers, and returning POWs created immense political, social and economic problems and challenges for the postwar societies. In addition, postwar societies had to deal with the costs and wounds of war. This chapter explores the economic, social and cultural demobilization after the First and Second World War with a gender perspective and compares Britain, France, Germany, and Russia the United States. With these belligerents it includes victorious and defeated nations, market based and communist societies, democratic and authoritarian political systems. The chapter demonstrates the importance of the gender order, especially the family, for the reconstruction of the postwar social order. After both wars it were in all societies, despite all other economic and political differences, mainly the families and in the families the women who had to heal the wounds of war.

## **26. Gendering the Memories of War and the Holocaust in Europe and the United States**

*(Frank Biess, University of California, San Diego, Department of History)*

Based on a theoretical discussion of how and why memories are “gendered”, this chapter demonstrates the centrality of gender for changing memories of war and genocide in Europe and North America after 1945. Notwithstanding women’s extensive participation in World War II, patriotic memories centered on the predominantly male figures of the “victor”, the “martyr,” and the “victim.” Linking national reconstruction with the restoration of a hierarchical gender order, these narratives marginalized or erased women’s experiences. The ascendancy of Holocaust memory in the West fundamentally challenged this commemorative regime and elevated the figure of the “survivor.” Second wave feminism not only rendered visible women’s role in World War II; it also promoted the gendering of Holocaust memory. The end of the Cold War enabled the public proliferation of previously private memories with significant gendered implications.

## **PART IV: FROM THE GLOBAL COLD WAR TO THE CONFLICTS OF THE POST-COLD WAR ERA**

### **27. War and Gender: From the Global Cold War and Wars of Decolonization to the Conflicts of the Post-Cold War Era—Overview**

*(Karen Hagemann, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Department of History and Sonya O. Rose, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Department of History)*

The chapter focuses on the development from the Cold War era and anticolonial struggle to the global conflicts of the post-Cold War period. It begins with an overview of the complex features of a period that starts with in immediate aftermath of the Second World War, the rise and

consequences of the Global Cold War and its proxy wars, and the Wars of Decolonization leading to the decline of European empires. It then turns to the collapse of communism and the end of the Cold War and the proliferation of Wars of Globalization along with new forms of humanitarianism and peace keeping. The last section discusses the research by gender scholars from different disciplines on the Global Cold War and the Wars of Globalization and their attempts to rewrite mainstream narratives.

## **28. Gender, the Wars of Decolonization and the Decline of Empires after 1945**

*(Raphaëlle Branche, Université de Rouen, Département d'histoire)*

During the post-1945 Wars of Decolonization gender was often as a site of contestation. Colonial repression was based on a gender order, which intersected with the constructed racial and social hierarchies in the colonies. The way imperial powers' policies used and impacted gender relations to secure their rule has to be taken into account, when we study the anticolonial struggle. The Wars of Decolonization after 1945 were as much "total wars" as the First and Second World War. They too affected all areas of the economy, society and culture. The struggle for liberation challenged the ideas of white manhood of the colonial powers, but also led to conflicts in the construction of male identity within the armies of the insurgents. One challenge was here the fact that not only men, but also women actively participated in the struggle for national liberation, which challenged dominant ideas of the gender order and led to a reconsideration of gender relations during and after the conflicts.

## **29. Post-1945 Western Militaries, Female Soldiers and Gay Rights**

*(D'Ann Campbell, Culver-Stockton College and Karen Hagemann University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Department of History)*

This chapter analyzes the changing policies of the professionalizing Western militaries in the post-1945 era towards female, gay and lesbian soldiers and the challenges they posed to dominant ideas of military masculinity. It discusses the interrelated importance of both, gender and sexuality, for the determination of the "right to kill and die" for a country. The focus will be on NATO states Britain, Canada and the United States. The chapter tries to identify the main enabling and driving factors for an integration policy of women in these three countries, which started in the 1970s, as well as gay, lesbian and bisexual people that began in the 1990s. It argues that the increasing female, gay and lesbian soldiers was fostered, first, by the move to professional armies based on volunteers which led to increasing military manpower needs; second, the growing centrality of de-gendered technological sophistication which allowed the integration of more and more women, because it requested skills and knowledge and not mainly strength; third social movements that pushed for equal rights of women and queer people; and fourth, as a result a change in public opinion.

## **30. Sexual Violence in Post-Cold War Global Conflicts**

*(Dubravka Zarkov, Erasmus University Rotterdam, Institute for Social Studies)*

Recent scholarship conceptualizes sexual violence as an inherent part of war violence, but emphasizes its varying pattern across conflicts, armed groups and small units. However, some cases of sexual violence in war have remained invisible within both feminist and mainstream academia and politics, while others have been overexposed. This imbalance has only received more attention

in feminist scholarship since the Millennium. The chapter analyses in its first section the debates on sexual violence in the post-Cold War global conflicts. It argues that the wartime rapes of women in the wars in former Yugoslavia (1991–2001), to some extent Rwanda (1990–93) and the sexual violence against men at the Abu Ghraib prison during the second Iraq War (2003–11) have stimulated major shifts in feminist theorizing of sexual violence against women and men in war. Afterwards, it discusses the repercussions of the most common conceptualization of sexual violence in war. In a third section it reflects the theoretical challenges of the conceptualization of sexual violence against men. The chapter ends with reflections on fruitful avenues of future theory and research

### **31. The United Nations, Gendered Human Rights and Peace Keeping since 1945**

*(Sandra Whitworth, York University, Department of Political Science)*

Feminist observers of peacekeeping have asked why very little has changed within the peacekeeping of the United Nations since 1945, despite a greater overall attention to questions of gender within the UN: for example, despite calls for greater representation of women on missions, they continue to constitute a small fraction of the personnel deployed; despite calls to ‘gender mainstream’ missions, peace operations often result in heightened insecurity for some women and girls. This chapter examines the evolution of UN peacekeeping alongside an examination of the greater attention devoted to questions of women and gender within the UN system from 1945 to the present. It argues that the ultimately ‘problem-solving’ approach to gender and peacekeeping adopted by the UN limits the possibility of any substantive impact its policies around gender may ever achieve.

## **EPILOUGE**

### **32. Gender, Wars of Globalization and Humanitarian Interventions since the End of the Cold War**

*(Kristen P. Williams, Clark University, Department of Political Sciences)*

The collapse of the Soviet Union, peaceful revolutions in Central and Eastern Europe that ended communist rule, and the reunification of Germany marked the end of the Cold War. Different than originally hoped, this did not usher in a new period of peace and stability around the world. Instead, more than two decades later since the emergence of this new era in world politics, conflicts continue to afflict the international community, predominantly in the form of intrastate, or civil, wars (although interstate wars are also present). Exploring the most recent history of gender, military and war, this chapter examines to what extent the current era of globalization comes with new types of wars, changes in modes of waging war, and humanitarian intervention, and how these are related to gender.

*Abstracts and Keywords*

*Index*



## 5. COMPETITION

So far, no volume similar to this Oxford Handbook exists. The book will be unique because it brings together scholars of the history of military and war and gender historians to a joint international project that explores long-term continuities and changes over four centuries in a global scale. The closest project is *The Companion To Women's Military History*, edited by Barton C. Hacker and Margaret Vining (Smithsonian Institution, Washington, United States), which was published in 2012 by Brill. However, the approach of that volume is quite different, because it focuses on women and the geographical scope is less global. The Wiley-Blackwell *Encyclopedia of War*, edited by Gordon Martel (University of Northern British Columbia, Canada) is extensive, but surprisingly limited in respect of the theme of gender, military culture and war. We are sure that our innovative and comprehensive approach to the theme will give the proposed Handbook a wide audience.

## 4. THE DIGITAL HUMANITIES PROJECT "GWONLINE, THE BIBLIOGRAPHY, FILMOGRAPHY AND WEBOGRAPHY ON GENDER AND WAR SINCE 1600"

The forthcoming *Oxford Handbook of Gender and War since 1600* is connected to the **Digital Humanities Project "Gwonline, the Bibliography, Filmography and Webography on Gender and War since 1600"** (<http://gwc.unc.edu/welcome>), which is based at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. This Digital Humanities project, developed since 1914 by a team of undergraduate and graduate students under the leadership of Prof. Karen Hagemann, collects and organizes secondary literature, women's autobiographies, films and informative websites on this subject to make them available to the public. Alongside full text searching, it allows users to explore the collections of curated sources through multiple entry points: author or director, publication or release date, collection, major wars, countries and regions or keywords. The literature search is equipped with an OPEN URL feature that allows users world wide to check whether articles, books etc. are available in their local libraries. Selected sources available on Gwonline are presented on the **Facebook page** of the project: <https://www.facebook.com/gwonlineunc/>.

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