

Der letzte Teil des Buches setzt sich mit der Thematisierung von Männlichkeit in der gedenkpädagogischen Praxis auseinander und berührt damit die wichtige Frage, wie die Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus für weitere Generationen zugänglich gemacht werden kann. Astrid Messerschmidts klarsichtige Analyse plädiert dafür, nationalsozialistische Opferkategorien nicht zu reproduzieren, sondern unter Nutzbarmachung der Queer Theory scheinbar eindeutige Klassifizierungen und die damit verbundenen Machtverhältnisse zu hinterfragen. Um die Erfahrung des Nationalsozialismus auch für Angehörige der dritten Generation nutzbar und interessant zu machen, müsse der Umgang von Mehrheitsgesellschaften mit Minderheiten und das Weiterwirken von Menschenbildern thematisiert werden, um so die GedenkstättenbesucherInnen zur Reflexion anzuregen. Heike Radvan ergänzt diesen Befund, indem sie daran erinnert, dass die geschlechterreflektierende Arbeit mit rechtsextremen Jugendlichen bereits an den Geschlechterbildern der gesellschaftlichen Mitte ansetzen muss. Auch der Beitrag von Michael Franke, Olaf Kistenmacher, Anke Prochnau und Katinka Steen behandelt die Frage, wie männliche Jugendliche über eine Auseinandersetzung mit nationalsozialistischer Gewaltausübung ihre eigene Position in der Gesellschaft reflektieren können. Das Bemühen des AutorInnenteams um eine Geschlechtersensibilisierung von PädagogInnen wie BesucherInnen ist begrüßenswert, allerdings wirken ihre Grundannahmen von Männlichkeit reduktionistisch. Die Perspektive aus der Praxis ergänzt der abschließende Beitrag des pädagogischen Leiters der Gedenkstätte Ravensbrück, Matthias Heyl, mit seinen eigenen Erfahrungen aus der Bildungsarbeit. Er beschreibt dabei eindrücklich die Grenzen, an welche die PädagogInnen stoßen, wenn sie etwa mit homophoben Haltungen männlicher Jugendlicher oder Genderzuschreibungen konfrontiert werden.

Der Sammelband offeriert eine Fülle von erhellenden Einsichten und zeigt, dass vor allem die soziale Praxis und individuelle Erfahrungsebene weitergehender Untersuchungen bedürfen, um die Komplexität von männlichen Identitäten sichtbar zu machen. Trotz des bisweilen unreflektierten Gebrauchs des hegemonialen Männlichkeitskonzepts vermittelt das Buch anschaulich, wie die Geschlechterperspektive in der Nationalsozialismusforschung eingebracht werden kann und weckt die Neugier der LeserInnen auf ‚mehr‘ – und dies ist allemal keine schlechte Leistung!

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Maren Röger and Ruth Leiserowitz eds., **Woman and Men at War: A Gender Perspective on World War II and Its Aftermath in Central and Eastern Europe** (= Einzelveröffentlichungen des DHI Warschau 28), Osnabrück: fibre 2012, 342 p., EUR 37,99, ISBN 978-3-938400-83-8.

166 This collection of articles testifies to new and compelling developments in the field of gender and war. Coming on the heels of a pioneering volume on “Gender and War in

Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe” edited by Nancy Wingfield and Maria Bucur,¹ the articles in this volume expand and build on new findings and approaches. Within the six years that separate the two publications, the field has been enriched with new critical scholarship, including works by Thomas Kühne (on gender and genocide), Doris Bergen (on gender and the Holocaust), and Anna Krylova (on Soviet female combatants). Yet the quest to make sense of a fragmented and contradictory evidence, and to define some key concepts is still underway. The contributors to this volume aim at encompassing the diversity and magnitude of experiences that made World War II in the vast territory stretching from Germany to Siberia. They venture into multiple fields, and take into account a wide variety of social experiences associated with modern warfare such as voluntary and forced migration, everyday life in camps, sexualised violence, and the politicisation of memory. The collection opens new avenues for research and raises critical questions.

The book rests on the premise that World War II in Eastern Europe was unique and more brutal than the developments on the Western front. In their introduction, the editors see distinct “gendered experiences” – the nearly complete blurring of “the division between the frontline and the interior” – as the defining feature of the Eastern European experience (10). The change in gender roles, as the authors argue, continued, to some degree, in the postwar period with the arrival of communist regimes and the social revolution they enacted. Indeed, the stress on continuity is a major strength of the collection. The authors place “the extreme situation of war” (17) in a larger context of social change, not limited to the established chronological boundaries of World War II. Thus we learn a great deal not only about the war, but also about its crucial impact on postwar society and politics.

The editors and most of the authors aim at making ‘gender’ rather than ‘women’ central to the story. For them, recovering experiences of women and men is as important as the attempt to “historicize concepts of masculinity and femininity” (20). A welcome outcome of this approach is the shifting of the focus from women as victims to the diversity of female roles in wartime, including those of agents and perpetrators of violence. Although the essays are divided into four thematic sections – on ideology, the army, partisan movements, and postwar (dis)continuities and memories – many texts resist categorisation as they often deal with several themes at once. The issue of memory, in particular, is a common thread that underscores the inseparability of the war experience from the culture of remembrance. In addition, the volume features extensive bibliographical references in several languages, and detailed overviews of historiography. This makes the book an invaluable reference source for scholars working on gender and war in different contexts.

The two opening essays, by Elizabeth Harvey and Mara Lazda, take the analysis of wartime displacement, occupation, and conquest to new lengths. Focusing on German

¹ Nancy M. Wingfield and Maria Bucur eds., *Gender and War in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe*, Bloomington/Indianapolis 2006.

settlers in Romania, Harvey explores how gender identities informed personal narratives of migration and the Germanisation of new territories in the process of establishing the New Order in Europe. While men could enhance their masculine identity by acting as masters “of time and space” (47), women took the opportunity to observe, admire, and photograph ‘native’ women and children engaged in domestic tasks. Harvey argues for the political implications of such gendered images, which helped depict Nazi actions, including violence against ‘undesirable’ ethnic groups, as primarily directed at the protection of “uprooted [German] mothers and children” (57). The political use of gender roles is also the main theme in Mara Lazda’s excellent essay on Latvia under Soviet and German occupations. Like Harvey, she points to the important links between gender identity and nation, and the exploitation of these links by different ideological regimes. Soviets and Germans projected diverse models of Latvian womanhood, but both used the cultural representation of gender as a political tool to legitimise their power and to connect with local communities. The section closes with Andrea Pető’s article on women as victims and perpetrators in Hungary. She centres on two themes: the operation of people’s tribunals after the war, and the mass rapes of Hungarian women by Soviet soldiers. Both the court proceedings and the collective memory of rapes relied on women’s identity as victims. In this way, as Pető argues, they exemplified “the dynamics of gender regimes after World War II” (81) and the tendency to undermine women’s agency in the dominant narratives of war.

The next five essays address gender roles in military formations. Łukasz Kielban looks at Polish military men in German POW camps and their efforts to deal with what they considered the loss of essential elements of masculinity: honour and the ability to fight for the fatherland. The incarcerated men established their own codes of conduct and clandestine Courts of Honor. As illustrated by fascinating case studies, such structures helped the men to survive, but also caused internal conflicts that revealed diverse and contested definitions of honour and manliness. The following two essays by Kerstin Bischl and Maren Röger highlight sexual relations and sexualised violence as central to military operations. Bischl examines mass rapes of German women by Soviet soldiers as an essential tool of total war. She links sexualised violence to the internal dynamics within the Red Army, and the enormous emphasis on heterosexual, masculine behaviour. The author presents compelling insights into the everyday culture of the Soviet military, however, stressing the ‘system’ to such an extent, one wonders about the agency of soldiers and others. How did individual acts and motivation fit into the systemic explanation? Röger explores sexual relations between German men and Polish women in occupied Poland. She points to the preponderance of such relations despite Nazi racial regulations or the Polish underground’s reprisals against women who fraternised with the occupier. Sexual relations acquired a variety of forms, including consensual liaisons, prostitution, survival prostitution, and rape. But under the conditions of occupation, the boundaries between these forms were ambiguous and fluid.

While sexual violence was integral to executing military and political power, Franka Maubach's innovative essay points to the diversity of interaction between men and women, and to the potential of the military to forge egalitarian bonds and to offer a subjective sense of empowerment. Looking at personal letters exchanged between a German soldier, Willy, and an auxiliary servicewoman, Isolde, Maubach explores how individuals subjectively imagined and practiced new forms of comradeship between men and women in the military. Some of the strongest points of the essay refer to how women, the newcomers to the army, appropriated the military culture and uniforms in their own way. Georgeta Nazarska and Sevo Yavashchev take the reader from Central Europe to Bulgaria and present a detailed overview of new roles that Bulgarian women acquired during World War II. These included participation in the Bulgarian Resistance guerilla fighting, and activism in communist organisations. The article presents a wealth of information, but the inclusion of more interpretative points would have strengthened the discussion.

Ruth Leiserowitz' essay on Lithuanian and Jewish partisans opens the section on gender roles in partisan movements. In an effort to integrate two "entirely separate strands" of Lithuanian and Jewish history (204), the author explores motives, roles, and cultural representation of female partisans in the two formations. Although significant differences existed between the two movements (Jewish female partisans fought for survival in the context of Nazi genocidal policies in 1943–44, while Lithuanian female partisans engaged in the struggle against the Soviet occupation starting in 1944), women performed similar tasks, based on stereotypical gender assumptions. Some of the most original insights in the discussion come from a comparative analysis of photographs of Jewish and Lithuanian female partisans. Barbara N. Wiesinger takes on an equally ambitious task of examining the role of gender in a multi-ethnic partisan movement in Yugoslavia under the leadership of Josip Broz Tito, 1941–1945. What made the participation of Yugoslav women unique was not only the scale – the largest mobilisation of women for a military effort in history – but also the fact that women performed combat roles on equal footing with men. Wiesinger stresses the demands of total warfare as central to both Tito's decision to allow women's entry into combat units and the motivation of individual women to press for such inclusion. The section closes with an aptly titled essay "The Anatomy of the Unsaid" by Olena Petrenko, who discusses diverse roles of women in the Ukrainian Nationalist Underground and the dilemmas that gender identities posed for the divided and politicised memory of the OUN and UPA. She notes, in particular, the erasure of the role of women as perpetrators and key agents in the Security Services of the nationalist underground. The essay raises important questions on the relationship between gender roles and the political use of war narratives.

The last section is devoted to continuity and remembrance. Irina Rebrova analyses oral and written testimonies of Russian female war veterans in an effort to challenge the dominant masculine and heroic narrative of the war. The author looks at specific 'femi-

nine' characteristics of personal testimonies. She notes, for example, the preference for a "modest narration" (272) – the tendency to underplay women's own participation in fighting – and the preoccupation with everyday life and emotions. The essay offers powerful insights into everyday life and gender relations in wartime, but it is less convincing in the attempt to contrast women's testimonies with those of male veterans (who, according to the author, were more likely to emphasise their own heroism and action). While the author presents a detailed account of methodology used in collecting and interpreting women's memoirs, there is no equivalent discussion of the sample of men's memoirs used to develop comparative points. How consistent were the differences between women's and men's testimonies? Were there other factors such as social class or regional origin that might have influenced the perspectives in question?

Looking at the "relationship between the Soviet regime and women as a social group" (281), Vita Zelče discusses the situation of Latvian women after World War II. She rightly suggests that wartime experiences conditioned both women's 'collaboration' with the postwar Soviet regime and their participation in the anti-Soviet national resistance movement. The author confirms previous findings by other scholars that communist regimes perceived women primarily as working mothers. Zelče's predominant focus on women as victims of the communist regime, however, overshadows the diverse agency of women and possible benefits they derived from legal equality or broader social transformations.

The closing article by Barbara Klich-Kluczevska explores social anxieties regarding population losses in Poland and their impact on abortion policy and practice. She argues that pronatalist measures and the restrictive anti-abortion law during the Stalinist era in Poland (1948–1956) had an important social dimension. Communists put less pressure on the enforcement of these policies in urban areas in an effort not to interfere with the mass mobilisation of women into the workforce, while reserving the strict enforcement of the anti-abortion legislation for rural women who were expected to replenish the nation. The essay presents fascinating insights into everyday life and reproductive practices of rural women combined with fresh arguments that illuminate the complex relationship between war, gender, abortion, and the state.

The collection makes an important contribution to interdisciplinary studies of gender and war. As a pioneering work, it also brings conceptual and methodological challenges to the fore. Although the editors set an ambitious agenda in the introduction to combine new empirical research with theoretical reflection, not all essays meet this promise. Innovative articles such as those that examine the role of women as perpetrators (Harvey, Petrenko) are accompanied by more traditional narratives that stress factual information and the heroism of women (Nazarska and Yavashchev, Zelče). One also wonders if the contrast between Eastern and Western Europe with regard to the status of women after the war may not have been overestimated. This is a minor flaw of the book, but it deserves attention if we are to integrate issues of gender and war into the broader framework of European history. While differences between Eastern and

Western fronts are beyond doubt, the claim that women in the West were “sent back into the role of secondary importance” (12) once the war was over may need qualification. Scholars such as Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska or Rebecca J. Pulju, writing on post-war Britain and France respectively, have convincingly argued for the expansion of new public roles for women as citizens, consumers, and workers, a process that resulted directly from the experience of war and deprivation.

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Maria Fritsche, **Homemade Men in Postwar Austrian Cinema. Nationhood, Genre and Masculinity** (= Film Europa 15), New York/Oxford: Berghahn 2013, 228 S., 10 Abb., ca. EUR 76,-, ISBN 978-0-85745-945-9, E-Book ISBN 978-0-85745-946-6.

Der Titel „Homemade Men in Postwar Austrian Cinema“ ist schwierig ins Deutsche zu übertragen. Aus dem Untertitel „Nationhood, Genre and Masculinity“ wird klar, dass es um den Anspruch der Verbindung großer Konzepte geht, ein Anspruch, der von dem vorliegenden Buch – so viel sei gleich vorweggenommen – grandios eingelöst wird. „Homemade Men“ zielt auf die Analyse jener inszenierten Leichtigkeit, mit der die Männerbilder des österreichischen Nachkriegsfilms dazu beigetragen haben, die Mitverantwortung an Nationalsozialismus, Krieg und Terror vergessen zu machen. Das Coverfoto visualisiert die zentrale These: Das smarte, lächelnde Gesicht des Schauspielers Siegfried Breuer jun. im Film „Die Deutschmeister“ und seine charmante Geste des Salutierens in Uniform stehen für eine feminisierte, jungenhaft und habsburgisch konnotierte Männlichkeit, die das Kino und das nationale Selbstverständnis Österreichs nach 1945 in Abgrenzung zu preußisch-soldatischen Repräsentationen von Männlichkeit prägte. Das Filmstill auf dem Cover soll die dominante Form von Männlichkeit im österreichischen Nachkriegskino verkörpern. Diese Covergestaltung wird den komplexen und differenzierten Analysen des Buches nicht ganz gerecht. Nicht *die* Männlichkeitskonzeption des Nachkriegsjahrzehnts wird dort rekonstruiert, sondern Männlichkeitskonstruktionen im Plural, die in ihren jeweiligen filmischen und soziopolitischen Kontexten und entlang struktureller Bezüge und Widersprüche analysiert werden.

Das Buch der an der Universität Trondheim lehrenden Historikerin Maria Fritsche ist in fünf Kapitel gegliedert, die sich im Anschluss an die Einleitung an die Genrekonventionen – Kostümfilm, Heimatfilm, *Tourist Film* und Komödie – und damit an die Idee des Films als Genre-Text anlehnen. Eine theoretische Einleitung, die Zusammenfassung, das umfassende Register und gut reproduzierte, den Text illustrierende Filmstills runden die klare Struktur des Buches ab. Das Kino der Nachkriegsjahre war ein Schauplatz der symbolischen Herstellung und Verknüpfung von Männlichkeit und österreichischem Nationalbewusstsein. Hegemoniale Männlichkeit geriet nach 1945 durch Krieg, Niederlage und den vorübergehenden Machtzuwachs von Frauen stark