



**ACTA HISTRIAE**  
*34, 2026, 1*



UDK/UDC 94(05)

ISSN 1318-0185  
e-ISSN 2591-1767



Zgodovinsko društvo za južno Primorsko - Koper  
Società storica del Litorale - Capodistria

# **ACTA HISTRIAE**

## **34, 2026, 1**

KOPER 2026

ISSN 1318-0185  
e-ISSN 2591-1767

UDK/UDC 94(05)

Letnik 34, leto 2026, številka 1

**Odgovorni urednik/  
Direttore responsabile/  
Editor in Chief:**

Darko Darovec

**Uredniški odbor/  
Comitato di redazione/  
Board of Editors:**

Gorazd Bajc, Furio Bianco (IT), Flavij Bonin, Paolo Broggio (IT), Stuart Carroll (UK), Àngel Casals Martínez (ES), Alessandro Casellato (IT), Dragica Čeč, Lovorka Čoralić (HR), Darko Darovec, Marco Fincardi (IT), Darko Friš, Aleksej Kalc, Borut Klabjan, Urška Lampe, Amanda Madden (USA), John Martin (USA), Robert Matijašić (HR), Aleš Maver, Darja Mihelič, Edward Muir (USA), Jeppe Büchert Netterstrøm (DK), Žiga Oman, Egon Pelikan, Luciano Pezzolo (IT), Jože Pirjevec, Claudio Povoło (IT), Marijan Premovič (MNE), Colin Rose (CA), Vida Rožac Darovec, Tamara Scheer (AT), Polona Tratnik, Boštjan Udovič, Marta Verginella, Nancy M. Wingfield (USA), Salvator Žitko.

**Uredniki/Redattori/  
Editors:**

Žiga Oman, Urška Lampe, Boštjan Udovič, Jasmina Rejec

**Gostujoči urednik/  
Editore ospite/Guest editor:**

Francesco Toncich

**Prevodi/Traduzioni/  
Translations:**

Cecilia Furioso Cenci (it.), Žiga Oman (angl.)

**Lektorji/Supervisione/  
Language Editors:**

Žiga Oman (angl., slo.), Cecilia Furioso Cenci (it.)

**Izdajatelj/Editor/  
Published by:**

Zgodovinsko društvo za južno Primorsko - Koper / Società storica del Litorale - Capodistria® / Inštitut IRRIS za raziskave, razvoj in strategije družbe, kulture in okolja / Institute IRRIS for Research, Development and Strategies of Society, Culture and Environment / Istituto IRRIS di ricerca, sviluppo e strategie della società, cultura e ambiente®

**Sedež/Sede/Address:**

Zgodovinsko društvo za južno Primorsko, SI-6000, Koper-Capodistria, Garibaldijeva 18 / Via Garibaldi 18, e-mail: actahistriae@gmail.com; https://zjdp.si/en/p/actahistriae/

**Tisk/Stampa/Print:**

Založništvo PADRE d.o.o.

**Naklada/Tiratura/Copies:**

300 izvodov/copie/copies

**Finančna podpora/  
Supporto finanziario/  
Financially supported by:**

Javna agencija za znanstvenoraziskovalno in inovacijsko dejavnost Republike Slovenije / Slovenian Research and Innovation Agency

**Slika na naslovnici/  
Foto di copertina/  
Picture on the cover:**

*Vojaki sprejeti v tržaško vojaško bolnišnico na ulici Via Fabio Severo / Militari ricoverati presso l'Ospedale militare di Trieste di via Fabio Severo / Soldiers admitted to the Trieste Military Hospital on Via Fabio Severo (Archivio di Stato di Trieste)*

Redakcija te številke je bila zaključena 30. marca 2026.

Revija Acta Histriae je vključena v naslednje podatkovne baze / Gli articoli pubblicati in questa rivista sono inclusi nei seguenti indici di citazione / Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in: CLARIVATE ANALYTICS (USA): Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI), Social Scisearch, Arts and Humanities Citation Index (A&HCI), Journal Citation Reports / Social Sciences Edition (USA); IBZ, Internationale Bibliographie der Zeitschriftenliteratur (GER); International Bibliography of the Social Sciences (IBSS) (UK); Referativnyi Zhurnal Viniti (RUS); European Reference Index for the Humanities and Social Sciences (ERIH PLUS); Elsevier B. V.: SCOPUS (NL); DOAJ.

To delo je objavljeno pod licenco / *Quest'opera è distribuita con Licenza* / This work is licensed under a Creative Commons BY 4.0.



Navedila avtorjem in vsi članki v barvni verziji so prosto dostopni na spletni strani: <https://zjdp.si>.  
Le norme redazionali e tutti gli articoli nella versione a colori sono disponibili gratuitamente sul sito: <https://zjdp.si/it/>.  
The submission guidelines and all articles are freely available in color via website [http: https://zjdp.si/en/](https://zjdp.si/en/).



VSEBINA / INDICE GENERALE / CONTENTS

- Francesco Toncich:** Curing and Building Trust: States, Doctors and Patients in Post-Habsburg Public Health Systems. A Border History of Public Health ..... 1  
*Curare e costruire fiducia: stati, medici e pazienti nei sistemi sanitari pubblici post-asburgici. Una storia di confine della sanità pubblica*  
*Zdravljenje in gradnja zaupanja: države, zdravniki in pacienti v posthabsburških sistemih javnega zdravstva: mejna zgodovina javnega zdravstva*
- Maura Hametz:** The Cost of the “Unclaimed”: Pertinency and Healthcare Administration in Italy’s Adriatic Provinces, 1919–1927 ..... 25  
*Il costo dei “non riconosciuti”: pertinenza e amministrazione sanitaria nelle province adriatiche d’Italia, 1919–1927*  
*Strošek »neželenih«: domicil in zdravstvena uprava v italijanskih jadranskih provincah v letih 1919–1927*
- Dagmar Wernitznig:** Shattered Minds in Shatter Zones: Psychiatry and Gender After the Great War in the Carinthian Borderlands ..... 43  
*Menti distrutte in zone distrutte: psichiatria e genere durante la Grande guerra nel confine carinziano*  
*Razkoli v duševnosti na porušenem območju: psihiatrija in spol po prvi svetovni vojni v koroškem obmejnem prostoru*

- Jelena Rafailović:** Inherited Systems, New Realities:  
Nineteenth-Century Public Health Legislation and the Formation  
of the Public Health System in the Kingdom  
of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes ..... 59  
*Sistemi ereditati, nuove realtà: legislazione sanitaria  
del XIX secolo e formazione del sistema di sanità  
pubblica nel Regno dei Serbi, Croati e Sloveni  
Podedovani sistemi, nove realnosti: javnozdravstvena zakonodaja  
v 19. stoletju in oblikovanje javnozdravstvenega sistema  
v Kraljevini Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev*
- Ana Cergol Paradž:** Biology or Environment? Diagnostic Trends  
in Slovenian Psychiatry from World War I to World War II ..... 77  
*Biologia o contesto sociale? Tendenze diagnostiche nella psichiatria  
slovena dalla Prima alla Seconda guerra mondiale  
Biologija ali okolje? Diagnostični trendi v slovenski psihiatriji  
od prve do druge svetovne vojne*
- Jelena Seferović:** Children With Intellectual Disabilities in Croatia:  
From Psychiatry to Specialized Institutions (1897–1970s) ..... 95  
*Bambini con disabilità intellettive in Croazia: dalla  
psichiatria alle strutture specializzate (1897–anni '70)  
Otroci z intelektualnimi motnjami na Hrvaškem: od psihiatrije  
do specializiranih institucij (1897–1970)*

## SHATTERED MINDS IN SHATTER ZONES: PSYCHIATRY AND GENDER AFTER THE GREAT WAR IN THE CARINTHIAN BORDERLANDS

Dagmar WERNITZNIG

University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia

e-mail: dagmar.wernitznig@ff.uni-lj.si

### ABSTRACT

*This article contextualizes questions of citizenship at the intersections of gender, statehood, and notions of ‘normalcy’ in post-1918 Carinthia. Integral to this study is the analysis of psychiatric files of female patients in the aftermaths of the Great War as pertinent, yet generally overlooked sources for microhistorical approaches towards post-conflict nation building. For this contribution, women’s psychiatric records of the Landeskrankenanstalt (Provincial Hospital) in Klagenfurt/Celovec for the period from 1918 to 1923 are investigated. At the nexus of in/sanity, patriarchy, and patriotism, such documents can shed new light on processes of in- as well as exclusion of certain individuals, especially when of the ‘other’ sex and ‘unchaperoned’.*

*Keywords: gender, psychiatry, interwar period, Carinthia, trauma, migration, citizenship*

## MENTI DISTRUTTE IN ZONE DISTRUTTE: PSICHIATRIA E GENERE DURANTE LA GRANDE GUERRA NEL CONFINE CARINZIANO

### SINTESI

*Questo articolo contestualizza le questioni di cittadinanza all’intersezione di genere, stato e nozioni di “normalità” nella Carinzia post-1918. Parte integrante di questo studio è l’analisi delle cartelle psichiatriche di pazienti di sesso femminile nel periodo successivo alla Grande Guerra come fonti pertinenti, ma generalmente trascurate, per approcci microstorici alla costruzione della nazione post-conflitto. Per questo contributo, vengono esaminate le cartelle psichiatriche delle donne del Landeskrankenanstalt (l’ospedale provinciale) di Klagenfurt/Celovec per il periodo dal 1918 al 1923. Al nesso di in/sanità, patriarcato e patriottismo, tali documenti possono gettare nuova luce sui processi di in- nonché di esclusione di determinati individui, specialmente quando appartenenti all’altro’ sesso e ‘senza accompagnatore’.*

*Parole chiave: genere, psichiatria, tra le due guerre, Carinzia, trauma, migrazione, cittadinanza*

INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

This article deals with psychiatric charts of the *Abteilung für Psychiatrie* (the psychiatric ward) at the *Landeskrankenanstalt* (Provincial Hospital) in Klagenfurt/Celovec, the capital of Carinthia. The contribution seeks to explore the fate of hospitalized women and girls, many of them displaced persons, *after* armistices and peace treaties for the approximate period from 1918 to 1923. For the research at this specific psychiatric ward in Klagenfurt, up to 1,000 records of female patients were inspected for the given years from 1918 to 1923, highlighting socio-political and socio-economic dimensions rather than aspects of medical historiography.

In order to tease out symmetries or discrepancies and to conduct a contrastive analysis between war and peace times, also the charts before 1918 were examined, and, ostensibly, there could be registered a distinct paradigm shift with new arrivals towards the end of the First World War: Until 1918, the average resident in the clinic had been a local citizen, either diagnosed as insane from birth or early adolescence, therefore spending their entire adulthood in care there as a long-term case, or, alternatively, as an elderly, senile woman, who had been basically retired there until she deceased. From 1918 onwards, however, there can be detected an immediate and significant influx of women patients with local backgrounds as well as with trajectories of ‘refugeedom’ (Gatrell, 2013) pouring into this clinic, which lends itself to a comparative study of various female patients and their treatment by the clinic’s staff.

Quite palpably, this sudden rise in local women and girls being admitted to this psychiatric ward interfaces with the complexities of *total war*, first and foremost, the blurring of frontlines. More precisely and in the specific case of Carinthia, there happened a war after the actual one, because towards the end of the First World War, forces of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes took control of the provincial capital Klagenfurt and laid claim to the geographic basin landscape, in which it is located. Subsequently, the Carinthian population formed ad-hoc militias, and this guerrilla warfare with paramilitary clashes and the numerous stand-offs between the two adversaries also produced atrocities against nearby female civilians, committed by both sides – especially in the form of sexual assaults – with the inevitable consequence of these heavily traumatized local women and girls being brought mostly by their family members to the psychiatric clinic in Klagenfurt (Weimann, 2008; Révész, 2016).

Parallel to that, there can be found the ‘single’ female refugee, ending up in this clinic after escaping from the various theatres of war, particularly in the south-eastern parts of Europe. Therefore, the clinical charts in Klagenfurt are a useful reservoir for deciphering and teasing out differing treatments of the many female patients, according to whether they were classified as ‘local’ or ‘foreign.’ During this era, the medical staff

---

1 This article was developed within the EIRENE project (*Post-war Transitions in Gendered Perspective: The Case of the North-Eastern Adriatic Region*) funded by the European Research Council under the Horizon 2020 financed Advanced Grant founding scheme (ERC Grant Agreement no. 742683). For more details, cf. Project EIRENE.

on the psychiatric ward in Klagenfurt was confronted with waves of ‘alien’ women and girls pouring into the clinic as traumatized refugees and displaced persons. In many instances these women lacked decipherable national backgrounds or family ties. Thus, this contribution concerns itself with women and girls who ended up outside the invisible yet powerful confines of sociocultural belonging. In the polarity of citizen versus non-citizen, these women – usually displaced persons without male guardianship or any other family relations – could at best exercise a form of ‘para-citizenship’ (Wernitznig, 2025a, 68–74), hidden behind the walls of a mental clinic. The term para-citizenship has been chosen to signify women patients’ parallel existence as ‘non-normative’ citizens alongside ‘mainstream’ society in the ‘outside’ world.

Their para-citizenship, juxtaposing the agenda of a newly constructed state after conflict by delineating ‘alienness,’ served as a welcome matrix for this very same state and its citizens to craft a new nationhood. Austrian postwar citizenship relied on dualisms that differentiated the ‘imagined community’ (Anderson, 1983) of the First Republic from peoples and entities that were understood as ‘corrosive.’ Citizenship, its entitlements, and its duties turned into a crucible for defining public and private space during the Austrian postwar transition from Dual Monarchy stretching across Central Europe to a democracy with universal suffrage that comprised the ‘butchered Alpine rump’ of the former Habsburg lands. Therefore, concocting an imagery of para-citizens who were doomed to represent the ‘other’ – for example, in terms of ethnicity, gender, or religion – became pertinent to assist the rebirth of ‘Austrianness.’ This marginalization of such para-citizens as involuntary in-between and preferably temporary inhabitants clearly was a byproduct of systemic bias. In many ways, the neologism para-citizenship can constitute a helpful blueprint to disentangle the manifold components on the nuanced spectrum of citizenship in any given country or during any given epoch (Wernitznig, 2025a).

With the specific time frame of this study, the term para-citizenship particularly helps to locate and dismantle debates about ‘native’ versus ‘foreign’ subjects and their ramifications for private versus public spheres (Habermas, 1962). As citizenship per se underwent a metamorphosis in the interwar years with the introduction of the female franchise, the creation of new borders as well as borderlands, and displaced persons on an unprecedented scale, such ‘surplus’ citizens in many cases ended up alongside, *not* within, ‘mainstream’ society. In this scenario, the ingredient gender and its frequent medicalization often turned female bodies (and minds) into post-armistice battle grounds over procreation and national reconstruction that gravitated around maternalism, masculinities, and social welfare.

Accordingly, for such areas with particularly high levels of military and paramilitary violence, psychiatric documents of refugee women and girls deriving from various demographics and social strata and admitted to mental asylums (as was the case in Klagenfurt) during and after these armed conflicts can represent crucial and helpful, albeit to this day mostly omitted, sources for scholarship. Moreover, such psychiatric files can be pertinent to examine the wider implications of intricate dynamics and processes in post-conflict societies, such as in- and exclusion methods and strategies

amidst socio-political challenges, like, for instance, ‘re-traditionalization’ and ‘cultural’ demobilization, particularly for defeated nations (Quine, 1996; Allen, 2005). They reflect and elucidate trauma that stemmed from the war and sometimes arose even more forcefully in its wake with new sociopolitical challenges.

#### (POST-)WAR TRAUMA AND THE ‘SECOND’ SEX IN THE FIRST REPUBLIC

Containing narratives of both patients and medics through the prism of psychiatry, the herein analysed clinical protocols provide useful insights into the panorama and goings-on of everyday life outside of the hospital walls, in what is usually termed ‘regular’ society (Nolte, 2003; Brändli, Lüthi & Spuhler, 2009). Evidently, the medicalization of inmates’ previous experiences in this outside world is not free from cultural, economic, and ideological connotations and as such frequently includes fruitful information beyond mere anamneses and diagnoses. Noticeably, such medical records become a foil for gendered expectations of ‘dysfunctionality,’ as opposed to ‘conformity.’

Quite remarkably and surprisingly, however, this area of research has not yet attracted a lot of attention in historiography, particularly when it concerns women patients. Whereas there exists a fair amount of literature about combatants’ trauma (Loughran, 2010; Reid, 2010; Leese, 2014) and some in-depth studies of psychiatric records (Robinson, 2020) that are based on the phenomenon of so-called ‘shell shock,’ emerging particularly within the context of the United Kingdom after the Great War, female patients on mental wards still do not feature prominently on the scholarly radar. The academic focus is almost exclusively placed on wartime traumas of military personnel with some rare exceptions (Keown, 2018; 2019; Wernitznig, 2021). In contrast, there continues to persist a certain historiographic myopia towards non-combatants and their traumata, ordeals, and disorders on the home front and after armistices. This situation is especially deplorable, because psychiatric files of women and girls especially traumatized by ‘refugeedom’ and (para)military sexual violence most of the time represent the only documentation of such life stories, although from a gendered perspective.

Generally, all women patients, whether they were local residents or ‘alien’ refugees, experienced a denial of trauma diagnoses in comparison to their male relatives and veterans. Habitually eliminated from the equation of war and trauma by the medical community, physicians’ assessments of female civilians with mental problems were mostly devoid of the diagnostic terminology that was otherwise readily applied to soldiers’ anamneses. This exclusivity and bias towards male patients and their war traumata, naturally, cohered with patriarchal blueprints or political intentions of demobilization and the restoration of conventional gender roles after 1918 (Kuhlman, 2008).

As the nexus of gender and trauma became by and large institutionally and socially suppressed, female portrayals of mental illnesses were, at best, deprioritized or sidelined next to male patients’ tales and chronicles. Hence questions and parameters of sanity became intersected with gender expectations, especially in post-conflict eras, and Foucauldian power structures are flagrant in the investigated psychiatric charts

(cf. Foucault, 1961; 1975; 1988). Consequently, discourses about female patients and their potential insanity are embedded in hierarchies, both deriving from the intrinsic institutional structures of psychiatric wards and the external layers of policies in the wake of the First World War.

Psychiatric protocols therefore also integrate and are characterized by alienation or ‘othering’ processes that establish artificial orders, with refugee women ranking decidedly lower. This female ‘Other’ and the distinct ellipsis of trauma rhetoric in her psychiatric accounts rendered by exclusively male diagnosticians, further evidences and perverts gendered traumata into a *troumatisme*, a ‘hole in the truth,’ as coined by Jacques Lacan, in post-conflict patriarchy and patriotism:

*When I speak of a hole in the truth, it is not, of course, a crude metaphor; it is not a hole in a jacket, it is the negative aspect that appears in what pertains to sexuality, precisely its inability to reveal itself. That is what psychoanalysis is about. (Lacan, 2005, 34)<sup>2</sup>*

Stigmatized and silenced by such ‘holes in the truth’ that prevented the female patients to ‘become whole’ again, women’s voices were thus heavily outnumbered by data on combatants’ mental health during and after the war.

Unsurprisingly, the clinical recognition of traumata and their aftershocks as Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) was initially monopolized by the military and reserved for armed forces: Harking back to Eugen Bleuler’s pioneering oeuvre *Dementia praecox oder Gruppe der Schizophrenien* (1911), translated into English as *Dementia Praecox or the Group of Schizophrenias* only in 1950, US psychiatry of the 1960s formulated the novel concept of PTSD against the backdrop of the Vietnam War and its many veterans’ mental ailments. Finally in 1980, PTSD, hence deriving from and biased towards specific atmospheres of warfare and their aftermaths for fighting forces, was finally adopted into the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* by the American Psychiatric Association.

Over the last decades, the field of PTSD and trauma studies has subsequently re-adapted perspectives on gender (Kimerling, Ouimette & Wolfe, 2002) and mushroomed beyond an exclusively military focus, ranging from postcolonial to transgenerational trauma (Denham, 2008; O’Laughlin & Charles, 2015). The increasing globalization and thematic inclusiveness of approaches towards PTSD also epitomized a deconstruction and redefinition of traditional assessments of war-related traumata in- and outside of Europe after 1945 (Leese & Crouthamel, 2016; Kivimäki & Leese, 2021). This article also attempts to fill in some blanks of previously neglected themes in PTSD and trauma historiography (LaCapra, 2014; Leese, Köhne & Crouthamel, 2021) and endeavours to remedy the gendered asymmetry of war-induced traumata in clinical institutions, such as the mental asylum of Klagenfurt.

2 *Quand je parle d’un trou dans la vérité, ce n’est pas, naturellement, une métaphore grossière, ce n’est pas un trou au veston, c’est l’aspect négatif qui apparaît dans ce qui est du sexuel, justement de son inaptitude à s’avérer. C’est de ça qu’il s’agit dans une psychanalyse. (Lacan, 2005, 34)*

For instance, the aforementioned monopoly of trauma diagnoses, reserved for male patients, hence even resulted in misogyny towards institutionalized women, especially when they were refugees or displaced persons. The mapping of mental illness was thus heavily determined by an intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1998) of sex, class, and ethnic or migratory backgrounds and in most instances served as an administrative tool for socio-political ends. Overall and quite perturbingly, for all women patients, whether local or foreign, the Freudian definition of hysteria (Freud & Breuer, 1895), deriving from the nineteenth century, prevailed, and they remained gridlocked in such stereotypical and gender-related notions of ‘feminine’ symptoms (Croft, 2012; Tasca et al., 2012).

Nevertheless, whereas local women and girls who suffered from gendered violence as a result of the post-1918 battles on Carinthian soil were released rather swiftly from the clinic after a couple of days or at most weeks into their traditional family unit and local community, refugee women and girls, especially when perceived as unchaperoned – without a patriarch or a spouse – were kept on the ward for an, on average, disproportionately long period of time of at least several weeks or even years. Notably, there can be unearthed permanent admissions into this clinic from a quite heterogenous pool of female refugees, covering all ages, diverse occupations, social, educational, and religious backgrounds. For instance, two cases that are representative for refugee women and girls, who displayed quite reasonable symptoms of stress and trauma without hereditary signs of mental illness after experiencing the full brunt of war and displacement, were M. S. and O. Z. (AT-KLA 655-2 Se, b. 28).<sup>3</sup>

The refugee and widow M. S. (\*1889 Škofja Loka; †1926 Klagenfurt) who spent the war on the frontlines as a trained nurse in Galicia and Russia, ended up in the clinic in Klagenfurt in May 1921 and was kept there until April 1926, when she died of *myodegeneratio cordis*, a deficiency of the heart muscle, not, as has to be stressed, from a mental condition. Experiencing the war like soldiers on the frontline, M. S. was exceptionally outspoken about casualties, encountering many nationalities in the firing range, who were all shot dead in her accounts: Italians, Serbs, German-speaking Austrians, Hungarians, and Galicians of various ethnicities.

A particularly tragic case was the adolescent and unmarried O. Z. (\*1902 Homec; †1927 Klagenfurt), who had to flee from Gorizia to the second-largest city in Carinthia, Villach/Beljak, where she was diagnosed with *dementia praecox* and tuberculosis. An important factor in her anamnesis was that there were no reported cases of insanity in her family history, so it could be concluded with certainty that her state was not hereditary. Only eighteen years of age, she was sent to the psychiatric ward in Klagenfurt in December 1920, where she passed away six years later. As exiles from the southeast who did not fit into the fabric of society and who had no paterfamilias or male guardian to take care of them, M. S. and O. Z. were kept extraordinarily long behind the hospital walls until their premature demise.

---

3 For ethical reasons, the patients’ names are anonymized by only providing their initials.

Regarding admission procedures and logistics, every woman and girl had to state her nationality upon arrival in the clinic, which was one of the various assessment criteria of whether she possessed a lucid mind, besides, for instance, solving mathematical equations. In fact, this rigorous testing could have quite drastic consequences for the examinee. For example, a woman or girl, who was not quite sure or slightly hesitant which new nation she belonged to in the general post-1918 turmoil of rapidly shifting borders in certain regions after the dissolution of Austria-Hungary, was automatically declared insane (AT-KLA 655-2 Se, b. 33). This is even more deplorable, because most exiles from Eastern and South-Eastern Europe were usually described as not being able to speak German. So, on their forms, the *laissez-faire* comment ‘communication not possible’ can be discovered. Consequently, simply by lacking the linguistic ability of making oneself understood, these patients ended up being classified as insane, since adequate verbal delivery was one vital assessment coefficient (AT-KLA 655-2 Se, b. 30). Therefore, where the demarcations of insanity were sometimes drawn very much depended on issues of nationality or in- and exclusion processes.

Similar to the tactic of ‘stowing away foreign arrivals’ and hiding as well as muting and sedating them behind hospital walls, the method of exclusion by transferring them beyond state borders was another strategy by the administrative staff. Incidentally, it was also a frequent policy to return refugee women, when logistically feasible, to their former native countries to avoid costs. Thus, these patients were moved by authorities across transnational borders that, ironically, were otherwise sometimes almost completely sealed or at least less porous for ‘sane’ travellers. This was the case, for instance, with R. W. (\*1898 Heilbronn) (AT-KLA 655-2 Se, b. 29), handed over to Italian authorities, and M. U. (\*1901 Kranj) (AT-KLA 655-2 Se, b. 31) who was returned to Preddvor after brief stints at the clinic for amentia from August to September of 1923. What all these female refugees had in common was a profound tapestry of stories about loss and obliteration, rarely ever acknowledged in their value as *Zeitzeugen* or eyewitnesses of wars and their aftermaths (Mitroiu, 2018). Rather, they were either locked away permanently or deported across borders to make them invisible as noncitizens of the other sex.

From a historiographic and global perspective, the dynamics of citizenship and gender are associated with a multitude of complex factors, such as coverture laws based on the Napoleonic Civil Code or the struggle for equal franchise, to name but two (Kerber, 1997; Canning & Rose, 2001; Sulkunen, Nevala-Nurmi & Markkola, 2009). Postwar transformations of state frameworks and political systems led to additional changes concerning the rights of citizens (Kerber, 1990; Aoláin, Haynes & Chan, 2011; Bader-Zaar, 2017). Since the concept of citizenship is usually bound to gendered notions that tend to reaffirm stereotypes of ‘masculinities’ and ‘femininities,’ post-conflict sociopolitical changes tend to affect women and men differently (Vogel, 1991; Walby, 1994; Inglehart, Norris & Welzl, 2002). In conjunction with reconstruction, national ideologies are intertwined with gender identity to a great extent, and women’s status in society is frequently determined by their biological function of childbearing. As keepers of the hearth and caretakers of future generations of citizens, they are easily ascribed

the roles of ‘boundary-markers’ (Pettman, 1996, 187, 195–196) within sociocultural and socioeconomic processes of postwar transitions.

Consequently, statelessness as a lack of determinable nationality or belonging to a ‘collective’ during destabilized postwar times further increased the vulnerability of female patients from Eastern and South-Eastern Europe who came under the custody of Austrian bureaucrats and physicians alike. By assessing medics’ protocols and reports, this chapter aimed to unpack the status of para-citizenship assigned to these female and ‘foreign’ residents. More specifically, the diametrical treatment of ‘alien’ and ‘native’ patients corroborated the political status and value of women beyond private spheres when it came to the curtailment or boosting of civil rights (Wilford & Miller, 1998; Yuval-Davis & Werbner, 1999). As was teased out, obtaining citizenship could be inherently volatile for those who did not deserve it in the eyes of national and international authorities or officials.

Interestingly, all of these mostly stateless women and girls at the clinic were described in the psychiatric records as intellectually fully aware, without so much as a remote hint towards moderate mental conditions, much less severe streaks of insanity. This is particularly remarkable, because it has to be remembered that – as explained previously – most of them had to operate in the German language, when scrutinized with complex questions by the psychiatric personnel, and not their native tongue, whilst answering these queries.

The narratives of stateless and working-class female refugees also exemplify the administrative no (wo)man’s land of ‘unchaperoned’ or ‘surplus’ females, whose nationality could not be determined and who thus could not be sent ‘back to where they once belonged’ (Bhabha, 1998). They were viewed as single, ‘unprotected’ women without a paterfamilias or any other male provider, frequently stigmatized as prone to promiscuity and as a menace to society. Furthermore, they were castigated as impoverished, underprivileged women without qualifications or training, whose migratory background was conflated with aspects of class or milieu, ethnicity, and lack of education. A closer investigation of their files shows multiple levels of alienation within their search for refuge and asylum and sheds additional light onto gendered historiographies of displacement.

As the given practical examples of the psychiatric institution in Klagenfurt validate, narrative acts by the female patients as methods of self-expression and hence healing (Pennebaker, 1990) were either obstructed or forged to accommodate political landscapes and interests in post-war transitions. For instance, social psychologist James W. Pennebaker underlined the importance of detailing one’s traumatic experience as a path to recovery:

*[T]ranslating our thoughts into language is psychologically and physically beneficial. When people write about major upheavals, they begin to organize and understand them. Writing about the thoughts and feelings associated with traumas, then, forces individuals to bring together the many facets of overwhelmingly complicated events. Once people can distill complex experiences into more understandable packages, they can begin to move beyond the trauma. (Pennebaker, 1990, 193)*

## CONCLUSION: PARA-CITIZENSHIP AND PATRIARCHIES

Since certain individuals were not necessarily welcome in the phases of nation building of the First Austrian Republic, clinical diagnoses therefore bore the potential to become powerful filters for questions of citizenship, nationhood, patriotism, and refugeeism. Obstructed by language and bureaucratic barriers, non-Austrian female inmates were denied an adequate ‘talking cure’ (Breuer, 1955, 30) that could have helped to verbalize their gender-based traumas in their own, unique voices. This lacuna of substantial patient-doctor exchange dovetailed with post-war transitions that cogently proscribed integration of ‘subversive subjects,’ such as female foreigners without roots in the local communities. Dominated by omission and isolation, their stay at the clinic prevented any stage of socio-psychological recuperation, which would have been a first step towards both deconstructing their traumatic episodes and joining post-conflict society as equal citizens. As Judith Lewis Herman asserted in her seminal study of much-overlooked gendered violence, for example, regarding sexual assaults, incest, and wife battering:

*Recovery can take place only within the context of relationships; it cannot occur in isolation. In her renewed connections with other people, the survivor re-creates the psychological faculties that were damaged or deformed by the traumatic experience. [...] The first principle of recovery is the empowerment of the survivor. She must be the author and arbiter of her own recovery.* (Herman, 1997, 133)

This non-narrativity or silencing of medical patients on the psychiatric women’s ward in Klagenfurt did not simply play along designs and fabrications of national identity or traditional gender norms, but it also evinced policies of newly forming statehood that were geared towards the building of a ‘homogenous’ nation amidst interwar migration and exile. Female refugees or displaced persons, who did not fit into the given profile of a ‘typical’ Austrian citizen, were either conveniently placed in the mental asylum – the only asylum they were granted – to conceal them like O. Z. or, alternatively, transferred beyond borders by means of psychiatric diagnoses as shown by M. U. In both cases, clinical protocols frequently turned into a meta-text for post-war politics, inducing and engineering a new beginning and a collective identity as First Republic.

Citizenship for these foreign women and girls with suspected mental conditions remained largely static, cemented by bureaucracy inside and outside of the asylum walls, and went deeper and far beyond what Ruth Lister describes as dialectics or denial of citizenship and public-private dualisms (Lister, 1997; 2001, 323–332). The ‘foreign arrivals’ who ended up at the psychiatric institution in Klagenfurt faced discrimination, belittlement, and occasionally outright scorn on the basis of gender, ethnicity, and class. Diagnosed with ‘madness,’ they were excluded from the national body politic, deemed ‘dysfunctional’ individuals during an age of state formation and tremendous migratory fluctuation. Their claims to citizenship therefore illustrate a vertical alignment ensuing from social practices. Exposed to the scrutiny of civil servants *as well as* that of medical practitioners, their pursuit of attaining equity and respectability stagnated and was

largely devoid of prospects to become naturalized as an Austrian citizen, especially when evaluated and deflected against their fellow Austrian, nonmigratory inmates at the psychiatric ward and beyond it.

Alongside bureaucracies of *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis* in post-1918 Austria, the psychiatric wing in Klagenfurt turned into an arena to calibrate and legitimize citizenship by fickle standards with counterproductive results for most migrant women patients. For instance, Elizabeth Cohen's simile of a reversed pyramid excellently typifies this adverse balance that tips against 'non-national elements' in society: 'Citizenship becomes an inverted pyramid that balances the heavy weight of rights on their connections to a narrow subset of specific acts and goods. Only the tip of the pyramid remains truly fundamental' (Cohen, 2009, 24).

The freshly installed Austrian democracy necessitated a reorientation of the intricacies and idiosyncrasies of citizenship. As Frederick Cooper, for example, underlined:

*Citizenship entails belonging to some sort of political collectivity. It is a different type of relationship than that of a follower to a leader, be it a lineage elder, a chief, a noble, or a king. We could characterize these personal relationships as 'vertical,' while citizenship – as membership in a political entity – is 'horizontal.'* Citizens exist in relation not just to a leader or in a more abstract sense to a state, but to each other. This distinction in ideal types is further complicated by each historical situation. Citizens are not only connected horizontally to their fellow citizens, but vertically to people with more or less wealth, power, or influence than they have. The degrees to which these different sorts of attachment play out vary greatly. (Cooper, 2018, 5)

Yet the looming shadow of Austrian citizens' former 'vertical' liaisons with the Habsburg monarch and empire precluded a swift or unproblematic conversion to a more 'horizontal' set-up of intra-citizen exchange, particularly with the multi-dimensional inclusion of new members or former enemies from across borders and geo-political strategies or interwar chess games. More precisely, the Austrian situation of reinvented nationality and state belonging also went hand in hand with the newly and usually violently drawn borders that transformed the country – here we might recall the lyrics of the Carinthian *Heimathymne* (homeland anthem), which describe its borders drawn with blood: 'Where the border was written in blood' (*Wo man mit Blut die Grenze schrieb*).

A pivotal point in post-1918 Austria was the gendered restoration of traditional family milieus with rigorously masculinized and feminized roles. This restoration was mostly accomplished by sending women back to the hearth after the war effort on the home front to make room for returning veterans on the labour market. Policymakers promoted maternalism in particular, due to the decimation of Austria's male population on the battle fields. As many men had fallen on the front, women were encouraged to maintain their patriotic duties as keepers of hearth and home (Wernitznig, 2025b). Thus, and as discussed earlier, Austrian patients in the women's psychiatric wing

were generally released after shorter periods, so that they could return to childrearing and childbearing. Equally, local female patients in their roles as wives, fiancées, or girlfriends were denied an adequate acknowledgement and treatment as rape victims who had survived attacks by enemy soldiers. As some of their husbands and male partners returned as mentally and physically wounded veterans, addressing these ‘sexual conquests’ by invading armies could have evoked the image of an emasculated and hence denigrated society and fatherland in the aftermath of the war (Marks et al., 2009; Robertson, 2018).

Inversely, the foreign women patients were denied autonomy by a clinical system geared towards the bureaucratic disappearance, or ‘de-selving,’ of female refugees. As defined by Maroussia Hajdukowski-Ahmed (2008, 37–38): “‘De-selving’ does not mean a loss of identity and culture, but rather the gradual erosion of *agency* imposed by the organizations, spatial configurations, laws, and relationships they confront in their refugee experience.’ In many cases, this loss of agency engendered a second-hand citizenship with diminished rights.

Austria’s post-1918 quest for statehood and stability emphasized democratization and social cohesion, despite lingering racialization. Alongside ethnicity, class, and gender, this desired cohesive canvas of post-war Austrian society further necessitated outlines of ‘normality’ to foster a new Republic that was partly demarcated by a ‘shatterzone’ (Bartov & Weitz, 2013). Psychiatric care in that respect became imperative to separate ‘surplus’ citizens – particularly female and from areas of newly defined states and previous Habsburg territories – whose biographies of trauma and alienness alluded to fragmentation rather than social cohesion or national unity. Tangibly, politics of difference and migrancy are steeped in racial discrimination and a fixation on statelessness. Dissecting these nationalizing politics of identity through a psychiatric lens sheds light on how undesired individuals are labelled as para-citizens, unable to partake fully in everyday life as a result of being rendered ‘beyond the norm’ in the short twentieth century. With evermore pressing waves of migration worldwide in this century, such para-citizens, who are mostly consigned today to permanent refugee camps without prospects of entering any mainstream society, risk becoming the norm rather than the exception.

## RAZKOLI V DUŠEVNOSTI NA PORUŠENEM OBMOČJU: PSIHIATRIJA IN SPOL PO PRVI SVETOVNI VOJNI V KOROŠKEM OBMEJNEM PROSTORU

Dagmar WERNITZNIK

Univerza v Ljubljani, Filozofska fakulteta, Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija

e-mail: dagmar.wernitznik@ff.uni-lj.si

## POVZETEK

Članek kontekstualizira pripovedi begunk na alpsko-jadranskem obmejnem ozemlju Avstrije, Italije in Slovenije po prvi svetovni vojni skozi vidik psihiatrije. Z uporabo različnih kliničnih virov begunk in deklet v Deželni bolnišnici v Celovcu in o njih, želi ta prispevek uporabiti mikrozdgovinski pristop, ko raziskuje transnacionalne posledice v post-konfliktnih obdobjih in območjih. Na tej psihiatriji je poleg domačink in deklet pristalo veliko razseljenk in begunk iz vzhodne in jugovzhodne Evrope, ki so doživele travme med prvo svetovno vojno. Zato so psihiatrični domovi pogosto služili tudi kot omejitev za ženska človeška bitja, ki so kljubovala »običajnim« klasifikacijam. Ker pripovedi teh zdravstvenih kartotek odražajo več kot preproste anamneze ali diagnoze, članek o njih posebej razpravlja v zvezi s politično rekonstrukcijo družbe – ne z vojaškega ali družbenoekonomskega vidika, temveč z obravnavanjem vidikov in podob »normativnih« državljanov. Hkrati so psihiatrične kartoteke razseljenih civilistik – ki so bile zaradi svojih travmatičnih izkušenj sprejete v lokalne umobolnice – pomembni, a doslej zelo spregledani zapisi, ki posredno beležijo politiko spola po prvi svetovni vojni. Med demobilizacijo, obnovo in izgradnjo države v mladi prvi avstrijski republiki so se vprašanja državljanstva in begunstva križala s patriarhalnimi in patriotskimi predstavami o ženskosti, materinstvu in skrbstvu. Birokratski in kulturni diskurzi o migracijskem ozadju dislociranih in zlasti »brez spremstva« žensk in deklet po prekinitvi ognja so torej idealno služili kot prizma za begunstvo in apatridnost v prehodnih obdobjih.

*Ključne besede:* spol, psihiatrija, medvojni čas, Koroška, travma, migracije, državljanstvo

## SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allen, Ann Taylor (2005):** *Feminism and Motherhood in Western Europe, 1890–1970: The Maternal Dilemma*. New York, Palgrave Macmillan.
- American Psychiatric Association (1980):** *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, 3rd ed. Washington D. C., American Psychiatric Association, 236–239.
- Anderson, Benedict (1983):** *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London, Verso.
- Aoláin, Fionnuala Ní, Haynes, Dina Francesca & Naomi Cahn (eds.) (2011):** *On the Frontlines: Gender, War and the Post-Conflict Process*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- AT-KLA 655-2 Se** – Kärntner Landesarchiv (KLA), LB Landesbehörden, Landeskrankenanstalten, Akten der Abteilung für Psychiatrie (Irrenanstalt), stationär behandelte Patienten (AT-KLA 655-2 Se).
- Bader-Zaar, Birgitta (2017):** Controversy: War-Related Changes in Gender Relations: The Issue of Women’s Citizenship, 1914–1918. *International Encyclopaedia of the First World War*. <https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/controversy-war-related-changes-in-gender-relations-the-issue-of-womens-citizenship/> (last access: 2025-06-22).
- Bartov, Omer & Eric D. Weitz (2013):** *Shatterzone of Empires: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman Borderlands*. Bloomington (IN), Indiana University Press.
- Bhabha, Jacqueline (1998):** “Get Back to Where You Once Belonged:” Identity, Citizenship, and Exclusion in Europe. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 20, 3, 592–627.
- Bleuler, Eugen (1950 [1911]):** *Dementia Praecox or the Group of Schizophrenias*. New York, International Universities Press.
- Brändli, Sibylle, Lüthi, Barbara & Gregor Spuhler (eds.) (2009):** *Zum Fall machen, zum Fall werden: Wissensproduktion und Patientenerfahrung in Medizin und Psychiatrie des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*. Frankfurt, Campus Verlag.
- Breuer, Josef (1955):** *Fräulein Anna O, Case Histories from Studies on Hysteria*. In: Strachey, James (ed.): *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Volume II (1893–1895): Studies on Hysteria*. London, Hogarth Press, 19–47.
- Canning, Kathleen & Sonya O. Rose (2001):** Gender, Citizenship and Subjectivity: Some Historical and Theoretical Considerations. *Gender & History*, 13, 3, 427–443.
- Cohen, Elizabeth F. (2009):** *Semi-Citizenship in Democratic Politics*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Cooper, Frederick (2018):** *Citizenship, Inequality, and Difference: Historical Perspectives*. Princeton (NJ), Princeton University Press.
- Crenshaw, Kimberle (1989):** Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 1, 139–167.

- Croft, Hazel (2012):** Emotional Women and Frail Men: Gendered Diagnostics from Shellshock to PTSD, 1914–2010. In: Carden-Coyne, Ana (ed.): *Gender and Conflict since 1914: Historical and Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 110–123.
- Denham, Aaron R. (2008):** Rethinking Historical Trauma: Narratives of Resilience. *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 45, 3, 391–414.
- Foucault, Michel (1961):** *Folie et déraison: Histoire de la folie à l'âge Classique*. Paris, Plon.
- Foucault, Michel (1975):** *Surveiller et punir: Naissance de la prison*. Paris, Gallimard.
- Foucault, Michel (1988):** *Naissance de la Clinique*. Paris, Presses universitaires de France.
- Freud, Sigmund & Josef Breuer (1895):** *Studien über Hysterie*. Leipzig – Vienna, Deuticke.
- Gatrell, Peter (2013):** *The Making of the Modern Refugee*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Habermas, Jürgen (1962):** *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit: Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft*. Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp.
- Hajdukowski-Ahmed, Maroussia (2008):** A Dialogical Approach to Identity: Implications for Refugee Women. In: Hajdukowski-Ahmed, Maroussia, Nazilla Khanlou & Helene Moussa (eds.): *Not Born a Refugee Woman: Contesting Identities, Rethinking Practices*. New York, Berghahn Books, 28–54.
- Herman, Judith Lewis (1997):** *Trauma and Recovery: The Aftermath of Violence – from Domestic Abuse to Political Terror*. New York, Basic Books.
- Inglehart, Ronald, Norris, Pippa & Christian Welzel (2002):** Gender Equality and Democracy. *Comparative Sociology*, 3, 4, 321–345.
- Keown, Bridget E. (2018):** “I Think I was More Pleased to See Her Than Any One ‘Cos She’s So Fine””: Nurses’ Friendships, Trauma, and Resiliency during the First World War. *Family & Community History*, 21, 3, 151–165.
- Keown, Bridget E. (2019):** “She Is Lost to Time and Place””: Women, War Trauma, and the First World War (PhD thesis). Boston (MA), Northeastern University.
- Kerber, Linda K. (1990):** May All Our Citizens Be Soldiers and All Our Soldiers Citizens: The Ambiguities of Female Citizenship in the New Nation. In: Elsh-tain, Jean Bethke & Sheila Tobias (eds.): *Women, Militarism, and War: Essays in History, Politics, and Social Theory*. Savage (MD), Rowman & Littlefield, 89–103.
- Kerber, Linda K. (1997):** The Meanings of Citizenship. *Journal of American History*, 84, 3, 833–854.
- Kimerling, Rachel, Ouimette, Paige & Jessica Wolfe (eds.) (2002):** *Gender and PTSD*. New York, The Guildford Press.
- Kivimäki, Ville & Peter Leese (eds.) (2021):** *Trauma, Experience and Narrative in Europe after World War II*. Cham, Palgrave Macmillan.

- Kuhlman, Erika (2008):** *Reconstructing Patriarchy after the Great War: Women, Gender, and Postwar Reconciliation between Nations*. New York, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lacan, Jacques (2005):** *Mon enseignement*. Paris, Seuil.
- LaCapra, Dominick (2014):** *Writing History, Writing Trauma*. Baltimore (MD), Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Leese, Peter (2014):** *Shell Shock: Traumatic Neurosis and the British Soldiers of the First World War*. Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Leese, Peter & Jason Crouthamel (eds.) (2016):** *Traumatic Memories of the Second World War and After*. Cham, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Leese, Peter, Köhne, Julia Barbara & Jason Crouthamel (eds.) (2021):** *Languages of Trauma: History, Memory, and Media*. Toronto, University of Toronto Press.
- Lister, Ruth (1997):** *Dialectics of Citizenship*. *Hypatia*, 12, 4, 6–26.
- Lister, Ruth (2001):** *Citizenship and Gender*. In: Nash, Kate & Alan Scott (eds.): *The Blackwell Companion to Political Sociology*. Oxford, Blackwell Publishers, 323–332.
- Loughran, Tracey (2010):** *Shell Shock, Trauma, and the First World War: The Making of a Diagnosis and Its Histories*. *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 67, 1, 94–119.
- Marks, Jaime, Chun Bun, Lam & Susan M. McHale (2009):** *Family Patterns of Gender Role Attitudes*. *Sex Roles*, 61, 3–4, 221–234.
- Mitroiu, Simona (2018):** *Women’s Narratives and the Postmemory of Displacement in Central and Eastern Europe: Introduction*. In: Mitroiu, Simona (ed.): *Women’s Narratives and the Postmemory of Displacement in Central and Eastern Europe*. Cham, Palgrave Macmillan, 15–19.
- Nolte, Karen (2003):** *Gelebte Hysterie: Erfahrung, Eigensinn und psychiatrische Diskurse im Anstaltsalltag um 1900*. Frankfurt, Campus Verlag.
- O’Laughlin, Michael & Marilyn Charles (eds.) (2015):** *Fragments of Trauma and the Social Production of Suffering: Trauma, History, and Memory*. Lanham (MD), Rowman and Littlefield.
- Pennebaker, James W. (1990):** *Opening Up: The Healing Power of Confiding in Others*. New York, Avon Books.
- Pettman, Jan Jindy (1996):** *Boundary Politics: Women, Nationalism and Danger*. In: Maynard, Mary & June Purvis (eds.): *New Frontiers in Women’s Studies: Knowledge, Identity and Nationalism*. London, Taylor & Francis, 187–202.
- Project EIRENE (2020):** *Post-war Transitions in Gendered perspective: the Case of the North-Eastern Adriatic Region*. <https://project-eirene.eu> (last access: 2026-02-21).
- Quine, Maria Sophia (1996):** *Population Politics in Twentieth-Century Europe: Fascist Dictatorships and Liberal Democracies*. London, Routledge.
- Reid, Fiona (2010):** *Broken Men: Shell Shock, Treatment and Recovery in Britain, 1914–1930*. London, Continuum.

- Révész, Tamás (2016):** For the “Freedom and Unity” of Carinthia? New Perspectives on the Military Remobilization in the Carinthian Borderland War (1918–1919). *First World War Studies*, 7, 3, 265–286.
- Robertson, Lloyd H. (2018):** Male Stigma: Emotional and Behavioral Effects of a Negative Social Identity on a Group of Canadian Men. *American Journal of Men’s Health*, 12, 4, 1118–1130.
- Robinson, Michael (2020):** Shell-Shocked British Army Veterans in Ireland, 1918–39: A Difficult Homecoming. Manchester, Manchester University Press.
- Sulkunen, Irma, Nevala-Nurmi, Seija Leena & Pirjo Markkola (eds.) (2009):** Suffrage, Gender and Citizenship: International Perspectives on Parliamentary Reforms. Newcastle upon Tyne, Cambridge Scholars.
- Tasca, Cecilia, Rapetti, Mariangela, Giovanni Carta, Mauro & Bianca Fadda (2012):** Women and Hysteria in the History of Mental Health. *Clinical Practice & Epidemiology in Mental Health*, 8, 110–119.
- Vogel, Ursula (1991):** Is Citizenship Gender-Specific? In: Vogel, Ursula & Michael Moran (eds.): *The Frontiers of Citizenship*. New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 58–85.
- Walby, Sylvia (1994):** Is Citizenship Gendered? *Sociology*, 28, 2, 379–395.
- Weimann, Ute (2008):** Die südslawische Frage und Jugoslawien: Grenzziehungen im Süden Österreichs unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kärntenproblematik. In: Konrad, Helmut & Wolfgang Maderthaner (eds.): *Das Werden der Ersten Republik ... der Rest ist Österreich*, vol. 1. Vienna, Carl Gerold’s Sohn, 119–138.
- Wernitznig, Dagmar (2021):** The Madwoman in the Cellar: Trauma and Gender After Both World Wars – A Field Study of Psychiatric Files. *On Culture: The Open Journal for the Study of Culture*, 11, 1–23.
- Wernitznig, Dagmar (2025a):** Citizenship, Psychiatry, and Gender in Postwar Vienna. In Chin, Rachel & Samuel Clowes Huneke (eds.): *Reimagining Citizenship in Postwar Europe*. Ithaca (NY) – London, Cornell University Press, 64–84.
- Wernitznig, Dagmar (2025b):** Of Swastika Sisters and Chocolate Girls: Gender and Fascism in Southern Austria during the Short 20th Century. In: Germer, Andrea & Jasmin Rückert (eds.): *Gendering Fascism: Individual Actors, Concepts, and Transnational Connections*. Boston, Brill, 69–90.
- Wilford, Rick & Robert L. Miller (eds.) (1998):** Women, Ethnicity and Nationalism: The Politics of Transition. London, Routledge.
- Yuval-Davis, Nira & Pnina Werbner (eds.) (1999):** Women, Citizenship and Difference. London, Zed Books.