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The Body As Wartime Terrain: Social Control and Female Sexuality Under Military Occupation

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THE BODY AS WARTIME TERRAIN: SOCIAL CONTROL AND
FEMALE SEXUALITY UNDER MILITARY OCCUPATION

by

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DEDICATION

To my mother and grandmothers who taught me about kindness and courage.

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First and foremost, I would like to thank my thesis chair, Dr. Mathieu Deflem, without whose constant encouragement, mentorship, and patience, this project would not have been possible. I am also indebted to Dr. Jason Cummings and Dr. Lala Steelman. I am extremely grateful for the continual enthusiasm with which they reviewed my work and shared their academic expertise and professional experience.

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ABSTRACT

This project is a comparative-historical sociological analysis of the informal and formal responses to sexual contact in two WWII period cases: between French women and Nazi troops, and German women and African-American GIs. I focus on the connection between the regulation of women's bodies and cultural expectations of gender, ideas about sexuality, and racial ideology. The results of war and subsequent occupation of the defeated nation – population decline and the acute loss of male life, strained material resources and the daily concern of survival, the social psychological sense of defeat, and intimate relationships between occupiers and the occupied – lead to sociocultural anxieties about national, cultural, and racial identity. These anxieties are visible in formal mechanisms of social control, purged through the informal social control of women's bodies, and specifically in the German case, reliant on an observable racialization process based on the distinction between Aryan and non-Aryan. Important to note is the focus on the body as both the source of anxiety and site of regulation. Such regulation of the female body enforces ideals of femininity, maternal duty, and national womanhood.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

A range of relationships forms between local civilians and occupying forces (Lee 2011). Contact is both casual and intimate, from employment to voluntary and involuntary sexual encounters. While no exact figures are available, expert Fabrice Virgili estimates around 20,000 women in France had their heads shaved in retribution for collaboration (dominantly constructed as sexual in nature) with a German soldier (2002). While documented in popular culture, the ‘shorn woman’ was rarely mentioned in historical or academic accounts of the era, whether because of the relative insignificance compared to political and martial events of the war or the associated taboo of the topic (Beevor 2009; Virgili 2002).

In Germany during the same period, women associated with American GIs, specifically African-American soldiers, similarly experienced ostracism (Duchen 1994). While the civilian community generally disapproved of their women’s flirtatious or friendly behavior towards White-Americans at the beginning of U.S. occupation, German women who pursued relationships with Black troops were derided both by German as well as fellow American White men (Chin, Fehrenbach, Eley, and Grossmann 2009; Fehrenbach 2005). While records on the amount of involuntary sexual relationships exist (i.e. recorded charges of sexual assaults of civilian women by Allied troops in Germany), no reliable estimates are available on the amount of voluntary contact between German women and African-American troops (Lilly 2007; U.S. Army 1948). Scholars do,

however, estimate that at least 5,000 mixed-race children of White German women and Black American men were born between 1945 and 1955 (Fehrenbach 2005; Rudolph 2003). An article from the November 1951 issue of *Jet* cites an approximate range of 2,100 to 8,000 such children were born in Germany (*Jet* 1951).

The communal disdain for these French and German women often followed them years after the war. Many of these women alive today are still recognized in their communities as having been among those shaved and shamed (Duchen 1994; Rudolph 2003). Involvement with the enemy was almost exclusively interpreted as an act immoral, unpatriotic, unfeminine, and traitorous. Allegations of collaboration were tantamount to accusations of sexual betrayal (Adler 1999; Connell 2000; Duchen 1994; Fehrenbach 2005; Fehrenbach 2009; Goedde 2003; Virgili 2002).

In both France and Germany, the sexual act with the enemy was equated with contamination. The political and martial conflict, tainted by the scientific racism of the Nazi regime in Germany and Nazi influence through Vichy in France, carried implications about women's sexual behavior. Political ideology influenced and constructed corporeal boundaries in that the ideal female citizen should be sexually unavailable to enemy advance. While sex and sexual violence were tools of war and domination for male soldiers, it represented the threat of 'mixing' with the enemy for women (Brownmiller 1975; Nagel 2000). In both France and Germany, public shaming, the threat of social exclusion, and the transformation and application of abortion law and pro-natalist policies were all used as responses to sexual behavior and functioned to enforce specific conceptions of national identity based on cultural values, race, and gendered expectation.

Scholars have focused separately on the economic, demographic, psychological, and sociological consequences of war, and their effects on conceptions of gender and race. Previous literature has also highlighted how the reconstruction of both French and German national identity after the war relied on a retrograde ideology of gender and the family, as well as how postwar Germany, in attempting to quickly dissociate themselves from wartime Nazism, equally relied on racial discourse (Fehrenbach 2005; Moeller 1989; Muel-Dreyfus 2001; Nagel 1998).

Building from such work, I show how war and occupation carry certain inevitable consequences for the defeated nation such as limited economic and material resources that make daily survival a major civilian concern, population decline, the acute loss of male life, the affective or social psychological state of the humiliation of defeat, and sexual contact between occupiers and occupied. Additionally, colonialism, immigration, and the medicalization of racial language were wartime conditions specific to the two cases of late 1940s France and Germany. These outcomes of the war lead to anxieties about national identity which are both observable and purged through the formal and informal means of social control of women's bodies. Such mechanisms of social control (head shaving in France, and family policy in Germany that structured women's economic dependence on men and enforced a normative conception of the family) functioned as an important part of the post-war reconstruction of national identity that ironically utilized the same racial and gendered logic that was so instrumental during wartime.

My research is a historical-comparative sociological study of the responses to relationships between occupying soldiers and civilian women in two WWII era cases:

Nazi soldiers and French women in France, and African-American men and German women in West Germany. Head shaving in France and pronatalist family policy in Germany were post-war responses to female sexuality that reinforced traditional women's roles. The image of the ideal woman as naturally maternal, domestic, and dependent on men was valued and manipulated by the Vichy and Nazi regime as well as present after the war. The regulation of women's bodies after the war was predicated on the same cultural expectations of gender, ideas about sexuality, and (specifically in Germany) racial ideology present during the war.

In Chapter 2 I discuss the theoretical background of my project, outlining the major theoretical contributions in the areas of the sociology of gender and the body, the sociology of social control, wartime France and Germany, and racialization. I frame embodiment and the body within the sociology of gender and social control and build from Michel Foucault's work on biopower and governmentality. I finish this chapter with a brief explanation of why a sociological approach in particular is well-suited to this topic.

Chapter 3 outlines my three main research questions, case studies, and methodology. This section clarifies my comparative-historical approach to formal and informal responses to intimate relationships between civilian women and enemy men, from WWII occupation to post-war reconstruction of national identity in France and Germany. I discuss my sources and address the limitations and related ethical issues of the project.

I begin the analysis in Chapter 4 by outlining the economic, demographic, and psychological outcomes of war and occupation that triggered anxieties about national

identity in both France and Germany. I then discuss how these anxieties were visible in formal mechanisms of social control and purged through the informal social control of women's bodies. While the focus on the body as both source of anxiety and site of regulation is important to note, equally so is the racialization process in Germany that serves as a significant difference between the two cases.

Chapter 5 begins with a discussion of the concept of race and gender in the specific context of wartime Europe. I then examine two major differences between the two cases: racialization in Germany, and the more typified nature of informal social control in France. I conclude this section by suggesting relevant topics for future research.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This work builds from a social constructionist view of race and gender, framing embodiment and the body within the sociology of gender and social control. I also rely on Michel Foucault's concepts of biopower and governmentality.

2.1 THE SOCIOLOGY OF GENDER AND THE BODY

Gender can be defined as the cultural construction and social use of the meanings that are attributed to biological differences between the sexes. Gender is a social fact that has very 'real' effects on people's lives. While biological differences form a range or continuum of physically sexed individuals, the traditional Western model of gender functions as a dichotomy or opposition between men and women. Individuals are ascribed a gender identity, learning to perform gender by regulating their appearance and behavior according to distinct, inflexible norms and expectations. Additionally, many feminist theorists argue that conceptions of gender vary across cultures while still sharing the certain trait of male hegemony or patriarchy (Lorber 1994). How does martial culture then effect the conception, enforcement, and regulation of gender?

While no one unified or specific feminist theory on war and military occupation exists, feminist studies of war have grown significantly in the past thirty years (Goldstein 2001). Different disciplines have dedicated varied amounts of attention to women in war, but outside of anthropology, relatively little has been done in examining gender in war. Substantively, gender is distinctly separate from most of the scholarship on war. In one of

the first cross-cultural and cross-disciplinary analyses of the dual relationships between gender and war, scholar of international relations, Joshua Goldstein argues that gender as an institution defines and shapes “war roles” which in turn determine how and which individuals learn masculinity or femininity (Goldstein 2001:6). A feminist perspective of wartime culture and rhetoric adds that women become both national objects and symbols during war. A double standard of sexual behavior exists as the relationships between male soldiers and enemy women are romanticized, but those between local women and enemy soldiers are sanctionable and reprehensible. Women are treated as procreative resource (Higonnet, Jenson, Michel, and Collins Weitz 1987).

Studies of the body are rooted in continental feminism, specifically in its emphasis of how both the body and women have been represented and overlooked in the early stages of modern philosophy (Cahill 2008). Other previous work has focused on the effect of political and historical changes on the construction and control of the body, and the influence of cultural expectation, morality, and shame on regulating it. In sociology since the 1980s, the body has emerged as a relevant and important topic of study thanks to the growth, in various disciplines, of work centered on constructions and redefinitions of what a body ‘is.’ These influences include second wave feminism, studies on aging and the elderly, and consumerism and the body. Conceptions of the body, like gender, are socially constructed. Sociology of the body then serves as an investigation of how institutions such as sex and the family produce and legitimize specific norms and ideals (Turner 2008).

Embodiment includes the process of learning bodily performances that situate the individual in social reality and of forming and transforming the life-world through these

performances, as well as the idea that these processes are not determined by the lone individual. Sociologist Bryan S. Turner writes that, “while it is the process of making and becoming a body, it is also the project of making a self” (2008:245). Embodiment encompasses the reflexive relationships between the individual body, the self, and society.

Given that the continuation, stability, and existence of societies depend on both the physical reproduction of citizens and the cultural and ideological propagation of citizenship, sexual behavior is always monitored. Sexuality and the control of it are thus determined by sexual and social ideology. Sexual and social politics dictate “appropriately sexed” identities and legitimize certain sexual unions over others (Turner 2008:210). War additionally aggravates the notion of women as national property in terms of not only sexual but also racial ideology. Citizenship for females becomes tied to reproductive roles in society and maternal duty to the country. Historian and women’s studies scholar Elisa Camiscioli argues that ideological issues over reproduction are inherently linked to race, “attention to the problem of reproduction – including its symbolic representation, its regulation, and the resistance of historical subjects to the disciplinary mechanisms which invest reproduction with ideological value – inevitably returns us to the problem of race, for reproduction is necessarily a racializing force” (2009:5).

In France and Germany, racial identity and sexual conduct were important factors in categorizing which bodies were acceptable and assimilable and who was considered, treated, and protected as a citizen. Today, embodiment work underscores the body as a

contested site. As receptive as it is to surrounding pressures, it is equally able to react to and reject cultural expectation (Cahill 2008; Conboy, Medina, and Stanbury 1997).

2.2 FOUCAULT, SOCIAL CONTROL, AND GENDER

While the late French philosopher Michel Foucault did not explicitly focus on gender in his contribution to social control, feminist scholarship has extensively incorporated his work when discussing gender, relying on his outline of how modern society disciplined the female body from volume 1 of *The History of Sexuality* (Bartky 1990; Bordo 2003; Cahill 2008; McNay 1992; McWhorter 1999). Foucault's concept of biopower implies that the control over bodies reflects the greater structure of power in society (Malacrida and Low 2008). Sex is another way of ordering life. Self-regulating and self-disciplining individuals are achieved through the internal adoption of socially prescribed ideas on acceptable and 'appropriate' sexual norms and behavior (Adams and Sydie 2001). Bodies and corporal conduct are molded by greater pressures, and notions surrounding sexual norms, in particular shame and humiliation, are the internalized form of social control. Involving both the individual and community, shame can only exist within a social group as the threat of social exclusion (Heller 2005; Quinton 1997). Norms and the enforcement of femininity are dispersed amongst the greater group (Bartky 1990).

Foucault's work on biopower later led to the development of a study of governmentality (Deflem 1997; Malacrida and Low 2008). Governmentality, or the ways state intervention and action effect or create bodies, is a way of ensuring the health and ongoing regeneration of a population. In the scientific jargon and medical language of both pro-natalist France and Germany during and immediately following the war, the

application of governmentality over the body and intimate processes (birth, death, and abortion) is most clearly visible (Turner 2008). The procreative agenda of governments is subjectively guided, and in the case of wartime France and Germany, was influenced by scientific racism and cultural prejudice. While Foucault, again, does not necessarily reference gender, it is an undeniable feature of both past and present societies that women are targets of biopower.

Foucault's work only represents one of the more contemporary branches of work on social control. Historically, social control began as the ability of a society to control its members devoid of coercion. Popular in U.S. sociology, this definition equated social control, what in essence held a society of increasingly diverse members together, with integration and conformity (Ross 1896; Spierenburg 2004). It was not until after WWII that the idea of social control as we know it today – as the response to crime and/or deviance and as a constraining force – emerged (Deflem 2007). This project brings the newer area of the sociology of gender, and increasingly mainstream use of embodiment, with the more established area of the sociology of social control.

2.3 CASE STUDIES

2.3.1 *France*

On June 14, 1940, German forces successfully invaded Paris, France. Three days later, Marshal Henri Philippe Pétain assumed power with a newly formed government (Laub 2010). July 10, 1940 marked the official accession of Vichy, the German collaborationist regime, and full powers were granted to Pétain (Paxton 2006). General Charles de Gaulle, who would later serve as France's President through the sixties, left for Britain on June 17th, and led the Free French Forces resistance group (Paxton 2006).

Following France's liberation, the Sword and the Shield theory emerged as the main interpretive understanding of the dark period of German occupation. This explanation portrayed Pétain as internal shield, working to prevent France's complete subordination to Nazi will as de Gaulle struck externally as the metaphorical sword, weakening Nazism abroad (Laub 2010). The two leaders, while using different tactics and resources available to them, worked toward the same goal of preserving France. At the end of the war, this was widely accepted as the "least-worst explanation" of Occupation (Laub 2010:4). This idea that France (save for a few collaborators) was united against Nazism was a myth upheld by the punishment of women accused of collaboration (Virgili 2002). In reality, the country was close to evenly divided between pro-Resistance and pro-Collaboration (Koreman 1999).

Robert Paxton in *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order, 1940-1944* (published in 1972) argued against the common perception of France's reluctant concession to Nazi Germany. Paxton reasoned that Vichy and Pétain willingly assisted the regime (Laub 2010; Paxton 1972). This model of collaboration/resistance accordingly categorized individuals, organizations, and institutions through moral dimensions, as 'good' or 'bad' depending on their resistance to or compliance with the Nazi regime. Recognizing the limitations of such a dichotomy in explaining any complexities, Philippe Burrin proposed an accommodationist perspective. Now widely adopted, this approach interprets events and individual actions as attempts to adapt to the widespread changes during the war (Laub 2010).

While there is a significant amount of research on race and national identity in France, related studies on sexuality, gender, and the female body have only recently

received more popular attention (Chapman and Frader 2004; Ezra 2000; Hargreaves 1995; Peabody and Stovall 2003; Silverman 1996; Wilder 2005). In particular Elisa Camiscioli's 2009 *Reproducing the French Race* and Francine Muel-Dreyfus' 2001 *Vichy and the Eternal Feminine* underline the role of the feminine in strengthening Nazi ideology on sex and race. Camiscioli follows Foucauldian tradition in discussing state regulation focused on securing the biopower of citizens (2009). Her analysis traces the roots of a highly racialized and gendered definition of national identity through policy change, propaganda, and medical literature from pre-WWI to the Vichy regime. The French idea of citizenship set White Europeans as exclusively assimilable. This archetype was also generally true for Germany and Continental Europe at the time (Camiscioli 2009; Campt 2005). Muel-Dreyfus traces how Vichy reframed women's reproductive roles and maternal duty as a return to nature, or the natural, inferior place of the feminine in society. It likewise served to legitimize the racial inequalities integral to persecution under Hitler (Muel-Dreyfus 2001).

Only in the past two decades has work on head shaving become widely accessible in English. In the groundbreaking *Shorn Women: Gender and Punishment in Liberation France*, expert Fabrice Virgili states that it is still difficult to reach a clear understanding of events because they are so often misrepresented and taboo. The book shows how events were shaped by and incited the symbolism of race, femininity, nationhood, and power (Virgili 2002).

2.3.2 Germany

What many historians refer to as the 'Stunde Null' [roughly translated as 'zero hour'] or idea that the Third Reich's regime was isolated in and wholly disconnected

from the rest of German history, has been increasingly challenged by scholars (Chin et al. 2009). As a direct result of the perverse use of racial language under Nazism, postwar Germany adamantly sought to separate itself from Nazi “state-sponsored racism” (Fehrenbach 2005:4). The eradication of Nazi racist vocabulary did not mean that race-based prejudices also disappeared (Fehrenbach 2005).

Recent research has focused on the changes in function and form of the racial ideology that was key in daily social life and Nazi German institutions. While the effect of American culture on race in Germany has received academic attention, little has been done to connect racial issues of the war and immediate postwar years to modern German issues (Chin et al. 2009). Earlier American-German occupation studies largely neglected a micro-oriented approach (what informal relationships formed between civilians and soldiers) in favor of the ‘bigger picture’ of “political, military, and economic elites” (Goedde 2003:xv). Recent scholarship on the topic features the cultural and social impact of American occupation on civilians as both supplement to studies of greater political events and way to enrich any understanding of post-war Germany (Goedde 2003).

Additionally, Nazi family policy, medical institutions, and eugenics program have received significant scholastic attention since the mid- to late- 1990s. In reference to race, the majority of these studies focus on the violence directed towards the Jewish population in Europe during the war. In reference to gender, studies of these issues mainly focus on policies concerning women, and the function of republican motherhood in supporting and propagating the heavily nationalist agenda of WWII-era Germany (Albanese 2006; Pine 1997; Usborne 2007).

As in France, procreation as racial and national issue was pivotal in the reconstruction of German nationhood. The control of women who overstepped the racial and cultural norm by fraternizing with African American men functioned as symbolic politics, a reassertion of male, White, German dominant groups' power.

2.4 RACIALIZATION

My analysis focuses on gender and race as important issues in discussing the anxieties over national identity under occupation and the reconstruction of it after the war. Previous scholars have noted the link between women's role as reproductive capital and race, as well as found useful the simultaneous study of gender and race. While the development of gender and race studies generally progressed separately and distinctly from each other, researchers have increasingly encouraged the application of perspectives from one area to improve understanding of the other (Burns 2007; Winter 2008). Studies in intersectionality and gender in comparative racialization, for example, underscore the increasing use of race with gender theories (Crenshaw 1993; Hong and Ferguson 2011). Just as the Nazi regime exercised power in restricting and manipulating gendered bodies, they also sought to enforce a racially-prejudiced ideology.

A major difference between the two cases of France and Germany is the observable process of racialization. While the idea of 'race' and racial issues were undoubtedly present in France, racialization is observable to a greater extent in Germany, where it revolved around the categorization of individuals as either Aryan or non-Aryan. In France, national identity was portrayed as vulnerable to the cultural influences of increased German presence, while in Germany the racial purity of national identity was

perceived to be threatened by German-African-American contact. In Germany, such contact was constructed as a direct ‘biological’ issue.

Eugenics is deeply intertwined with the history of governmentality. Foucault’s work is again applicable in its tracing the roots of modern racism to the use of biopower by governments throughout history (Camiscioli 2009). Foucault stresses that “blood was a *reality with a symbolic function*,” acknowledging the intensely symbolic use of blood by the Nazi regime (1990:147).

Race as a social construct refers to the idea that physical differences are ascribed social meaning. Race, is not biologically ‘true’ (individuals who share the same racial identity are not deterministically more genetically similar to each other than two individuals of a different race, and certain traits i.e. athletic or intellectual ability are not predetermined by race, etc.). It does, however, carry real life consequences. The meaning given to these differences affect the individual self and group in society (Omi and Winant 1986). Conceptions of race can thus be context-specific, given their social nature. (see Chapter 5).

Many scholars have recently favored a move away from the use of the term ‘race’ given its problematic status as referencing a concept that is false or meaningless in a scientific sense, but true in a socially reified one (Barot and Bird 2001; Rattansi 2005). The term ‘racialization’ as used in the sociology of race and ethnic relations, and introduced to the discipline through the work of Michael Banton, more specifically denotes the process by which individuals are ascribed a racial identity, issues are given racial meanings, and by which this is then used to include or exclude certain groups (Dalal 2002). Racialization as a concept, however, has also become somewhat

problematic through its popular adoption and diffuse, varied use, for example, in popular media (Murji and Solomos 2005).

In the United States, Michael Omi and Howard Winant (Omi and Winant 1986) proposed a theory on racial formation. While similar, Omi and Winant's concept emphasizes the social and historical nature of racial categorization. Consequently, racial meanings underlie and are implied in social interactions, racial formation can help explain race in a global context, and the concept of race has changed throughout history (Murji and Solomos 2005).

Other relevant contributions to race, racialization, and racial formation studies include European scholar Franz Fanon (with whom the concept of racialization as used today originates), who highlights embodiment and race, and violence inflicted on racialized bodies. Building from Foucault's work, David T. Goldberg discusses racialization in reference to the body, power, and the subjection and exclusion of individuals. Like those working in embodiment studies from a sociology of gender perspective, Goldberg argues racialization is contestable (Barot and Bird 2001).

Since 1999, several articles have examined how race and law are mutually constitutive. As the racial/ethnic makeup of a population changes, the need for legislation to mediate and regulate interaction between different groups arises. Laws then tend not only to reify conceptions of racial groups as well as work biasedly against the racial minority (Gómez 2010). The formal mechanism of social control, pronatalist policy, in Germany both under occupation and during the reconstruction of national identity is a clear example of how the law both reflected and propagated the notion of citizenship along racial lines.

2.5 WHY SOCIOLOGY?

Anthropology, in comparison to the other social sciences, has devoted considerable attention to gender and war, and only in the last 20 to 25 years have studies of the body truly gained popularity in social theory research (Bolin 1992; Goldstein 2001). While historical, feminist, and race studies have focused on related issues, a sociological approach is invaluable in connecting these past issues to contemporary ones. Interpretations of these intimate relationships and the community's response both influenced and sprang from greater cultural values and political ideologies, or the greater picture of racial ideology and national identity as governed by the state. Anxieties both before and during occupation seemingly culminated in the treatment of these women. Today, our debates over immigration and the continuing perceived fight for women's agency over their own bodies point to the continued need to explore such related issues.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY

In WWII era France and Germany, women who had sexual or romantic contact with enemy soldiers were targets of social control. Changes in state policy and communal ostracism both reflected and reinforced gendered, sexual, and racial ideology. These events and ideas were in turn, fundamentally influenced by certain conditions of the war. My analysis of the formal and informal social control of female sexuality revolves around three key research questions:

1. How are certain cultural expectations of gender and sexuality enforced through the regulation and direct punishment of women's bodies?
2. How is racial ideology likewise exercised and reified?
3. How were these expectations and sanctions formed and transformed by occupation and the reconstruction of national identity?

I address these questions through a comparative-historical sociological analysis of formal and informal responses to intimate relationships, from WWII occupation to post-war reconstruction of national identity, in the following two cases:

1. Nazi German soldiers and French women, in France
2. African-American GIs and West German women, in Germany

Even with the taboo surrounding the subject and the present difficulty of obtaining firsthand accounts of these past events, recently (in the past 20 to 30 years) influential French and German sources are now more widely accessible through English translation.

Additionally, the renewed interest on the dual connection between war and gender in society provides a great opportunity to conduct a meaningful study of this topic.

While some interdisciplinary work is integral to an understanding of the phenomena, my analysis is a sociological contribution to the subject. Despite being restricted to pre-existing, available data, a thorough investigation is still possible given the ample amount of useful empirical historical analysis. At least a dozen books have been written by historians on the topic to which I can apply a sociological treatment. Most contemporary literature of the intimate contact between occupying forces and civilians consists of an abundance of invaluable empirical historical and personal descriptive accounts. My work follows the emerging studies that use sociological analyses to explain historical events. These studies from sociology include J. Robert Lilly's *Taken by force: Rape and American GIs in Europe during World War II* and Fabrice Virgili's *Shorn Women: Gender and Punishment in Liberation France*. These aim to uncover a victimized group that has largely been ignored in traditional historical accounts, provide a framework to discuss the broader and contemporary issues of race, war, and gender, and to prevent a one-sided simplified conceptions of war (Lilly 2007; Virgili 2002).

I predominantly rely on secondary sources, and consult primary sources from news media of the period where possible (*Jet* 1951; U.S. Army 1940-1945). Secondary historical sources, as well as Virgili's and Lilly's work compile large amounts of good archival data and an extensive amount of primary text, and supply ample high-quality descriptive information (Cline 2008; Muel-Dreyfus 2001). Some photographic evidence from the era may be useful but can be heavily subject to bias, misrepresentation, and

inauthenticity (Moore 2005). With any work of comparative historical sociology, *ex post facto* reasoning is always a risk. Ethically, it is necessary to be aware of the complexity of the issues and individual situations. In analyzing these past events, I run the risk of portraying these women only as victims and their partners and communities merely as aggressors. For example, while I only mention the placement of mixed-race German babies in foster care and push for their adoption into the U.S. as evidence of a racial logic after the war that marked them as unassimilable, this was not the *only* way the children were treated. Some children were brought up by loving families and remained in Germany. I also use the terms ‘occupation’ and ‘invasion’ somewhat interchangeably in, but not all uses of the terms are intended to encompass the harsh and oppressive regimes normally associated with it. Both history and sociology can benefit from approaching events as complex, multifaceted situations.

The issues of gender expectation under martial culture did not end with Liberation and the change in diplomatic relations between the U.S. and West Germany, nor were they a disconnected creation of the WWII era. They both stemmed from past history as well as relate to contemporary topics. Scholars have written separately about head shaving in France, abortion and pro-natalist policy in Germany, social control and race, social control and gender, and the reconstruction of national identity in post-war Europe (Albanese 2006; Armstrong and McAra 2006; Bartky 1990; Chriss 2010; Maguire 2012; McNay 1993; Moeller 1989; Nagel 1998; Pine 1997; Shapiro 1985; Usborne 2007; Virgili 2002). I am comparing the two cases to provide evidence that certain conditions that play pivotal roles in the creation of national anxieties and the reconstruction of national identity manifest in these violent means of social control, of which, women are

often the target as holders of potential reproductive capital. The specific cases of head-shaving in France and pro-natalist policy in Germany are just two historical instances of this process. Through historical-comparative research, I aim to show that these conditions, independent of cultural or historical context, result in similar consequences. Most previous scholars have framed their arguments as confined to the specific historical and cultural period, but comparing the two cases, gives some persuasive evidence that social control as backlash on women's bodies is not an isolated phenomenon. It is the product of various factors, not solely an oppressive gender ideology, or economics etc.

Focusing on what happens to women who violate these ideas rather than conform, yields an interesting, fruitful analysis. The presence of such punitive reaction to women's sexual conduct illustrates the importance of these issues and anxieties over women's role as securers of national progress, cultural legacy, and racial purity. Historically then, I would argue that such phenomena could reproduce themselves and reoccur under similar circumstances. Discussions of long-standing issues faced by women in our own military, modern conceptions of national identity based on race, and the ways government's continue to control and regulate certain forms of sexual behavior while promoting others point to the modern application of my work.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS

Sexual contact between the occupying forces and civilian women was merely one of several consequences of the war and occupation which led to social anxieties about national identity. Limited economic and material resources, population decline, and the social psychological state of defeat are other inevitable consequences for defeated nations. Colonialism, immigration, and the medicalization of racial language were specific outcomes of the war in late 1940s France and Germany. These social anxieties in turn were both visible in and purged through the formal and informal social control of these women. Head shaving in France and the pronatalist policies in Germany were important factors in the post-war reconstruction of identity that ironically utilized the same racial and gendered logic that was so instrumental during the war. In trying to rebuild the nation and distance themselves from Vichy in France and Nazism in Germany, both societies rely on the same ideas of the threats of women's unregulated sexuality, and cultural or racial mixing.

In what follows I first review the economic, demographic, and other outcomes of the war and occupation that contributed to anxiety over the loss of national identity. I then discuss how the reconstruction of national identity relied on shaping women's roles as domestic and maternal.

4.1 ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES

During the war and under occupation, increasingly strained economic and material circumstances placed survival as a daily civilian concern. More specifically “food was women’s business. The daily struggle to feed and clothe children and to keep them warm was the struggle of women, the mainstay of the family” (Duchen 1994:20). While everyone during the war struggled to live with limited material resources, women were responsible for the domestic realm, queuing up for hours for increasingly meager portions (Adler 1995). The economic damage of the war redefined and necessitated women’s greater independence and new roles as heads of household. Many women were left to provide for their families as husbands, fathers, and other male relatives were killed, fighting, or imprisoned (Duchen 1994; Goedde 2003; Moeller 1989; Paxton 1972).

Familial responsibility and duty towards others were considered ideal feminine values, as housewifery and motherhood under strained economic conditions became associated with self-sacrifice. French papers of the period encouraged women to organize and push for greater distribution of resources, not for their own interests, but on behalf of others – i.e. the children and elderly people they were responsible for (Adler 1995). In Germany, housewives were similarly charged with the nourishment of the family, and by proxy the nation. Influential Nazi politician Rudolf Hess, in a 1936 speech instructed his audience:

Hardworking and efficient German housewives know what they have to do in the service of this great German family – the German people – if it has to overcome temporary small shortages. They simply do their shopping in accordance with the interest of the great German family! They do not attempt to buy expressly that which is in short supply...but instead buy those things which are available in abundance and prepare them in such a way that they look really good and taste really good to their husbands and children.
(Pine 1997:81).

That such gender-specific behavior endorsed by the authorities and communal expectations and the absence of male providers pushed women to move freely and occupy greater public space was ignored in the backlash after the war, as men returned home. Additionally, voluntary sexual liaisons with the enemy were denounced as indicators of personal and moral flaws rather than as a product of external economic and social pressures. Head shaving in France and pronatalist, pro-family policy in West Germany were attempts to reinstitute normative, traditional family structures, and gender roles. Women's agency was portrayed as a threat to the basic unit of society (the home in France, and the family in Germany) and the moral order of the state. Head shaving in France and family policy in Germany functioned as a reassertion of male dominance and patriarchal control over women who had experienced greater freedoms before and during the war (Diamond 1999; Laurens 1995; Moeller 1989).

4.2 POPULATION DECLINE AND THE LOSS OF MALE LIFE

Europe's latest experience with global conflict, the First World War which was supposed to have been the 'war to end all wars,' had decimated the male population. Declining birthrates triggered widespread anxiety about losing national and cultural identity (Kidd and Reynolds 2000; Paxton 2006). By the 1930s, France's birth rate was strikingly low (Paxton 2006). In Germany, even after the war, women far outnumbered men with an estimated 1,400 females for every 1,000 males between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-nine (Moeller 1989).

The issues of birthrate, population replacement, and the absence of males pushed women into expanded economic roles, as discussed above, but also tied motherhood and repopulation to the nationalist, patriotic duty of women. Women's procreative and

reproductive capital was incentivized both during and after the war as a physical contribution to the state.

Abortion was seen as a crime against the state in France, where Vichy was influenced by pronatalist groups. At least two recorded cases exist of the execution of abortion providers in occupied France (Diamond 1999; Wanrooij 2006). Even after the war ended, the state continued to exercise control over women's bodies through repressive punishment of abortion (Diamond 1999). Nazi Germany implemented an extensive pronatalist program to build up the Aryan population and a violently antinatalist stance towards non-Aryans. The placement of mixed-race children into foster care, emphasis of the unassimilability of Black occupation children, and ostracism of their mothers shows the importance of Whiteness in German national identity.

For France, the historical tensions with Germany were aggravated by the threat of German influence on changing the French way of life. In Germany, the Nazis had manipulated fears about the "decline of European civilization" and the anxiety over changing German identity continued after the end of the war (Zahra 2011:43). Race is a consistent issue in the fears about the loss of national identity. Women's responsibility and national duty was linked to birthing and raising the next generation, but exclusively through their nation's men (through French-fathered children in France, and White-German men in Germany). By sleeping with the enemy, women 'betrayed' their sexual selves, their womanhood, and their country, effectively giving up their 'right' to French or German identity (Nagel 2000).

4.3 OTHER VARIABLES

4.3.1 *Defeat as Sexual Humiliation*

Some historians have more recently focused on the psychological effects of military occupation in the enforcement of gender roles (Diamond 1999; Goedde 2003; Muel-Dreyfus 2001; Virgili 2002). Virgili attributes the violent punishment of women to a distressed patriarchal ego (2002). The fall to the enemy was humiliating (Goedde 2003; Paxton 1972). Men had failed to protect both their women and territory from enemy advance. Head shaving functioned as a way to relieve humiliation (Kelly 1995).

In France, the displays of public shaving then were a way to ‘purge’ the communities of German influence. It was a form of revenge for a ‘wounded masculinity’ under Occupation, reestablishing male authority and a ‘virile France’ (Virgili 2002). In Germany, racist conceptions of Blacks and of Black male sexuality undoubtedly played a role in demeaning women who were perceived as associating with an ‘inferior’ individual. Both the formal and informal social control illustrate the double standard of sexual behavior in war. Sexual domination is a tool of war for men, but women are demanded to be examples of either patriotic motherhood or a national womanhood that deflects the sexual advances of ‘the enemy’ (Nagel 2000). Women were clearly treated as procreative resource and as national objects and symbols during war (Higonnet, et al. 1987). Men had protected neither their physical territory, nor the symbolic terrain of women’s bodies from enemy ‘invasion’.

4.3.2 *Colonialism and Immigration*

Women who were alleged mistresses of North African Gestapo soldiers were also the targets of particular condescension and scorn in France (Diamond 1999). The war and

need to rebuild brought native French and German citizens into closer contact with non-European citizenry. In Germany, immigrant workers brought up questions about integration and assimilation. The Turkish workers now living in Germany, and the large French population living in North Africa triggered fears of the ‘dilution’ of national identity. Turkish and North African individuals were viewed as subordinate and any influence as undesirable due to colonial views and cultural prejudice (Campt 2005).

National identity was threatened, then, not only by enemy influence but also by contact with colonial subjects. The rigid construction of European citizenship in opposition to these populations served a purpose during the reconstruction of national identity in France and Germany. Scholars argue that nationhood still depends on highly gendered and racialized ideas (Campt 2005).

4.3.3 *Racial Language and Eugenics*

The pervasive use of racial language legitimized scientific racism and the eugenics program’s efforts to physiologically ‘improve’ the population. Scientific jargon that emphasized the threat of racial ‘contamination,’ of ‘illness,’ ‘pathology,’ and ‘disease’ reified racial hierarchies and through, language itself, facilitated eugenics policy. Nazi racial language, while unique in the racialization process in Germany, affected France as well.

Combat in WWII was unprecedented in the sense that it blurred, for the first time, lines between combatant and noncombatants (Bynum et al. 2006). Sexual contact represented an insidious contamination by the enemy, and head shaving in France became part of a post-war cleansing process. Sexual intercourse was equated with contamination, “and the process of shearing...hair served to ‘decontaminate’...in an

explicit way as if after an epidemic... In this way, the country was symbolically cleansed of collaboration,” (Diamond 1999:140). The female body was another form of national territory in a conflict tainted by racial theory and hierarchy with implications of who should and should not be having sex, who should and should not be ‘mixing’ (Nagel 2000).

In Germany, the Nazi’s eugenics program openly sought to promote the growth of an Aryan population and control non-Aryan individuals. After the war, race in categorizing citizenship was still evident through the treatment of mixed-race children (who were viewed as unassimilable based on psychological racial differences, rather than merely physical), and the emphasis on rebuilding the ‘health’ of the nation (Bynum et al. 2006; David 1999).

4.4 DISCUSSION: MATERNAL WOMEN AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

In summation, strained economic circumstances, the decimation of the European male population, the psychology of defeat as sexual humiliation, colonialism and immigration, and the medicalization of racial language were all variables contributing to fears about the loss of national identity. These social anxieties were purged through the formal and informal social control of women who violated expectations of ‘appropriate’ female sexual behavior.

Women accused of ‘la collaboration horizontale’ [roughly translated as ‘horizontal collaboration’] or sexual or romantic relationships with German soldiers during France’s occupation were assembled together by dominantly male French patriots, shaven, often partially stripped and marked with swastikas, and then paraded around a public space. Sociologist Joane Nagel cites a young woman’s firsthand account:

The war was not finished, but in Paris it assumed another form – more perverse, more degrading...The “shorn woman”...in the midst of a shouting, screeching mob of faces contorted by hatred, groping and opportunistic hands, eyes congested by excitement, festivity, sexuality, sadism. (Nagel 2000:107)

Virgili’s numerous firsthand descriptions of such displays give us another vivid account:

A crowd was following a woman who was entirely naked. Her head had been completely shaved, and on her breasts two swastikas tattooed in Indian ink. I trembled at the idea that this woman would no longer be able to undress herself in front of a man without showing the shame that was on her body. On her back she also had tattooed a portrait of Hitler. The crowd which was out of control were throwing stones at her, pushing her and insulting her. (Virgili 2002:137)

An estimated 20,000 total women of various ages accused of collaboration were shaved during the phenomenon’s peak from 1943 to 1946, from under occupation to the end of the war. This head shaving in France occurred in two major waves: in 1944 following Liberation by Allied troops through the autumn of 1944, and again roughly from May through July 1945 as deportees from Germany returned home (Virgili 2002). While incidents of head shaving happened both in major cities and small rural communities, women in the countryside were more vulnerable as “everyone knows everything, and virtually nothing was forgotten at liberation” (Burrin 1996:207). Despite the absence of any recorded, formal national decision made to punish female collaborators, Allied photographs do indicate the involvement, if not passive complicity, of members of the French resistance (Laurens 1995). As collaboration was increasingly framed as sexual in nature and equated with prostitution, the publicized threat of venereal disease and the state’s anti-venereal disease practices served to further alienate these women, encouraging the involvement of local police authorities (Diamond 1999; Duchon 1994). Many of the shavers also diverted attention from their own collaboration or relative passivity under Occupation, by participating in these public incidents (Beevor 2009; Connell 2000; Virgili 2002).

The targeted women included those who worked as prostitutes, were romantically involved with Germans, flirted or had been seen openly socializing with the enemy troops, worked for Germans, were Nazi and pro-German sympathizers, and were coerced or exploited by their need for food or other resources (Virgili 2002). The majority of accusations pointed at these women were overwhelmingly framed as sexual acts of collaboration, even when their ties to German soldiers were through domestic employment or merely based on rumor (Duchen 1994). These latter economic factors, in particular, and greater social pressures, however, were largely ignored by the punitive community. For the shaved, their reputation and identity as shaved and shamed collaborators followed them for the rest of their lives (Duchen 1994; Rudolph 2003).

The punishment of shaving a woman's head dates back to biblical times when it served as a sign of purification from sin (Beevor 2009; Ripa 2011; Virgili 2002). In the middle ages, shaving connoted a sense of shame and was a common penalty for infidelity. By removing hair as the symbol of a woman's sensuality and femininity, it stripped a woman of her 'power' to seduce and thus have a threatening reversal of power over men. This desexualization in France was surprisingly accompanied by a "strong element of vicarious eroticism among the [shavers] and their crowd" as nudity, and even spankings played an important part of the public punishment (Beevor 2009:2; Virgili 2002).

Both under Vichy and after Liberation, housewifery and motherhood were deemed the ideal and 'natural' calling for women. The normative conception of family was one built from a heterosexual couple with the man filling the primary role of financial provider, and the woman in charge of domestic duties and rearing children as

responsible citizens. After Liberation, the French were preoccupied with mending and strengthening the domestic sphere through policy that focused on the home. This post-war emphasis on women's traditional roles "was represented as the re-establishment of normality" (Duchen 1994:64).

Heide Fehrenbach in *After the Nazi Racial State: Difference and Democracy in Germany and Europe* cites archival data in examining the viciously antinatalist program regarding 'non-Aryans' and the pronatalist policy that favored Aryan individuals, "at least one Black German girl, who was sterilized in 1937 as a 'Rhineland bastard,' narrowly escaped being shipped to Eastern Europe to be pressed into prostitution for the Wehrmacht" (Chin et al. 2009:34). While Aryan women were legally prohibited from social and sexual contact with 'non-Aryan' men, Aryan men could have both consensual and non-consensual interracial sex with non-Aryan women as long as it was non-reproductive. Recent work by the researchers at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum additionally suggests that multiple 'care' centers, "where pregnant women were forced to have abortions or their babies were killed after birth," and brothels, "where women were coerced into having sex with German military personnel" existed throughout Europe (Lichtblau 2013:1). Women were the primary targets of the regime's regulation and concerns on the racialized aspect of sex (Chin et al. 2009).

The fascist regime in Germany emphasized women's role as mothers, offering incentives for women who followed traditional, domestic functioning roles. The Honor Cross of the German Mother, for example, was awarded to mothers of four or more children, and a June 1993 law allotted interest-free loans to married couples in which the woman had stopped working. Such pronatalist programs, intended to improve

reproductive, physical, and genetic stability of society, however, were only applicable to citizens categorized as Aryan and thus genetically ‘fit’ and biologically ‘superior’ (Durham 2006). The language of health, race, and gender were all utilized by the Nazi regime in its eugenic agenda (Weindling 2006). Under the 1933 law for the Prevention of Hereditarily Diseased Offspring, around 320,000 people were forcibly sterilized (Pine 1997). In 1935, as part of the Nuremberg Laws, the Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honour prohibited Aryan-Jewish unions (Durham 2006; Pine 1997). Further evidence of the regime’s paternalistic and patriarchal appropriation of intimate, personal processes and physical bodies is an additional 1935 law requiring a “certificate of fitness to marry” from health authorities, the Law for the Protection of Hereditary Health of the German People or Marriage Health Law. The 1933 Law for the Protection of the People and State prohibited birth control organizations, and anti-abortion policy concerning Aryan citizens increased over the war. A total estimate of 200,000 compulsorily sterilized women has been calculated (Durham 2006).

On October 1945, just over a year since its establishment by General Eisenhower on September 12 1944, the fraternization ban in Germany was rescinded. Relationships that quickly developed between American GIs and German women, who greatly outnumbered men at the end of the war, were a major factor in the relatively unsuccessful efforts to restrict American-German informal civilian interaction (Goedde 2003).

The informal relationships that naturally developed as American GIs filled the roles left unfulfilled by the loss of male life during the war greatly contributed to the relatively quick turnaround in U.S.-German diplomatic relationships. Generally, both German civilians and the U.S. troops wanted a return to normalcy by the end of the war,

and as Germany began rebuilding, daily interaction ‘blurred’ the lines between self and enemy (Goedde 2003). Both Germans and Americans (both White and non-White) were often surprised at the kindness and civility of ‘enemy’ citizens after hostilities ended. While Germany sought to distance itself from the legacy of Nazism, racial prejudice, and ideology, as well as racism undoubtedly still permeated German society. Racist language may have been suppressed, but deeply-ingrained ways of thinking about race and racialized symbolism were harder to immediately eradicate (Campt 2005; Fehrenbach 2005; Goedde 2003). As historian Petra Goedde aptly describes the persistence of racial prejudice, “expressions of racism became more prevalent as popular attention shifted from the soldiers’ interactions with children to their relationships with women” (Goedde 2003:65). Women who pursued relationships with Black troops were derided both by other Germans in the community as well as fellow American White soldiers (Chin et al. 2009; Fehrenbach 2005; Goedde 2003). Many were ostracized, labeled as prostitutes even though they had been romantically attached to only one Black GI (Rudolph 2003).

Conceptions and treatment of women with African-American lovers after the war was equally reliant on racial ideology of non-Whites as inferior. Interracial sexual behavior carried implications about a German woman’s identity, and such women were reprehended with “wanton materialism” and being immoral, “mentally impaired, asocial, or...prostitutes” (Chin et al. 2009:36,37). It was not unusual for women who had intimate contact with Black U.S. troops to be coerced into VD clinics, jails, or “workhouses” for variable periods of time (Chin et al. 2009:37). Likewise, these racial notions affected perceptions of the ‘kind’ of woman who had children fathered by an occupying African-

American soldier, and questions on her capabilities and suitability as a parent (Chin et al. 2009).

In fact, general family policy after the war upheld patriarchal ideology, structuring “women’s economic dependence on men; the ideological evaluation of motherhood; pronatalist sentiments; and the normative conception of the ‘family’” (Moeller 1989:139). The family was the basic unit in the rebuilding of postwar Germany. Financial incentives such as ‘Kindergeld’ [literally translated as ‘children-money’] were again predicated on and available for a specific ideal family. Female headed households were considered a kind of post-war anomaly with women’s independence constructed as a temporary “emancipation of necessity,” with the underlying assumption that once their contributions were no longer necessary, women would return to their natural sphere as homemakers, wives, and nurturers after the war effort was over (Enloe 1983; Moeller 1989:147). Families without fathers were “incomplete” or “half-families” and problematic for family and state (Moeller 1989:153). Postwar West Germany sought to return to the ideal family structure (regardless of the fact it never really existed in the first place as it was impractical for working class families) in which the father acted as the primary breadwinner and the mother was responsible for the children’s moral upbringing. Republican motherhood was thus emphasized both during and after the war (Moeller 1989).

In France and Germany, women who had sexual contact with enemy soldiers were targets of social control. Changes in state policy and communal ostracism both reflected and reinforced gendered, sexual, and racial ideology. Contact with the enemy carried moral implications about the “type of woman” that could essentially “prostitute herself”

as well as her country (Adler 1999:48). In Germany, the logic behind the approach to ‘dealing with’ African-American fathered children was based on racialized thinking that was connected to the legacy of Nazi pronatalism. A moral dimension provided the rationale in framing the mothers of African-American fathered children as ‘unfit’ to raise them (Fehrenbach 2005). Republican motherhood during the war, and the maternal role, duty, and identity in the reconstruction of national identity after WWII were connected. It represented the ideal role for the patriotic female citizen, and emphasized her contribution to the state as reproductive and sexual (Durham 2006). Both the duty of citizens during the war to uphold racial and cultural purity as well as the reactions after the war to women’s behavior were premised on reinforcing a ‘traditional’ view of gender conformity, of who the ideal female citizen was.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

After the end of WWII, head shaving in France and family policy in Germany functioned as important steps in the reconstruction of national identity. This rebuilding for women, however, was a return to traditional views of the feminine in society, as naturally maternal, domestic, and dependent on men. Republican motherhood was the ideal role for the female citizen both during and after the war. The formal and informal social control targeting women enforced familiar patriarchal and (in Germany) racial ideology.

5.1 RACE AND GENDER IN CONTEXT

Germanness [or 'Deutschheit'], according to expert Cyprian Blamires, "had nothing to do with political citizenship or the holding of a German passport; it had purely to do with racial purity" (2006:273). Race to and for the Nazi regime revolved around ideas of 'Nordicness.' The term did not implicitly or exclusively refer to differences in physical appearance (though the Nazis definitely used physical differences to discriminate and segregate). German racial purity referenced "certain superior qualities of 'soul' and character," meaning it incorporated moral standards and types of behavior and shared ideas. Thus, certain social behavior or ideals could be labeled as 'German' or 'un-German.' The Nazis valued an Aryan mythology that placed Germanic individuals as part of the master race (Blamires 2006).

The U.S. troops that entered and occupied Germany were racially segregated, meaning that American soldiers brought racial stratification in their military and their

social interactions with them to German society. An unintentional effect of Jim Crow segregation in the everyday interactions and functioning of the U.S. army in Germany was the perpetuation of such American prejudices in a German cultural context (Goedde 2003). A 1947 issue of *Social Forces* contains an article on African-American troops that demonstrates such open discriminatory racial attitudes of fellow White American soldiers, “Negro VD rates were higher, but under the influence of white soldiers, only the very lowest class local women, among whom the VD rates were equally high, would associate with the colored soldiers” (Weil 1947).

Race in France during the same period was influenced, to a certain extent, by Nazi ideology through Vichy. What separates French racial thinking more distinctly, however, is the cultural and colonial aspect of racialization. The idea of ‘Frenchness’ and the ‘French’ citizen in relation to an ‘other’ was affected by colonial relationships, and an aspect of cultural prejudice. An aspect of anti-Semitism, which adopted an increasingly racialized nature in the interwar period, also formed French racial ideas (Peabody and Stovall 2003). Additionally, the threat of procreating with the enemy in France was the potential loss of the ‘French way of life’ through a new generation of half-German children, compared to the decline of the German ‘people’ (Camiscioli 2009; Camp 2005; Kidd and Reynolds 2000; Zahra 2011).

Under Nazism, sexual behavior came under the domain of the state rather than private or personal choice. Women’s national duty was maternal. The family was the basic unit of the nation, and women’s reproductive capital was invaluable in securing the continuation of a ‘pure’ German race (Morgan 2006). Additionally, the ideal German woman under Nazism was a self-sacrificing, domestic expert. She was expected to be

frugal and yet provide her children with adequate nourishment, maximizing her resources to ensure the health of the German peoples (Pine 1997).

While Nazi Germany celebrated a return to the country and the “fertile, hard-working peasant family,” Vichy France also encouraged a return to the ‘natural’ inferior place of women in comparison to men (Morgan 2006:221; Muel-Dreyfus 2001). Abortion under both regimes was considered a crime against the state, however, in Germany this was only a ‘crime’ for ‘Aryan’ women of viable ‘Aryan’ fetuses (Morgan 2006; Muel-Dreyfus 2001; Wanrooij 2006). Again after the war, the family was the basic building block of society, and women’s duty to the French population was to ensure the continuation of French national identity through French-fathered children (Muel-Dreyfus 2001).

5.2 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN FRANCE AND GERMANY

In the here considered cases of France and Germany, the female body was both source of anxiety and site of regulation. Just as the ‘crimes’ of the stigmatized women involved the perceived misuse of their bodies, communal and state responses were equally focused on the body. Responses to female sexual behavior were intensely physical. While both the formal and informal control of women’s bodies in France and Germany were the result of a specific set of consequences of the war, two differences exist between the two cases:

1. An observable racialization process revolved around the distinction between Aryan and non-Aryan, and ‘Whiteness and ‘Blackness’ in Germany (Campt 2005; Chin et al. 2009). The threat of these sexual unions in Germany was posed as one of racial mixing and the loss of the German race, whereas in France it was

constructed as a dilution of national and cultural identity and loss of the French ‘way of life’ (Camiscioli 2009; Campt 2005; Kidd and Reynolds 2000; Zahra 2011). The consequences of interracial sexual contact in Germany between White German women and Black American men were seen as much more detrimental to society. In this sense, racial language and eugenics in the German case carried more serious implications.

2. Public head shaving was a more typified response to sexual misbehavior in France, but not in Germany. Informal social control, community initiated and exercised head shaving, was an instrumental mechanism of regulating and enforcing ideals of femininity, maternal duty, and national womanhood in France, while formal social control, state enacted policy change in abortion laws and Aryan pro-natalism, became the dominant form of control in Germany.

While this paper focuses on the formal social control in Germany and informal social control in France, it is important to acknowledge that formal social control also existed in France as did informal social control in Germany. I focus on head shaving in France, however, and the legal policy in Germany because of the intensity of the phenomena. Formal social control was so systematically ingrained into the Nazi regime, and the regulation of intimate processes continued in postwar reconstruction under family policy. Head shaving, while seemingly a unique event of the wartime era, relied on the same ideas of republican motherhood and ‘acceptable’ female sexuality that formed postwar values.

5.3 RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY

Today, the recent controversy over Germany's circumcision ban, the relative successes of the FN and BNP and the rise of neo-Nazi violence in Europe demonstrate the continual need to explore the connection between gendered expectation, widespread social anxieties, race and ethnicity, and national identity (Durham 2006; Paramaguru 2012; Schofield 2012; Spillius 2012). The Front National (FN) in France and the British National Party (BNP) in England are conservative political groups with staunch anti-immigrant stances that encourage a return to the 'traditional' family structure in their respective countries.

Other legitimate topics for research include men's roles and gender expectations as equally rigid during war (Bethmann and Kvasnicka 2012). Male collaborators in France were also sometimes shaved, but not to the extent that females were targeted (Virgili 2002). The male body carries its own gendered, cultural meaning, and the male identity is similarly tied to bodily containment, comportment, and 'wholeness' (for example, the disabled or wounded body as emasculative during WWII). The male body is also vulnerable to humiliation through violent 'emasculative acts,' and studies of male embodiment and the social control of male sexuality during war equally merit study. Sexual violence is still an undeniable consequence of war, and while not new, rape as a tool of war against men has received recent attention, especially in studies of the Congo. Other examples of comparable cases include the Civil War South, American GIs in Japan and Britain and American presence today in Afghanistan and Iraq (Caldwell et al. 2009; Nagel 1998; Silber 1993).

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