

Introduction

Gendering Post-1945 German History: Entanglements

Karen Hagemann, Donna Harsch, and Friederike Brühöfener

The reunification of Germany in 1990 prompted new questions and discussions among historians about how to research and write postwar German history. Is it possible and meaningful to construct one master narrative of post-1945 German history that systematically includes both states, the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and the German Democratic Republic (GDR)? Should historians pay equal attention to both states and societies, or should they treat the GDR as a mere “footnote in world history,” as the much-cited GDR author Stefan Heym predicted in March 1990?¹ If scholars do want to do justice to each state and write a comprehensive German-German history, how should they conceptualize such a narrative?

Historian Christoph Kleßmann made a pathbreaking intervention into this discussion. In 1993, he argued that the histories of East and West Germany were marked by “demarcation and entanglement” (*Abgrenzung und Verflechtung*) and need to be analyzed as such.² Seven years later he reinforced this argument by asserting that post-1945 German history was shaped by “continuity, entanglement, demarcation, and division” (*Kontinuität, Verflechtung, Abgrenzung, und Teilung*) to an extent that became apparent only after the Cold War ended. He and his coauthors Hans J. Misselwitz and Günter Wichert suggested that research should focus intensively on the tensions inherent in the cultural tendencies toward integration in the two states and societies as well as on the conscious and unconscious trends toward demarcation. In addition, they proposed that the relationship between East and West Germany should be studied as an “asymmetrically entangled parallel history” (*asymmetrisch verflochtene Parallelgeschichte*).³

Kleßmann, Misselwitz, and Wichert issued an elaborate call for an integrated postwar history, which many other scholars have seconded.⁴ The research by women and gender historians of the last two decades

shows how fruitful it is to conceptualize contemporary German history as an asymmetrically entangled parallel past.⁵ Since the 1990s, an increasing number of publications on women's and gender history of the two Germanys has appeared, especially in Britain, Germany, and the United States. *Gendering Post-1945 German History: Entanglements* offers a critical review of the state of the research from a gender perspective and presents new and innovative works by women and gender historians.

"Gender" and "entanglement" are the two central concepts of the volume. We use "gender" as a historically specific, context-dependent, and relational category of analysis and understand it as an amalgam of ideals and practices that give meaning to and socially differentiate male and female. As a contingent category, gender only works in connection with other "categories of difference" like "class," "race," "ethnicity," and "sexuality." Conceptualized in this way, gender is central to the entangled histories of the two Germanys. It shaped the gendered self-representation of the two states; informed their economic, social, and cultural policies; influenced the dominant ideas about the gender order and gender relations in politics, society, and culture, and with these ideas also shaped public representations of men and women; determined the space, content, extent, and forms of men's and women's political participation; and affected the practices, experiences, and identities of individuals in everyday life.⁶

Similarly, we use "entanglement" in multiple interrelated and historically specific ways. We apply the concept of entanglement, first, to the gendered histories of East and West Germany. Given that the two states and their societies were deeply interrelated historically and culturally, their gendered social structures too intersected in significant ways. Each state also made gendered policy decisions in reaction to discourse and policy of the state and society on the other side of the Iron Curtain. Yet, as several contributions to this volume show, these relations and reactions were asymmetrical, with the GDR in many cases making far more explicit references to West Germany than vice versa. We assume, second, that the post-war gender order and gender relations within each state were entangled with the shared past of the German Empire, the Weimar Republic, and Nazi Germany. We posit, third, that gendered ideas, policies, and practices were related to other social and cultural constructions of difference like class, race, ethnicity, and sexuality. The chapters in this volume pursue one or more of these three approaches to the concept of entanglement.

The volume focuses on gendered entanglements to explore and understand similarities and differences as well as continuities and changes in the gender order and gender relation of the two postwar Germanys. Following a brief exploration of gender and entanglement in the historiography on post-1945 Germany, this introduction discusses the approach, themes, and organization of our volume.

Gender and Entanglement in the Historiography on Post-1945 Germany

During the Cold War era, scholarship on East and West Germany was intensely invested in understanding the origins and significance of the real and ideological divide between the FRG and GDR. Initially, this scholarship almost exclusively focused on their political histories, but it later added social history to the mix.⁷ The Cold War rift shaped historical interpretations and explanations, yet few scholars undertook careful comparative analyses based on primary sources, in part because of the limited access to archival material. Christopher Kleßmann broke new ground in the 1980s with his two comparative monographs on East and West German history between 1945 and 1970.⁸ He was also one of the first male historians to point to the importance of the gender dimension for contemporary German history.⁹ Most mainstream scholars treated women's contributions to the history of both German states and societies as peripheral at best. Unlike Kleßmann, they ignored studies by women and gender scholars of East and West Germany, even as these appeared in ever greater numbers from the 1980s onward. Blind to gender issues, the majority of historians, to whom we will henceforth refer as "mainstream," typically also overlooked the innovative character of women's and gender history.

A historiographical debate that could have cast light on the history of the GDR, for example, was the so-called *Historikerinnenstreit* (quarrel between female historians) that started in the late 1980s. Its central point of contention revolved around the role of "Aryan" German women under National Socialism. Given the Nazi regime's patriarchal character, should women be judged as, basically, "victims" and "innocent bystanders" of Nazi policy? Or, like the actions of men in a dictatorship, should women's behavior too be evaluated along a continuum from victims and active resisters to bystanders and perpetrators? The majority of the voices in this transatlantic debate argued that the simplifying dichotomy of victim and perpetrator had to be overcome so that women's and gender historians could explore the multiple and often ambiguous possibilities and limits that shaped women's conduct under National Socialism.¹⁰ The methodological insights of the *Historikerinnenstreit* influenced the research on the Third Reich and Holocaust, but not on the dictatorial regime of the GDR. Only after the millennium did scholarly attention turn to the broad variety and ambiguity of relations between the East German populace and the socialist state controlled by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands, SED). In emphasizing the complex nature of popular involvement and arguing that the GDR was a "participatory dictatorship," historian Mary Fulbrook in 2005 stirred up a lively controversy about the extent and significance of popular engage-

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ment with the communist state. Yet, the gender of popular involvement was not considered in this debate.¹¹ Only in research on the operation of the Ministry for State Security (Ministerium für Staatssicherheit, MfS), the infamous Stasi, did several historians address women's direct entanglement with the organs of repression in the East German dictatorship.¹²

After reunification, scholarship on contemporary German history increasingly abandoned the dichotomist Cold War paradigm and began to pay closer attention to the gray areas in the histories of both the GDR and the FRG. The shift in the historiographic perspective was driven in part by the opening of archives: historians gained virtually unrestricted access to East German archival holdings after 1990. And, every year since 1980, they can look at previously inaccessible West German archival materials as another "thirty-year data protection" gate is unlocked. The new opportunities for historical research led to an outpouring of work on both German states and societies.¹³ Rich in detail and nuanced in interpretation, these post-Cold War studies of specific regions, cultural encounters, or social groups challenged the older static, two-dimensional model of West German liberal constitutionalism versus East German totalitarian authoritarianism. They question the Manichean portrayal of Cold War Germany, with the FRG hailed, on one side, as the shining beacon of uninterrupted progress and spreading prosperity and the GDR excoriated, on the other, as a failed experiment that could not even effectively modernize the economy, much less deliver on its radical promise of social justice for all.¹⁴ Historian Konrad H. Jarausch and others have argued that social and cultural liberalization in West Germany was, in fact, an uneven and contested process. The making of a democratic citizenry, the new scholarship has shown, was more incremental and more fraught than once assumed.¹⁵ Researchers have traced the roots of West Germany's "1968"—a year that became the iconic representation of the cultural revolution of the 1960s and early 1970s—to the gradual spread and rising public defense of unconventional behavior and critical speech in the 1950s.¹⁶ Thus, this scholarship has demonstrated that cultural and social liberalization in the FRG began earlier but was less sudden or complete than the self-congratulatory narrative about "1968" that presents the late 1960s as the transformative moment that created a liberal democracy with a thriving civil society.¹⁷

Although the immediate post-reunification period saw a boost in historical research on East and West Germany, comparative social or political histories of the GDR and FRG are still few in number.¹⁸ This can be attributed to several factors: asymmetrical access to archival records after the complete opening of East German archives as opposed to the year-by-year lifting of restrictions on West German materials; the inclination of foundations to fund research on the GDR more readily; the methodological challenges and time demands of comparative or transnational

research. Ironically, the postmillennial turn toward European and global Cold War studies has partially surpassed the German-German comparison as the global perspective has inspired historians of the FRG and the GDR to place their work in a broader transnational context.¹⁹ In this volume, we adopt a narrower transnational lens, arguing that the study of the FRG and GDR is not the study of one nation but of two states, societies, and economies. There is still much to be learned and analyzed about their particular set of entanglements. The rise of transnational and global history has challenged the study of women and gender too. Exploring, for example, the gender of everyday life in the Cold War era, historians have revealed the entanglement of ideals and practices of consumption and fashion not only across the East-West divide but also across national borders within the West and within the East.²⁰ In its gendered perspective, too, this volume focuses largely on the entangled transnational history of the two German states and societies. This editorial decision influenced the composition of the volume. We invited mainly young scholars to write about their most recent, often still unpublished, work with the aim to present a variety of new conceptual and methodological approaches to the gender history of East and West Germany.

Women's and gender historians have made innovative contributions to the development of the post-Cold War scholarship on the FRG and the GDR. They fostered the poststructuralist and cultural turn in historiography. They belonged to the first group of scholars to advocate studying the history of everyday life (*Alltagsgeschichte*).²¹ They asked new questions, turned to novel topics, and developed new theoretical and methodological frameworks to make sense of East and West German history. These innovations resulted in a host of publications focusing on three related subjects: paid work, housework, and family work; family, social, and labor policies;²² and private consumption and fashion in both Germanys.²³ These studies pointed again and again to a highly visible paradox that mainstream scholarship overlooked: gender functioned in both German states and societies as a central marker of difference far beyond the political discourse on women's emancipation and roles in society. Gender images and family ideals were used in each German state to define its own political and social identity and distinguish itself from the Germany on the other side of the Iron Curtain. Yet this research simultaneously revealed the striking similarities between gendered practices in the authoritarian, communist state in the East and the democratic, capitalist state in the West.²⁴

The shift from women's to gender history in the 1980s contributed to another innovation: the exploration of the history of men and masculinities. This new field of historical inquiry analyzes the social and cultural construction of notions of masculinity and studies men as "gendered

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subjects whose experience and behavior were crucially shaped by culturally and historically specific notions of masculinity.²⁵ So far, scholars have mainly applied this focus to West Germany.²⁵ Inspired by the theories of Michel Foucault and other poststructuralists, gender historians furthermore have turned since the late 1990s to the sexual lives of East and West German citizens while paying close attention to official discourses and policies regarding sexuality. Studies of attitudes toward extramarital sex, pornography, and homosexuality have exposed the ongoing influence of the sexual mores and discourses of the German Empire, the Weimar Republic, and Nazi Germany on the history of sexuality in divided Germany.²⁶ The turn toward gender history and the history of sexuality also unearthed examples of subtle nonconformity and resistance to dominant gender roles and heteronormativity in both Germanys.²⁷ Growing interest in the history of homosexuality and investigations into the pervasiveness of patriarchal and heteronormative ideals have furthermore revealed examples of men's and women's resistance and outright protest against official discourses and legal provisions that not only regulated but often criminalized gay and lesbian expressions of gender and sexuality.²⁸

In these multiple ways, women and gender historians have contributed to the historiography on post-1945 Germany. In the three chapters of the first part on "Gendering the Historiography," we discuss the development of the research by women and gender historians on the post-1945 history of both Germanys in more detail, position the chapters in this volume in this development, and suggest themes and topics for further research.

Gendering Post-1945 German History: Entanglements

This volume aims to offer a critical review of the state of the research on the postwar history of East and West Germany from a gender perspective and to present a selection of recent and innovative scholarship. By using the concept of gendered entanglement, its chapters contribute in multiple ways to the research on contemporary German history. Some authors use the concept of entanglement to shed light on how intertwined—politically, socially, and culturally—the gendered histories of East and West Germany were. By studying an entangled past from a gender perspective, these contributions integrate an important but often ignored dimension into the history of Cold War rivalry between the two German states. Gender, they argue, played a central role in a rivalry that was articulated through direct interaction with and explicit references to the other Germany as well as through indirect competition and observation. Cold War enmity shaped not only the foreign policy and gendered self-representation of each state but also their domestic policies. Health-

care policies, labor policies, or family, marriage, and divorce laws were oftentimes developed in reference to the other Germany, including its gender ideology and practices. Several studies in this volume establish gender as a central marker of difference in political discourse far beyond women's role and emancipation. They also, though, expose a contradiction between divergent policies and antagonistic rhetoric, on one hand, and popular and official assumptions about gender differences that were shared across the Cold War divide on the other.²⁹

Other authors in the volume use the concept of entanglement to examine the triangular relationship between the GDR, the FRG, and their common German past. Cold War antagonism shaped East and West German self-representation, culture, and politics, certainly, but it did so in complex interaction with the histories and memories of the German Empire, the Weimar Republic, and especially Nazi Germany. In debates and decisions in all spheres of politics and policy, the room for maneuver (*Handlungsspielraum*) was limited by the need to demonstrate distance from both the Nazi past *and* the state on the other side of the Iron Curtain. Acknowledgment of the referential triangle between Nazi Germany, the FRG, and the GDR does not, however, preclude recognition of the Cold War era as its own period in German history. Posing the question of whether the 1950s and 1960s were merely a "post-fascist, post-war, post-Weimar and post-Wilhelmine" period or were also "anything in their own right," Elizabeth D. Heineman answered that they were both.³⁰ Such a dual approach allows scholars to identify the multiple pasts that influenced post-1945 German gender history and to explore continuities and discontinuities while identifying the new and specific character of the period that started at the end of the Second World War.

Furthermore, several chapters of the volume use the concept of entanglement to explore the intersection of gender with other categories of difference like class, race, ethnicity, or sexuality. In the construction of a hierarchical social order, each post-1945 German state and society interwove gendered discourses about politics, society, and culture with discourses about other social differences. Political rhetoric in the GDR, for example, typically paired gender and class. In both states, rhetoric tended to link homosexuality to insufficient masculinity. In postwar West Germany, discourse about the "fraternization" of German women and African American soldiers and about their children was shot through with biases about the intersection of gender, race, and ethnicity.³¹ In later West German discourse about guest workers from Italy, Greece, the former Yugoslavia, and Turkey, assumptions about the conjunction of gender, ethnicity, and religion combined to produce a Christian-conservative definition of a "German identity" that demarcated it especially from the "Muslim other."³²

In exploring these different lines of research on gendered German-German entanglements, the volume reveals an asymmetry in the relations and the actual and constructed power hierarchy between the FRG and the GDR. Christoph Kleßmann bluntly captured the essence of this imbalance when he asserted in 2001 that “the Federal Republic could, without difficulty, exist without the GDR.”³³ Indeed, as the contributions to this volume attest, the Federal Republic of Germany seemed sure of itself and its claim to legitimacy. As a result, in its public discourse and its unpublished sources in many areas of politics and policy, East Germany rarely featured as an explicit reference point. In contrast, the FRG constantly functioned as an intensely observed and explicitly referenced comparison for both the leadership of the GDR and East German society. For the SED, the Federal Republic served publicly as the countermodel—and behind the scenes occasionally also as a prototype. For many in the East German populace, of course, West Germany stood for consumer heaven and political freedom.³⁴

Finally, some chapters in this volume contribute to the scholarship that has questioned traditional periodization—such as “1961” as a turning point in the GDR’s history or “1968” in the FRG’s—and narratives of progress in the West—such as the steady march toward liberalization in the FRG. They examine, for example, different forms of activism and protest against political practices, legal systems, or gender, racial, and sexual ideologies. As such, they contribute to the ongoing discussions about whether the social and cultural upheaval of the 1960s contributed to an accelerated process of liberalization in West Germany or whether East German society became more or less resistant to SED policy over time.

We present the sixteen contributions to this volume in five parts. The first part, “Gendering the Historiography,” focuses on important themes of women’s and gender history on both Germanys since 1945. The three essays by Karen Hagemann and Donna Harsch, Jennifer Evans, and Erica Carter explore the development of research on “Gender, Politics, and Protest,” the “Entangled Gender Relations and Sexuality,” and “Media and Entangled Representations of Gender.” They offer new perspectives on the intertwined but decidedly different histories of East and West Germany by addressing two central questions: What new insights can gender offer to the complicated, entangled history of the GDR and FRG? And, conversely, how did the entangled relationship of the two postwar Germanys inform gender relations in discourse and practice on both sides of the Iron Curtain? The four parts that follow this first section focus on the themes of “Gender, Politics, and Policies,” “Gendered Resistance, Protest, and Social Movements,” “Gender Relations and Sexuality,” and “The Media and Representations of Gender.”

Gender, Politics, and Policies

The major subject of the second part of the volume is the multiplicity of ways in which politics and policies in postwar East and West Germany were gendered. The contributions by Leonie Treber, Alexandria Ruble, and Donna Harsch examine three major topics: 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 female body. The chapters by Treber and Harsch highlight the impact of gendered assumptions about work and the body for the formulation, implementation, and perception of labor and healthcare policies. Treber writes about men, women, and the cleaning of the rubble in postwar East and West Germany, showing that not only economic exigencies but also different ideals of femininity determined the disparate deployment of women for rubble clearing in all four occupation zones and further shaped how “rubble women” (*Trümmerfrauen*) were remembered in the FRG and GDR. Discrepancies and parallels are the core of Harsch’s comparative contribution on East and West German healthcare policies from the 1950s to the 1970s. By exploring responses to contagious and chronic diseases and to childbirth, the chapter reveals that the approaches of both healthcare systems converged from the late 1960s onward. Ruble places debates over the reform of marriage and family law in the GDR and FRG in the context of their tug-of-war for hegemony and political advantage. Throughout the 1950s and early 1960s, East and West German politicians relied on comparisons and contrasts to the other Germany to support their arguments for and against the new family laws.

Gendered Resistance, Protest, and Social Movements

The central theme of the third part of the volume with contributions by Kathryn Julian, Sarah Summers, Belinda Davis, and Tiffany Florvil is the ways in which grassroots activism redefined the “gender” and content of the “political” in resistance, protest, and social movements in the FRG and/or the GDR. Taken together, the chapters explore different ways in which female activists, whether in the East or the West, challenged limits placed on their social and political rights by their respective governments and how each state responded to the protest. Julian explores Catholic sisters’ resistance against the East German state in the 1950s, demonstrating that their protests drew on their traditional female roles as nuns. Summers examines the different agendas and forms of feminist activism within the new women’s movement in West Germany in the 1970s and 1980s and concludes that this movement was much broader than often assumed. Davis analyzes the impact of women’s experiences in the extraparliamen-

tary movement on feminist activism in the new women's movement and the wider grassroots movements of the 1960s to 1980s. In her chapter on Black German feminism and its transnational connections in the 1980s and 1990s, Florvil argues that the organization Afro-German Women (Afrodeutsche Frauen, ADEFRA) heightened the visibility of German Women of Color and confronted racial, gender, and sexual discrimination in Germany and beyond.

Gender Relations and Sexuality

The main themes of the three chapters in the fourth part of the volume by Jane Freeland, Clayton Whisnant, and Friederike Brühöfener are the entanglements between everyday gender relations and sexual practices, related public discourses, and state policies and the attempts to reform these policies in both German states. Freeland analyzes the discrepancies between women's experience of and political responses to domestic abuse in the FRG and the GDR in the 1960s and 1970s. She details difference and similarity in how each state constructed normative gender relations in the family. The chapters by Whisnant and Brühöfener contribute to our understanding of the history behind the uneven decriminalization of homosexuality in West Germany after 1945. Whisnant locates the roots of the limited but influential homophile discourse in 1950s West Germany in the language and ideas of Weimar's homosexual movement. Brühöfener analyzes the contested notions of military masculinity in the public discourse of the FRG in her chapter on debates about homosexuality in the West German defense forces in 1960s and 1970s. Unfortunately, in the long path of preparing this volume, we were not able to fulfill our hopes of including an essay on homosexuality in the GDR. To make up for this gap, Jennifer Evans kindly agreed to draw on her own research to discuss this subject in chapter 2, "Entangled Gender Relations and Sexuality in the Historiography on the Two Post-1945 Germanys."

The Media and Representations of Gender

Media in the East and West directly and indirectly shaped a gendered rhetoric of demarcation. The three chapters by Deborah Barton, Jennifer Lynn, and Brittany Lehman in the fifth part explore the entangled ways in which the press and television in both German states understood, constructed, and negotiated gender. In her contribution, Barton tells a little-known story about the experiences of German female reporters during the transition from the Third Reich to Cold War Germany. She explores how and why their journalism and their situation as women journalists did and did not change across the 1945 divide in East and West Germany.

Lynn deconstructs the contested gendered representations of women in the East and West German illustrated press of the 1950s, comparing and contrasting the ways in which the press used images of femininity not only to entertain their readers but also to promote specific labor and family policies, consumer practices, and visions of the modern woman. Lehman examines the evolution of the gendered orientalism manifested in the representations of “the Turkish” in the West German press during the 1970 and 1980s. She argues that by presenting Turkish men and women as the embodiment of Muslim otherness, the debates tended to essentialize them and to ignore the diversity of gender relations among various Islamic groups. We hoped to include a chapter on film but were unable to do so. Erica Carter graciously agreed to discuss some of her own film analysis in chapter 3, “Contact Zones and Boundary Objects: The Media and Entangled Representations of Gender.”

Conclusion

Collectively, the contributions to *Gendering Post-1945 German History: Entanglements* confirm the pervasiveness of gender throughout all aspects of politics, society, and culture. They also demonstrate the critical ability of this perspective to reveal and illuminate the complexities of post-1945 German history. An entangled gender history, the volume shows, has the power to challenge Cold War master narratives of German history. Its contributions simultaneously move beyond political history and radically rethink the meaning of politics and “the political” in both Germanys. They prompt historians, for instance, to reconsider the scope, breadth, and success of political activism in both East and West Germany. They also work against historical determinism. Several chapters challenge the notion of the FRG as the consistently more progressive, liberalized state and society that was always slated to succeed. Other chapters undermine the idea that the GDR was uniformly more “backward” than the West, was never responsive to popular pressure, enjoyed no popular support for any policies, and was always doomed to fail. They reveal that various East German social policies, projects, and laws were inspired by the labor, health, education, and family policies of Weimar socialists and communists that remained innovative and even avant-garde after 1945—and, indeed, still today. One thinks of the reform of laws that criminalized abortion and homosexuality, the (quite successful) effort to end discrimination against single mothers and their children, the provision of all-day childcare and schooling to help working mothers, and, last but not least, special training and education for women so they could enter skilled occupations and the so-called male professions. The chapters also point to the

tenacity with which men, whether out of self-interest or principle, held on to male privileges in the state, economy, and family in both the socialist East and democratic West. Given that the two Germanys shared patriarchal traditions—some unique to Germany, others Western, a few virtually universal—gender relations were not transformed in either Germany and were expressed in day-to-day practices, beliefs, and emotions that were often strikingly similar across the Cold War divide.

Karen Hagemann is the James G. Kenan Distinguished Professor of History at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. She has published widely in modern German and European history, combining the fields of social, political, cultural, military, and gender history. Her recent English books relevant for the theme of the volume include: *Gendering Modern German History: Rewriting Historiography* (ed. with Jean H. Quataert, Berghahn Books, 2007/2010, in German 2008); *Children, Families and States: Time Policies of Child Care, Preschool, and Primary Schooling in Europe* (ed. with Konrad H. Jarausch and Cristina Allemann-Ghionda, Berghahn Books, 2011, in German 2015); and *Gender and the Long Post-war: The United States and the Two Germanys, 1945–1989* (ed. with Sonya Michel, Woodrow Wilson Center Press / Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014). 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.

Friederike Brühöfener is assistant professor of modern European history at the University of Texas Rio Grande Valley. Her research interests include modern German and European history, cultural history, military history, and gender with a special focus on the history of masculinities. She received her PhD in history from the University of North Carolina Chapel Hill in 2014. Currently she is transforming her dissertation into a book titled *Forging States, Armies, and Men: Military Masculinity, Politics, and Society in East and West Germany, 1945–1989*. Her English publications include: “Sex and

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the Soldier: The Discourse about the Moral Conduct of Bundeswehr Soldiers and Officers during the Adenauer Era,” *Central European History* 48, no. 4 (2015): 523–40; and “Politics of Emotions: Journalistic Reflections on the Emotionality of the West German Peace Movement, 1979–1984,” *German Politics and Society* 33, no. 4 (2015): 97–111.

Notes

1. Quoted in, Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, vol. 5: *Bundesrepublik und DDR, 1949–1990* (Munich, 2008), 361.
2. Christoph Kleßmann, “Verflechtung und Abgrenzung: Aspekte der geteilten und zusammengehörigen deutschen Nachkriegsgeschichte,” *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, B 29–30 (1993): 30–41.
3. Christoph Kleßmann et al., “Vorwort,” in *Deutsche Vergangenheiten—Eine gemeinsame Herausforderung: Der schwierige Umgang mit der doppelten Nachkriegsgeschichte*, ed. Christoph Kleßmann et al. (Berlin, 1999), 9–13, 12, and 30.
4. See for example Günter Heydemann, “Integrale Nachkriegsgeschichte,” *APuZ* B 3 (2007): 8–12; Konrad H. Jarausch, “Die Teile als Ganzes erkennen: Zur Integration der beiden deutschen Nachkriegsgeschichten,” *Zeithistorische Forschungen/Studies in Contemporary History* 1, no. 1 (2004): 10–33; and Frank Bösch, “Geteilte Geschichte: Plädoyer für eine deutsch-deutsche Perspektive auf die jüngste Zeitgeschichte,” *Zeithistorische Forschungen/Studies in Contemporary History* 12, no. 1 (2015): 98–114, and “Geteilt und Verbunden: Perspektiven auf die deutsche Geschichte seit den 1970er Jahren,” in *Geteilte Geschichte: Ost- und Westdeutschland 1970–2000*, ed. Frank Bösch (Göttingen, 2015), 7–37.
5. See, as overviews of the research, Julia Paulus et al., eds., *Zeitgeschichte als Geschlechtergeschichte: Neue Perspektiven auf die Bundesrepublik* (Frankfurt/M., 2012), esp. 11–30; and Karen Hagemann and Sonya Michel, “Introduction: Gender and the Long Postwar: Reconsiderations of the United States and the Two Germanys, 1945–1989,” in *Gender and the Long Postwar: The United States and the Two Germanys, 1945–1989*, ed. Karen Hagemann and Sonya Michel (Baltimore, MD, 2014), 1–27.
6. 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.
7. For a critical review of this Cold War scholarship, see also chapter 1 by Karen Hagemann and Donna Harsch in this volume. Early critical evaluations of this dichotomous approach were, Christoph Kleßmann, *Die Doppelte Staatsgründung: Deutsche Geschichte 1945–1955* (Bonn, 1982), and *Zwei Staaten, Eine Nation: Deutsche Geschichte 1955–1970* (Bonn, 1988); as well as Karl Dietrich Erdmann, “Drei Staaten—zwei Nationen—Ein Volk? Überlegungen zu einer deutschen Geschichte seit der Teilung,” *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 36, no. 10 (1985): 671–83.
8. Early comparative works are, Kleßmann, *Die Doppelte Staatsgründung*, and *Zwei Staaten*; and Rainer Geissler, *Die Sozialstruktur Deutschlands: Ein Studienbuch zur sozialstrukturellen Entwicklung im geteilten und vereinten Deutschland* (Opladen, 1992).

9. Kleßmann, *Zwei Staaten*, 56.
10. On the *Historikerinnenstreit*, see Atina Grossmann, "Feminist Debates about Women and National Socialism," *Gender & History* 3, no. 3 (1991): 350–58; Adelheid von Saldern, "Victims or Perpetrators? Controversies about the Role of Women in the Nazi State," in *Nazism and German Society, 1933–1945*, ed. David Crew (London, 1994), 141–66; Carola Sachse, "Frauenforschung zum Nationalsozialismus," *Mittelweg* 36, no. 6 (1997): 24–42; and Claudia Koonz, "A Tributary and a Mainstream: Gender, Public Memory, and the Historiography of Nazi Germany," in *Gendering Modern German History: Rewriting Historiography*, ed. Karen Hagemann and Jean H. Quataert (New York, 2007), 147–67.
11. See Mary Fulbrook, *The People's State: East German Society from Hitler to Honecker* (New Haven, CT, 2005).
12. See for example Elizabeth Pfister, *Unternehmen Romeo: Die Liebeskommandos der Stasi* (Berlin, 1999); Josie McLellan, *Love in the Time of Communism: Intimacy and Sexuality in the GDR* (Cambridge, 2011); and Jens Gieseke, *The History of the Stasi: East Germany's Secret Police, 1945–1990* (New York, 2014).
13. For East Germany, see for example Konrad H. Jarausch, ed., *Dictatorship as Experience: Towards a Socio-Cultural History of the GDR* (New York, 1999); Katherine Pence and Paul Betts, eds., *Socialist Modern: East German Everyday Culture and Politics* (Ann Arbor, MI, 2008); Mary Fulbrook, *Power and Society in the GDR, 1961–1979: The "Normalization of Rule"?* (New York, 2009); Mary Fulbrook and Andrew I. Port, eds., *Becoming East German: Socialist Structures and Sensibilities after Hitler* (New York, 2013); and for West Germany, Axel Schildt and Arnold Sywottek, eds., *Modernisierung im Wiederaufbau: Die westdeutsche Gesellschaft der 50er Jahre* (Bonn, 1993); Robert G. Moeller, *West Germany under Construction: Politics, Society, and Culture in the Adenauer Era* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1997); and Hanna Schissler, ed., *The Miracle Years: A Cultural History of West Germany, 1949–1968* (Princeton, NJ, 2001).
14. See for example Bösch, "Geteilt und Verbunden," 15; also Dagmar Herzog, "East Germany's Sexual Evolution," in Pence and Betts, *Socialist Modern*, 71–95; and Josie McLellan, "Did Communists Have the Better Sex? Sex and the Body in German Unification," in *Remembering the German Democratic Republic: Divided Memory in a United Germany*, ed. David Clarke and Ute Wölfel (New York, 2011), 119–30.
15. Konrad H. Jarausch, *After Hitler: Recivilizing Germans, 1945–1995* (Oxford, 2006), 99–100 and 156–57.
16. See for example Schildt and Sywottek, eds., *Modernisierung im Wiederaufbau*; and Axel Schildt and Detlef Siegfried, "Youth, Consumption and Politics in the Age of Radical Change," in *Between Marx and Coca-Cola: Youth Cultures in Changing European Societies, 1960–1980*, ed. Schildt and Siegfried (Oxford, 2006), 1–35.
17. Jarausch, *After Hitler*; Konrad H. Jarausch, ed., *Das Ende der Zuversicht? Die siebziger Jahre als Geschichte* (Göttingen, 2008); and Ulrich Herbert, *Geschichte Deutschlands im 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 2014), 860–65.
18. See next to Kleßman, *Die Doppelte Staatsgründung*, and *Zwei Staaten, eine Nation*, for example, Jarausch, *After Hitler*; Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, vol. 5; Udo Wengst and Hermann Wentker, eds., *Das doppelte Deutschland: 40 Jahre Systemkonkurrenz* (Berlin, 2013); and Bösch, ed., *Geteilte Geschichte*.
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