Chapter 1

Entanglements of Gender, Politics, and Protest in the Historiography on the Two Post-1945 Germanys

Karen Hagemann and Donna Harsch

In "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," historian Joan W. Scott argued thirty years ago that "gender" has the potential to destabilize conceptions of "politics and power in their most traditionally construed sense."[1] She defined gender as both "a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes" and "a primary way of signifying relationships of power."[2] Politics, Scott asserted, is an especially promising field for gender analysis because for centuries "gender has been seen as antithetical to the real business of politics" and "political history—still a dominant mode of historical inquiry—has been a stronghold of resistance to the inclusion of material or even questions about women and gender."[3]

Since the 1980s, feminist scholars have intensively studied gender and politics and demonstrated that, indeed, the usage of the category of gender in political history unleashed intertwined destabilizing effects. First and foremost, the examination of classically defined politics from a gendered perspective has exposed the exclusion of women from the direct exercise of political power in the state, parties, and parliaments. Furthermore, it has unveiled the gendered structure of political power as constituted by an age-old tradition of female exclusion from official political decision-making. With the emergence of the notion of a biologically justified and thus universalized bourgeois gender order in the time of the Enlightenment, the economy, war, and politics were constructed as "male domains" and household and family as "female spheres." Women's exclusion from active political participation made them into objects of men's politics. One important area of policy and legislation was the family, which was perceived as the basis of state and society. Family policies and civil law tried to enforce and protect the dominant ideal of the male-breadwinner/

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female-homemaker family and regulated the duties and rights of men and women accordingly.[4]

With such insights, feminist scholarship unmasked the patriarchal interests that have undergirded the discourse and practice of political power. This research has challenged the classical definition of politics as confined, in the modern era, to international relations, the state, constitutions, parliaments, and political parties. Feminist scholars have asked, where were the women in politics? What kind of politics excluded the equal active participation of half of humanity? And which motives led to this exclusion? In order to answer these questions, they have proposed a new definition of politics—one that moves beyond the classic subjects and themes of mainstream political history and includes all areas of politics and policy. From this wider perspective, politics is intertwined with all areas of the economy, society, and culture and cannot be separated from private life, including the family and marriage, gender relations, sexuality, and reproduction. Feminist scholars, in other words, recognized that "the private is political," as did activists of the new women's movement and the gay rights movement that emerged in the late 1960s.[5] In addition, they broadened the understanding of political agency and activism. For them the latter encompasses a broad variety of gendered forms of activism in civil society, including the struggle of women and other disenfranchised social groups for equal rights.[6] In sum, the feminist transformation of the political-historical paradigm redrew the boundaries of politics, deconstructed the gendered meaning and foundations of political power, and challenged questions, approaches, concepts, and results of the dominant, gender-blind mainstream research in political history.

One can see this challenge at work in research on the political history of the two postwar Germanys. Before 1990, with the division of Germany—the geopolitical linchpin of the Cold War—high politics and foreign policy, the age-old kings of historical inquiry, sat atop the scholarly pedestal in mainstream research on the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and the German Democratic Republic (GDR). Even as scholars of other time periods and/or regions added the methods of, first, social history, then cultural history and discourse analysis, and finally women's and gender history to their toolbox of historical approaches, political histories of the two Germanys produced in the Cold War era usually ignored women. Oblivious to gender and with no historical concept of masculinity, they focused on systems set up and run by men and on decisions made by men, as if men were the universal subject who suddenly became sexless when exercising political power.[7] Certainly, pioneering research analyzed women's lack of political power in the conventional arenas of politics in both German states.[8] Women scholars also examined women's multiple roles in a more broadly defined political sphere beyond the state, parties,

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and parliaments, including the new women's movement.[9] As significant as they were, these works were few and far between, and did not recast the history of Cold War Germany as a gendered history. Since the fall of the wall, with the paradigmatic transformations in the field of the study of the history of East and West Germany and the opening of the archives of the former GDR, the research on both German states and societies has flourished.[10] This spate of historical inquiries has included a continuous increase in the number of studies on the FRG and GDR from multiple perspectives, including gender history.[11]

In the following, we discuss the development of the research on the entanglement of gender and politics in post-1945 German history by focusing on five major themes: gender and politics in East and West German parties and parliaments; gender, the family, and work in East and West German policies; gender, health policy, and the control of the female body; gendered activism in West Germany; and gendered resistance, protest, and opposition in East Germany.

Gender and Politics in East and West German Parties and Parliaments

Beginning in the late 1950s, female scholars published a small number of studies on women in the political systems of the FRG and GDR. These studies focused on the representation of women in the state apparatus, parties, and the parliament and were informed by the Cold War paradigm that confronted the dictatorial communist system in the East with the democratic liberal system in the West.[12] Since the 1980s, however, works by women and gender historians have increasingly overcome the Cold War polarization and noted that, in fact, women were underrepresented in both political systems. In a review of this research, sociologist Ute Gerhard pointed to the "astonishing similarities" in the political and social situation of East and West German women.[13]

Strikingly comparable, for example, was the slow integration of women into political parties, parliaments, and social organizations. In the GDR, the percentage of female representatives in the People's Chamber (Volkskammer), the unicameral legislature of the GDR, fluctuated between 32 and 44 percent, a relatively high proportion that reflected the lack of real legislative power held by the Volkskammer. Women were heavily underrepresented in powerful institutions and leading positions in the GDR. They constituted about 24 percent of the membership of the ruling Socialist Unity Party of Germany (Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands, SED) in the early 1950s. In the 1980s, the percentage had increased to 35, but they only made up about 13 percent of the Central

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Committee (Zentralkommitee, ZK).[14] No woman ever became one of the fifteen first secretaries of the SED, a much more powerful position than basic membership in the ZK, or a full/voting member of the Politburo of the ZK, the GDR's most powerful political body; only four were ever "candidate" members of the Politburo. From 1949 to 1989, only two women served as a minister in the central government, and only one held a position in the Council of Ministers of the GDR (Ministerrat der DDR). Only one woman ever served as chairperson of one of the fifteen district councils (*Räte der Bezirke*), one of the most powerful positions in state administration. In social organizations, the percentage of female members was usually higher than in political ones. In the Free German Trade Union Federation (Freier Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund, FDGB), it came close to 50 percent in the 1980s, but here too the leadership was firmly in male hands.[15] The only exception was, not surprisingly, the leadership of the Democratic Women's League of Germany (Demokratischer Frauenbund Deutschlands, DFD). Founded in East Berlin in March 1947 for all of Germany and divided in 1949, the DFD's membership was very large throughout the life of the GDR, reaching some 1.5 million women in the 1980s, but the DFD enjoyed little political influence.[16]

In the FRG, women comprised from 6 to 10 percent of members of the Bundestag, the federal parliament, between 1949 and 1983. This percentage was similar to that of the Weimar Republic's parliamentary body, the Reichstag. With the rise of the new women's movement and of female membership in political parties since the 1960s, the demands for higher female representation in parliament grew in the major parties: the conservative Christian Democratic Union of Germany (Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands, CDU), its Bavarian sister party the Christian Social Union (Christlich-Soziale Union, CSU), the liberal Free Democratic Party (Freie Demokratische Partei, FDP), and the Social Democratic Party of Germany (Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands, SPD). Especially notable was the expanding female membership in the SPD and CDU. Between 1962 and 1985 their percentage rose from 19 to 25 percent in the SPD and from 15 to 22 percent in the CDU.[17] After the election of 1986, the proportion of women in the Bundestag also leapt to 15 percent and in 1994 to 26 percent. Although this share of seats was still relatively low, globally Germany belonged to the ten countries with the highest proportion of women in their national parliament in the 1990s.[18] Until 1961 no woman had served as a cabinet minister in the federal government, whereas in the 1960s and 1970s there was always one female minister, in the 1980s and 1990s there were two.[19] As in the GDR, women's participation in West German social organizations was more developed than in political parties and the state. They joined the German Trade Union Confederation (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund,

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DGB), where the level of female membership hovered around 30 percent in the late 1980s, and were active in the many women's associations founded after 1945. One of them was DFD West, which was banned as a "communist organization" in 1957, one year after the ban of the Communist Party of Germany (Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands, KPD).[20]

Clearly, the marginalization of women within the mainstream political institutions and organizations of the GDR and FRG was strikingly similar; in both states social activism of women found its place outside of the parliamentary system. Yet, even as the number of excellent publications on the gender of politics in East or West rises, comparative studies remain rare.[21] Remarkably, many scholars of contemporary German history still ignore all the new research on women in political parties, unions, and civic organizations after 1945.[22] It seems as if historians and political scientists take women's lack of power as the baseline of all political systems and, thus, unworthy of study. An additional factor presumably dampened interest in the gender of politics in postwar Germany. During the Cold War and through the first half of the 1990s, the scholarly bias leaned toward emphasizing contrast in the political functioning and ideology of the democratic West and the dictatorial East. Few students of politics or ideology adopted theoretical perspectives such as gender analysis that highlight resemblance or intersection between patriarchal political systems in both German states.

To move beyond the sheer fact of women's exclusion from political power and to challenge scholarly silence about the gender of politics, women's and gender historians have since the 1990s turned to social and cultural history and, in effect, introduced women and gender relations into the political framework through the side door of social policy or back door of political and social struggle. The historical reconstruction of society, culture, and popular protest is, of course, not new to historiography but came relatively late to the study of postwar Germany, in part because of the fixation on its political division. With this move in contemporary German history, scholars have explored an ever-growing array of topics. This work has contributed to an emerging history of Cold War Germany that is more realistic and interesting than the static story of democracy and economic success contrasted with socialist dictatorship and economic disaster or, alternatively, socialism and equality contrasted with capitalism and inequality.[23]

Since the 1990s, both scholars and the public have hotly debated the nature of the relationship between the party and the people or, in academic parlance, between state and society under communism. Especially motivated to understand this relationship were scholars who rejected the long-popular totalitarian theory of absolute top-down control of everything in the GDR (and other communist countries). Arguing that the

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GDR did have a society that was, if not independent, still ineffectively controlled by the party/state, they put forward a theory of the "limits of dictatorship" and looked for archival evidence of social agency, *Eigensinn* (stubbornness), in the everyday life and individual and group resistance within the repressive confines of single-party hegemony.[24] This new research on the GDR inspired, as well, a fresh look at the history of the FRG and its evolving relations between state and civil society.

To write what historian Sandrine Kott calls a "social history of politics,"[25] historians have taken up all the tools of the "new history," including history from below, *Alltagsgeschichte* (history of everyday life), gay history, and the history of sexuality, and applied the methods of gender, cultural, and/or discourse analysis. Although sometimes accused of eliding or even avoiding politics, most practitioners of social and cultural history investigate the connections between social relations and public policy, private lives and political structures, and everyday resistance and political change in the history of both German states. The study of private lives has turned up evidence of indifference, nonconformity, self-fashioning, recalcitrance, and resistance by women and men to cultural norms, official discourse, and legal prohibitions regarding the body, sexuality, pornography, marriage, the family, religion, paid work and housework, private consumption, and the home in both East and West Germany from the late 1940s onward.[26] Research on income inequality, social hierarchy, and education has connected societal outcomes in both states to political decision-making.[27] Not all of this work has been driven by a gendered perspective, but its focus on society and culture has brought gendered behaviors and attitudes to the fore and highlighted their entanglement with state policy and political norms.[28]

Gender, the Family, and Work in East and West German Policies

Obsessed though they were with antithesis, political historians of the Cold War era ignored two important fields of politics that contemporaries used to mark differences between the FRG and the GDR: gender ideology and family and labor policy.[29] Both states (and their constitutions) insisted on their commitment to women's equality, but they disagreed about what constituted equality. Following the principles of socialist emancipation theory, the GDR propagated an approach to "women's emancipation" that championed women's equal right to participate in paid work as the path to female autonomy and integration into society and politics. For its part, the FRG touted women's freedom not to work and, instead, to nurture their children at home. The different notions of modern woman-

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hood and the related family ideals—the dual-earner family in the East and the male-breadwinner/female-homemaker family in the West—influenced the respective family, welfare, and education policies. They led, for example, to an all-day system of childcare and schooling in the East, which encouraged mothers to take up full-time paid work, and a half-day system in the West, which deliberately prevented them from doing this.[30] The gender ideals also shaped health, housing, labor, and other social and welfare policies. Feminist scholars have exposed the centrality of gender to Cold War competitive discourse about democracy and socialism. Recently, comparative studies have uncovered the countless and constant gendered references and tropes in the rhetoric of political legitimation of "our" side and delegitimation of the "other" side.[31]

One of the first studies to disclose the centrality of gender ideology as a marker of differences that informed family and labor policies was Robert G. Moeller's groundbreaking 1993 book *Protecting Motherhood: Women and the Family in the Politics of Postwar West Germany.*[32] In its wake came studies of one of the two German states, as well as comparative works on family and social policy, which traced similarities and differences in West and East German policies and the ways in which hyperawareness of the other Germany affected decision-making—in some cases leading to ideologically motivated rejection of the alternative but in others to pragmatic adaptation.[33] German-German entanglement, they showed, was conditioned not only by Cold War rivalry but also by their shared past. They revealed the ways in which Nazi policies regarding, for example, women and employment had carved a path that was often difficult to leave. They also emphasized path dependency reaching back to the Wilhelmine Empire and Weimar Germany.

Cold War rivalry in East and West Germany, like the competition between the US and USSR, was informed by claims of each system's superiority. Politicians and media placed gender and the family in the center of such claims. Male and female roles, women's rights, family law, marriage and divorce law, maternal employment, the nurturing of children, and the quantity and quality of household consumption were key sites of contestation over the degrees of freedom and security provided by one political system relative to the other.[34] The understanding of "appropriate" gender relations reflected the contrasting gender ideologies. Touting the FRG's support of the family, West German commentators attacked GDR policies that allegedly undermined marriage, children's welfare, and domestic privacy. Celebrating the GDR's commitment to women's independence, East German publicists criticized FRG protection of paternal privilege over single mothers, wives, and children. No matter its content, however, gender ideology was central to discourse about political evil and good in divided Germany.

In this volume, two chapters focus on the contested subject of work and family. Leonie Treber's contribution, "The Big Cleanup: Men, Women, and the Rubble Clearance in Postwar East and West Germany," concentrates on the first postwar years and their importance to the construction of the gendered collective memory in East and West. Treber demonstrates the influence of the dichotomous gender ideology in both Germanys on economic policy and employment after 1945. She deconstructs the "myth of the rubble woman" (*Trümmerfrau*) as a central figure in the postwar cleanup of massive rubble piles in bombed German cities. Only in Berlin and the Soviet zone of occupation, however, did women play a significant role in the postwar clearing of the rubble. Their participation in the three Western zones was low for several reasons, including the shared belief of American, French, and British occupation powers as well as West German male administrators that rubblework was not for women. In the East, meanwhile, the print media turned a practical need for women laborers into a political symbol of women's equality and commitment to building a democratic Germany. The story of the idealistic female rubble worker persisted throughout the history of the GDR. In the FRG, the myth of the rubble women arose only in the 1980s as West German politicians and society looked for an icon of women's contributions to the reconstruction of postwar Germany. Treber's chapter thus illustrates change and continuity in gendered discourse about rubblework as Western rhetoric converged with the Eastern message.[35]

Alexandria Ruble's chapter, "Children, Church, and Rights: East and West German Protests against Family Law Reforms in the 1950s," explores debate and protest surrounding plans to reform marriage and family law in East and West Germany after 1949.[36] Both states sought to change the patriarchal Civil Code (*Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch,* BGB) that dated back to 1900. In the East, the SED aimed to replace the BGB with a more egalitarian socialist Family Code (*Familiengesetzbuch,* FGB) that supported the dual-earner family model. In the West, only the SPD and FDP, supported by many women's organizations, demanded reform of the BGB to achieve greater gender equality in family and marriage. The Christian-conservative parties and the Catholic and Protestant Churches wanted to reify the old male-breadwinner model in marriage and family, and opposed any far-reaching reform of the BGB in both German states. The debates in the FRG and GDR were at the same time shaped by the tug-of-war between the two Germanys for hegemony. East and West German politicians relied on contrasts to the other Germany to support their arguments for and against the new family laws. The GDR finally implemented its new FGB in 1965. The FRG proceeded in two steps. The Equal Rights Act (*Gesetz über die Gleichberechtigung von Mann und Frau auf dem Gebiet des bürgerlichen Rechts*) of 1957 repealed the so-called

Stichentscheid in the BGB, which gave the husband the final decision in all marriage and family matters. The First Law for the Reform of the Marriage and Family (*Erstes Gesetz zur Reform des Ehe- und Familienrechts*) of 1976 ended the legal norm of the "housewife marriage."[37] As in other Western countries, women won legal equality in marriage and family, i.e. "civil citizenship," decades after their access to equal political-citizenship rights, which proves the importance of civil laws for the maintaining of a patriarchal social order.[38]

One intentional result of the family policies pursued by the two German states was the extreme difference in the female employment rate, especially among mothers. In 1964, the proportion of employed women among all women of working age (15–65 years) was already 69 percent in the GDR, but only 50 percent in the FRG. In the GDR, it increased to 78 percent by 1989 and in the FRG to only 56 percent, one of the lowest rates in Western Europe.[39] In addition, as the chapter by Treber shows, the GDR tried much earlier than the FRG to facilitate female work in sectors of its economy and professions that were traditionally perceived as "male," and encouraged young women to pursue professional training or a degree in subjects traditionally chosen only by men, such as engineering. Although the SED touted this policy as evidence of the equalizing effects of its socialist gender ideology, two of its major motivations were pragmatic: the greater "surplus" of women in the postwar population of the GDR than the FRG, and East Germany's dramatic and increasing labor shortage.[40] A paradigmatic shift in the FRG's official family and labor policy occurred only slowly. The first step toward a modernized family ideal was made in the 1960s when the model of the male breadwinner and female homemaker and part-time earner took hold. This model dominated state policies in the West until the first decade of the twenty-first century.[41]

Gender, Health Policy, and Control of the Female Body

Women and gender historians have also shown the impact of gender images on policies related to health, the female body, and reproduction. Most of the relevant laws and institutions in both the FRG and GDR originated in the Weimar Republic or even the Wilhelmine Empire. Only in the GDR can we observe a partial break with these traditions, as demonstrated in the chapter by Donna Harsch on "Gendering Health Politics: East and West German Healthcare Systems in Comparison, 1950–70." She discusses the parallels between East and West German policies toward contagious and chronic diseases that were conditioned both by long-standing medical norms and by the epidemics of the immediate postwar period.

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Depending on the disease, biases about femininity and masculinity came more or less to the fore—very much in the cases of venereal disease and heart disease, less so when confronting tuberculosis or cancer. One major contrast in health policy was the GDR's strong and the FRG's weak emphasis on preventive care, which was most pronounced in policies related to women's reproductive health, including reproductive cancers and, above all, pregnancy and childbirth. From the late 1960s on, though, the FRG increasingly adopted the East German orientation toward preventive healthcare. Rising concern about the health of women (and infants) motivated this shift in the West German healthcare system, just as it had always undergirded the GDR's consistent focus on prevention.[42]

Other important areas in which the policy of both German states pursued a pronatalist policy were birth control and abortion. The latter is an especially underexplored subject of research for the two post-1945 Germanys. Passed in 1871, Paragraphs 218 and 219 of the German Penal Code (*Reichsstrafgesetzbuch,* StGB) banned every form of abortion by a woman, any type of assistance in obtaining an abortion, and any advertising of it.[43] Women who aborted their pregnancy faced punishment of six months to five years imprisonment. After 1926, medically indicated and approved abortions were allowed. A growing nonpartisan and extraparliamentary movement of liberals, social democrats, socialists and communists, men and women, and experts and laymen fought for the legalization of abortion and birth control in Weimar Germany. Even with millions of supporters, the effort did not succeed.[44] In 1933, the Nazis legalized abortion for "racial hygiene" reasons to prevent "hereditary diseases." After 1945, except for two years of partial legalization in some regions of the Soviet zone of occupation, the pre-1933 version of Paragraphs 218 and 219 was revalidated in both German states.[45] In 1965, the GDR eased the ban and allowed some socially indicated abortions. Only in 1972 did the GDR change the law and legalize abortion in the first trimester of a pregnancy (a policy known as the *Fristenregelung*). GDR health services began to provide birth control, including contraceptive pills, free of charge.[46] In the FRG, the new women's movement took up the struggle for abortion reform with great vigor. In the same year that the GDR legalized abortion, political pressure from women's organizations reached a crescendo. In response, the SPD/FDP-controlled Bundestag implemented a *Fristenregelung* too, but in 1975 the Federal Constitutional Court (Bundesverfassungsgericht) declared this regulation unconstitutional. Subsequently, the social-liberal government introduced a law that allowed abortion only for a limited number of circumstances, including "eugenic," "medical," and "social" reasons (*Indikationsregelung*). Thus, the feminist struggle for the right of women to control their own body succeeded, although only in a limited way.[47]

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Gendered Activism in West Germany

The reform of Paragraphs 218 and 219 was one important aim of the new women's movement in West Germany in the early 1970s. This movement emerged in the context of the extraparliamentary opposition (*Außerparlamentarische Opposition,* APO), especially the student movement, in the late 1960s. Feminist research on the new movement started in the 1980s and radically changed and extended the understanding of politics in academia and civil society. Most of the early works focused on autonomous feminism, but in the last two decades this narrow construction of feminism has been increasingly challenged.[48] The chapters in this volume on women's activism in the FRG, too, revise the conventional interpretation of this movement, broaden our view of its origins and composition, and/or explore a neglected aspect of the movement.

In "Finding Feminism: Rethinking Activism in the West German New Women's Movement of the 1970s and 1980s," Sarah Summers argues that the feminist movement was not coterminous with the ideology and separatist organization of autonomous feminism. A broad movement with various programmatic strands and strategies that sprang from a variety of sources and organizations, the feminist movement included women's associations with roots in the postwar years and even the Weimar Republic, female trade-union officials, and women in the major political parties (the CDU, SPD, and FDP). Working within as well as outside male-dominated organizations such as unions, parties, and the press, progressive women called for reform of family and social policy and employment equality. Furthermore, Summers, like other authors in this volume, argues that the competitive context of the Cold War shaped West German insistence on a gender division of labor in which the husband/father earned wages and the wife/mother stayed home.

In "Redefining the Political: The Gender of Activism in Grassroots Movements of the 1960s to 1980s," Belinda Davis explores the entanglement between the extraparliamentary opposition and its female members who presented an increasingly vocal and ever more radical challenge to its male leaders and their doctrinaire theories about revolution and social change. She traces women's bumpy path toward self-representation within the APO and the ways in which women learned from their own mistakes and, in the process, created a new kind of radical feminist politics that criticized the silencing of individual women by patriarchal society, male left-wing leaders, and even other feminists who presumed to speak for "women."[49]

Tiffany Florvil's chapter, "Connected Differences: Black German Feminists and Their Transnational Connections in the 1980s and 1990s," looks at the feminist movement from yet another angle of investigation. She

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traces the emergence of the organization Afro-German Women (Afrodeutsche Frauen, ADEFRA), which, she argues, stimulated Black German consciousness and activism by encouraging heterosexual and lesbian Women of Color to form a community to help them break out of social isolation and insist on their equal citizenship with white Germans and with men. She credits the Caribbean-American poet Audre Lorde with inspiring the formation of ADEFRA and with encouraging Afro-German women to see themselves as part of transnational feminism and as active in the politics of the African diaspora. ADEFRA was self-consciously international but also intent on forming ties to other women's groups in Germany.[50]

All three chapters call for more research on the West German feminist movement broadly defined to include women from different social, political, racial, and ethnic backgrounds.[51] The chapters by Summers, Davis, and Florvil in part three, but also the chapters on gender relations and sexuality by Jane Freeland, Clayton Whisnant, and Friederike Brühöfener in part four, demonstrate that future research needs to combine the study of feminism with the exploration of other movements like the student, peace, gay and lesbian rights, and environmental movements, as well as with women's engagement in mainstream political parties, trade unions, other organizations, and the media. Feminist activists were often involved in civil society far beyond the women's movement. They brought their knowledge and experiences in this movement to other spaces of their civic and political engagement.[52]

A theme highlighted especially in the chapters by Ruble and Summers is the long tradition of the new women's movement—often overlooked in studies of both post-1945 Germanys.[53] Scholars ignored both the history of women's activism from the mid-1940s to the late 1960s and the influence of the women's movement of the Weimar Republic on this post-1945 activism. Many of the women who founded women's associations and groups after 1945 had gained their first political experiences in the 1920s and 1930s. They carried into both postwar states the traditions of the strong and politically diverse German women's movement that the Nazis had crushed.[54] Weimar-era conflicts between Christian-conservative, liberal, social democratic, and communist women resurfaced after 1945 inside each state and across the Iron Curtain. In the context of the Cold War, three dominant dividing lines emerged in arguments among feminists. In both German states, Christian-conservative women disagreed with social democratic and communist women about women's right to employment, their social rights as workers and working mothers, and their right to control their own body. In the FRG, burgeoning anticommunism forced female SPD members to constantly distance themselves from women who sympathized with the KPD and its women's policy, even if they shared similar aims. The Cold War did not leave any space in West Germany for

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a strong leftist women's movement. In the GDR, former SPD and KPD women inside and outside the SED fought over the relationship of the women's movement to the socialist state and the interpretation of gender quality.

Resistance, Protest, and Opposition in East Germany

The history of resistance, protest, and opposition against the GDR regime has been unevenly studied. The intense repression of the early years by the SED and Soviet occupiers of the political opposition, especially by former Social Democrats as well as members of the CDU and the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany (Liberal-Demokratische Partei Deutschlands, LDPD) in the East, is well researched.[55] The uprising of June 1953 that started with a strike by East Berlin construction workers and turned into a widespread revolt against the GDR government has generated much interest for decades.[56] Also well covered are the peace and environmental movements of the 1980s in which pastors and members of the Protestant Church played a crucial role.[57] Less explored is church opposition to GDR policy in the 1950s. As Alexandria Ruble demonstrates in her chapter, both churches tried to use their influence on the East German population to shape SED policy, especially the reform of family law aimed at gender equality. In the early 1950s, some 92 percent of the population belonged to a church; 80 percent were Protestants and 12 percent Catholics.[58]

Even less attention has been paid to Christian women's resistance to SED policies. Yet such resistance was significant not only toward the end of the GDR, with the well-known opposition emanating from Protestant parishes, but also at its beginning. Kathryn Julian's chapter, "Under the Habit: Resistance of Catholic Sisters against East German State Authority in the 1950s," makes an important contribution to this unexplored topic by reconstructing a successful case of women's resistance to religious policy of the political elite in the GDR. The 1950s were the period of the most unyielding religious repression in the GDR. Yet, as Julian shows, Catholic nuns, neglected in studies of East German religious history, exercised remarkable agency in their interactions with the SED. They successfully protected their cloister, its charitable activities, and its property rights from state efforts to restrict its autonomy and end its good works. The chapter explores how and why apparently weak female orders were more effective than male religious leaders in their challenges to these plans. Ironically, the nuns and sisters benefited from gendered assumptions about the relative harmlessness of women's orders, while emphasizing their active contribution to social welfare. They exploited ties to their order in West

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Germany to publicize their cause and, thus, turned Cold War rivalries over women and religion to their advantage.

East German nuns' resistance in the 1950s was surprisingly effective, although it could not be presented publicly, much less as a political challenge to the SED or socialism. A public and organized women's protest movement that aimed, self-consciously, at the destabilization of the whole political system did not emerge in postwar Germany until the 1960s and only in the FRG, with its constitutional protections of speech and assembly. As Summers, Davis, and Florvil show, this movement challenged women's exclusion from politics—whether from the leadership of political parties and organizations or the leadership of the extraparliamentary opposition movements. Feminist activists demanded reproductive rights, an end to patriarchal privilege in family and marriage, childcare provision, equal wages, and so forth. Although this activist destabilization of traditional politics occurred only in the West, there are signs of entanglement between the student movement in the FRG and politics in the GDR: the SED moved to rein in a rebellious youth culture in the 1960s and, arguably, legalized first-trimester abortion partly to showcase the GDR's reproductive rights as the feminist movement called for abortion reform in the FRG.[59] Furthermore, the new feminist movement in the West inspired not only independent feminist activism in the last years of the GDR but also the engagement of these feminists in the antistate opposition of the East German peace and environmental movement.[60]

Conclusion

This overview of the development of the research on the entanglements of gender and politics in post-1945 German history demonstrates that although women were excluded from political power in the Cold War era, they were both a major object of state policies and a major subject of efforts to bring excluded groups into politics as policy makers. Gendered assumptions about family, work, and consumption as well as health, welfare, and education infused Cold War ideology about the alleged superiority of one system over the other. Cold War competition often intensified the gendering of political decision-making, typically but not always reinforcing the ideology of the dominant political constellation rather than fostering pragmatism or accommodation. Two examples in this volume demonstrate this: In the Western zones of occupation, fixed ideas about the gender of work trumped the need for laborers to clear the rubble. In dealing with Catholic nuns who challenged specific antireligious measures, the SED accommodated the cloisters, in part because they were *women's* religious organizations.

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From the late 1960s onward, in the European context of a policy of détente (*Entspannungspolitik*) with the East, the gendered rhetoric and policies of West Germany became more adaptive and less driven by the Cold War imperative to distinguish itself along gendered lines of comparison. One reason for this change was surely a shift of power in the federal government of the FRG. The conservative coalition of CDU/CSU and FDP was replaced first by the Grand Coalition of CDU/CSU and SPD (1966–69) and later by the social-liberal coalition of SPD and FDP (1969–82). This changing political landscape in the FRG informed not only international relations and the German East-West politics but also gendered rhetoric and policies.

Almost certainly the relationship between the two German states was overdetermined. In the 1950s, the GDR showed much more interest in West German policies and outcomes than vice versa. The imbalance in attention did not signify West German indifference but a feeling of superiority and disdain for developments in "the Zone." In the context of generational transition around 1960, this attitude started to change. The younger generation was more willing to consider the value of some East German policies, for example in the health sector and child welfare. Convergence was also furthered by the organized public activism of West German women. From the late 1960s through the 1990s, these women fought for a wide variety of social and political reforms, radically challenged the private and public silencing of women, and reminded West German women and men that theirs was, in fact, a multiracial and multiethnic society. With these actions and arguments, women pushed and, arguably, tore open the envelope of "politics" by fighting for an ever-greater expansion of the right to a place of power on the political stage and, thus, an expansion of the stage itself to include the parliamentary hall, the extraparliamentary street, and even the feminist room.

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Press, 2018) and started a new monograph entitled *Forgotten Soldiers: Gender, the Military and War in European History, 1600-2000*. She has started the work on a new monograph titled *Forgotten Soldiers: Women, the Military, and War*.

Donna Harsch is professor of history at Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburgh. She is a social and political historian of twentieth-century Germany. Her recent publications include: *Revenge of the Domestic: Women, the Family, and Communism in the German Democratic Republic* (Princeton University Press, 2007); and "Women in Communist Societies," in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Communism* (ed. by S. A. Smith, Oxford University Press, 2013). Currently she is researching the history of health and medicine in the Cold War Germanys. She is working on a book-length comparative study of infant mortality and efforts to reduce it in the German Democratic Republic and Federal Republic of Germany from 1945 to 1990.

Notes

1. Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," in *American Historical Review* 98, no. 4 (1986): 1070, and *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York, 1999); for a recent critical reassessment, see AHR Forum: Revisiting "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *American Historical Review* 113, no. 5 (2008): 1344–430, esp. Joan W. Scott, "Unanswered Questions," 1422–30.
2. Scott, "Gender," 1067.
3. Ibid., 1070.
4. An overview of the development of the interdisciplinary debate and state of research provides, Georgina Waylen et al., eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics* (Oxford, 2013); and with a focus on civil society, Karen Hagemann et al., eds., *Civil Society and Gender Justice: Historical and Comparative Perspectives* (New York, 2008).
5. See Waylen et al., eds., *Oxford Handbook*; for an overview of the gendered research in the field of German political history, see Thomas Kühne, "Staatspolitik, Frauenpolitik, Männerpolitik: Politikgeschichte als Geschlechtergeschichte," in *Geschlechtergeschichte und Allgemeine Geschichte: Herausforderungen und Perspektiven,* ed. Hans Medick and Anne-Charlott Trepp (Göttingen, 1998), 171–232; Belinda Davis, "The Personal Is Political: Gender, Politics, and Political Activism in Modern German History," in *Gendering Modern German History: Rewriting Historiography,* ed. Karen Hagemann and Jean H. Quataert (New York, 2007), 107–27; and Robert G. Moeller, "The Elephant in the Living Room or Why the History of Twentieth-Century Germany Should Be a Family Affair," in ibid., 228–49.
6. See Davis, "Personal Is Political"; and Hagemann et al., eds., *Civil Society*.
7. For a critique of the conventional "*Politikgeschichte,*" see Ute Frevert, "Neue Politikgeschichte: Konzepte und Herausforderungen," in *Neue Politikgeschichte: Perspektiven Einer historischen Politikforschung,* ed. Ute Frevert and Heinz Gerhard

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Haupt (Frankfurt/M., 2005), 7–26; and Heinz Gerhard Haupt, "Historische Politikforschung, Praxis und Problem," in ibid., 304–13. One example for a "modernized" approach to the old *Politikgeschichte* of post-1945 German history is Eckart Conze, "Sicherheit als Kultur: Überlegungen zu einer 'modernen Politikgeschichte' der Bundesrepublik Deutschland," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 53, no. 3 (2005): 357–80.

8. See Gabriele Bremme, *Die Politische Rolle Der Frau in Deutschland: Eine Untersuchung über den Einfluß der Frauen bei Wahlen und ihre Teilnahme in Partei und Parlament* (Göttingen, 1956); Mechthild Fülles, *Frauen in Partei und Parlament* (Cologne, 1969); Gabrielle Gast, *Die politische Rolle der Frau in der DDR* (Cologne, 1974); and Gisela Helwig, *Frau und Familie in beiden deutschen Staaten* (Cologne, 1982).
9. Florence Hervé, ed., *Geschichte der deutschen Frauenbewe*gung (Cologne, 1982); Gaby Swiderski, *Die westdeutsche Frauenfriedensbewegung in den 50er Jahren* (Hamburg, 1983); Gesine Obertreis, *Familienpolitik in der DDR 1945–1980* (Opladen, 1986); Beate Hoecker, *Frauen in der Politik: Eine soziologische Studie* (Opladen 1987); Eva Kolinsky, *Women in West Germany: Life, Work and Politics* (Oxford, 1989); Ute Gerhard, "Westdeutsche Frauenbewegung: Zwischen Autonomie und dem Recht auf Gleichheit," *Feministische Studien* 10, no. 2 (1992): 35–55; Dorothy Rosenberg, "Women's Issues, Women's Politics and Women's Studies in the Former German Democratic Republic," *Radical History Review,* no. 54 (1992): 110–26; and Gisela Helwig and Maria Nickel, eds., *Frauen in Deutschland 1945–1992* (Berlin, 1993).
10. See the introduction of this volume on "Gendering Post-1945 German History" by Karen Hagemann, Donna Harsch, and Friederike Brühöfener.
11. For recent overviews of the development of the research, see Julia Paulus et al., eds., *Zeitgeschichte als Geschlechtergeschichte: Neue Perspektiven auf die Bundesrepublik* (Frankfurt/M., 2012); and Karen Hagemann and Sonya Michel, eds., *Gender and the Long Postwar: The United States and the Two Germanys, 1945–1989* (Baltimore, MD, 2014).
12. Especially Bremme, *Die Politische Rolle*; Fülles, *Frauen in Partei*; Gast, *Die politische Rolle*; and Helwig, *Frau und Familie*.
13. Ute Gerhard, "Die Staatlich institutionalisierte 'Lösung' der Frauenfrage: Zur Geschichte der Geschlechterverhältnisse in der DDR," in *Sozialgeschichte der DDR,* ed. Hartmut Kaelble et al. (Stuttgart, 1994), 392–96.
14. Cornelia Hippmann, "Gleichberechtigung in der Politik? Über Karrierechancen und schwierigkeiten ostdeutscher Frauen," *Gender . . . Politik . . . Online* (November 2012): 4, at: www.fu-berlin.de/sites/gpo/pol_sys/partizipation/Gleichberechtigung_in_der_Politik/hippmann-Politikerinnen-Ost.pdf (19 August 2017); and Andrea Malycha and Peter Jochen Winters, *Die SED: Geschichte einer Partei* (Munich, 2009), 414.
15. Anne Hample, "'Arbeite mit, plane mit, regiere mit': Zur politischen Partizipation von Frauen in der DDR," in Helwig and Nickel, *Frauen in Deutschland,* 281–320; later also, Donna Harsch, "Approach / Avoidance: Communists and Women in East Germany, 1945–9," *Social History* 25, no. 2 (2000): 156–82, and *Revenge of the Domestic: Women, the Family, and Communism in the German Democratic Republic* (Princeton, NJ, 2007), 61–86 and 243–45; Maria-Barbara Watson-Franke, "Germany, 1949–1990 (German Democratic Republic [GDR])," in *Women's Studies Encyclopedia,* ed. Helen Tierney (Westport, CT, 1999), vol. G–P: 590–92;

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and Susanne Kranz, "Women's Role in the German Democratic Republic and the State's Policy towards Women," *Journal of International Women's Studies* 7, no. 1 (1005): 69–83.

16. Grit Bühler, *Mythos Gleichberechtigung in der DDR: Politische Partizipation von Frauen am Beispiel des Demokratischen Frauenbunds Deutschland* (Frankfurt/M., 1997).
17. Oskar Niedermeyer, "Die soziale Zusammensetzung der Parteimitgliederschaften," *Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung,* 12 July 2017, www.bpb.de/politik/grundfragen/parteien-in-deutschland/zahlen-und-fakten/140358/soziale-zusammensetzung (accessed 7 August 2017).
18. See "Women in National Parliaments," Inter-parliamentary Union, www.ipu.org/wmn-e/arc/classif251297.htm (accessed 7 August 2017).
19. Waltraud Cornelissen, "Politische Partizipation von Frauen in der alten Bundesrepublik und im vereinten Deutschland," in Helwig and Nickel, *Frauen in Deutschland,* 321–50; and Beate Hoecker, "50 Jahre Frauen in der Politik: Späte Erfolge, aber nicht am Ziel," *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* B 24–25 (2008): 10–18.
20. Tom Burghause, "Die 'Mitgliederkrise im Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbund" (master's thesis, Universität Trier), 80; see also Renate Wiggershaus, *Geschichte der Frauen und der Frauenbewegung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und in der DDR nach 1945* (Wuppertal, 1979), 23–154.
21. See for example Barbara Böttger, *Das Recht auf Gleichheit und Differenz: Elisabeth Selbert und der Kampf der Frauen um Artikel 2.3 des Grundgesetzes* (Münster, 1990); Heike Trappe, *Emanzipation oder Zwang? Frauen in der DDR 1945–1980* (Berlin, 1995); Bühler, *Mythos Gleichberechtigung*; Heide-Marie Lauterer, *Parlamentarierinnen in Deutschland 1918/19–1949* (Sulzbach/Ts., 2002); Gisela Notz, *Frauen in der Mannschaft: Sozialdemokratinnen im Parlamentarischen Rat und im Deutschen Bundestag 1948/49 bis 1957* (Bonn, 2003), and *Mehr als bunte Tupfen im Bonner Männerclub: Sozialdemokratinnen im Deutschen Bundestag 1957–1969* (Bonn, 2007); Petra Holz, *Zwischen Tradition und Emanzipation: CDU-Politikerinnen in der Zeit von 1946 bis 1960* (Sulzbach/Ts., 2004); Marianne Zepp, *Redefining Germany: Reeducation, Staatsbürgerschaft und Frauenpolitik im US-amerikanisch besetzten Nachkriegsdeutschland* (Göttingen, 2007); Sarah Elise Wiliarty, *The CDU and the Politics of Gender in Germany: Bringing Women to the Party* (New York, 2010); and Sylvia Heinemann, *Frauenfragen sind Menschheitsfragen: Die Frauenpolitik der Freien Demokratinnen von 1945 bis 1963* (Sulzbach/Ts., 2012). See for comparative mainstream studies Peter Bender, *Deutschlands Wiederkehr: Eine ungeteilte Nachkriegsgeschichte 1945–1990* (Stuttgart, 2007); Konrad H. Jarausch, *After Hitler: Recivilizing Germans, 1945–1995* (Oxford, 2006); and Frank Bösch, ed., *Geteilte Geschichte: Ost- und Westdeutschland 1970–2000* (Göttingen, 2015).
22. Volumes that include at least one or two chapters on women/gender are: Richard Bessel and Ralph Jessen, eds., *Die Grenzen der Diktatur: Staat und Gesellschaft in der SBZ/DDR* (Göttingen, 1996); Thomas Lindenberger, ed., *Herrschaft und Eigen-Sinn in der Diktatur: Studien zur Gesellschaftsgeschichte der DDR* (Berlin, 1999); Mary Fulbrook, *The People's State: East German Society from Hitler to Honecker* (New Haven, CT, 2005), and Mary Fulbrook, ed., *Power and Society in the GDR, 1961–1979: The "Normalization of Rule"?* (New York, 2009); and Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte, Bundesrepubilk und DDR 1949–1990* (Munich, 2008). Gender is included systematically in Jeannette Madarász-Lebenhagen, *Conflict and Compromise in East Germany, 1971–1989* (New York, 2003).

23. See for example Robert G. Moeller, ed., *West Germany under Construction: Politics, Society and Culture in the Adenauer Era* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1997); Konrad H. Jarausch, ed., *Dictatorship as Experience: Towards a Socio-Cultural History of the GDR* (New York, 1999); Hanna Schissler, ed., *The Miracle Years: A Cultural History of West Germany, 1949–1968* (Princeton, NJ, 2001); David Crew, ed., *Consuming Germany in the Cold War* (Oxford, 2003); Katherine Pence and Paul Betts, eds., *Socialist Modern: East German Everyday Culture and Politics* (Ann Arbor, MI, 2008); and Mary Fulbrook and Andrew I. Port, eds., *Becoming East German: Socialist Structures and Sensibilities after Hitler* (New York, 2013).
24. See for example Bessel and Jessen, eds., *Die Grenzen der Diktatur*; Lindenberger, ed., *Herrschaft und Eigen-Sinn*; Jürgen Kocka, "The GDR: A Special Kind of Modern Dictatorship," in Jarausch, *Dictatorship as Experience,* 47–69; Mark Allinson, *Politics and Popular Opinion in East Germany, 1945–1968* (Manchester, 2000); Madarász-Lebenhagen, *Conflict and Compromise*; and Fulbrook, *People's State.*
25. Sandrine Kott, *Communism Day-to-Day: State Enterprises in East German Society* (Ann Arbor, MI, 2014), ix.
26. See for example Uta Poiger, *Jazz, Rock, and Rebels: Cold War Politics and American Culture in a Divided Germany* (Berkeley, CA, 2000); Dagmar Herzog, *Sex after Fascism: Memory and Morality in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Princeton, NJ, 2005); Harsch, *Revenge*; Josie McLellan, *Love in the Time of Communism: Intimacy and Sexuality in the GDR* (Cambridge, 2011); Elizabeth Heineman, *Before Porn Was Legal: The Erotica Empire of Beate Uhse* (Chicago, 2011); Sybille Steinbacher, *Wie der Sex nach Deutschland kam: Der Kampf um Sittlichkeit und Anstand in der frühen Bundesrepublik* (Munich, 2011); Jennifer V. Evans, *Life among the Ruins: Cityscape and Sexuality in Cold War Berlin* (London, 2011); and Paul Steege, *Black Market, Cold War: Everyday Life in Berlin, 1946–1949* (Cambridge, 2007).
27. Axel Schildt and Arnold Sywottek, eds., *Modernisierung im Wiederaufbau: Die westdeutsche Gesellschaft der 50er Jahre* (Bonn, 1993); Katrin Schäfgen, *Die Verdoppelung der Ungleichkeit: Sozialstruktur und Geschlechterverhältnisse in der Bundesrepublik und der DDR* (Opladen, 2000); Rainer Geißler, *Die Sozialstruktur Deutschlands: Die gesellschaftliche Entwicklung vor und nach der Vereinigung,* 3rd ed. (Wiesbaden, 2002); Jarausch, *After Hitler*; Josef Mooser, *Die Sozialgeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland bis 1989/90* (Munich, 2007); Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*; and Donna Harsch, "Industrialization, Mass Consumption, Post-Industrial Society," in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern German History,* ed. Helmut Walser Smith (Oxford, 2011), 663–88.
28. Paul Betts, *Within Walls: Private Life in the German Democratic Republic* (New York, 2010); and Inga Markovits, *Justice in Lüritz: Experiencing Socialist Law in East Germany* (Princeton, NJ, 2010).
29. A partial exception was a reference to the emphasis on family policy in West German political campaigning in Christoph Kleßmann, *Zwei Staaten, eine Nation: Deutsche Geschichte 1955–1970* (Göttingen, 1988), 56.
30. See Karen Hagemann, "Between Ideology and Economy: The 'Time Politics' of Child Care and Public Education in the Two Germanys," *Social Politics* 13, no. 2 (2006): 217–60.
31. See for the importance of the family and the household as a marker of difference already, Robert G. Moeller, *Protecting Motherhood: Women and the Family in the Politics of Postwar West Germany* (Berkeley, CA, 1993); later Hagemann, "Between

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Ideology," and Karen Hagemann et al., eds., *Children, Families and States: Time Policies of Childcare, Preschool and Primary Education in Europe* (New York, 2010); and Ruth Oldenziel and Karin Zachmann, eds., *Cold War Kitchen: Americanization, Technology, and European Users* (Cambridge, MA, 2009).

32. Moeller, *Protecting Motherhood.*
33. See Elizabeth D. Heineman, *What Difference Does a Husband Make? Women and Marital Status in Nazi and Postwar Germany* (Berkeley, CA, 1999); Michael Schwartz, "1972: 'Liberaler als bei uns'? Zwei Fristenregelungen und die Folgen; Reformen des Abtreibungsstrafrechts in Deutschland," in Udo Wengst and Hermann Wentker, eds., *Das doppelte Deutschland: 40 Jahre Systemkonkurrenz* (Berlin, 2008); and Annette F. Timm, *The Politics of Fertility in Twentieth-Century Berlin* (Cambridge, 2010). See also, recently, James Chappel, "Nuclear Families in a Nuclear Age: Theorising the Family in 1950s West Germany," *Contemporary European History* 26, no. 1 (2017): 85–109.
34. See Moeller, *Protecting Motherhood*; Erica Carter, *How German Is She? Postwar West German Reconstruction and the Consuming Woman* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1997); Merith Niehuss, *Familie, Frau und Gesellschaft: Studien zur Strukturgeschichte der Familie in Westdeutschland 1945–1960* (Göttingen, 2001); Greg Castillo, "Domesticating the Cold War: Household Consumption as Propaganda in Marshall Plan Germany," *Journal of Contemporary History* 40, no. 2 (2005): 267–70; and Karin Zachmann, "Küchendebatten in Berlin? Die Küche als Kampfplatz im Kalten Krieg," in *Konfrontation und Wettbewerb: Wissenschaft, Technik und Kultur im geteilten Berliner Alltag 1948–1968,* ed. Michael Lemke (Berlin, 2008), 181–205.
35. See Leonie Treber, *Mythos Trümmerfrauen: Von der Trümmerbeseitigung in der Kriegs- und Nachkriegszeit und der Entstehung eines deutschen Erinnerungsortes* (Essen, 2014).
36. See also Ines Reich-Hilweg, *Männer und Frauen sind gleichberechtigt: Der Gleichberechtigungsgrundsatz (Art. 3 Abs. 2 GG) in der parlamentarischen Auseinandersetzung 1948–1957 und in der Rechtsprechung des Bundesverfassungsgerichts 1953–1957* (Frankfurt/M., 1979).
37. See also Christiane Kuller, *Familienpolitik im föderativen Sozialstaat: Die Formierung eines Politikfeldes in der Bundesrepublik 1949–1975* (Munich, 2004); and Obertreis, *Familienpolitik.*
38. See Ruth Lister, *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives* (New York, 2003); and Ute Gerhard, "Family Law and Gender Equality: Comparing Family Policies in Postwar Western Europe," in Hagemann et al., *Children, Families and States,* 75–93.
39. For the statistics, see Karen Hagemann, "A West German 'Sonderweg'? Family, Work and the Half-Day Time Policy of Childcare and Schooling," in Hagemann et al., *Children, Families and States,* 286; Monika Mattes, "Economy and Politics: The Time Policy of the East German Childcare and Primary School System," in ibid., 355; Hildegard Maria Nickel, "'Mitgestalterinnen des Sozialismus': Frauenarbeit in der DDR," in Helwig and Nickel, *Frauen in Deutschland,* 233–56; and Friederike Maier, "Zwischen Arbeitsmarkt und Familie: Frauenarbeit in den alten Bundesländern," in ibid., 257–80. For an overview, see Klaus-Jörg Ruhl, *Verordnete Unterordnung: Berufstätige Frauen zwischen Wirtschaftswachstum und konservativer Ideologie in der Nachkriegszeit 1945–1963* (Munich, 1994); Gunilla-Friederike Budde, ed., *Frauen arbeiten: Weibliche Erwerbstätigkeit in Ost- und Westdeutschland nach 1945* (Göttingen, 1997); Carola Sachse, *Der Hausarbeitstag: Gerechtigkeit und Gleichberechtigung in Ost und West 1939–1994* (Göttingen, 2002);

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Christine von Oertzen, *The Pleasure of a Surplus Income: Part-Time Work, Gender Politics, and Social Change in West Germany, 1955–1969* (New York, 2007): and Harsch, *Revenge*.

40. See Gunilla-Friederike Budde, *Frauen der Intelligenz: Akademikerinnen in der DDR 1945 bis 1975* (Göttingen, 2003); and Karin Zachmann, *Mobilisierung der Frauen: Technik, Geschlecht und Kalter Krieg in der DDR* (Frankfurt/M., 2004).
41. Hagemann, "West German 'Sonderweg.'"
42. Winfried Süß, "Gesundheitspolitik," in *Drei Wege deutscher Sozialstaatlichkeit: NS-Diktatur, Bundesrepublik und DDR im Vergleich,* ed. Hans Günter Hockerts (Munich, 1998), 55–100. Recently also, Pierre Pfütsch, *Das Geschlecht des "präventiven Selbst" Prävention und Gesundheitsförderung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland aus geschlechterspezifischer Perspektive (1949–2010)* (Stuttgart, 2017).
43. "Gesetz, betreffend die Redaktion des Strafgesetzbuches für den Norddeutschen Bund als Strafgesetzbuch für das Deutsche Reich," *Deutsches Reichsgesetzblatt,* vol. 1871, no. 24 (15 May 1871): 127–205; see https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/Strafgesetzbuch_f%C3%BCr_das_Deutsche_Reich_(1871)#%C2%A7._218.
44. Atina Grossmann, *Reforming Sex: The German Movement for Birth Control and Abortion Reform, 1920–1950* (New York, 1995).
45. Ibid., 189–212.
46. See Kirsten Poutrus, "Von den Massenvergewaltigungen zum Mutterschutzgesetz: Abtreibungspolitik und Abtreibungspraxis in Ostdeutschland 1945–1950," in *Die Grenzen der Diktatur,* ed. Bessel and Jessen, 170–98; Donna Harsch, "Society, the State, and Abortion in East Germany, 1950–1972," *American Historical Review* 102, no. 1 (1997): 53–84; and Annette Leo and Christian König, *Die "Wunschkindpille": Weibliche Erfahrung und staatliche Geburtenpolitik in der DDR* (Göttingen, 2015).
47. See Hermann Tallen, *Die Auseinandersetzung über § 218 StGB: Zu einem Konflikt zwischen SPD und Katholischer Kirche* (Paderborn, 1977); and Simone Mantei, *Nein und Ja zur Abtreibung: Die evangelische Kirche in der Reformdebatte um Paragraph 218 StGB 1970–1976* (Göttingen, 2004).
48. See Ute Kätzel, ed., *Die 68erinnen: Porträt einer rebellischen Frauengeneration* (Berlin 2002); Kristina Schulz, *Der lange Atem der Provokation: Die Frauenbewegung in der Bundesrepublik und in Frankreich 1968–1976* (Frankfurt/M., 2002); Gisela Notz, "Die autonomen Frauenbewegungen der Siebzigerjahre: Entstehungsgeschichte—Organisationsformen—politische Konzepte," *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 44 (2004): 123–48, and Gisela Notz, ed., *Als die Frauenbewegung noch Courage hatte: Die "Berliner Frauenzeitung Courage" und die autonomen Frauenbewegungen der 1970er und 1980er Jahre* (Bonn, 2007); Elisabeth Zellmer, *Töchter der Revolte? Frauenbewegung und Feminismus in den 1970er Jahren in München* (Munich, 2011); Kristina Schulz, ed., *The Women's Liberation Movement: Impacts and Outcomes* (New York, 2017); and Katharina Karcher, *Sisters in Arms: Militant Feminisms in the Federal Republic of Germany since 1968* (New York, 2017).
49. See Belinda Davis, *The Internal Life of Politics: Extraparliamentary Opposition in West Germany, 1962–1983* (Cambridge, 2018); Kristina Schulz, "Macht und Mythos von 1968: Zur Bedeutung der 68er Protestbewegung für die Formierung der neue Frauenbewegung in Frankreich und Deutschland," in *1968—Vom Ereignis zum Gegenstand der Geschichtswissenschaft,* ed. Ingrid Gilcher-Holtey (Göttingen, 1998), 256–72; and Christina von Hodenberg, *Das andere Achtundsechzig: Gesellschaftsgeschichte einer Revolte* (Munich, 2018).

50. See Sara Lennox, “Divided Feminism: Women, Racism, and German National Identity.” *German Studies Review* 18, no. 3 (1995): 481–502; and Peggy Piesche, “Rückblenden und Vorschauen: 20 Jahre Schwarze Frauenbewegung,” in *Euer Schweigen schützt Euch nicht: Audre Lorde und die Schwarze Frauenbewegung in Deutschland,* ed. Peggy Piesche (Berlin, 2012), 17–40.
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54. See Angelika Schaser, *Frauenbewegung in Deutschland 1848–1933* (Darmstadt, 2006), part X; and Gisela Bock, *Women in European History* (Oxford, 2002), 174–205.
55. See for example Ehrhart Neubert, *Geschichte der Opposition in der DDR 1949–1989* (Bonn, 1997), 35–79. For an overview of opposition and protest in the GDR, see also Ulrike Poppe et al., eds., *Zwischen Selbstbehauptung und Anpassung: Formen des Widerstands und der Opposition in der DDR* (Berlin, 1995); Detlef Pollack and Dieter Rink eds., *Zwischen Verweigerung und Opposition: Politischer Protest in der DDR 1970–1989* (Frankfurt/M. 1997); and Klaus-Dietmar Henke et al., eds., *Widerstand und Opposition in der DDR* (Cologne, 1999).
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