

- Moore, J. W. (2003) "The modern world-system" as environmental history? Ecology and the rise of capitalism. *Theory and Society*, 32(3): 307–377.
- Namasuwo, N. (2003) Food production and war supplies: Rhodesia's beef industry during the Second World War, 1939–1945. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 29(2): 487–502.
- Osborn, F. (1948) *Our Plundered Planet*. New York: Little, Brown.
- Pearson, C. (2008) *Scarred Landscapes: War and Nature in Vichy France*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Russell, E. (2001) *War and Nature: Fighting Humans and Insects with Chemicals from World War I to Silent Spring*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Szasz, F. M. (1995) The impact of World War II on the land: Gruinard Island, Scotland, and Trinity Site, New Mexico as case studies. *Environmental History Review*, 19(4): 15–30.
- Vogt, W. (1948) *Road to Survival*. New York: William Sloane.

## CHAPTER FORTY-TWO

# The Women of World War II

D'ANN CAMPBELL

World War II was the last total war. To win a total war required the help of every man and woman. The Allies were quick to understand the nature of total war and to place their women in a variety of roles; the Axis lagged behind. This chapter will focus on the multiple roles played by women, such as working outside the home, serving in uniform, and caring for their families. It will consider women as victims of famine and atrocities, and look at the homecoming as the war ended. A special concern is how the war affected masculine and feminine gender roles in different cultures. There are no global histories of women and very few comparative studies for the social history of the war, so this chapter uses the history and historiography of women in numerous nations to make some preliminary comparisons.

In most of the world, the spirit of industrial efficiency, the absence of men in the military, and the very rapid growth in munitions work required the use of women. Complex skilled industrial jobs were broken down and simplified into operations that could be taught to women in a few days. Historians agree that under the best of circumstances – in the US and Canada – conditions were difficult for women workers, especially if they had children. The poverty and unemployment era was over, and families achieved a new level of prosperity. All the regular household duties remained and more were added. Transportation was always overcrowded, day care was seldom adequate, and shopping hours never matched the women's free minutes. Low paid service workers were the most likely to move into factory jobs, which better-educated white-collar workers scorned. Conditions were much more difficult in Europe. Nations like Germany that had a high wage for soldiers and high benefits for their families found fewer volunteers.

Historians in the US and Britain have paid far more attention to women workers than other nations, but with sharply different perspectives. The Americans look at the war years as a golden opportunity for women achieving more equality since their services were urgently needed and the economy was rich enough for equal pay for

equal work. The first generation of home front historians in the 1960s, writing in the sunshine of the civil rights movement, wrote glowing accounts and hailed the wartime experience as a harbinger of the feminist movement that was just emerging, emphasizing the high pay scales and the breakthrough of women into jobs previously closed to them (Chafe 1972). The thesis was soon shot down by historians who emphasized continuity rather than discontinuity (Hartmann 1984). The way history happened, they believed, was through grass roots organization and activism, of the sort that had won suffrage for women in 1920, a major role for labor unions in the 1930s, and legal equality for blacks in the 1960s. Obviously there were no signs of any such movement in the 1940s, so liberation could not have happened. Yes wages were high but high pay was not equal pay (the men in factories were paid much more). Services women urgently needed such as child care were scarcely provided. Unions took women's dues but did not seek out their opinions. The wartime propaganda called on women to fill in during the emergency, then dutifully return home once the need was over. The historians typically emphasized the overpowering role of public opinion – as expressed by the national media (which were in part controlled by the government) (Rupp 1978; Honey 1984). They were following a liberal interpretation of capitalism popularized by John Kenneth Galbraith to the effect that consumers' wants are shaped by advertising, and the elites that control the media control the people. Thus women meekly went home after the war to traditional roles as housewives, and there was no long-term memory that decades later sparked the revival of feminism.

In the democracies, there was a spirit of universal enthusiasm for the war effort, emphasizing patriotism much more than women's emancipation from traditional roles, but traditional barriers permanently vanished in the white-collar world. The war opened jobs for married women, not just in factories but in offices and schools outside the war sector where the custom had been to quit on marriage, so that the wife would not be taking away a scarce job from some needy breadwinner. Women typically kept their places after the war. A few found opportunities in middle management or in new roles like bank teller or store clerk that had been reserved for men. A few college graduates more easily entered professional schools. Harvard Medical School admitted its first woman in 1945; Harvard Law School postponed the day until 1950. Millions worked as "Rosie the Riveter" in munitions production ranging from assembling radios sets to installing rivets in the aluminum sheets that made up the airplane body. These were temporary jobs that ended when the war factories closed in 1945 or reverted to civilian products using men after the war.

Most black women in America had been farm laborers or domestics before the war. Despite discrimination and segregated facilities throughout the South, they escaped the cotton patch and took blue-collar jobs in the cities (Honey 1999). Working with the federal Fair Employment Practices Committee, the NAACP, and CIO unions, these black women fought a "Double V" campaign – against the Axis abroad and against restrictive hiring practices at home. Their efforts redefined citizenship, equating their patriotism with war work, and seeking equal employment opportunities, government entitlements, and better working conditions as conditions appropriate for full citizens (Shockley 2003). In the South, black women worked in segregated jobs; in the West and most of the North they were integrated, but wildcat strikes erupted in Detroit, Baltimore, and Evansville where white migrants from the South refused to work alongside black women (Campbell 1984; Kryder 2000).

The proportion of married women at work jumped from 18 percent to 25 percent, a trend that continued after the war. While the husbands of the youngest cohort of women were often at war, the great majority of husbands were older and remained civilians during the war, usually earning much more money thanks to overtime and high pay rates. It was uncommon for them to move alone to war centers; most brought their families despite the extreme shortage of housing. Volunteer work energized middle-class women as they signed up to help the Red Cross and the USO (United Service Organization), providing a sense of contribution to the war effort and an expression of patriotism. With more cash in their purses than ever before, women learned to work around rationing and shortages, trading with their neighbors while noting how clothing and shoes declined in quality. Most families saved their extra income, spending it after the war (Campbell 1984).

The shortfalls with the feminist historiography included fixation on the sort of gender equality the feminists were seeking for themselves in the 1970s, especially equal access to jobs and equal pay, and the assumption of the media shaping the values and desires of the people. An alternative approach, along the British model of the People's War, appeared in the American historiography in the 1980s: asking women themselves what were their goals and whether they achieved them. This approach relied on public opinion polls which were often reanalyzed using the original IBM cards, letters, and oral histories. Gluck (1987) interviewed 45 war workers in depth to find major change had come about quietly. Campbell (1990) analyzed questionnaires returned by 600 women veterans. Tuttle (1995) used 2500 letters where adults recalled their childhood experiences during the war. Litoff and Smith (1994) examined over 30,000 letters from 500 women of diverse backgrounds and discovered evidence of profound and lasting changes as women became more self-sufficient in decision making and financial management. Their work life became more all encompassing, and their self-confidence grew as a result of doing things for themselves. Campbell (1984) emphasizes that women demanded more equalitarian, companionate marriages, centered on the suburban life style that was built around the needs of housewives and their baby boom children.

The history of wartime female labor in Britain paralleled the US, but historians there took a very different approach. They had never placed much emphasis on advertising or the media as shaping consumer society. Their suffrage movement was an elite movement, while the labor unions failed in the 1920s when they tried to be militant and there was no civil rights movement. Instead the British historians celebrated the success of the home front in creating an era of equality and planning as shown in the welfare state, which involved the Beveridge Report, the reform of education, the National Health Service, the nationalization of industry and the success of the Labour Party. British scholars largely ignored the media (which was too political and controlled by too few men to truly reflect public opinion). Instead they had a unique resource, Mass Observation, in which hundreds of observers monitored the daily life of British men and women, producing a mass of fresh documentation (Sheridan 2006; Hubble 2009). British historians already bought into the concept of a "People's War"; now they had the archives they needed to document it. Women were given a major, albeit not equal role in upholding and transforming the nation (Calder 1969). Calder's thesis struck home at the right moment – a time of student unrest and young scholars turning to "history from below," exemplified by the History Workshop

movement and the new interest in social history that was comprehensive in including all the people. Calder was the innovator who used *Mass Observation*, as he demonstrated how to privilege the nonelite while working around traditional historical narratives that centered on the Establishment.

Britain had the most successful record of mobilizing the home front, in terms of maximizing output, assigning the right skills to the right task, rationing food and necessities, and maintaining the morale and spirit of the people. Much of this success was due to the systematic planned mobilization of women, as workers, soldiers, and housewives (Hancock and Gowing 1949). The women supported the war effort, and made the rationing of consumer goods of success. In some ways, the government over-planned, evacuating too many children in the first days of the war, closing cinemas as frivolous then reopening them when the need for cheap entertainment was clear, sacrificing cats and dogs to save a little space on shipping pet food, only to discover an urgent need to keep the rats and mice under control (Marwick 1968). In the balance between compulsion and voluntarism, the British relied successfully on voluntarism. The success of the government in providing new services, such as hospitals and school lunches, as well as the equalitarian spirit of the People's War, contributed to widespread support for an enlarged welfare state. Munitions production rose dramatically, and the quality was high. Food production was emphasized, in large part to open up shipping for munitions. Farmers expanded from 12,000,000 to 18,000,000 the acres under cultivation, and the farm labor force was expanded by a fifth, thanks especially to the Women's Land Army. The rationing system, which had been originally based on a specific basket of goods for each consumer, was much improved by switching to a point system which allowed housewives to make choices based on their own priorities. Food rationing also permitted the upgrading of the quality of the foods available, and housewives approved – except for the absence of white bread and the government's imposition of an unpalatable wheat meal nicknamed the "national loaf." People were especially pleased that rationing brought equality and a guarantee of a decent meal at an affordable cost (Calder 1969; Mackay 2002).

Britain fought a People's War, and with surprisingly little debate, the government undertook the close supervision of womanpower, while downplaying the coercive element and preserving the volunteer spirit (Calder 1969). In general, married women and mothers of children under fourteen were not coerced, but were given many opportunities for paid employment. In practice, women 19 to 24 were called up, given a choice between the auxiliary military services and specified forms of civilian employment. The success was most apparent in manufacturing, where the number of employed women quadrupled to 2,000,000. The system allowed the government ordinance factories to expand from 7,000 women to 260,000, and for the Civil Service to expand from 95,000 to 325,000 women. The largest increase came in the private factories making war equipment, especially airplanes. By 1944 the 770,000 women comprised 34 percent of the munitions workforce. The production of civilian consumer goods was curtailed, allowing 400,000 women workers to shift out of textiles and clothing. Domestic service fell by two-thirds, freeing up 100,000 women. Mothers had much less time for supervision of their children, and the fear of juvenile delinquency was upon the land, especially as older teenagers took jobs and emulated their older siblings in the service (Marwick 1968).

Soviet historians portrayed the people as putting Stalin's plans and ideas into practice, but they avoided any social history of the war and gave little attention to women. Although women comprised about half the membership of the Komsomol (the youth wing of the party), a scan of over 90 scholarly articles dealing with the history of the organization reveals negligible attention to women. The historians could not get around the official line that communism and the Party had resolved the gender issues that bedeviled capitalist societies. In two decades since the fall of communism the Russian historians have yet to turn their attention to the role of women in the war effort. However, some Western scholars have gained enough access to sources to begin some work. Krylova (2010) looks at the tension between the traditional *babushka*, who dominated the villages, and the new urban woman – idealized as the Communist comrade, well-educated and committed to rejection of old bourgeois values. They eagerly volunteered for the war, often serving as political officers in the military, even front line infantry regiments. The Soviets successfully moved many of their factories to the east, out of reach of the Germans. Women went from 38 percent to 57 percent of the Soviet workforce as every available man was conscripted. The workforce of the collective farms was 80 percent female, and since the horses and tractors had also been conscripted, they worked by hand (Harrison 1998).

Although historians have not yet made comparative studies of women at work, it appears that in general, the Allied nations (except perhaps for China) tolerated and encouraged much more modern and equalitarian roles for women, and strongly encouraged them to go to work in the munitions factories and auxiliary military units.

Historians have explored how fascism rules women (De Grazia 1992) and examined in some depth how the economies worked and what role women played, especially in the labor force. The fascist model of gender roles predominated in Italy, Germany, Japan, and most of their satellite nations (with the exception of Finland). The emphasis, especially for older women was on women in the home, bedroom, and kitchen, under the dominion of the male head of household. The role of mother was made sacred, and often marriage and childbearing was subsidized. However, for younger women, there was recognition of the need for them to work in the factories, and even in auxiliary roles in the armed services. The fascist social model emphasized the male virility and violence, especially muscularity and fighting strength rather than brainpower (Koonz 1988; Heineman 2003).

Nowhere have social historians examined the conditions for women more thoroughly than in France. The Vichy Regime in France glorified traditional sex roles, made divorce difficult, and promoted motherhood and natalist policies through the *Alliance nationale contre la dépopulation*, while strictly enforcing anti-abortion laws in order to reverse the tendencies toward liberal gender roles. By 1945, the birth rate in France was the highest in a century (Diamond 1999).

Of all the major nations Germany was (after Japan) the most backward when it came to mobilizing its women (Evans 2009). Aryan motherhood was a high ideal for the Nazis, and they were pampered (Koonz 1988). After years of debate, the conscription of women for factory jobs finally began in 1943, far too late, and too few women were involved. The Nazis had two large, ineffective women's organizations, their membership was largely inactive, devoting merely one hour a week to party sponsored volunteer work. Women outside the organizations were hard-to-reach. Germany had probably the lowest rate of middle-class volunteer work anywhere.

Working class and rural women did not volunteer either. One result was pretending that rationing and shortages did not exist, and depriving the women of tips and skills they needed to cope. The women's units did produce millions of leaflets with information on recipes, washing techniques, repairing clothes, promoting better diets, collecting old clothes for recycling, and giving books for the army. The programs were poorly organized and much less effective than in most countries. German businesses much preferred to use foreign workers or POWs instead of German women, because they could get by with lower wages, far worse working conditions, and far fewer government protections and regulations (Herbert 1997).

In 1945, the "women of the rubble" ("*Truemmerfrau*"), standing alone, cleared away the rubble and forged a founding myth of West Germany's phoenix-like rise from the ashes. Women outnumbered men by at least seven million, because of war casualties and delayed return of POWs. Women's desperate search for food, fuel, and housing were central to the recovery years. In West Germany they eagerly went back to very traditional gender roles. Marxist feminists in West Germany such as Kuhn (1989) argue this was because of duress from the old male leadership. Heineman (2003) provides a much more complex interpretation from the viewpoint of the women themselves. The postwar government in West Germany valorized the women's endurance and suffering, and these women cashed in through legislation that privileged the status of the housewife, as against the single career women. They obtained the laws they wanted regarding marriage, divorce, widowhood, illegitimacy, welfare, pensions, and labor force participation. Meanwhile in East Germany the Communist regime imposed a form of equality by moving wives into the labor force, for equal pay, downgrading middle-class status, and stripping away the traditional privileges of the housewife even as she kept all her home duties and lost her servants.

Japanese historians have ignored their own women, but Americans have partly filled the gap. The US Strategic Bombing Survey in 1946 generated primary sources conceptualized according to American and British economic models that have provided a mine of data (Daniels 1981). Japan was late in realizing the dangers to the civilians on the home front, and thus in mobilizing the women for war industries. Only a small net increase of 1.4 million women joined the labor force during the war, as most married women stayed home in accordance with the government's commitment to a family policy. The 600,000 women who remained domestic servants during the war exemplified the failure of manpower policy. Belatedly, the government began making evacuation plans in late 1943, as American bombing campaigns expanded, and in 1944 it removed 450,000 city children and their teachers to rural areas. After the bombings began in late 1944 ten million people fled in unorganized fashion to the safety of the countryside, including two-thirds of the residents of the largest cities. About two-thirds of the adult refugees were women; many of them had relatives in the countryside (Havens 1975, 1986).

In every major country, historians who explored the long-term impact of hiring women during the war have concluded that it did not lead to women's liberation or long-term economic equality. The feminist historians argue that after 1945 the important gains made by female workers were lost because the male-dominated society demanded they return to domestic subordination (May 1993). The People's War model suggests that women did achieve what they wanted in terms of homes and families because the money they earned went not for independence and new careers,

but into a family pool that was used to fund the nuclear family in the late 1940s and 1950s (Campbell 1984).

The impact of World War I on citizenship has been examined in great depth, but only a little has been done for World War II, so generalizations are difficult (Rose 2003). The rejection of fascism did expand the political rights of women in many countries, such as the right to vote in France in 1944, in Japan in 1945, and Belgium in 1948. Switzerland was so protective of its neutrality that it glorified the male-soldier-defending-the-homeland; the women were not mobilized into support units or factories. Feminists suspended their campaign for suffrage during the war to show patriotic solidarity. The nonparticipation of Swiss women in the war delayed their full equality in the political system until 1971 (Dejung 2010). Peace movements have been studied by many historians for the World War I era. The main movements such as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) went into decline after 1938 (Rupp 1994).

Making women soldiers was a most dramatic break with traditional sex roles of the twentieth century. The major powers realized they needed the women, and the general staffs, with their engineering mentality, charged ahead in disregard of social norms. The engineering orientation of the generals was required for maximum utilization of manpower, for technology, and for industrial capacity to engage in total warfare. The amount of paperwork needed was enormous, ranging from personnel files, orders, repair manuals, vouchers, payroll slips, requisitions, medical records, and any number of other documents that had to be dictated, typed, copied, delivered, responded to, and filed away – jobs that were increasingly handled by women in advanced industrial societies. The United States was the world leader in the use and the employment of women in clerical jobs on the home front. It was also a leader in military paperwork, with 35 percent of the soldiers in the United States Army assigned to clerical work in 1944 (Campbell 1984).

Only recently have scholars begun comparative studies of military women; we now have one analytic study (Campbell 1993), two encyclopedias covering all of world history (Pennington 2003; Cook 2006), a survey of World War II pilots (Merry 2010) and one overview (Goldman 1982). The reason for the paucity is that historians of women emerged in the 1970s with heavy political baggage. The personal was political – the personal was also historical. They emphatically did not want to be soldiers, nurses, or housewives, so they left those roles out of women's history. They wanted liberation from tight sexual norms, so they welcomed studies of lesbians and prostitutes (Rose 2003).

The historiography of women in military uniform remained outside the mainstream of women's history and military history. The young academic women were not seeking militaristic role models, for they came of age as part of the peace movement. The senior male historians had long since severed ties with military history, while the military historians wanted to valorize masculinity, not diminish it by showing women could fill the male role. Occasionally, but not often, a feminist would engage the field, with Pierson (1986) showing Canada would not relax its strict gender norms for its women in uniform, Meyer (1996) stressing how the Women's Army Corps (WAC) suppressed sexual freedom, and Krylova (2010) showing that young Russian women could use communist ideals of the new Soviet to break away from bourgeois gender roles.

Utilization of women was an obvious solution to shortages of manpower, but it was the British Army which had done the planning and were first to use them. The British model for the use of women in uniform was copied by Canada and the Commonwealth nations, as well as by the United States. Women were volunteers in military service, as was the case in all countries except Russia. Only one nation, Finland, successfully integrated its women in uniform into the broader civilian woman's movement. That was possible because the Latta movement in Finland was a well-organized interwar effort to move women into socially necessary volunteer jobs, to which noncombat military roles were added. No nation used women in the field artillery, but when the need became apparent, most nations used women in anti-aircraft artillery mixed-gender units. The Germans shifted upwards of a fourth of their economy into anti-aircraft protection, using hundreds of thousands of women in Luftwaffe uniform to shoot down Allied bombers (Seidler 1979). The United States stood out for its refusal to use women in these combat roles (Campbell 1993).

Women released men to fight. This was a priority not so much for the generals as for the politicians, who thought it would be a winning propaganda technique to encourage women to volunteer. The strategy backfired, for young women did not want their husbands, sons, brothers, and boyfriends taken off desk jobs and sent into combat units. Much more effective was the propaganda argument that women could bring their men home sooner if they themselves were in uniform. Above all, there was patriotism, or as Ovetta Culp Hobby told the first WAACs, they had a date with destiny and were repaying a debt to democracy.

While the British had good planning, as well as an upper class and royal patronage, the Americans played catch-up. There was no support network in high society, politics, or the women's organizations that provided a recruiting network, a support system, or even people willing to speak up among their friends and neighbors about the value of women in the military. While numerous male movie stars, top athletes, and head coaches joined the armed forces with a flash of publicity, there were no high visibility celebrities in any of the women's services. New York's fashion industry was not consulted when it came to uniform design, except in the case of the navy, which therefore had the sharpest outfits, with the WAC consigned to drab masculine-like uniforms with mediocre cut, tailoring, and material quality. The directors were young society women or college presidents with no knowledge of the military and few connections in Washington. Nevertheless, the military found the right women leaders and they all turned in a credible performance (Godson 2002).

Washington planned a much smaller operation than the British were running, expecting 12,000 women in the army in 1942 in a peak of 25,000 in 1944. Officers were trained at an old cavalry fort in Des Moines, Iowa. A surprising surge of applications rolled in, producing its exaggerated estimates of the supply, and the generals demanded more and more (as they always do), suggesting an unlimited demand. There was talk of 1.5 million women in the army but aggressive recruiting campaigns brought in few volunteers. The media, it turned out, could not manipulate women to do what they did not want to do.

The main problem was that the men in uniform did not want women in uniform, but the solution was to lower standards for women, which degraded the quality and morale of the WAC. While the military was harsh on gay men, it largely ignored lesbians. Most women never had heard the term; a WAC investigation of eleven bases

turned up four active couples (Berube 1990; Weatherford 2009). However, the WAC – and many civilians – focused on the dangers of masculinized women. The American policy was to strongly discourage any sexual activity during service – there was no hint of sexual liberation in the WAC (Meyer 1996). The ugly rumors that circulated about WACs focused on heterosexual promiscuity and pregnancy, not lesbianism. These were false charges circulated by men who resented the idea of losing their noncombat jobs when women arrived. The rumors were widely repeated by male soldiers who warned their sisters and girlfriends away from the services. Recruiting fell off and never recovered (Treadwell 1954). In all the American services, a total of 340,000 women served in addition to the nurses (Campbell 1984).

In 1938, the British took the lead worldwide in establishing uniformed services for women, in addition to the small nurses units that had long been in operation. In late 1941, Britain began conscripting women, sending most into factory work and some into the military, especially the Auxiliary Territorial Service (ATS), attached to the army. It began as a woman's auxiliary to the military in 1938, and in 1941 was granted military status (with two-thirds pay compared to men). Women had a well-publicized role in handling anti-aircraft guns against German planes and V-1 missiles. Mary Churchill, the daughter of the prime minister, was there; he gushed that any general who saved him 40,000 fighting men had gained the equivalent of a victory. By August 1941, women were operating the fire-control instruments; they were never allowed to pull the trigger, as killing the enemy was too masculine (DeGroot 1997). By 1943, 56,000 women were in AA Command, most in units close to London where there was a risk of getting killed, but no risk of getting captured by the enemy. The first "kill" came in April 1942, when the commanding general noted, "Beyond a little natural excitement and a tendency to chatter when there was a lull, they behaved like a veteran party, and shot an enemy plane into the sea." (Campbell 1993; Schwarzkopf 2009). General Dwight Eisenhower suggested the Americans use women in anti-aircraft units, so Chief of Staff George Marshall authorized a secret experiment that compared all-male units with 50-50 mixed units. The women had higher performance scores, for women "are superior to men" in handling the instrumentation and doing repetitious jobs. The anti-aircraft generals called for 2400 women (Treadwell 1954). Marshall refused – American public opinion was not ready for women in combat so he shut down the experiment and clamped a lid of secrecy on it. America had drawn the gender line (Campbell 1993).

Public opinion mattered little in Berlin, and as the Allied bombs started falling, the Germans put more and more of their resources into anti-aircraft units. Crews were up to half female and they shot down thousands of Allied airmen. By 1945, 450,000 German women had volunteered for the auxiliaries, in addition to the nurses. By 1945, German women were holding 85 percent of the billets as clericals, accountants, interpreters, laboratory workers, and administrative workers, together with half of the clerical and junior administrative posts in high-level field headquarters (Campbell 1993; Williamson 2003).

In Australia, the government – committed to the ideal of male mateship and male military roles – was hostile to women in uniform, but civilian women organized themselves, and at their own expense, trained in signals. The Air Force, by far the most socially aware unit, grew rapidly and had an urgent need for telegraph operators. Hundreds of women were available but the Cabinet insisted it look for men. Few could

be found. Reluctantly, the Cabinet allowed a few hundred women on a limited-time experiment until men were available. Then the navy wanted women telegraphers. After the prime minister witnessed the success of the ATS in Britain, the Cabinet finally went along (Hasluck 1952). In the event, 65,000 Australian women volunteered for service in the war, 27,000 in the Women's Auxiliary Australian Air Forces (WAAAF), 24,000 in the Australian Women's Army Service (AWAS), and 3,000 in the Women's Royal Australian Naval Service (WRANS). They performed a variety of back-office services, but they also operated searchlight units. Late in the war, some volunteered to serve in New Guinea and Borneo. The units were closed at the end of the war but revived in 1950 (Pennington 2003).

Over 800,000 Soviet women saw active service, with 120,000 in combat units. They dominated the medical and nursing units, and were combat pilots, navigators, snipers, anti-aircraft, as well as laborers in field bath/laundry units, and cooks. They were radio operators, truck drivers, and political commissars who enforced party discipline (Cottam 1980; Erickson 1990; Krylova 2010). They played a major role in the partisan movement (Furst 2000). Even larger numbers were mobilized as factory and farm workers (Cottam 1982). After three years of very high casualties among its men, Moscow turned more and more to women. All-female elite units were formed using volunteers from the 300,000 women in the Young Communist League (Komsomol), including 50,000 in nursing units, and many in anti-aircraft units. Komsomol women formed three bomber regiments, and the Central Female Sniper School trained over a thousand snipers and over four hundred sniper instructors for men's units. Komsomol women dreamed of becoming the new Soviet woman who had overthrown bourgeois conceits about women's pacifistic nature and reached a new stage of equality with men that could be proven in combat. In practice, women had few command positions (Krylova 2010). Soviet historians ignored their achievements, while state propaganda focused on the heroic dimension of personal relationships, home, and the mother and motherland, in an expression of humanistic values, to inspire self-sacrifice. The masculine ideal became the soldier risking his life to defend his family, while the ideal woman was either a war worker or a "rodina-mat" ("motherland-mother") who sent her children to the front and awaited their letters (Kirschenbaum 2000).

In India, the Women's Auxiliary Corps operated 1939 to 1947, with peak strength of 850 officers and 7,200 auxiliaries in the Indian Army, and including a small naval section formed for the Royal Indian Navy (Harfield 2005). The Rani of Jhansi Regiment was the Women's Regiment of the Indian National Army; active 1943–1945, it fought against the British as part of the pro-Japanese Indian National Army of Subhas Chandra Bose. He mobilized models of women as mothers and sisters rooted in Indian mythology and tradition, and portrayed the direct involvement of women as necessary for the pursuit of nationalist goals. Drawing on rich, malleable Indian lore, he articulates a modern definition of female heroism considerably in advance of the more passive concepts of Mahatma Gandhi. His was a losing cause that left no impact on India (Hills and Silverman 1993; Lebra 2008).

The PLSK was formed in Britain by the Polish government in exile in 1942, and served with the Polish Air Force in service and support roles at bases in Britain. About 1,500 women worked in 45 specialties, such as communications, clerical, radio, medical, and intelligence (Pennington 2003). The Soviets organized the "Emilia Plater"

Independent Women's Battalion in 1943, made up of voluntary Polish women. Its maximum strength was about 700 with 48 officers. It handled sentry and military police duties. Other units of Polish women numbered from 9,000 to 14,000 in total (Cook 2006).

Other belligerents had a mixed record regarding women in combat. The Free French Women's Auxiliary Army operated in North Africa from 1943 to 1944 with 3,100 women who worked mainly as wireless and telephone operatives, drivers, secretaries, interpreters, nurses, and social assistants (Gaujac 2000). Mussolini had refused to allow women in his army. However, in 1944, the rump Mussolini regime formed the Servizio Ausiliario Femminile. Fascist women, although not carrying arms, were mobilized alongside men in the civil war (De Grazia 1992). In Finland the Lotta organization had built a nationwide woman's network between the wars to promote volunteer social service work. Lotta included 242,000 women, out of a national population of fewer than four million. The Lottas worked in hospitals, at air raid warning posts, and other auxiliary tasks in conjunction with the armed forces, and they were officially unarmed. The only exception was a voluntary anti-aircraft searchlight battery in Helsinki in the summer of 1944, composed of Lotta Svärd members (Cook 2006).

By far the most celebrated women of World War II were the 2,000 pilots who flew warplanes for Britain, Germany, the Soviet Union, and the United States (Merry 2010). In the US, 1,100 women ferried airplanes from factories to embarkation points. The Women's Air Force Service Pilots (WASP), under the leadership of high society pilot Jacqueline Cochran, merged with the Women's Auxiliary Ferrying Squadron (WAFS) in 1943. The original justification was a shortage of male pilots. When that shortage was gone in 1944, the WASP was disbanded. Cochran's goal was to glamorize women who could handle a high visibility, high performance male role. However, postwar America had few aviation roles for them apart from airline stewardess (Merryman 1997). The Soviets made the most extensive use of women aviators after Marina Raskova convinced Stalin to let Komsomol form three all-female regiments. In all, the "Night Witches" flew 30,000 combat sorties; two pilots became fighter aces and 30 were named Heroines of the Soviet Union (Pennington 2007).

The story of women in uniform had a policy dimension, but the gap between the history profession and the Pentagon planners was too wide to bridge. The presidential commission on women in combat called on theologians and pollsters, but not historians (United States Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women 1993). Feminism paid a heavy price – the Equal Rights Amendment was lost chiefly because traditionalists emphasized it meant drafting women, and the feminists did not want that to happen because of their hostility to all military roles.

Of central importance in raising the status of women in Europe was their role in resistance movements (Strobl 2007). Resistance leaders generally assigned women traditional support roles, and gave them duties in hiding, supplying, and communicating with underground units. Rarely were women admitted to the underground combat units. In France, thousands of women participated in the resistance, knowing full well that Nazi reprisals against themselves, their villages, or hostages would be savage. They helped rescue 5,000 downed Allied airmen, provided intelligence on German installations and troop movements, printed and distributed clandestine journals, and performed acts of sabotage and guerrilla warfare. They were especially

prominent in escape networks and intelligence (Rossiter 1986). After the war, the new governments valorized the masculine combat roles of the resistance, but the women were left out. For example, Charles de Gaulle gave 1,053 "Compagnon de la Libération" awards to men, and only six to women (Schwartz 1989).

In Italy, 35,000 women joined with 170,000 men in the resistance but the "staffetta," were stereotypically viewed as support personnel and therefore kept out of the higher ranks, and the standard histories. They were valuable as guides, messengers, and couriers, but many were assigned to cooking and laundry duty. Most were attached to small attack groups of five or six men engaged in sabotage. Some all-female units engaged in civilian and political action. The risks were high, as 5,000 were imprisoned, 3,000 were deported to Germany, and 650 died in combat or by execution. On a much larger scale, the Catholic Centro Italiano Femminile (CIF) and the leftist Unione Donne Italiane (UDI) were new, broad-based women's organizations that gave women a political voice, and guaranteed the postwar government would give women the right to vote for the first time (D'Amelio 2001). Mussolini's Salo Republic in 1944–1945 gave their women roles as "birthing machines" and as noncombatants in paramilitary units and police formations (Servicio Ausiliario Femminile) (Terhoeven 2004).

In Eastern Europe, the resistance was also strong. The Soviet resistance movement included about 20,000 women, who comprised 10 percent of the partisan force by 1944. Many worked as radio operators, nurses, and messengers, as well as cooks and washerwoman. The Russian historiography ignores them but some American scholars have reported their exploits (Cottam 1982).

The richest historiography on women in resistance movements comes from Yugoslavia, where the communist resistance formed the postwar government and made heroes of the women, while returning them to traditional domestic roles (Jancar-Webster 1990). Josef Tito formed the Yugoslav National Liberation Movement with 6,000,000 civilian supporters (30% women) and the Yugoslav National Liberation Army (NOV) with 700,000 men and 100,000 women by 1945. Half the women served in medical units; 40 percent were unspecialized; and a few became radio operators, artillery spotters, intelligence agents, and political commissars. About 62 percent were officers; 9 percent were noncommissioned officers (such as corporals and sergeants). One in four did not survive the war. Resistance propaganda denied that women's roles violated traditional gender boundaries, either by redefining women partisans as men or by incorporating violence into the traditional roles women were allowed to play. Wiesinger (2008) finds ethnic variations, with the Serbians more likely to assign women to combat and Croats less so outside the army, two million women volunteers formed the Antifascist Front of Women (AFŽ), in which the revolutionary coexisted with the traditional. The AFŽ managed schools, hospitals, and even local governments, and supported the army by handling traditional chores such as cooking and washing for soldiers. Tito and his top leaders stressed their dedication to women's rights and gender equality and used the imagery of traditional folklore heroines to attract and legitimize the *partizanka* (Batinic 2009). After the war women were relegated to traditional gender roles, but Yugoslavia is unique as its historians paid extensive attention to women's roles in the resistance. The postwar national army was all male, but the heroines of the resistance were memorialized, and were included in the historiography (Jancar-Webster 1990; Drapac 2009). With the breakup of

Yugoslavia came the disintegration of the official historiography. In Croatia, traditional gender roles are again dominant and the erstwhile wartime heroines have become villains while the women who are now honored are the helpless victims and mourning mothers protecting the dignity of a patriotic war (Kirin 1999).

Conditions in neighboring Greece were quite the opposite from Yugoslavia. The women in the communist-led Greek resistance began in the margins and reached fully integrated combat status by 1944, comprising a fourth of the strength. However, the left lost the civil war of 1946–1949 and instead of memorials Greek historiography anathematized the women as traitors, gangsters, or hyenas. By the 1970s a second-wave feminism emerged on the left in Greece that idealized the freedom, justice, and equality of the wartime resistance (Anagnostopoulou 2001).

Nursing represented a major role for women worldwide, and since the days of Florence Nightingale had been an accepted role for women in wartime. In the United States the military wanted well-trained efficient specialists. All the services used enlisted men to handle the routine care of sick patients and wounded patients, and used their nurses as officers who were trained specialists. In military units, male doctors supervised female nurses, and both were officers, while the women in practice supervised large numbers of enlisted men. Army and navy nursing was highly attractive and a larger proportion of nurses volunteered for service than any other occupation in American society. The nation responded by a dramatic increase in the numbers and functions of nurses, and a moderate modest increase in their pay scales, with the expansion powered by the training of 200,000 nurses' aides by the Red Cross, and the creation of a temporary new government agency, the Cadet Nurse Corps, which enrolled 170,000 young women in speeded up training programs in the nation's 1,200 nursing schools. About five percent of the Cadet nurses, and army nurses were black, but the navy refused to accept black nurses until it was forced by the White House to admit a handful near the end of the war. The black army nurses were used in all-black units, handle and to handle medical services for prisoners of war (Campbell 1984). American nurses were kept out of harm's way, with the great majority stationed on the home front. However 77 were stationed in the jungles of the Pacific, where their uniform consisted of "khaki slacks, mud, shirts, mud, field shoes, mud, and fatigues" (Campbell 1984; Norman 1999). The 20,000 nurses in Europe were safely behind the lines as they worked in evacuation hospitals, primarily in the role of supervising the male enlisted medics. The closer to the front, the more flexible and autonomous was the nurse's role. The women wanted to be much closer to the front, but they had too weak a voice to counter the Pentagon's highly protective attitude (Campbell 1984). The new leaders emerging from the war had learned command skills, maneuvering in complex bureaucracies, the taste of equal pay and officer status, and autonomy within military medical system. New technical skills validated their demands for an autonomy as they learned and employed in crisis situations the latest trauma and medical techniques and technologies. When the nurses returned home they used the previously powerless American Nurses Association to take control of the nursing profession (Campbell 1984; Sarnecky 1999).

Nursing was not a major military focus for the other Allies. For example, in Britain, 10,500 nurses enrolled in Queen Alexandra's Imperial Military Nursing Service (QAIMNS) and the Princess Mary's Royal Air Force Nursing Service. These services dated to 1902 and 1918, and enjoyed royal sponsorship. There also were

VAD nurses who had been enrolled by the Red Cross, (McBryde 1985). However Toman (2007) has provided a deep understanding of the multiple roles of Canadian nurses as they negotiated their way through military, professional, and gender roles.

Unlike Britain, Germany had a very large and well-organized nursing service, with four main organizations, one for Catholics, one for Protestants, the secular DRK (Red Cross), and the "Brown Nurses," for committed Nazi women. Military nursing was primarily handled by the DRK, which came under partial Nazi control. Frontline medical services were provided by male medics and doctors. Red Cross nurses served widely within the military medical services, staffing the hospitals that perforce were close to the front lines and at risk of bombing attacks. Two dozen were awarded the Iron Cross for heroism under fire. They are among the 470,000 German women who served with the military (Williamson 2003). The brief historiography focuses on the dilemmas of Brown Nurses forced to look the other way while their patients were murdered (McFarland-Icke 1999).

Brazil operated a small program with a strong ideological goal. Brazil sent 73 nurses to Italy as part of the Força Expedicionária Brasileira (FEB) and the Brazilian Air Force (FAB). The Vargas regime heavily publicized the nurses in terms of its "*Estado Novo*" ("new state"), and affirmed nursing as a suitable profession for middle-class women. Furthermore they exemplified a devotion to the motherland as they delivered maternal care to the soldiers in combat, helping make the war a collective experience that would bring together all Brazilians. Nationalism thus helped transcend gender and class restrictions (Cytrynowicz 2000).

In Europe and Asia the war proved a hard time for housewives. Many worried about death and physical disaster for their men folk, their children, and themselves. They all encountered shortages – most faced malnutrition and starvation – and profound uncertainty. In the best cases, they were overworked, with additional duties in paid employment, and volunteering, on top of the additional difficulties of being a housewife.

The United States saw a surge of marriages, as young couples made up for lost time when jobs reappeared. From 1940 to 1943, there were 1,000,000 more marriages than expected, with 5,000,000 women married to servicemen by 1943. Mobility was the theme, as many wives moved repeatedly to be near their husbands (most husbands were still in the United States before late 1944). Jobs were hard to find near the army camps, but the women banded together to help each other out, joined the Red Cross, did volunteer work with the USO to entertain the troops, helped at blood centers, and took courses as a nurse's aides. When their husbands were shipped overseas, they often moved in with their family, and took a full-time job (Winchell 2008). There emerged a widespread but unexpected development of the ideal family: the companionate family with husband-and-wife mutually supportive and inwardly directed (and not compartmentalized in separate spheres). The dream was for suburban housing designed for the modern housewife and her children. The search for the ideal produced the American baby boom in the decade after the war. Conditions were much more favorable in America. The narratives of the soldiers' wives focused on loneliness and separation, and with money coming in from war work, they built a nest egg that undergirded the optimism for the future. In Europe only France had a similar baby boom, though much smaller than in the United States and based less on companionate marriage and more on the pronatalist policies which the prewar government had inaugurated, and which the Vichy and the postwar regimes continued.

When France surrendered in 1940, 2,000,000 soldiers were shipped off to Germany as prisoners of war; they were hostages to keep France in line behind German policies. There were 800,000 soldiers' wives who endured alone for five years. The Vichy government refused to provide significant financial help to the wives, but there were modest cash allowances and free bread for children. One in ten French wives resorted to prostitution to feed their families. Vichy did manage to protect Jewish POWs from Nazi death camps. Germany agreed to send one POW home for every three skilled French workers who volunteered to work in factories in Germany. After the summer of 1944, communications between POW husbands and wives were severed; conditions in German camps deteriorated drastically. When the POWs finally returned in late 1945, one in six suffered severe physical or mental health problems. Many had aged prematurely and could not function sexually (Fishman 1991).

While the men's morale and skills deteriorated in captivity, the women had been head of household and developed a whole repertoire of coping skills, and knowledge of how the hostile world worked. Many had taken jobs outside the home, some had become activists, and all were accustomed to more independence and assertiveness. Some wives were happy to return to the prewar norm of male dominance, others found a veritable stranger at their doorstep after a five-year absence. The divorce rate rose briefly, but in long-term perspective, there was no increase in divorce. Only ten percent of the POWs got divorced, compared to eight percent among other men (Fishman 1991).

The war had a varied impact on women's status. Germany continued its natalist policies through relatively large family allowances to the wives of soldiers. Soldier's wives became increasingly independent and autonomous. The high allowances meant they did not have to take jobs to survive, and in any case wages for women were low. Wives who were running family shops and farms were often given a low-cost foreign female helper. The Nazis were relaxed about sexuality, and tolerated or encouraged promiscuity among soldiers and their wives – with other Aryans only, of course – as a pronatalist policy. Sexual relations with non-Aryans were severely punished (Herbert 1997). Across occupied Europe, some women provided sexual favors to German soldiers in exchange for food, knowing they would be ostracized as "kraut whores" and "horizontal collaborators." There were about 140,000 such collaborators in the Netherlands. In all countries, they were systematically humiliated at liberation, usually by having their heads shaved. Their children became outcasts (Nicholas 2005).

Besides documenting the devastation of battle, historians in recent years have turned their attention to the civilian victims of the war, most of them women and children. Housewives had charge of food and clothing, which was rationed almost everywhere. Clothing issues were minor but food was an urgent matter for women in all countries, and a desperate one in all the occupied countries. The malignant Nazi government also used famine and starvation as a deliberate tool to punish their enemies. Jews suffered quicker deaths; 90 percent of Europe's Jewish children died in the war and a majority of the Jewish women (Ofer 1999). Such treatment also prompted a black market, and families coped by trading with the resistance or planting vegetable gardens on vacant city blocks (Collingham 2011).

Fearful of German bombing, the British planned an evacuation program involving four million people from the major cities as soon as the war began. However, many families were reluctant to split up, so in the end half the students left, along with a



third of the mothers, and most of the teachers. The discovery of the poor health and hygiene of evacuees was a shock to Britons, and helped prepare the way for an egalitarian welfare state.

In Asia, the plight of women was especially severe. When the American bombing of large cities began in Japan in 1944–1945, ten million city dwellers, two-thirds of them women and children, evacuated to the countryside, where many had relatives and food was available, if not housing. Civil defense units were transformed into combat units, especially the Peoples Volunteer Combat Corps, enlisting civilian men to age 60 and women to age 40 (Havens 1975).

China was the scene of many horrors and atrocities. The most dramatic was the rape of Nanking in late 1937, when Japanese soldiers systematically brutalized, raped, and murdered large numbers of civilian men and especially the women. The atrocities were repeated on a smaller scale in other Chinese cities as late as 1945. The Chinese government has sponsored studies of the Nanking horror to pressure the Japanese government into apologies, and Western historians have explored the atrocities as well (Fogel 2000; Lary 2010).

The Korean government has sponsored a study of the several hundred thousand “comfort women” who were forced to become prostitutes to service overseas Japanese soldiers. Few Japanese women were used; most were Korean or Chinese. Some were originally volunteers, but they discovered they could never quit. As the failure of the Japanese Army’s logistics system grew worse, they were the first to have their rations cut, and thousands died of malnutrition or disease. One in four survived the war, and the mistreatment was the centerpiece of anger at the Japanese for over a half century after the war (Hicks 1997).

The worst atrocities were perpetrated by the Nazis in Eastern Europe, most noxiously the Holocaust of the Jews. While the historiography is vast, there is little scholarship that examines the gendered dimension of the Holocaust (Ofar 1999). Recently historians have started exploring the Nazi plans for replacing the Slavic populations in Poland with Germans – an ethnic cleansing that would use starvation as the main tool of national policy. Again, the historiography has not yet turned in depth to gender roles (Hitchcock 2008; Snyder 2010; Collingham 2011). In the German popular mind they suffered as much as any victims for they were not just the target of Allied bombings, but were brutalized and expelled from Eastern Europe, while Soviet troops raped their way through Germany in 1945 (Nolan 2005; Niven 2006; Prince 2009). Although most of the civilian victims were women, the gender issues have not yet been explored. Japan likewise has a self-image as a victim (Giamo 2003), but in this case its neighbors demand apologies and protest the Japanese textbooks (Schneider 2008). Conservatives and nationalists stress Japanese sufferings and ignore the reality of Japan’s war record, but there are moderate scholars and museum curators who portray Japan as a victimizer as much as a victim. Again, the gender dimension is lacking (Jeans 2005).

The surrender of Germany and Japan brought cheers around the world: the men are coming home! The anxiety about death in combat ended, but not the loneliness, as the return process dragged on for months and years – up to ten years in the case of German prisoners held in work camps by the Soviets as a form of reparations. The interlude reinforced the demands of women that now was their time for a reward. In Britain it was the welfare state, and likewise the French emulated the British welfare

state. Yet that was not enough. Women wanted to be housewives and mothers, and strongly believed in the family wage doctrine whereby it was the man’s job to be the breadwinner. Dual careers were not an ideal, and were not common.

“No sex please, we’re English,” was a dominant outlook that disparaged pleasure-seeking, fun-loving, and sexually active young women who seemingly did not appreciate the seriousness of the moment (Rose 2003; Costello 1985). The absent menfolk were perhaps frightened less by the German grenades than the specter of American soldiers who were highly available, and were “overpaid, oversexed, and over here” (Potts and Potts 1985; Gardiner 1992). When they finally went home, they took a million war brides with them (and some war grooms as well). Over 100,000 war brides were British; they averaged 23 years of age, came from working- or lower-middle-class families, and had left school at age fourteen (Virden 1996). Disillusionment with German menfolk led to a popular celebration of the war brides who went to America. They were seen as representative of the new German woman who was stylish, modern, and devoted to democracy and would be living the “American Dream” while enhancing German–American relations (Esser 2003).

Returning men in every nation were surprised and sometimes shocked at rediscovering the wife and children they hardly knew. Divorces that had been postponed during the war took place, so there was a brief postwar surge but no long-term increase in the divorce rate (Campbell 1984; Allport 2010). When the women veterans came home they were ignored, but they discovered it was easy to hide their wartime service and blend into the society (Gambone 2005).

Historians have explored what happened to the war workers – they became housewives – but split along political lines whether it was a matter of personal choice or social coercion – or perhaps (say the post-structuralist historians), the question cannot be answered (Summerfield 1998). Women who took on additional paid employment during the war did not feel liberated. Rather, they felt overworked, and looked forward to the day when they could reestablish their nuclear family in some comfort. As one British woman explained, “My plans are simple and ordinary: my aim is to return to normality in an England at peace. I want to marry, I want children, and I aspire to being a good cook and housewife, one who makes a house a home.” (Zweiniger-Bargielowska 2000). In British factories in 1944 a large majority of women said they wanted to be homemakers after the war. The minority who wished to keep working comprised three groups. Some were single, widowed, or divorced and were quite comfortable with their lives. Others were wives who enjoyed part-time work as an opportunity to meet people and obtain spending money. Some were careerists, usually professionals who wanted to leave the factory and return to their careers. For the younger women in the factories as well as the services, marriage and domestic life were the almost universal postwar dream. The double burden of factory worker and housewife was coming to an end, and women across Europe and North America agreed that priority for jobs should go to the male breadwinner who should earn the “family wage” without the wife having to take paid employment (Cantril 1951). Even more important, the self-confidence that women had gained, the companionship they had lost, plus the equalitarian ethic typified by equal exposure to the draft, and equal treatment in rationing allocations, combined to accelerate the trend towards more equalitarian, companionate marriage in major countries (Donnelly 1999). The postwar saw most American and Canadian wives eagerly give

up the extra duties of wartime to return to domesticity, with more companionate marriages, higher incomes, better housing, and the baby boom (Campbell 1984; Fahrni and Rutherford 2007).

The women of World War II filled many new and unexpected roles in every nation (Duchen and Bandhauer-Schöffmann 2000). There was always an effort to redefine "femininity" to include the new roles, but when it came to women in the military, the male soldiers felt their own masculinity was threatened, and reacted negatively. Only in the Soviet Union, and there only among elite young communist enthusiasts, were women allowed to kill men. In a total war, the reserves of woman-power had to be used, despite the shortages and burdens. In nations under the gun, there was no choice. In prosperous and safe nations the new affluence of husbands and fathers meant that women were not forced to work. However, women volunteered out of patriotism and to answer to the most successful of all propaganda themes: that their service would bring the men home sooner. The horrors of death and dying enhanced the male sense of patriotism, sacrifice for nation and family, and masculinity. Death and valor became the central themes of the memory of the war. The suffering of women in manmade famines, in urban bombings, in systematic mass rapes and killings of refugees and racial targets, in making do with inadequate food and shelter, and in waiting for their men to return did not enhance any feminine self-images or virtues. Those themes were never memorialized, and seldom remembered.

### References

- Allport, A. (2010) *Demobbed: Coming Home After World War Two*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Anagnostopoulou, M. P. (2001) From heroines to hyenas: Women partisans during the Greek Civil War. *Contemporary European History*, 10(3): 481–501.
- Batinic, J. (2009) *Gender, Revolution, and War: The Mobilization of Women in the Yugoslav Partisan Resistance during World War II*. PhD dissertation, Stanford University.
- Berube, A. (1990) *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two*. New York: Free Press.
- Calder, A. (1969) *The People's War: Britain, 1939–45*. New York: Pantheon.
- Campbell, D. (1984) *Women at War with America: Private Lives in a Patriotic Era*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Campbell, D. (1990) Servicewomen of World War II. *Armed Forces and Society*, 16: 251–270.
- Campbell, D. (1993) Women in combat: The World War Two experience in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and the Soviet Union. *Journal of Military History*, 57 (April): 301–323.
- Canttil, H. (1951) *Public Opinion, 1935–1946*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Chafetz, W. H. (1972) *The American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economic, and Political Roles, 1920–1970*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Collingham, E. M. (2011) *The Taste of War: World War Two and the Battle for Food*. London: Allen Lane.
- Cook, B. (ed.) (2006) *Women and War: Historical Encyclopedia from Antiquity to the Present*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO.
- Costello, J. (1985) *Love, Sex and War: Changing Values, 1939–45*. New York: HarperCollins.

- Cottam, K. J. (1980) Soviet women in combat in World War II: The ground forces and the navy. *International Journal of Women's Studies*, 3(4): 345–357.
- Cottam, K. J. (1982) Soviet women in combat in World War II: The rear services, resistance behind enemy lines and military political workers. *International Journal of Women's Studies*, 5(4): 363–378.
- Cytrynowicz, R. (2000) A serviço da pátria: A mobilização das enfermeiras no Brasil durante a Segunda Guerra Mundial. *História, Ciências, Saúde-Manguinhos*, 7(1): 73–91.
- D'Amelio, D. A. (2001) Italian women in the resistance, World War II. *Italian American*, 19(2): 127–141.
- Daniels, G. (1981) *A Guide to the Reports of the United States Strategic Bombing Survey. I: Europe; II: The Pacific*. London: The Royal Historical Society.
- DeGroot, G. J. (1997) Whose finger on the trigger? Mixed anti-aircraft batteries and the female combat taboo. *War in History*, 4(4): 434–453.
- De Grazia, V. (1992) *How Fascism Ruled Women: Italy 1922–1945*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Dejung, C. (2010) "Switzerland must be a special democracy": Sociopolitical compromise, military comradeship, and the gender order in 1930s and 1940s Switzerland. *The Journal of Modern History*, 82(1): 101–126.
- Diamond, H. (1999) *Women and the Second World War in France, 1939–1948: Choices and Constraints*. New York: Longman.
- Donnelly, M. (1999) *Britain in the Second World War*. London: Routledge.
- Drapac, V. (2009) Resistance and the politics of daily life in Hitler's Europe: The case of Yugoslavia in a comparative perspective. *Aspasia*, 3: 55–78.
- Duchen, C. and Bandhauer-Schöffmann, I. (eds.) (2000) *When the War Was Over: Women, War and Peace in Europe, 1940–1956*. London: Leicester University Press.
- Fishman, S. (1991) *We Will Wait: Wives of French Prisoners of War, 1940–1945*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Erickson, J. (1990) Night witches snipers and laundresses. *History Today*, 40(7): 29–35.
- Esser, R. (2003) "Language no obstacle": War brides in the German press, 1945–49. *Women's History Review*, 12(4): 577–603.
- Evans, R. J. (2009) *The Third Reich at War*. New York: Penguin.
- Fahrni, M. and Rutherford, R. (eds.) (2007) *Creating Postwar Canada: Community, Diversity, and Dissent, 1945–75*. Vancouver, Canada: University of British Columbia Press.
- Fogel, J. A. (ed.) (2000) *The Nanjing Massacre in History and Historiography*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Furst, J. (2000) Heroes, lovers victims – partisan girls during the great fatherland war. *Minerva: Quarterly Report on Women and the Military*, 18(3–4): 38–75.
- Gambone, M. D. (2005) *The Greatest Generation Comes Home: The Veteran in American Society*. College Station, TX: TAMU Press.
- Gardiner, J. (1992) "Overpaid, Oversexed, and Over Here": *The American GI in World War II Britain*. New York: Abbeville Press.
- Gaujac, P. (2000) Des Corps Feminins aux Afar: Afrique du Nord 1943–1944. *Guerres Mondiales et Conflits Contemporains*, 50(198): 109–122.
- Giamo, B. (2003) The myth of the vanquished: The Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum. *American Quarterly*, 55(4): 703–728.
- Gluck, S. B. (1987) *Rosie the Riveter Revisited: Women, the War, and Social Change*. Boston, MA: Twayne Publishers.
- Godson, S. H. (2002) *Serving Proudly: A History of Women in the US Navy*. Annapolis, MD: US Naval Institute Press.
- Goldman, N. L. (ed.) (1982) *Female Soldiers – Combatants or Noncombatants? Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*. Westport, CT: Greenwood.

- Hancock, W. K. and Gowing, M. (1949) *British War Economy*. London: HMSO.
- Harfield, A. (2005) The Women's Auxiliary Corps (India). *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, 83(335): 243–254.
- Harrison, M. (1998) The Soviet Union: The defeated victor. In M. Harrison (ed.), *The Economics of World War II*. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 268–301.
- Hartmann, S. M. (1984) *The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s*. New York: Macmillan.
- Hasluck, P. (1952) *The Government and the People: 1939–1941*. Canberra: Australian War Memorial.
- Havens, T. R. H. (1975) Women and war in Japan, 1937–45. *American Historical Review*, 80(4): 913–934.
- Havens, T. R. H. (1986) *Valley of Darkness: The Japanese People in World War II*. Washington, DC: University Press of America.
- Heineman, E. D. (2003) *What Difference Does a Husband Make? Women and Marital Status in Nazi and Postwar Germany*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Herbert, U. (1997) *Hitler's Foreign Workers: Enforced Foreign Labor in Germany under the Third Reich*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hicks, G. (1997) *The Comfort Women: Japan's Brutal Regime of Enforced Prostitution in the Second World War*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Hills, C. and Silverman, D. C. (1993) Nationalism and feminism in late colonial India: The Rani of Jhansi Regiment. *Modern Asian Studies*, 27(4): 741–760.
- Hitchcock, W. I. (2008) *The Bitter Road to Freedom: The Human Cost of Allied Victory in World War II Europe*. New York: Free Press.
- Honey, M. (1999) *Bitter Fruit: African American Women in World War II*. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press.
- Honey, M. (1984) *Creating Rosie the Riveter: Class, Gender, and Propaganda During World War II*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Hubble, N. (2009) *Mass Observation and Everyday Life: Culture, History, Theory*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Jancar-Webster, B. (1990) *Women and Revolution in Yugoslavia 1941–1945*. Denver, CO: Arden Press.
- Jeans, R. B. (2005) Victims or victimizers? Museums, textbooks, and the war debate in contemporary Japan. *Journal of Military History*, 69(1): 149–195.
- Kirin, R. J. (1999) Prilozi za Ratnu Povijest iz Rodne Perspektive. *Otium: Casopis za Povijest Svakodnevice*, 7: 75–86.
- Koonz, C. (1988) *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family and Nazi Politics*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin.
- Kirschenbaum, L. A. (2000) Our city, our hearths, our families: Local loyalties and private life in Soviet World War II. *Slavic Review*, 59(4): 825–847.
- Kuhn, A. (1989) Power and powerlessness: Women after 1945, or the continuity of the ideology of femininity. *German History*, 7(1): 35–46.
- Kryder, D. (2000) *Divided Arsenal: Race and the American State During World War II*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Krylova, A. (2010) *Soviet Women in Combat: A History of Violence on the Eastern Front*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Lary, D. (2010) *The Chinese People at War: Human Suffering and Social Transformation, 1937–1945*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lebra, J. C. (2008) *Women Against the Raj: The Rani of Jhansi Regiment*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Litoff, J. B. and Smith, D. C. (1994) US women on the home front in World War II. *Historian*, 57(2): 349–360.

- Mackay, R. (2002) *Half the Battle: Civilian Morale in Britain During the Second World War*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.
- Marwick, A. (1968) *Britain in the Century of Total War: Peace and Social Change, 1900–67*. New York: Pelican.
- McBryde, B. (1985) *Quiet Heroines: Story of the Nurses of the Second World War*. London: Chatto & Windus.
- McFarland-Icke, B. R. (1999) *Nurses in Nazi Germany*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- May, E. T. (1993) Rosie the riveter gets married. *Mid America*, 75(3): 269–282.
- Merry, L. K. (2010) *Women Military Pilots of World War II: A History with Biographies of American, British, Russian and German Aviators*. Jefferson NC: McFarland.
- Merryman, M. (1997) *Clipped Wings: The Rise and Fall of the Women Airforce Service Pilots of World War II*. New York: New York University Press.
- Meyer, L. D. (1996) *Creating GI Jane: Sexuality and Power in the Women's Army Corps during World War II*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Nicholas, L. H. (2005) *Cruel World: The Children of Europe in the Nazi Web*. New York: Knopf.
- Niven, B. (ed.) (2006) *Germans as Victims: Remembering the Past in Contemporary Germany*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Nolan, M. (2005) Germans as victims during the Second World War: Air wars, memory wars. *Central European History*, 38(1): 7–40.
- Norman, E. (1999) *We Band of Angels: The Untold Story of American Nurses Trapped on Bataan by the Japanese*. New York: Random House.
- Ofer, D. (ed.) (1999) *Women in the Holocaust*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Pennington, R. (2003) *Amazons to Fighter Pilots: A Biographical Dictionary of Military Women*. Westport, CT: Greenwood.
- Pennington, R. (2007) *Wings, Women & War: Soviet Airwomen in World War II Combat*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas.
- Pierson, R. R. (1986) *They're Still Women After All: The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Potts, E. D. and Potts, A. (1985) *Yanks Down Under, 1941–1945: The American Impact on Australia*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Prince, K. M. (2009) *War and German Memory: Excavating the Significance of the Second World War in German Cultural Consciousness*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Rose, S. O. (2003) *Which People's War? National Identity and Citizenship in Wartime Britain 1939–1945*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rossiter, M. L. (1986) *Women in the Resistance*. New York: Praeger.
- Rupp, L. J. (1978) *Mobilizing Women for War: German and American Propaganda, 1939–1945*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Rupp, L. J. (1994) Constructing internationalism: The case of transnational women's organizations, 1888–1945. *American Historical Review*, 99(5): 1571–1600.
- Sarnecky, M. T. (1999) *A History of the US Army Nurse Corps*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Schneider, C. (2008) The Japanese history textbook controversy in East Asian perspective. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 617: pp 107–122.
- Seidler, F. W. (1979) *Blitzmädchen*. Bonn, Germany: Wehr & Wissen.
- Schwartz, P. (1989) Partisanes and gender politics in Vichy France. *French Historical Studies*, 16(1): 126–151.
- Schwarzkopf, J. (2009) Combatant or non-combatant? The ambiguous status of women in British anti-aircraft batteries during the Second World War. *War & Society*, 28(2): 105–131.
- Sheridan, D. (ed.) (2006) *Wartime Women: A Mass-Observation Anthology*. London: Heinemann.

- Shockley, M. T. (2003) Working for democracy: Working-class African-American women, citizenship, and civil rights in Detroit, 1940–1954. *Michigan Historical Review*, 29(2): 125–157.
- Snyder, T. (2010) *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin*. New York: Basic Books.
- Strobl, I. (2007) *Partisanas: Women in the Armed Resistance to Fascism and German Occupation (1936–1945)*. Oakland, CA: AK Press.
- Summerfield, P. (1998) *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.
- Terhoeven, P. (2004) Frauen im Widerstand: Das Beispiel der Italienischen Resistenza, *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 52(7): 608–625.
- Toman, C. (2007) *An Officer and a Lady: Canadian Military Nursing and the Second World War*. Vancouver, Canada: University of British Columbia Press.
- Treadwell, M. E. (1954) *United States Army in World War II: Special Studies: The Women's Army Corps*. Washington, DC: US Army.
- Tuttle, W. M. (1995) "Daddy's Gone to War": *The Second World War in the Lives of America's Children*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Virden, J. (1996) *Good-bye, Piccadilly: British War Brides in America*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- United States Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women (1993) *Women in Combat: Report to the President: Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- Wiesinger, B. (2008) *Partisaninnen: Widerstand in Jugoslawien (1941–1945)*. Cologne, Germany: Böhlau Verlag.
- Weatherford, D. (2009) *American Women During World War II: An Encyclopedia*. New York: Routledge.
- Williamson, G. (2003) *World War II German Women's Auxiliary Services*. London: Osprey.
- Winchell, M. K. (2008) *Good Girls, Good Food, Good Fun: The Story of USO Hostesses during World War II*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- Zwciniger-Bargielowska, I. (2000) *Austerity in Britain: Rationing, Controls, and Consumption, 1939–1955*. New York: Oxford University Press.

### Further Reading

- Biess, F. (2002) Men of reconstruction – the reconstruction of men: Returning POWs in East and West Germany 1945–1955 In K. Hagemann and S. Schueler-Springorum (eds.), *Home Front: The Military, War and Gender in Twentieth-Century Germany*. New York: Berg.
- Campbell, D. (1978) Was the West different? Values and attitudes of young women in 1943. *Pacific Historical Review*, 47(3): 453–463.
- May, E. T. (1988) *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era*. New York: Basic.

## CHAPTER FORTY-THREE

# Transnational Civil Rights during World War II

TRAVIS J. HARDY

The relationship between the individual and the state came under great pressure because of the exigencies of World War II, particularly in the area of civil rights those governments. This has traditionally been one aspect of the war experience that has been pushed to the back by the idea of the “good war.” Historians over the few decades, however, have begun to remedy this by analyzing exactly how it affected the application of civil rights during that time of crisis. This chapter provides an introduction to scholarship that addresses the question of civil rights during World War II in an international manner and comparative focus. In part the experiences of four major democratic powers that fought in the war, the United States, Great Britain, Canada, and France, will be considered in this chapter. Like any historical piece, this chapter is unable to give coverage to every available source but instead is designed to provide a basic overview of some of the existing literature and to suggest possible avenues of inquiry that still need to be explored by historians.

The experience of the United States in World War II was a complex and contentious one, as diverse as the nation itself. This complexity, though, was often lost to a rather simplistic explanation that became the “good war” myth. The major histories written after the end of the war focused on the high level political, diplomatic, and military decision-making that shaped World War II. This trend continued until the 1970s, when social and cultural historians began to offer new ways of looking at the war in an effort to create a more complete vision of the American experience in World War II. Works such as Richard Polenberg’s *America at War: The Front, 1941–1945* (1968) and John Morton Blum’s *V was for Victory: Politics, American Culture during World War II* (1976) helped to bring previously neglected aspects of the American war experience back into focus. Polenberg concludes that World War II placed fewer strains upon American civil liberties than had been expected but that this “balance between restraint and intolerance was ten