

FEMALE SEXUALITY AND PUNISHMENT IN OCCUPIED NORWAY

*A transnational study of the violent persecution of 'tyskertøser' during the
Second World War*

Elizabeth Strømme



Master Thesis in Modern International and Transnational History
at the Department of Archaeology, Conservation and History, Autumn 2019

UNIVERSITY OF OSLO

© 2019 Elizabeth Strømme

FEMALE SEXUALITY AND PUNISHMENT IN OCCUPIED NORWAY

*A transnational study of the violent persecution
of 'tyskertøser' during the Second World War*

Elizabeth Strømme

www.duo.uio.no

Print: Representralen, University of Oslo

PREFACE

From an early age, my mother decided she would buy me any book I ever wanted, and this has led to a life-long passion for current events, history and literature. It is this interest that led me to pursue the topic of *tyskertøser* in my thesis, as through my countless reading endeavours, I hardly ever read about these women. Thus, I was left wondering; who were these women who loved the enemy and why does Norway's official occupation history not reflect their stories?

I owe a great many people a deepfelt thank you for their unwavering support, without whom this thesis would not have been possible. First and foremost, I would like to thank my dear supervisor Patrick Bernhard for his honest commentary, insightful input and wicked sense of humour. You helped me hit the ground running, but most importantly, you encouraged me to go full-speed ahead into uncharted territory and guided me through the difficulties of such an undertaking. I would also like to acknowledge and thank everyone I encountered in the process of researching this thesis. For your excellent inputs and academic insights; thank you. On the MITRA program, I have been fortunate enough to be surrounded by a wonderful group of students. Here, I would particularly like to thank Karoline Vassenden and Siw Rysstad for all coffee dates and late-night conversations. A special thank you is owed to Birger Sanden, Ida Rødningen, and Lily Waddell, for corrections and comments in the final phase of completing this thesis. And last, but not least, I am deeply beholden to my family. To my parents Trine Strømme, Tor Bjørdal, Øyvind Enger and Cathrine Vollelv; Thank you! Thank you for cheering me up and onwards, for helping me back up when I fell and for always being just a phone call away. And to my sister, Monica Strømme, you are an annoying blessing in my life.

Elizabeth Strømme
Oslo, November 2019

ABSTRACT

This thesis is primarily concerned with the sexualised persecution of women accused of having relations with German soldiers in Norway during the Second World War, also commonly known as *tyskertøser*. It presents an alternative narrative to the established literature in the field, which has traditionally addressed the topic within a national framework. Scholars have also mainly viewed shearing and violence against *tyskertøser* as a liberation period phenomenon. To move the debate forward this thesis has therefore accounted for Norway's socio-cultural history regarding punishment of female sexuality. Primarily to underline shearing was not a quasi-natural punishment for Norwegians to use against *tyskertøser*. This thesis has applied a transnational approach to history to study how shearing originated in Norway. Chiefly to demonstrate there was both scope and opportunity for the knowledge of shearing to have manifested itself in Norway as a result of transnational borrowing. Moreover, it has argued Nazi Germany was the likely catalyst for this exchange due to the highly public nature of sexualised violence in the Third Reich. The thesis has furthermore analysed how shearing and *folk-justice* manifested itself and developed throughout the occupation period in Norway. Based on a wide range of previously unstudied primary sources, it has shown Norway's reckoning with *tyskertøser* was largely premeditated as the people had continuously deliberated on how these women should be punished once Norway was liberated from the Nazi occupation forces. Thus, underlining that shearing and *folk-justice* in the liberation period were neither spontaneous acts nor a consequence of a temporary power vacuum. The thesis has therefore also challenged the applicability of some established theories in the field. In addition, it has demonstrated a new framework with a transnational element must be coined in order to encompass the complexity of Norway's violent reckoning with *tyskertøser* during the Second World War.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.....	1
Method and Theory	3
Terminology	4
State of Research	5
Primary sources	8
Down prioritised sources	9
Organisation of the paper	10
1. FEMALE SEXUALITY AND PUNISHMENT IN NORWAY: A BRIEF HISTORICAL OVERVIEW	10
Female sexuality and punishment in the Viking Era	11
Female sexuality and punishment from the Middle Ages until the 18 th century	12
Female sexuality and punishment in the 19 th and 20 th centuries	15
Chapter findings	16
2. SHEARING IN A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE	17
Shearing in ancient times	17
Shearing in the 20 th century	18
Shearing in Nazi Germany.....	20
Chapter findings	25
3. SHEARING AND SEXUALISED VIOLENCE IN NORWAY DURING THE NAZI OCCUPATION	25
The mainstream press in 1940	26
The illegal newspapers in 1940	30
Meldungen Aus Norwegen: Norway and the Wehrmacht	32
The illegal newspapers during the occupation	37
<i>Tyskertøser</i> and established theory	44
Chapter findings	47
THESIS CONCLUSION AND FINAL REMARKS	48
LIST OF CITED SOURCES	ii

INTRODUCTION

More than 70 years after Norway was fully liberated from Nazi occupation on May 8, 1945, *tyskertøser* – the women who were accused of having relations with Wehrmacht soldiers during the Second World War – remains a highly sensitive and controversial subject. When Prime Minister Erna Solberg issued a state apology to these women in October 2018 it was met with mixed feelings from the population.¹ While some welcomed the official recognition of the lawlessness these women had experienced, others condemned the apology stating the Prime Minister should be ashamed alongside the many women who had, it was claimed, betrayed their nation.² The reception of the official apology is arguably reflective of the state of the public discourse on *tyskertøser* in Norway.

Almost immediately after the war, the topic became taboo and knowledge of *tyskertøser* became the prerogative of the generation who experienced the occupation. Consequently, the subjective opinions and experiences of people who were willing to discuss *tyskertøser* became fact as it was passed from one generation to the next. Therefore, the debate about *tyskertøser* today remains coloured by perceptions and beliefs established in the years when no official debate or academic literature presented alternative narratives. While some journalists, authors and scholars started to deal with the topic in the late 1980s and early 1990s, it was only a decade ago that a wider public discourse about *tyskertøser* started to emerge. Subsequently, the study of *tyskertøser* in Norway continues to be a small field and the academic community's overarching knowledge remains a patchwork of scholarly literature and journalistic productions. Naturally enough, this has led Norwegian scholars to focus on the topic within a national framework and rely on theories established by research undertaken elsewhere in Europe to explain Norway's violent reckoning with *tyskertøser*.

¹ Office of the Prime Minister, "Official apology to girls and women who had relationships with German soldiers during the Second World War," last modified October 23, 2018, <https://www.regjeringen.no/en/aktuelt/app/id2616005/>.

² Stig Breistein, "Tyskertøsene fortjener ingen unnskyldning," October 25, 2018, *Bergens Tidende*, <https://www.bt.no/btmeninger/debatt/i/bKx7lg/tyskertoesene-fortjener-ingen-unnskyldning?fbclid=IwAR0fmGbAfmppeODsBgBHHBGJXMZssSaWdj1g1sdIIU1hQo62Oq1gmGSfBDhQ>, last accessed November 10, 2019.

A direct consequence of the abovementioned developments in public commemoration is that it is widely believed shearing was a natural punishment for Norwegians to use against *tyskertøser*. Moreover, it is claimed this sexualised violence was largely a phenomenon restricted to the immediate liberation period. This comes to show for example in the state apology as it only covered the abuse the women suffered *after* Norway was liberated, not the injustices they faced *during* the occupation.³ This is a key element to be aware of because while most people claim to know what happened to *tyskertøser* in 1944 and 1945, particularly the shearing of their hair, few are aware of this sexualised ritual actually having occurred already in 1940. The early occurrence of shearing in Norway is interesting. Firstly, because contrary to popular belief, the country had no prior history of using this sort of punishment against women of allegedly loose morals.⁴ Secondly, while scholars have documented incidents of *folk-justice* in the early stages of the occupation in 1940, none of them have turned these findings into an overarching argument to challenge the status quo of shearing and sexualised violence exclusively being a liberation period phenomenon.⁵

Armed with this knowledge some obvious questions arise: Why is it believed that shearing was a quasi-natural punishment for Norwegians to wield? Where did the knowledge of shearing as a method of punishment come from? How widespread was shearing in Norway during the occupation? How did the knowledge of this punishment spread throughout Norway? Why is it commonly believed shearing and *folk-justice* mainly occurred in the liberation period?

This thesis will seek to answer these questions and as a result, present a narrative which challenges the status quo of shearing and sexualised violence being the prerogative of the liberation period. To achieve this, the thesis will through the study of the mainstream press, illegal newspapers and *Meldungen Aus Norwegen* – a collection of reports from the Sicherheitsdienst (SD) and Secret Police - present evidence that *folk-justice* manifested itself

³ Office of the Prime Minister, “Official apology”.

⁴ I have been in contact with Professors Hilde Sandvik at UiO, Ida Bull at NTNU, Astrid Andersen at UiB, and Terje Sødal at UiA, via Bjørg Selnes Seland at UiA, and they all stated to the best of their knowledge Norway had no prior history using shearing as punishment for women before the Second World War.

⁵ Monica Waage Johannessen, “*Tyskertøsene*” *Myndighetenes behandling og befolkningens reaksjoner* (Haugesund: Vormedal Forlag, 2016), 13; Kåre Olsen, *Krigens barn. De norske krigsbarna og deres mødre* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1998), 247.

already in the early days of the occupation in 1940.⁶ It will furthermore demonstrate why it is believed shearing was a liberation period phenomenon and that Norway's violent reckoning with *tyskertøser* was likely a result of female sexuality being considered the property of the nation.⁷ The thesis will also present evidence which strongly suggests knowledge of shearing as a practice emerged in Norway as a result of a transnational borrowing. Specifically, it will present material that indicates Nazi Germany may have been the catalyst for this culture-transfer. While my research process did not reveal conclusive evidence of the Third Reich being the origin, it did source intriguing circumstantial material which warrants discussion. Primarily because, as this thesis will demonstrate, Norway had no socio-cultural history of wielding shearing as a punishment.⁸ This thesis will therefore move beyond a national scope to a transnational analytical framework in order to find answers.

METHOD AND THEORY

The overall aim of this thesis is to present an alternative narrative to the established literature, which has traditionally addressed *tyskertøser* in a national framework and perceived violence as a liberation period phenomenon. This thesis will, therefore, be guided by a transnational approach to history. While this approach is neither a defined method nor theory, I would argue it is a compelling approach to apply because it “encompasses a number of well-established tools and perspectives such as historical comparison, (cultural) transfers, connections, circulations, entangled or shared history as well as a modern form of international history.”⁹ The transnational approach can therefore be described as a puzzle: historians study events in separate countries, research similarities and possible overlaps and piece together how these events may have influenced each other across national boundaries. The tools encompassed in a transnational approach “stress the importance of the interaction and circulation of ideas, peoples... across state or national boundaries and thus the entanglement and mutual influence of states, societies or cultures”.¹⁰ In other words, the approach suggests events in one country can affect developments in another, and it is not

⁶ Stein Ugelvik Larsen, Beatrice Sandberg, Volker Dahm, ed., *Meldungen aus Norwegen 1940-1945: Die geheimen Lageberichte des Befehlshabers der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD in Norwegen* (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2008).

⁷ A theory established by Anette Warring, which will be addressed later in the introduction.

⁸ Here it must be understood that the practice of shearing people's hair in prisons and similar institutions was a part of Norway's socio-cultural history. However, as this was done primarily out of hygienic and practical reasons, this is not defined as a punishment.

⁹ Bernhard Struck, Kate Ferris and Jacques Revel, "Introduction: Space and Scale in Transnational History," *The International History Review* 33, 4 (2011): 573 doi: 10.1080/07075332.2011.620735.

¹⁰ Struck, Ferris and Revel, "Introduction", 574.

contingent on the recipient nation acknowledging the influence from the original source. The latter point is particularly relevant as it opens for the possibility of Norway being influenced by events in Nazi Germany without sources necessarily reflecting it. Subsequently, the approach arguably also offers an explanation as to why my research process did not source conclusive material of knowledge of shearing reaching Norway by way of the Third Reich.

In addition to analysing how sexualised violence in Europe before the Second World War may have influenced events in Norway, this thesis also heavily relies on primary sources from the occupation period. Firstly, as these sources demonstrate both the knowledge and practice of shearing were present in Norway throughout the occupation. Secondly, they strongly indicate the sexualised violence against *tyskertøser* was a result of the female body being perceived as the property of the nation. Consequently, I will compare my findings against three established theories in the field to compare and contrast their applicability to Norway's reckoning with *tyskertøser*.

TERMINOLOGY

I have actively decided to use the term *tyskertøser* in this thesis, despite it being a derogatory term. In this, I go against the norm in the academic community in Norway of referring to them as “tyskerjenter” or in English “German-girls”. I have done this to highlight the academic community has yet to achieve neutrality in the language in which it discusses these women. For while *tyskerjenter* is a milder term, it is still laden with prejudice. Firstly, it suggests the women “belonged” to the Germans. Secondly, by describing these women as “girls” we are not acknowledging them as grown human-beings capable of independent thought. This is problematic because while some teenage girls did engage in relations with the occupation forces during the Second World War, many so-called *tyskertøser* were above the age of 18 and were by definition women.

The thesis also utilises the term *Rassenschande* which roughly translates to “blood treachery” or “defilement of the blood”. While a heavily laden word, it has such a specific connotation as it was used in the Third Reich to describe relations between people believed to be of “racial inferiority” and “Aryans”, I decided to use it.

Although this thesis uses terms such as “Wehrmacht soldiers” and “occupation forces”, the reader should keep in mind this is not limited to just German nationals. Citizens of other nations, including Norwegians, also served under the Nazi banner. Moreover, it is nearly impossible to make a distinction between whether a woman had relations with a soldier or with another member of the Wehrmacht’s regime, as the sources rarely if at all make this distinction. These descriptions should therefore be viewed as umbrella terms.

I have also chosen to use the term *folk-justice* as an umbrella term for all acts of violence against *tyskertøser*. I have done this to underline the fact that the people took the law into their own hands, as well as emphasise that shearing was an active part of the Norwegian people’s general quest for satisfaction.

It must be noted as this thesis has relied on a large number of sources, primarily written in Norwegian and German, I have for practical reasons translated the original texts to English.

STATE OF RESEARCH

With the exception of a few studies undertaken in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, the topic of *tyskertøser* first gained scholarly attention in Norway in the 1980s.¹¹ Amongst the first to address the subject were Sigurd Senje, Veslemøy Kjendsli and Kristi Grøtnæs, and a few years later state archivist Kari Helgesen, as well as Trygve Gjestland and Thor Gundersen.¹² As of the mid-1990s, two main fields of study had emerged: the first focusing on *tyskertøser* and the second focusing on their children, also commonly known as *tyskerbarna*. We shall focus on the literature directly addressing *tyskertøser*.

In 1994, Danish historian Anette Warring was a pioneer when she published the first academic literature to solely focus on *tyskertøser*. Consequently, the scholarly community in Norway has heavily relied on her research. Through an extensive research process, where Warring studied more than 2000 documents and conducted a series of interviews with Danish *tyskertøser*, she concluded the violent reckoning with these women was a consequence of

¹¹ Helle Jørgensen, "Norske kvinner og tyske soldater: En undersøkelse av kvinner fra Alta, Tromsø og Lenvik som var sammen med tyske soldater under andre verdenskrig." (Master Thesis, University of Tromsø, 2006).

¹² Veslemøy Kjendsli, *Skammens barn* (Oslo: Metope, 1986); Sigurd Senje, *Dømte kvinner: tyskerjenter og frontsøstre 1940-45* (Oslo: Pax, 1986); Kirsti Grøtnæs, "Jaktscener fra etterkrigstiden," *Kontrast* 86, 2 (1986); Kari Helgesen, "... f.t. siktet som tyskertøs," *Historisk tidsskrift* (1990); Trygve Gjestland and Thor Gundersen, "Internert da freden kom: 'Tyskertøser' på Hovedøya," *St Hallvard* 68, 4 (1990).

female sexuality being perceived as the property of the nation.¹³ Warring's research also went against the status quo as she demonstrated shearing and *folk-justice* were not spontaneous acts beholden to the liberation period in Denmark.¹⁴ The Danish historian went on to co-publish *Kvinner, krig og kjærlighet* with Norwegian sociologist Dag Ellingsen and anthropologist Inga Dóra Björnsdóttir about Norwegian and Danish *tyskertøser*, as well as Icelandic war brides in 1995. In the book, Ellingsen challenged a number of myths about *tyskertøser* in Norway such as these women being prostitutes, stupid and a minority of the female population.¹⁵

Nonetheless, it is Kåre Olsen's book from 1998 about *tyskerbarna* and their mothers which to date stands as one of the leading pillars of research on *tyskertøser* in Norway.¹⁶ Based on substantial source material, Olsen documented the treatment of *tyskertøser* and their children both during and after the occupation. Of particular relevance for this thesis is that the state archivist found evidence of shearing having occurred in May 1940.¹⁷ However, Olsen did not turn this into a central argument as he concluded such events were the exception and not the rule during the occupation.¹⁸

Ebba D. Drolshagen provided further insight into the topic in 1998. The historian applied an international framework to put a spotlight on who *tyskertøser* were, why they chose as they did and how they were punished across Europe in the wake of the Second World War.¹⁹ In 2000, French historian Fabrice Virgili contributed the next significant academic piece which has greatly informed scholarly understanding of Norway's reckoning with *tyskertøser*. Virgili concluded shearing, in addition to being a symbolic punishment intended to purify the nation, was also used as a tool to legitimise the country's new government.²⁰ He set out his argument in *Shorn Women: Gender and Punishment in Liberation France* after undertaking a substantial study of shearing and sexualised punishment in France.

¹³ Anette Warring, *Tyskerpiger: Under besættelse og retsopgør* (København: Gyldendal, 1994), 230.

¹⁴ See Warring, *Tyskerpiger*.

¹⁵ Dag Ellingsen, Anette Warring and Inga Dóra Björnsdóttir, *Kvinner, krig og kjærlighet* (Oslo: Cappelen's Forlag, 1995).

¹⁶ Olsen, *Krigens barn*.

¹⁷ Olsen, *Krigens barn*, 247.

¹⁸ Olsen, *Krigens barn*, 247.

¹⁹ Ebba D. Drolshagen, *De gikk ikke fri. Kvinnene som elsket okkupasjonsmaktens soldater* (Oslo: Forlaget Oktober, 2009).

²⁰ Fabrice Virgili, *Shorn Women: Gender and Punishment in Liberation France* (Oxford: Berg, 2002).

In the wake of these academic writings, the field of study has grown exponentially in the last 20 years. In the mid-2000s journalist Helle Aarnes brought the conversation into Norwegian households as she published a series of interviews with *tyskertøser*. The series proved so compelling it was compiled into a book in 2009.²¹ Focusing on Oslo, historian Terje A. Pedersen also documented who these women were, the Norwegian authorities' role in their punishment and how *tyskertøser* were persecuted in the liberation period.²² The research was first published as an MA thesis at the University of Oslo in 2006 but was released as a book in 2012.

In 2015, Knut Papendorf documented the police's enforcement of provisional ordinances in Oslo during the liberation period, highlighting the illegality with which these women were treated.²³ To the best of my knowledge, Monica W. Johannessen's "*Tyskertøsene*" is the last major academic contribution to the study of *tyskertøser* in Norway. It is an in-depth analysis in which Johannessen addresses to what extent the authorities played a role in Norway's violent reckoning with *tyskertøser*.²⁴ As Olsen before her, Johannessen referenced the early emergence of shearing in occupied Norway without turning it into an overarching argument.²⁵

It must also be mentioned a number of articles and MA theses about *tyskertøser* have been published in the last decade. An overarching theme for the theses is that they are primarily concerned with local and regional aspects of *folk-justice* in the liberation period.²⁶ Thus, no one has previously analysed the extent of shearing and *folk-justice* in the occupation period, how Norwegians came to use shearing as a method of punishment, and the illegal newspapers' role in keeping knowledge of punishment alive during the occupation period.

²¹ Helle Aarnes, *Tyskerjentene: Historiene vi aldri ble fortalt* (Oslo: Gyldendal Forlag, 2009).

²² Terje A. Pedersen, "*Tyskerjenter i Norge: Reaksjoner og klippeaksjoner, 1940-1946*" (Master Thesis, University of Oslo, 2006); and Terje A. Pedersen, *Vi kalte dem tyskertøser* (Oslo: Spartacus Forlag, 2012).

²³ Knut Papendorf, *Siktet som tyskertøs: Rettsoppgjøret i videre forstand* (Oslo: Novus Forlag, 2015).

²⁴ Johannessen, "*Tyskertøsene*".

²⁵ Johannessen, "*Tyskertøsene*", 13.

²⁶ See Karoline Hauge, "*Kvinner, krig og forbudt kjærlighet: En studie av hvordan tyskerjentene i Hedmark ble behandlet i tiden like etter frigjøringen*" (Master Thesis, NTNU: Norwegian University of Science and Technology, 2016); Gunn Solvor Snerting, "*Simpel var du, tyskertøs*" (Master Thesis, NTNU: Norwegian University of Science and Technology, 2017); Diana Strømstad, "*Fra fordømmelse til anerkjennelse? En diskursanalyse av mediedebatten om de norske krigsbarna og tyskerjentene i periodene 1945 og 1985-2005*", (Master Thesis, NTNU: Norwegian University of Science and Technology, 2006); Anne-Katrine Wagnild, "*Et dobbelt svik? Tyskerjentene sett i lys av nasjonalitet og seksualitet*" (Master Thesis, NTNU: Norwegian University of Science and Technology, 2010).

PRIMARY SOURCES

As we now have seen, the academic knowledge about *tyskertøser* in Norway is made up of a patchwork of literature chiefly focusing on the liberation period. In an attempt to change this uneven distribution of scholarly attention, I have in my research process studied the mainstream press in Norway from 1933 until 1945, the illegal newspapers published during the occupation and *Meldungen aus Norwegen*. While an enormous undertaking in the sheer volume of material alone, I decided to study these sources because, to the best of my knowledge, none of them have previously been studied in relation to *tyskertøser* and *folk-justice*.

For the study of the mainstream press, I utilised the National Library's online archive.²⁷ The decision was equally logical as it was practical because the archive holds Norway's largest collection of newspapers. Consequently, if the Norwegian mainstream media were reporting on sexualised violence and punishment of *Rassenschande* in Nazi Germany, this collection would likely reflect it.

The decision to use illegal newspapers proved a far more challenging task as Norway had more than 400 illegal newspapers throughout the occupation period.²⁸ In order to study as many underground publications as possible, I decided to utilise Digital Bergen. It is an online archive of illegal newspapers made up of the collections from the University of Bergen, the Home Front Museum, Ålesund Museum and Joachim Rønneberg's collections.²⁹ I also found editions attributed to the National Library's collection. Digital Bergen is subsequently one of the most extensive assemblies of illegal newspapers available. Through my research process, I studied 192 illegal newspapers: 12 editions from 1940, 66 editions from 1941, 33 edition from 1942, 30 editions from 1943, 42 editions from 1944, and nine editions from 1945. Based on these figures, I would argue I have studied a sufficient number of illegal newspapers to start the process of establishing a narrative of their significance in relation to the fate of *tyskertøser*.

²⁷ Nasjonalbiblioteket, "Aviser," last accessed November 10, 2019, <https://www.nb.no/samlingen/aviser/>.

²⁸ See Hans Lühn, *Den frie hemmelige pressen i Norge under okkupasjonen 1940-45: En fortellende bibliografi* (Oslo: Nasjonalbiblioteket 1999).

²⁹ Digitalt Universitetsbiblioteket i Bergen, "Norske illegale aviser," last accessed November 10, 2019, <https://digitalt.uib.no/handle/1956.2/2453>.

The final primary source I decided to study was *Meldungen aus Norwegen*: a collection of reports about the situation in the occupied Norway which was compiled by the SD and supplemented by intelligence from the Secret Police. This was a late, but necessary, addition to my research process because I found an illegal newspaper which stated it had become too dangerous to shear *tyskertøser* as they had been taken under the Wehrmacht's special protection.³⁰ I also discovered Kristian Ottosen had already in 1995 documented 12 Norwegians being deported to Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp for having shorn women in the summer of 1940.³¹ Therefore, I believed these reports from the SD and secret police might provide crucial insight into the scope and nature of *folk-justice* in Norway during the occupation period.

DOWN PRIORITISED SOURCES

Almost immediately, I decided against further investigations into the State Archives' materials pertaining to *tyskertøser* because most of these documents have already been studied to various degrees. As these studies have not turned up significant evidence of shearing prior to the liberation period, I decided my time was better prioritised researching previously unstudied materials such as the illegal newspapers and mainstream press.

I also dismissed interviews with so-called *tyskertøser* as a source for this thesis. Largely because even if I could track down women willing to speak with me, memory is influenced over time. Therefore, the scientific evidence I might procure appeared marginal compared to the immense work it would require obtaining it. More important is the fact that interviewing these women would not be helpful in establishing how shearing as a sexualised ritual emerged in Norway. Primarily, as these women could only attest to the mistreatment they themselves suffered. This has already been well-documented and described. Moreover, such an approach would result in a focus on gender and sexuality in a national framework whereas this thesis is attempting to move the debate forward under a transnational umbrella.

³⁰ *Vi vil oss et land: Alt for Norge A-edition*, October 1940, Bergen University Library, <https://digitalt.uib.no/bitstream/handle/1956.2/2814/1940.nr.01.pdf?sequence=14>, last accessed on November 6, 2019.

³¹ Kristian Ottosen, *Nordmenn i fangenskap 1940-1945: alfabetisk register* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2004).

ORGANISATION OF THE PAPER

The thesis will be presented in three main chapters, each tackling separate aspects of the argument. The first chapter addresses how female sexuality has been prosecuted and punished in Norway in a historical context, covering the period from the Viking Era until the Second World War. By exploring which sanctions and penalties have traditionally been implemented to chastise women, the chapter demonstrates Norway had no socio-cultural history of wielding shearing as a method of punishment. The purpose of the chapter is therefore to show a transnational approach must be applied in order to explain the emergence of shearing in Norway in 1940.

The second chapter builds on this understanding as it demonstrates the suitability of the transnational approach in the study of Norway's reckoning with *tyskertøser*. By exploring shearing in a historical context, the chapter addresses both how the knowledge and practice of shearing were readily present in Europe before the Second World War. Thus, highlighting the possibility of a silent learning process having occurred, and furthermore demonstrating how Nazi Germany was the likely catalyst for this knowledge having transferred to Norway.

The final chapter addresses how sexualised violence against *tyskertøser* emerged in Norway already in 1940 and details how this persecution unfolded during the occupation. Through the study of the mainstream press, illegal newspapers and *Meldungen Aus Norwegen*, the chapter furthermore illustrates *folk-justice* against *tyskertøser* was more widespread during the occupation than previously assumed. Consequently, it demonstrates *folk-justice* was not just a liberation period phenomenon. This chapter provides a new scope to the debate about *tyskertøser*, and subsequently, it also discusses the ramifications of these findings in relation to established theories.

CHAPTER 1. FEMALE SEXUALITY AND PUNISHMENT IN NORWAY: A BRIEF HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The topic of *tyskertøser* is permeated with myths, and a particularly tenacious belief is that shearing was a quasi-natural punishment for Norwegians to implement. This belief is largely based on the fact that shearing was used in ancient times to penalise 'promiscuous and devious' women across the globe; hence, it must also be part of Norway's socio-cultural

history. This chapter will therefore in short address female sexuality and punishment in Norway from the Viking Period (ca. 800-1050 AD) until the Nazi occupation of April 9, 1940. The purpose of this chapter is to dispel the claim shearing was a natural punishment inherent in Norwegian socio-cultural history and to demonstrate the necessity of a transnational approach in order to establish how shearing manifested itself as a practice in Norway.

FEMALE SEXUALITY AND PUNISHMENT IN THE VIKING ERA

There is a widespread scholarly consensus that free women in Viking Era Scandinavia had higher status and so more freedom than their sisters in Europe at the time – particularly in regard to sexuality.³² Both women and men stood relatively free to engage in intimate relations and sexuality outside of the marital bed was not uncommon; men would bed slaves and women could live with a partner – neither necessarily resulted in shame nor societal sanctions.³³ The only major risk an unmarried woman ran by living with a man was that she was not entitled to his family's protection or financial support if he should leave her or die.³⁴ In fact, sources indicate notions of sexual impurity and sanctions against female sexuality were a consequence of Christianity and had no place in viking society.³⁵ It must be noted, however, a woman engaging in a relationship with someone of lower status would disgrace her.³⁶

The institution of marriage in the Viking Period also indicates women were considered their own person. According to John Haywood, the negotiation of marriage was the prerogative of the head of the woman's family.³⁷ Research shows the union was often used as an opportunity to build political and economic alliances.³⁸ Women were, however, not helpless pawns; they retained property rights, the bride price paid and the woman's dowry remained her property

³² John Haywood, *Encyclopaedia of the Viking Age* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000), 210.

³³ Anne Irene Riisøy, *Sexuality, Law and Legal Practice and the Reformation in Norway*, *The Northern World* 44 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2009), 182; Ida Blom and Sølvi Sogner, eds., *Med kjønnsperspektiv på norsk historie: fra vikingtid til 2000-årsskiftet* (Oslo: Cappelen akademisk forlag, 2005), 66-67.

³⁴ Blom and Sogner, *Med kjønnsperspektiv på norsk historie*, 66-67.

³⁵ Riisøy, *Sexuality, Law and Legal Practice*, 186; Blom and Sogner, *Med kjønnsperspektiv på norsk historie*, 70.

³⁶ Riisøy, *Sexuality, Law and Legal Practice*, 182; Blom and Sogner, *Med kjønnsperspektiv på norsk historie*, 66.

³⁷ Haywood, *Encyclopaedia of the Viking Age*, 128; Phillip Pulsiano, ed., *Medieval Scandinavia: an encyclopaedia* (New York: Garland Publishing inc, 1993), 408-409.

³⁸ Blom and Sogner, *Med kjønnsperspektiv på norsk historie*, 25; Haywood, *Encyclopaedia of the Viking Age*, 128.

after marriage.³⁹ Furthermore, women had the right to divorce if they had been dishonoured by their husband's infidelity or violence – a loveless marriage could also be dissolved.⁴⁰ It is interesting that in these instances women were beyond shame and faced no sanctions, whereas a wife leaving a husband would leave him disgraced in the eyes of the community.⁴¹ There is some scholarly dissidence on how serious a crime a wife's infidelity was and how it would have been punished. Haywood argues it was considered a serious crime and that in some places the husband had the right to kill his wife.⁴² Preben Meulengracht Sørensen's research, however, does not reveal such drastic punishments were implemented against 'loose' women.⁴³ In fact, "studies of the Family Sagas illustrate that women were never blamed, even when they had obviously committed adultery".⁴⁴

While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to conclude whether or not women risked death for infidelity, the claimed penalty is highly relevant because none of the scholars mention shearing as a possible punishment. Therefore, we shall now move on to discuss the remainder of the Middle Ages (ca. 1050-1536 AD) until the 18th century. These periods will be addressed as one as Anne Irene Riisøy's research shows there was great continuity in how sexuality was criminalised and punished in these centuries.⁴⁵

FEMALE SEXUALITY AND PUNISHMENT FROM THE MIDDLE AGES UNTIL THE 18TH CENTURY

As Christianity gained momentum in Norway ca. 1020 so did the gender views based on the Church's rigorous patriarchal hierarchy.⁴⁶ Women were defined as wives, sisters, mothers and singles, and alongside gender conformity, stricter legislation and sanctions against loose morals emerged. There is widespread consensus Christianity spelt the gradual deterioration of women's sexual freedom. However, it must be noted that women and men were treated as equals under Christian law when it came to sexual crimes.⁴⁷

³⁹ Haywood, *Encyclopaedia of the Viking Age*, 210.

⁴⁰ Blom and Sogner, *Med kjønnsperspektiv på norsk historie*, 65.

⁴¹ Blom and Sogner, *Med kjønnsperspektiv på norsk historie*, 65.

⁴² Haywood, *Encyclopaedia of the Viking Age*, 128.

⁴³ Riisøy, *Sexuality, Law and Legal Practice*, 181.

⁴⁴ Riisøy, *Sexuality, Law and Legal Practice*, 181. Sørensen's research is based on the Family Sagas, and the Norwegian and Icelandic laws.

⁴⁵ Riisøy, *Sexuality, Law and Legal Practice*, 1.

⁴⁶ Blom and Sogner, *Med kjønnsperspektiv på norsk historie*, 69.

⁴⁷ Riisøy, *Sexuality, Law and Legal Practice*, 188.

A clear example of sexuality becoming highly regulated is Norway's oldest urban law from Nidaros ca. 1100 (Townslaw of Nidaros) which made women liable to prosecution for fornication.⁴⁸ The Townslaw prescribed, "a woman had to pay fines to the king for the first three times she had lain with a man. If the woman had had more than three affairs she did not have to pay the fine to the king because in that case she was considered a whore."⁴⁹ Being branded a whore during the medieval period meant the woman's position was less favourable with city statutes demanding they not be seated with respectable women in church. The women were also forbidden from wearing certain valuable jewellery, as well as clothes of finer textiles.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, sources indicate there was relative acceptance for the profession as long as it was kept separate from higher society.⁵¹

Here we must also keep in mind it was customary during the medieval period that a man, regardless if the woman was married or not, had to pay compensation to the head of a woman's family if he had bedded her.⁵² Stipulations for this sanction can be found in the Landslaw of 1274 (which established a legal uniformity in the whole kingdom), and similar provisions are repeated in the Norwegian Law of 1604, as well as the Norwegian Law of 1687.⁵³ In cases where the woman was deemed a whore, however, this custom became redundant.

Several legislations highlighted that women who committed adultery or ran away from their husbands were liable to prosecution, and the penalties were severe.⁵⁴ By the decree of 1267, later also stipulated in the Landslaw and the Norwegian Law of 1604,⁵⁵ adultery could be punished with 'outlawry'. This meant the perpetrator was cast out of society and could be killed with impunity.⁵⁶ With the Odense Reeces of 1539, capital punishment for cases involving third instance adultery was introduced and it instructed that women should be

⁴⁸ Riisøy, *Sexuality, Law and Legal Practice*, 144.

⁴⁹ Riisøy, *Sexuality, Law and Legal Practice*, 31.

⁵⁰ Blom and Sogner, *Med kjønnsperspektiv på norsk historie*, 60; Riisøy, *Sexuality, Law and Legal Practice*, 37-38. Riisøy notes the 1537 regulation bears similarities to Håkon V Magnusson's (1299-1319) decree that 'loose women' were forbidden from dressing like respectable women.

⁵¹ Riisøy, *Sexuality, Law and Legal Practice*, 43; Blom and Sogner, *Med kjønnsperspektiv på norsk historie*, 60.

⁵² Riisøy, *Sexuality, Law and Legal Practice*, 17.

⁵³ Riisøy, *Sexuality, Law and Legal Practice*, 15, 28.

⁵⁴ Riisøy, *Sexuality, Law and Legal Practice*, 143-144. Riisøy states this was stipulated in the decree of 1478 and a similar provision is also found in the Norwegian Law of 1687.

⁵⁵ Riisøy, *Sexuality, Law and Legal Practice*, 78.

⁵⁶ Riisøy, *Sexuality, Law and Legal Practice*, 78.

drowned and men executed.⁵⁷ Furthermore, Riisøy has documented a 1575 decree from Oslo town council which stated: “All loose women who lay with married men should, if caught for the second time, lose their skin (be whipped) and leave the country”.⁵⁸

The criminalisation of sexuality outside the marital bed was crystallised in 1617 when the Ordinance Against Loose Living (Forordning om Løstgættighed) was issued.⁵⁹ The decree stated those found guilty of fornication without ensuing marriage and those who were unable to pay their fines were to be punished physically. Moreover, it stated women who had committed the crime for the third time were to be whipped.⁶⁰ In 1723 the punishment was extended to include the pillory before the custom was replaced with forced labour and *tukthus*⁶¹ around 1730.⁶² In the decree of 1637, burning at the stake was for the first time mentioned as a punishment for sexual crimes. This punishment was seemingly reserved for incest, homosexuality and bestiality.⁶³ Sources, however, reveal that a stepmother and stepson were burnt already in 1557 for having a relationship.⁶⁴

The custom of meting out severe punishments for sexual crimes appears to continue until the ideas of the Enlightenment gave way to more lenient penances.⁶⁵ In 1737, executions were replaced with physical punishments and in 1812 penalty for first- and second-time fornication was removed before physical punishments were abolished altogether in 1815.⁶⁶ The Enlightenment also saw the end of public confessions for fornication in 1767 (public confession as punishment was removed in its entirety in 1842).⁶⁷ Legally, this meant women’s position in society and in regards to sexuality was strengthened. In practice, they faced

⁵⁷ Riisøy, *Sexuality, Law and Legal Practice*, 77. This provision was later repeated in the Koldingske Reces of 1558 and the Norwegian Law of 1687.

⁵⁸ Riisøy, *Sexuality, Law and Legal Practice*, 15.

⁵⁹ Riisøy, *Sexuality, Law and Legal Practice*, 15; Blom and Sogner, *Med kjønnsperspektiv på norsk historie*, 140.

⁶⁰ Riisøy, *Sexuality, Law and Legal Practice*, 119-120.

⁶¹ *Tukthus* directly translates to prison. However, because it was an establishment intended to punish and rehabilitate the term penal establishment would perhaps be a more apt translation.

⁶² Blom and Sogner, *Med kjønnsperspektiv på norsk historie*, 141; Kari Telste, “Brutte løfter: en kulturhistorisk studie av kjønn og ære 1700-1900”, (Doctoral Thesis, University of Oslo, 1999), 156.

⁶³ Riisøy, *Sexuality, Law and Legal Practice*, 94-95.

⁶⁴ Riisøy, *Sexuality, Law and Legal Practice*, 98.

⁶⁵ Riisøy, *Sexuality, Law and Legal Practice*, 134.

⁶⁶ Riisøy, *Sexuality, Law and Legal Practice*, 134-135; Blom and Sogner, *Med kjønnsperspektiv på norsk historie*, 174.

⁶⁷ Riisøy, *Sexuality, Law and Legal Practice*, 135.

stronger sanctions from their own local communities because women were now more easily branded as loose if they had children outside of wedlock.⁶⁸

Before moving on to the 19th and 20th centuries, two further facts must be addressed. Firstly, while brutal punishments such as whipping, burning at the stake and outlawry were enforced throughout the medieval period, fines appear to be the most common punishment for sexual crimes.⁶⁹ Secondly, although the law equated women and men, it was predominantly males who received punishment for sexual crimes.⁷⁰ This is perhaps explained by the fact that a decree from 1514 set out that it was the head of the woman's family who decided if charges should be brought against the female in question when it came to sexual crimes.⁷¹

FEMALE SEXUALITY AND PUNISHMENT IN THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES

While the 18th and 19th centuries saw the end of many of the strictest punishments, penalisation for repeated fornication and illicit sexual encounters did not cease completely. As already discussed, as of 1755 'loose women' were sentenced to tukthus and forced labour, rather than to the whip.⁷² This practice was also later decreed in the Criminal Law of 1842.⁷³ This legislation furthermore stated it was illegal for two unmarried people to live together and the punishment for this crime were fines and tukthus. Tukthus with forced labour was also dished out for repeated offences, however, the sentences were nullified if the couple married.⁷⁴

Hence, it is not a stretch to claim the 19th century was an age of contradiction in Norway. From approximately the middle of the 1800s, gender equality was achieved in arena after arena and by the turn of the 20th century, there were relatively few official limitations based on gender.⁷⁵ However, as Kari Telste points out, marriage and traditional gender roles were seen as pillars of the community and individuals who did not conform were seen as a threat.⁷⁶ Tone Hellesund's research supports this claim as it indicates single women from the end of

⁶⁸ Blom and Sogner, *Med kjønnsperspektiv på norsk historie*, 175.

⁶⁹ Riisøy, *Sexuality, Law and Legal Practice*, 114.

⁷⁰ Riisøy, *Sexuality, Law and Legal Practice*, 188.

⁷¹ Riisøy, *Sexuality, Law and Legal Practice*, 150-152.

⁷² Telste, "Brutte løfter", 157.

⁷³ Telste, "Brutte løfter", 157.

⁷⁴ Telste, "Brutte løfter", 500.

⁷⁵ Blom and Sogner, *Med kjønnsperspektiv på norsk historie*, 257.

⁷⁶ Telste, "Brutte løfter", 529-530.

the 1800s, who themselves had a positive outlook on their position, were often met with hostility and ridicule from society.⁷⁷ In other words, equality and women's emancipation were viewed as a threat against the gradually standardised housewife norm where the collective's need for the woman to be a wife and mother was placed above the individual's needs.⁷⁸ Kari Melby illustrates the housewife norm became particularly crystallised in the 1920s and 1930s.⁷⁹ Subsequently, women who challenged the status quo of what was deemed appropriate behaviour, particularly in regards to sexuality, faced retribution from society.⁸⁰

Basing herself on Ellingsen's research, Melby uses *tyskertøser* as an example of how the Norwegian society would implement reprimands to discourage certain behaviour.⁸¹ I would, however, argue it is problematic to use shearing as an example of a punishment used in the early to mid-1900s because there is no evidence to suggest shearing was used in Norway before 1940. Moreover, Melby does not cite any incident of this sort of judicial punishment or *folk-justice* prior to the occupation. Nonetheless, the crystallisation of the housewife norm in the interwar period does offer some explanation as to why Norway had such a violent reckoning with *tyskertøser* which we shall discuss later in this thesis.

CHAPTER FINDINGS

In this chapter, we have seen that women's position in Norway was relatively progressive until the introduction of Christianity. The strict patriarchal hierarchy of the Church was, therefore, the catalyst for the series of decrees and laws which criminalised and prescribed how sexual crimes should be punished. Fines were the most commonly used penance. However, harsh punishments such as whipping, pillory and execution were also practised before sentences were gradually more lenient as a result of Enlightenment influence. Moreover, the chapter highlighted that more men than women were sanctioned, despite equity under the law. We have also seen as female emancipation became a reality, the public perception of the women's place grew more conservative. Consequently, the housewife norm became the desired ideal in the interwar period.

⁷⁷ Blom and Sogner, *Med kjønnsperspektiv på norsk historie*, 262.

⁷⁸ Blom and Sogner, *Med kjønnsperspektiv på norsk historie*, 262.

⁷⁹ Blom and Sogner, *Med kjønnsperspektiv på norsk historie*, 302.

⁸⁰ Blom and Sogner, *Med kjønnsperspektiv på norsk historie*, 329.

⁸¹ Blom and Sogner, *Med kjønnsperspektiv på norsk historie*, 330.

This chapter has therefore clearly demonstrated what was considered a crime as well as how it was punished in the Kingdom of Norway from the Viking period (ca. 800-1050 AD) until the occupation on April 9, 1940. As shearing as a method of punishment was not reflected in any of the sources, this chapter has outlined the sexualised ritual was not a natural punishment inherent in Norway's socio-cultural history prior to 1940. Therefore, we must adopt a transnational approach in order to establish how shearing manifested itself in Norway during the Second World War.

CHAPTER 2. SHEARING IN A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Based upon the discussion presented in Chapter 1, this thesis concluded a transnational approach must be applied in order to establish how and why shearing emerged in Norway, as the country had no previous tradition for such sexualised violence. This chapter will therefore convey a short history of shearing. Chiefly as it will provide the reader with an understanding of the extent of the practice in Europe in the years leading up to the Second World War. This is central because it underlines that shearing and sexualised violence was not a prerogative of the liberation period. Furthermore, it will illustrate there was reasonable opportunity for this knowledge to have transferred to Norway.

The chapter will begin by addressing some examples of the practice in ancient times, before focusing on shearing in the 20th century. A greater part of the chapter will be dedicated to the ritual in the Third Reich because, as will be demonstrated, Nazi Germany was the likely catalyst for shearing having emerged in Norway in 1940.

SHEARING IN ANCIENT TIMES

To the best of my knowledge, there is no scholarly work which claims to know the origin of shearing as a practice. There is, however, widespread consensus it was an established exercise in ancient civilisations. This accord is arguably due to the numerous academic accounts that unravel how defeated peoples, slaves and outcasts were forced to endure the humiliation and ridicule of having their hair forcibly shorn.⁸² In Ancient Greece, for example, bald scalps easily identified slaves and early Christians in the Roman Empire had their hair forcibly cut

⁸² Victoria Sherrow, *Encyclopedia of hair: a cultural history* (London: Greenwood Press, 2006), 317.

for the sport of the soldiers.⁸³ There are also examples of adulterous women having their hair cut off as punishment as seen in India, ancient Babylon under the Assyrians and the ancient Teutonic nations.⁸⁴ It has furthermore been said that men in ancient Greece had the right to shear and shame-walk their wives in the streets if they had been unfaithful.⁸⁵

While only a few examples, they do demonstrate hair had a strong value because it could reveal a person's social standing, their alleged crime and subsequent shame.⁸⁶ These examples moreover show shearing, as a punishment, was not just reserved for adulterous women. It was a ritual intended to publicly shame and label the victim, regardless of gender. It is a point Virgili also makes in discussing the origins of shearing, as he argues many civilisations enforced other forms of punishments on women accused of lewd behaviour.⁸⁷ The historian furthermore highlights the shearing of hair could have other significance, such as religious or sacrificial.⁸⁸ Thus, one should be wary of comparing how the practice was used in ancient times to how it was wielded in the 20th century. As there is arguably much ambiguity regarding the relevance of shearing in primaeval civilisations to the practice in the 1900s, this chapter will move on to focus on how the ritual was systematically used to punish women in the years leading up to the Second World War.

SHEARING IN THE 20TH CENTURY

The practice of shearing women's hair can be found in a number of European countries in the first half of the 20th century. In Belgium, for example, women who during the First World War had been involved with German soldiers were shorn after the Armistice was signed in November 1918. According to Francis Balance, the ritual was often "accompanied by women being forced to strip and be publicly spanked".⁸⁹ Sexualised violence against women also became a part of the countryside guerrilla war in Ireland from 1919-1921.⁹⁰ Known as the Anglo-Irish War, or the War of Independence, the conflict saw Republican women shorn by British Army forces - often during home raids:

⁸³ Sherrow, *Encyclopedia of hair*, 317.

⁸⁴ Sherrow, *Encyclopedia of hair*, 317.

⁸⁵ Papendorf, *Siktet som tyskertøs*, 25-26.

⁸⁶ Sherrow, *Encyclopedia of hair*, 317.

⁸⁷ Virgili, *Shorn Women*, 183.

⁸⁸ Virgili, *Shorn Women*, 183.

⁸⁹ Francis Balance, "Les Hoquets de la liberté," *Jours de Guerre* 20 (1995): cited in Virgili, *Shorn Women*, 213.

⁹⁰ Louise Ryan, "'Drunken Tans': Representations of Sex and Violence in the Anglo-Irish War (1919-21)" *Feminist Review* 66 Autumn (2000): 78, doi: 10.1080/014177800440248.

*“At 1 am her home was entered by some masked men who cut off her hair. She succeeded in pulling the mask off one of them and recognising him. She rushed out the back door, over the wall and into a neighbour’s backyard where she stayed for the remainder of the night.”*⁹¹

According to historian Louise Ryan, the description above was “fairly typical”,⁹² yet incidents could also be more violent in nature. One such incident being a woman held at gunpoint while masked men shorn the hair off her sister with a razor.⁹³ Also in Spain Republican women became victims of shearing during the Civil War, most famously portrayed in Ernest Hemingway’s *For Whom the Bell Tolls*.⁹⁴ Viewed as a part of the re-education of women, Falangists wielded shearing as a “purifying and punitive” measure against females who opposed the Nationalists through fighting on the Republican’s side or by giving birth to “Republican children”.⁹⁵

Moreover, there is evidence of shearing having occurred in Germany during the Weimar era, notably in Ruhr and Rhineland.⁹⁶ In the case of Ruhr, the reprisals were carried out by so-called Scherenclubs against women accused of having relations with French soldiers during the re-occupation between 1923-1925.⁹⁷ The case of Rhineland appears to have been more extensive as allied forces remained there from 1918 until the summer of 1930. Relations between local women and foreign soldiers therefore had ample time to develop.⁹⁸ Resistance against such affairs appear to immediately manifest itself into action upon the conclusion of the Armistice, as “German peasant boys had cut the hair of a German girl who had had

⁹¹ Ryan, “Drunken Tans”, 79.

⁹² Ryan, “Drunken Tans”, 79.

⁹³ Ryan, “Drunken Tans”, 80.

⁹⁴ See Natalie Carter, “‘Always Something of It Remains’: Sexual Trauma in Ernest Hemingway’s *For Whom the Bell Tolls*,” *War, Literature & the Arts* 25, 1 (2013): 1-40.

⁹⁵ Anthony Beevor, “An ugly carnival,” *The Guardian*, June 5, 2009, <https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2009/jun/05/women-victims-d-day-landings-second-world-war>, last accessed October 25, 2019; Gina Herrman, “‘They Didn’t Rape Me’: Traces of Gendered Violence and Sexual Injury in the Testimonies of Spanish Republican Women Survivors of the Franco Dictatorship,” in *Tapestry of Memory. Evidence: Evidence and Testimony of Life-Story Narratives*, ed. Nanci Adler and Selma Leydesdorff (London: Transaction Publishers, 2013), 77-96.

⁹⁶ Michael Wildt, “Picturing exclusion: Race, Honor and anti-Semitic violence in Nazi Germany before the Second World War,” in *Violence and visibility in modern history*, ed. Jürgen Martschukat, Silvan Niedermeier (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 146-147.

⁹⁷ Beevor, “An ugly carnival”; Wildt, “Picturing exclusion,” 146-147.

⁹⁸ Ernst Fraenkel, *Military Occupation and the Rule of Law: Occupation Government in the Rhineland, 1918-1923* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1944), 143-144; Virgili, *Shorn Women*, 214.

intercourse with French soldiers, had beaten her, and compelled her to walk through the streets of her native village with a placard indicating her crime”.⁹⁹ According to Virgili, these kind of incidents were numerous in July 1930 as the allied forces withdrew.¹⁰⁰

Based on the case studies above we can conclude the practice of shearing was readily present at the beginning of the 20th century. It is especially interesting to note this type of sexualised punishment was not just reserved for “horizontal collaboration” but was utilised to chastise women for all types of perceived fraternisation. Of particular interest to this thesis is the fact that the rite occurred in Germany before the Nazis’ rise to power in 1933. Mainly because, I would suggest, it shows the National Socialists’ mass capitalisation on public shaming and shearing was a matter of continuity rather than a break with views on female sexuality which already persisted in Germany.¹⁰¹

Throughout this thesis, I contend shearing manifested itself in Norway as a result of transnationalism and that Nazi Germany was the likely catalyst for this culture-transfer. The next section of this chapter will therefore address sexualised violence and punishment in the Third Reich. It will illustrate the Nazis’ popularisation of persecuting *Rassenschande* with shearing and public humiliation caused it to become so visible knowledge of the practice travelled beyond the Third Reich and was reported in the international media.

SHEARING IN NAZI GERMANY

The practice of public humiliation and shearing quickly became an integral part of the Nazis’ methodology in the 1930s. It is therefore fairly easy to source material pertaining to the persecution of *Rassenschande* in the Third Reich. Material concerning exactly how widespread the ritual was prior to the outbreak of war, however, appears scarce. Nonetheless, research indicates that shearing and ritualised violence increased after 1939, as laws and punishments became harsher in accordance with the state’s needs.¹⁰² This is underlined by the fact that Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels in September 1940 ordered increased campaigns against *Rassenschande*, as complaints of “race defilement” had become so

⁹⁹ Fraenkel, *Military Occupation and the Rule of Law*, 143-144.

¹⁰⁰ Virgili, *Shorn Women*, 214.

¹⁰¹ Wildt makes a similar observation in “Picturing exclusion,” 148.

¹⁰² Hans Peter Bleuel, *Strength through joy: Sex and society in Nazi Germany* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1973), 229.

numerous.¹⁰³ Images and reports of shearings consequently became more widespread as of 1940 and onwards, indicating an increase in the number of shearings in the Third Reich.

I would argue a certain caution is necessary, however, for while sexualised violence may have become more visible after 1940, this need not necessarily mean the number of incidents actually increased to a great extent.¹⁰⁴ In fact, sources indicate persecution of women, and men, in the form of shearing and sexualised violence started already within the first months of the Nazis' rise to power.

Initially, these practices were used as punitive measures to reaffirm Nazi values and to deter the population from further association with "sub-humans": predominantly Jews, and later also prisoners of war and foreign workers.¹⁰⁵ Nonetheless, the practice gradually grew in confidence parallel with the Anti-Semitic rhetoric and soon the public persecution of "blood traitors" became town events. Two examples of this, both documented with photographs, occurred in the small city of Norden in northern Germany in July 1935. The first image depicts a young couple being marched through the streets of the town by members of the Sturmabteilung (SA) carrying signs reading: "I am a race defiler" and "I am a German girl and let myself be defiled by a Jew".¹⁰⁶ The second shows a lone woman being paraded in front of the locals with possibly the same sign as it also read: "I am a German girl and let myself be defiled by a Jew".¹⁰⁷ The incidents took place after the local police did not take action after two senior SA leaders filed charges of racial defilement against Christine Neemann and Julius Wolff, the couple in the first picture. As a result, the SA took matters into their own hands.¹⁰⁸

The picture does not seemingly reveal Christine having her hair shorn. But after the war, she described the incident: "At the beginning of July 1935 I was taken by six SA men from my mother's apartment because I was engaged to a Jew... In the open street, I was beaten, had my hair torn from my head and we were then brought to the prison."¹⁰⁹ These examples are

¹⁰³ Bleuel, *Strength through joy*, 231.

¹⁰⁴ See Klaus Hesse and Philipp Springer. *Vor aller Augen: Fotodokumente des nationalsozialistischen Terrors in der Provinz* (Essen: Klartext, 2002), 117-134.

¹⁰⁵ Claudia Koonz, *Mothers in the fatherland: women, the family and Nazi politics* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 350; Wildt, "Picturing exclusion," 140-142.

¹⁰⁶ Wildt, "Picturing exclusion," 137.

¹⁰⁷ Wildt, "Picturing exclusion," 137.

¹⁰⁸ Wildt, "Picturing exclusion," 139.

¹⁰⁹ Wildt, "Picturing exclusion," 139.

central because they demonstrate the public nature of sexualised violence in the Third Reich. Moreover, they highlight the persecution of *Rassenschande* took on a life of its own beyond official legislation.

For as is well established, the National Socialists first enshrined into law their racial policies at Nuremberg in September 1935. Consequently, relations between “Aryans” and so-called “sub-humans” were not officially illegal in the summer of 1935, but as we now have seen these relations were being persecuted already then.¹¹⁰ Studies do, however, show that charges alleging *Rassenschande* increased drastically after the Nuremberg Laws were passed,¹¹¹ with the greatest numbers being reported in 1936.¹¹² It is also relevant to note that initially it was insisted from the highest level of Nazi Government only men should face prosecution for *Rassenschande*. Jewish men were accused and tried for “an attack on German blood”, whereas German men were accused of “treason against their own blood”.¹¹³ Nonetheless, the official policy gradually changed as in June 1937 the Gestapo was ordered to also take into custody Jewish women involved in such relations.¹¹⁴ It is important to be aware of when *Rassenschande* was illegalised and women’s arrests were officially sanctioned because, as we have seen, official policy and practice differed.

The scenes of the chastisement of *Rassenschande* may thus have unfolded somewhat differently across Nazi Germany depending on whether official policy or popular justice dictated the practice.¹¹⁵ Nevertheless, common for the sexualised ritual was for it to be a very public affair undertaken in full daylight in places where large crowds could gather, such as the town squares. Moreover, as these events were a public spectacle large media or propaganda campaigns also traditionally accompanied the proceedings. Thus, they were well documented in the form of news articles, photographs and name lists of the “blood traitors” which were widely distributed.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁰ Robert Gellately, *The Gestapo and German Society: Enforcing Racial Policy 1933–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 160-161.

¹¹¹ Gellately, *The Gestapo and German Society*, 164.

¹¹² Gellately, *The Gestapo and German Society*, 164.

¹¹³ Gellately, *The Gestapo and German Society*, 172; Koonz, *Mothers in the fatherland*, 335.

¹¹⁴ Gellately, *The Gestapo and German Society*, 172.

¹¹⁵ See Alexandra Przyrembel, ‘*Rassenschande*’: *Reinheitsmythos und Vernichtungslegitimation im Nationalsozialismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003); Dagmar Herzog, *Sexuality in Europe: A twentieth-century history. New Approaches to European History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 67.

¹¹⁶ Przyrembel, ‘*Rassenschande*’, 71; Wildt, “Picturing exclusion,” 151.

At the centre of this media circus was the Anti-Semitic publication *Der Stürmer* which was founded already in 1923. According to Michael Wildt, “there was hardly an edition of *Der Stürmer* that failed to open with an incendiary article about a race defiler or a girl defiler, always with full names and places of residence”.¹¹⁷ The main purpose of including such vivid detail about *Rassenschande* was, as Dagmar Herzog states, to give the population licence to “hate without guilt since Jews were continually described as aggressing on Germans”.¹¹⁸ Hence, a double contingency was arguably well established in the Third Reich; people attended and participated in the sexualised persecution of *Rassenschande* because their peers and media consistently reinforced the knowledge it was expected of loyal citizens to do so.

To a large extent, this double contingency achieved the Nazis’ goal of indoctrinating the population with the knowledge of *Rassenschande* being a threat to the “Aryan race”. However, it also made the sexualised violence so visible it caught the attention of the international community.¹¹⁹ This is well demonstrated by the fact both the British newspaper *The Times* and the British Committee for the relief of the victims of German fascism reported on sexualised violence in the Third Reich already in 1934.¹²⁰ One of the episodes they drew attention to was one of the earliest, if not the first, incident of shearing in Nazi Germany. It occurred in April 1933 when a socialist woman, who was also a Jew, was arrested at her place of work.¹²¹ According to the woman’s own account, she was dragged by her hair before it was forcibly cut by some members of the SA. After having been forced to pay for the so-called hair cut, the woman reported the incident to the police only to have the officials warn her not to stir up trouble.¹²²

The highly public nature of the persecution of *Rassenschande* in Nazi Germany also caught the interest of the Norwegian press. In 1935, *Arbeiderbladet* published several articles about Nazi Germany. Of particular interest to this thesis was an article which stated Germany was no longer a country governed by the rule of law because citizens were sent to concentration

¹¹⁷ Wildt, “Picturing exclusion,” 142.

¹¹⁸ Dagmar Herzog, *Sex after Fascism: Memory and morality in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 40.

¹¹⁹ It must of course be kept in mind there were many underground resistance organisations in the Third Reich that attempted to thwart the Nazi regime.

¹²⁰ Ellen Wilkinson, *The terror in Germany: being an account of some of the Nazi outrages in Germany under Hitler, with photographs - compiled from witnessed and authenticated documents, medical certificates, and personal observation* (London: The British Committee for the relief of the victims of German fascism: 1934), 21.

¹²¹ Wilkinson, *The terror in Germany*, 21.

¹²² Koonz, *Mothers in the fatherland*, 323.

camps without due justice.¹²³ The article brought special attention to the fact that the concentration camp system was utilised to penalise people accused of *Rassenschande*. The following year, in February 1936, *Arbeiderbladet* also wrote about the impact of *Der Stürmer*.¹²⁴ The article stated boys between 13-14 years old were routinely reading the Anti-Semitic newspaper which “specialised in... pornographic details about Jewish *Rassenschande* against Aryan women”, and young girls were being inculcated “to know their duty to their country”. In the time period between 1937 and 1938, I found another five articles in *Smaalenenes Social Demokrat*, *Nordisk Tidende*, *Lofoten Folkeblad* and *Dagbladet* respectively, relevant for this thesis.¹²⁵ All of these articles addressed the illegality of relations between Jews and “Aryans”, and that such relationships were harshly punished with jail and concentration camps. It must be noted, however, none of the articles elaborated on other sanctions utilised against *Rassenschande*.

Therefore we can conclude with certainty the knowledge that women were being persecuted in Nazi Germany for ‘inappropriate’ relations reached Norway already in 1935. Consequently, while I have been unable to source material which conclusively shows the knowledge of shearing reached Norway by way of Nazi Germany, I would still argue the Third Reich cannot be ruled out as the likely catalyst. For as we now have seen, sexualised violence in Nazi Germany was highly public. Moreover, this persecution was avidly documented with articles and images which circulated beyond its intended audience. And finally, the Norwegian press was aware of and reported on the sexualised persecution of *Rassenschande* in Nazi Germany. There is therefore a good case to be made for the fact that since knowledge of general punishment travelled beyond Nazi Germany to Norway, there is a strong likelihood of knowledge of shearing having done the same. Moreover, these events occurred in close time proximity to the ritual’s emergence in Norway. Although I did not find a reference to shearing in the mainstream press, I would argue this only indicates a broader scope must be applied in future research. This should include the party-political press as it may hold the answer to how this practice reached Norway.

¹²³ *Arbeiderbladet*: For Social-Demokraten, August 13, 1935, <https://www.nb.no/items/ae19e7f4eeaa9fbd4ed36625aa8b6f49?page=0&searchText=arbeiderbladet>, last accessed on November 13, 2019.

¹²⁴ *Arbeiderbladet*: For Social-Demokraten, February, 1, 1936, <https://www.nb.no/items/f863f5e3668f64ad8b7edd0fd211d399?page=0&searchText=arbeiderbladet>, last accessed on November 13, 2019.

¹²⁵ *Smaalenenes Social Demokrat*, November 4, 1937; *Nordisk Tidende*, December 1937; *Lofoten Folkeblad*, December 31; *Dagbladet*, December 22, 1938.

While I acknowledge it might be controversial to suggest the Norwegian population adopted a ritual from Nazi Germany, it is worth noting Warring made a similar observation. In *Tyskerpiger*, the historian reasoned that in many ways the people had adopted gender discriminatory and inhumane practices far closer to Nazism than the democratic ideals the resistance had been fighting for.¹²⁶ This is imperative to note because it underlines that leading literature in the field has already directed attention to similarities between the occupied nations' reckoning with *tyskertøser* and the National Socialists persecution of so-called "sub-humans" and those who associated with them.

CHAPTER FINDINGS

In this chapter, we have seen shearing as a punishment was wielded in a number of European countries at the beginning of the 20th century and that it was a chastisement predominantly reserved for women. While a highly sexualised punishment in all nations, the case studies also showed shearing was not just reserved for "horizontal collaboration", but was used for all types of fraternisation with the perceived enemy. Therefore, the chapter has demonstrated there was reasonable scope and opportunity for the knowledge of shearing as a method of punishment to have manifested itself in Norway as a result of transnational borrowing. This chapter did not succeed in presenting conclusive evidence that the knowledge of shearing reached Norway by way of Nazi Germany. However, I continued to maintain the Third Reich was the most likely catalyst for this culture-transfer. Chiefly as the highly public nature in which the National Socialists wielded sexualised violence caused knowledge of the practice to travel beyond the Third Reich. Thus, there was both reasonable scope and opportunity for transnational borrowing between Norway and Nazi Germany to have occurred. This thesis will now move on to discuss how the sexualised ritual emerged in Norway in 1940, as well as address how it evolved throughout the occupation period.

CHAPTER 3. SHEARING AND SEXUALISED VIOLENCE IN NORWAY DURING THE NAZI OCCUPATION

In the introduction of this thesis, I highlighted the academic community in Norway has tended to rely on theories established by research undertaken elsewhere in Europe to explain

¹²⁶ Warring, *Tyskerpiger*, 229.

Norway's violent reckoning with *tyskertøser*. I would argue this reliance is somewhat problematic because most of the established theories evolve around shearing and sexualised violence being a prerogative of the liberation period. Thus, they do not allow scope for *folk-justice* having occurred also during the occupation period. Consequently, while Norwegian scholars have found evidence of shearing in 1940, none of them have highlighted the importance of these findings. Clear examples of this is that both Olsen and Johannessen refer to incidents of shearing in the spring and summer of 1940, without turning these findings into overarching arguments.¹²⁷ *Nordmenn i fangenskap 1940-1945* also outlined that 12 Norwegian teenagers were arrested in June 1940 and sent to Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp for having shorn *tyskertøser*.¹²⁸

This chapter will therefore present evidence which arguably shows that shearing and *folk-justice* were integral parts of Norway's occupation history. To accomplish this, it will first address material which shows both the knowledge and practice of shearing was present in Norway in 1940. It will furthermore provide documentation of *folk-justice* being carried out during the occupation and address why the sexualised violence appears to cease for a period of time before re-emerging in 1944. The chapter will also detail how *tyskertøser* were portrayed in the illegal newspapers, as well as discuss the ramifications of my findings in relation to the established theories.

THE MAINSTREAM PRESS IN 1940

From the very first day of occupation in April 1940, the mainstream press came under Nazi censorship.¹²⁹ This meant within a short period of time a large number of Norway's newspapers were forced to shut down and those that remained were obliged to tow the Wehrmacht line.¹³⁰ This included not reporting the attacks on *tyskertøser*, as well as other forms of retaliation against the Wehrmacht, because they were seen as a great insult against the Third Reich. Nevertheless, before the mainstream press was fully Nazified there were a

¹²⁷ Olsen, *Krigens Barn*, 247; Johannessen, "Tyskertøsene", 13.

¹²⁸ Ottosen, *Nordmenn i fangenskap 1940-1945*, 33.

¹²⁹ Luihn, *Den frie hemmelige pressen*, 9.

¹³⁰ Luihn, *Den frie hemmelige pressen*, 19. Of the 260 newspapers circulation in Norway in 1940, 146 were banned. Some also closed voluntarily because they refused to serve the Nazis' agenda.

number of articles published about *folk-justice*, *tyskertøser* and the public's expectation of young women.¹³¹

In the digital archive of the National Library, I found 19 newspapers from 1940 with reference to *folk-justice*, or threats thereof, as well as mandates as to how Norwegian women should behave. The first news article I was able to source regarding *folk-justice* was from May 4, published in *Stavanger Aftenblad* under the title “The unworthy are being punished”.¹³²

*“Lindesnes newspaper writes that one morning a poster with this content was posted at the fire department in Mandal: ‘Those of the city’s ladies who indulge in companionship with foreigners will be severely punished! Mandal’s clean-up club.’ Vestfold Arbeiderblad says that the Norwegian girls in Torstrand who were unable to leave the German soldiers in peace were spanked on their bare bottoms by the city’s boys. The chief of police is not protecting the girls. He tells the newspaper that the authorities will not tolerate that the German soldiers are not left in peace by the girls who [run after] them. In our district, we also know the girls, and for that matter, the boys who [run after] the Germans and they have on occasion received their punishment.”*¹³³

The chief of police added the city could also use its own “clean-up club” to systematically root out those who could not leave the Germans be. A similar article referencing the warning placate in Mandal was also published in *Hamar Arbeiderblad* 14 days later under the title “women, take care”.¹³⁴ According to newspaper *Nordlys*, published on June 5, several placates threatening *tyskertøser* with shearing had appeared in Ålesund, signed “the city’s young men”.¹³⁵

¹³¹ See also Oddvar Schjølberg, *Tyskertøsen som ble gatas samaritan: Historien om Agnes fra Larvik* (Risør: Aktive Fredsforlag, 2011).

¹³² *Stavanger Aftenblad*, May 4, 1940, National Library, https://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb_digavis_stavangeraftenblad_null_null_19400504_48_97_1, last accessed on September 2, 2019.

¹³³ From the article it is unclear whether this is a reference to homosexual relations or simply collaboration.

¹³⁴ *Hamar Arbeiderblad*, May 18, 1940, National Library, https://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb_digavis_hamararbeiderblad_null_null_19400518_15_102_1, last accessed on September 2, 2019.

¹³⁵ *Nordlys: Organ for arbeiderbevegelsen i Troms og Tromsø*, June 5, 1940, National Library, https://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb_digavis_nordlys_null_null_19400605_39_127_1, last accessed on September 2, 2019.

While the above-mentioned articles do reference some punishment had been meted out, such as spankings, the newspapers did not elaborate if the chastisements also included shearing. However, five of the newspapers I sourced explicitly stated that *folk-justice* in form of shearing had occurred in Østfold, Oppland, Vestfold and Hedmark, all of which were published between May 8-22, 1940. An article published on May 21 in *Svelviksposten*, particularly stands out because it stated that it was the women's friends, both male and female, who carried out the shearings.¹³⁶ The article furthermore said the shorn hair was hung in public to warn off other women from associating with enemy soldiers. Another fact which speaks to the argument that shearing and *folk-justice* was perhaps more commonplace in 1940 than previously assumed, is the increasingly harsh measures the Wehrmacht both threatened with and used to halt the retaliation.

On May 19, *Glommen* newspaper reported that the local newspapers in Larvik had recently been summoned to a meeting with the city's German Harbour Master.¹³⁷ At the meeting, the papers were informed that the local population's recent adoption of a more hostile attitude towards German soldiers would not be tolerated, nor would continued reprisals against *tyskertøser*. It was made clear if a Wehrmacht soldier were to be killed while stationed in Larvik, it would have incalculable consequences for the city and its inhabitants. To underline the seriousness, the newspapers were also summoned to the police's headquarters. There they were informed a list of 50 citizens had been requested by the German Harbour Master; a fact they took to mean that if retaliation against the occupation forces continued, these 50 would pay the price. Thus, the newspapers discouraged people from taking action which could result in the punishment of others.

My research also showed the judicial system was utilised to root out those who insulted the Third Reich. For example, in June 1940 a 28-year-old man was sentenced to six weeks in prison for having hit a woman who spoke with a German soldier.¹³⁸ Particularly interesting to note is how seriously the authorities in Oslo pursued legal action against a 16-year-old boy for allegedly having threatened to cut the braid of a young girl in Tøyenhagen. On July 2, the boy

¹³⁶ *Svelviksposten*, May 21, 1940, National Library, https://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb_digavis_svelviksposten_null_null_19400521_55_40_1, last accessed on September 2, 2019.

¹³⁷ *Glommen*, May 19, 1940, National Library, https://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb_digavis_glommen_null_null_19400520_53_113_1, last accessed on September 2, 2019.

¹³⁸ *Ringerikes Blad*, Juni 11, 1940, National Library, https://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb_digavis_ringerikesblad_null_null_19400611_96_127_1, last accessed on September 2, 2019.

was taken to court where he was ultimately acquitted of the charge. He was, however, sentenced to 60 days in jail as a suspended sentence after having been found guilty of disorderly conduct and defamation of the German soldiers and the girl.¹³⁹

As it was the first court case of its kind, it captured the interest of papers across the nation. In fact, eight of the 19 newspapers from 1940 dedicated column space to this incident.¹⁴⁰ The court case is significant because while the accused teenager did not actually cause any physical harm to the girl, the authorities clearly felt it necessary to make an example of the boy. This need to statute an example of a simple threat would indicate the number of *folk-justice* incidents was in fact considerable. Before turning to the illegal newspapers, there are two further articles we must address. The articles do not reference any form of *folk-justice* but they are included because they demonstrate how the myth that *tyskertøser* was a weak, maladroit and easily manipulated lot was not just a post-war phenomenon. These claims were also padded during the occupation.

The first article is an interview with an anonymous Norwegian published in *Nordisk Tidende* on September 12, 1940.¹⁴¹ Here the Norwegian claimed that to begin with, few women paid any attention to the German soldiers and only started to do so because the Wehrmacht imported 600 females from Nazi Germany to make it appear as if Norway's women had embraced the occupation forces.¹⁴² Upon seeing these 'imported' women, Norwegian females then believed it was also ok for them to associate with German soldiers. The second article, published in *Dagningen: Organ for det norske arbeiderparti* is worth addressing to a fuller extent, for it echoes views widely championed in the liberation period.¹⁴³ Published on September 21, 1940, it argued Norway's women were falling into the hands of German soldiers because society had failed to imprint upon them their national duty:

¹³⁹ *Arbeiderbladet for social-demokraten: Hovedorgan for det norske arbeiderparti*, July 2, 1940, National Library, <https://www.nb.no/items/b903f7fa4ebde75e397d539ab3e0a48a?page=0&searchText=arbeiderbladet>, last accessed on September 2, 2019.

¹⁴⁰ See *Fædrelandsvennen*, July 3, 1940; *Porsgrunns Dagblad*, July 3, 1940; *Dagningen: Organ for det norske arbeiderparti*, July 3, 1940; *Sarpsborg Arbeiderblad: Organ for det norske arbeiderparti*, July 4, 1940; *Tiden: Organ for det Norske Arbeiderpartiet i Aust-Agder*, July 4, 1940; *Firda: Bygdeblad for Sogn og Fjordane*, July 6, 1940; *Romsdal Budstikke*, July 13, 1940, all accessible from the National Library.

¹⁴¹ *Nordisk Tidende*, September 12, 1940, National Library, <https://www.nb.no/items/9218efe1391536ce558baf64800ec065>, last accessed on September 2, 2019.

¹⁴² The text does not make clear whether these women were prostitutes or not. It would be an interesting case for further study because brothels were common in the Third Reich, despite prostitutes often being sent to concentration camps for being "anti-social".

¹⁴³ See Jørgensen, "Norske kvinner og tyske soldater"; Pedersen, "Tyskerjenter i Norge"; Papendorf, *Siktet som tyskertøs*; Johannessen, "Tyskertøsene".

*“We have neglected the young girls who today stand before conditions which one needs much maturity and experience to judge correctly. And we have not been good enough at establishing these prerequisites, so the job became easier for you.”*¹⁴⁴

The article continued by claiming a lack of appropriate recreational pursuits, particularly those of a social nature, and poorly paid jobs could force young women into unworthy fates. It called for women to understand they carried the future of the country in their hands and thus had a particular responsibility. While the article acknowledged young women had the right to explore and enjoy their lives, it concluded:

“But with rights also come responsibility. You must not let this ‘time of play’ become what destroys you and makes you unfit for your true purpose. You are in fact the most valuable thing our people own. Therefore, you should not be for sale.”

Already here we can see Warring’s theory that *tyskertøser* were punished because female sexuality was perceived as the property of the nation holds true for Norway’s case. This will be further discussed later in this chapter, but for now, we shall turn to the illegal newspapers published in 1940.

THE ILLEGAL NEWSPAPERS IN 1940

The massive underground production of newspapers in Norway did not truly start until the autumn of 1941 when the Wehrmacht banned and seized all private radios.¹⁴⁵ Nevertheless, at least 12 illegal newspapers did emerge from the summer of 1940 and onwards: four of which dedicated resources to documenting and calling-out *tyskertøser* and other traitors.¹⁴⁶

The first illegal newspaper I was able to source with reference to collaboration in 1940 was published in *Budstikken* in June. It warned its readers that Wehrmacht soldiers had orders to

¹⁴⁴ *Dagningen: Organ for det norske arbeiderparti*, September 21, 1940, National Library, https://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb_digavis_dagningen_null_null_19400921_15_208_1, last accessed on September 2, 2019.

¹⁴⁵ Luihn, *Den frie hemmelige pressen*, 9.

¹⁴⁶ Based on material sourced in my research process.

befriend the population in order to win their trust and friendship, but that such association only awakened the deepest disgust:

*“Norwegians, never forget what these people have done to your country and your people. Remember the 5th amendment for Norwegians states: ‘You should consider a traitor any Norwegian who privately associates with Germans or quislings...’.”*¹⁴⁷

That collaborators should be met with disdain was also echoed in *Nordmannen: Norge vårt land*. In November, the illegal publication urged its readers:

*“When you meet German soldiers in the company of Norwegian girls, you should measure them to the best of your ability, but be careful with what you say if there [is more than one] German, one alone is rarely brutal, but several together will immediately show their true face, namely their brutal cruelty... You must despise every form of treason and know that it is punishable by death.”*¹⁴⁸

One article from 1940 which particularly stands out was published in both the A and B edition of *Vi vil oss et land: Alt for Norge* in the late autumn.¹⁴⁹ For while their peers also aired their aversion to *tysketøser*, these are the first references in the illegal newspapers I found pertaining to the fact that *folk-justice* had occurred. And furthermore, that by the end of 1940, it had seemingly “become too dangerous” to continue such acts of reprisal:

“It is with sorrow and increasing bitterness one notices alliances between German soldiers and Norwegian girls. In the evenings in the cities, one often has the impression that the pavements are mainly occupied with soldiers with female Norwegian escorts. These girls are of course thoughtless and perhaps incapable of understanding what they are making themselves guilty of when they [accompany] our enemies.... When these girls themselves do not understand what they are making

¹⁴⁷ *Budstikken*, June 1940, Bergen University Library, <https://digitalt.uib.no/bitstream/handle/1956.2/3095/1940.flygeblad.pdf?sequence=1>, last accessed on November 6, 2019.

¹⁴⁸ *Nordmannen: Norge vårt land*, November 1940, Bergen University Library, <https://digitalt.uib.no/bitstream/handle/1956.2/2571/1940.nr.07.pdf?sequence=1>, last accessed on November 6, 2019.

¹⁴⁹ The A and B editions were published independent of each other and produced by two separate underground groups. Occasionally the B-edition republished material from the A-edition.

themselves guilty of, it should be every good Norwegians duty to make them understand they are doing something low and foul towards their countrymen. Earlier one cut the hair of such girls, but it became too dangerous. They were in fact taken under Gestapo's special protection, because the Germans encourage their soldiers to make such connections, in order to establish contact with the Norwegian population."¹⁵⁰

The article furthermore urged people to not let their guard down, stating passive resistance was now Norway's strongest weapon. Shortly afterwards, the B-edition of *Vi vil oss et land: Alt for Norge* also published a name list over accused *tyskertøser*.¹⁵¹ It informed its readers that if the women did not see sense soon harsh measures would be taken against them:

*"We continue our list over the girls who are seen or have been seen with German soldiers. In our last edition, we used the following words: the simplest form of treason about the miserable creatures who place themselves in opposition to all human laws. We acknowledge that these were harsh words, but we are assured that the readers agree that they are not harsh enough."*¹⁵²

Based on the documentation we have seen so far, both from the mainstream press and illegal newspapers, I would argue the claim that shearing was novel during the occupation is one which no longer can be maintained. To further underline this point, I will now discuss my findings in *Meldungen Aus Norwegen*, before continuing to address the remaining material I found in the illegal newspapers.

MELDUNGEN AUS NORWEGEN: NORWAY AND THE WEHRMACHT

To the best of my knowledge, *Meldungen Aus Norwegen* has not previously been studied in connection with *tyskertøser*. Therefore, I would argue the document collection offers an important new insight into the topic and potentially some of the most important findings of this thesis. A large number of incidents pertaining to unrest, defamation of, and *folk-justice*

¹⁵⁰ *Vi vil oss et land: Alt for Norge A-edition*, October 1940.

¹⁵¹ The name list appears to be the second in a series the illegal newspaper published.

¹⁵² *Vi vil oss et land: Alt for Norge B-edition*, November/ December 1940, Bergen University Library, <https://digitalt.uib.no/bitstream/handle/1956.2/2815/1940.nr.02.pdf?sequence=3>, last accessed on November 6, 2019.

against, *tyskertøser* were reported in *Meldugen Aus Norwegen* in the first two years of occupation. Based on the high volume of entries in the reports, two things are arguably clear: Firstly, the general mood of the Norwegian population was considered of great importance to the Nazi regime. Secondly, incidents of *folk-justice* were numerous enough to be reported back to, and dealt with, by the highest levels of Nazi Government in Norway and in the Third Reich.

The first reference to unrest caused by Norwegian-German association was included in a report on May 21, 1940.¹⁵³ The report stated a number of small clashes had occurred between German soldiers and Norwegian men due to the soldiers' attempt to invite girls to dance or get involved with them. It further stated harassment against *tyskertøser* and German personnel were daily occurrences, and in some instances, Norwegian men had been observed making threatening gestures with scissors. I will continue to discuss the general discontent and *folk-justice* against *tyskertøser* reported in *Meldungen Aus Norwegen* later in this chapter. But first, I would like to address the most important findings in these documents, namely that Norwegians accused of shearing *tyskertøser* were sent to concentration camps in Nazi Germany.

I found two separate reports of Norwegians being deported to Nazi Germany specifically for the act of shearing; though this punishment eventually was also meted out for 'mere' threats against *tyskertøser* and other so-called crimes. The first reference to Norwegians being sent on transport to the Third Reich was regarding the same 12 teenagers mentioned at the beginning of the chapter. The report, dated August 1, 1940, stated the accused shearers had been sent to Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp on July 31.¹⁵⁴ As this punishment was also intended to demonstrate the Wehrmacht could be merciful, they were returned to Norway by Christmas 1940. The second reference, from 1941, was actually regarding an incident which occurred on May 30, 1940. The report stated a Norwegian man had been sent to Nazi Germany from June 6 till November 23, 1940, for having cut the hair of a girl during a social event.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ Larsen, Sandberg, Dahm, *Meldungen aus Norwegen*, 7.

¹⁵⁴ Larsen, Sandberg, Dahm, *Meldungen aus Norwegen*, 20.

¹⁵⁵ Larsen, Sandberg, Dahm, *Meldungen aus Norwegen*, 225.

It must also be noted that according to *The shoemaker from Sachsenhausen*, national hero Karl Maier shared his transport to the Third Reich with a group of young boys from Fredrikstad.¹⁵⁶ They were apparently on their way to a concentration camp to “learn some manners” after having shorn women they considered “unnational”. I did not find a reference to this group of boys in *Meldungen Aus Norwegen*; however, this is likely because many documents and reports were lost in the chaos of liberation. From this then, we can conclude that at least 15 Norwegian men and teenagers were deported to concentration camps in Nazi Germany for having shorn women in 1940.¹⁵⁷

In the reports from 1941, I found mention of a further four Norwegians who were sent to concentration camps in Nazi Germany. The first man, from Kristiansund, was arrested and deported after having called women who associated with Germans for whores.¹⁵⁸ A further two were sent on transport for having made and distributed name lists over *tyskertøser*.¹⁵⁹ The final Norwegian, from Ålesund, was arrested and deported for having insulted *tyskertøser* and encouraged resistance.¹⁶⁰ Reports of *folk-justice* and general malice towards *tyskertøser* continue regularly throughout 1940-1941 and I have categorised the reports into the following sections: *folk-justice* and general violence, illegal newspapers and leaflets, and general resistance and the Wehrmacht’s response.

Folk-Justice and general violence

The last reference pertaining to shearing I found in *Meldungen Aus Norwegen* was from September 3, 1940. According to the report, five men had shorn the hair of a woman and the authorities had launched an investigation into the matter.¹⁶¹ While my research did not reveal any further incidents of shearing, it did uncover a further nine incidents regarding *folk-justice* against *tyskertøser* between December 26, 1940, and October 28, 1941. The most serious of which included: a man kicking a woman to the lower stomach,¹⁶² a woman left with a head

¹⁵⁶ Bengt Calmeyer, *The shoemaker from Sachsenhausen* (Oslo/Gjøvik: Dreyers Forlag, 1991), 62.

¹⁵⁷ The figure is likely higher but as *The shoemaker from Sachsenhausen* does not provide a figure over how many men were in the group, I decided it was better to apply a low estimate of two as to not sensationalise.

¹⁵⁸ Larsen, Sandberg, Dahm, *Meldungen aus Norwegen*, 309.

¹⁵⁹ Larsen, Sandberg, Dahm, *Meldungen aus Norwegen*, 340.

¹⁶⁰ Larsen, Sandberg, Dahm, *Meldungen aus Norwegen*, 407.

¹⁶¹ Larsen, Sandberg, Dahm, *Meldungen aus Norwegen*, 106.

¹⁶² Larsen, Sandberg, Dahm, *Meldungen aus Norwegen*, 434.

injury after being assaulted late at night,¹⁶³ a man hitting a woman because she worked for the Wehrmacht,¹⁶⁴ and the alleged rape of a woman who dated a German.¹⁶⁵

Illegal newspapers and leaflets

The Wehrmacht appears to quickly have become aware of the activity of the illegal newspapers, as a report from August 3, 1940, stated a number of them had been discovered in the Oslo-area in July.¹⁶⁶ The report particularly brought attention to the fact the illegal newspapers condemned anyone who associated with the Wehrmacht, including *tyskertøser*, and that they were considered traitors to the nation. A second report, dated August 23, 1940, was also filed regarding the illegal newspapers resentment towards Norwegian-German association.¹⁶⁷ References to the illegal newspapers, placards and leaflets continue to feature semi-regularly in *Meldungen Aus Norwegen*. Most relevant to this thesis are the reports from January 29,¹⁶⁸ February 5,¹⁶⁹ July 4,¹⁷⁰ and December 8, 1941,¹⁷¹ as they addressed the emergence of name lists over *tyskertøser* in Tyssedal, Bergen, Oslo and Narvik, respectively. These reports are relevant to the debate because they show resistance against *tyskertøser* was present across the entire country and not localised to specific regions.

Before moving on to discuss the general opposition reported in *Meldungen Aus Norwegen*, it must also be noted that in January 1941 *Sørlandet* newspaper was forced to shut down.¹⁷² The order was given after the newspaper had published an article concerning the policy in the Third Reich of persecuting women who had had relations with prisoners of war. The Nazi leadership, as discussed in Chapter 2, considered such relations a grave problem because it undermined the Aryan ideal of a “pure race”.

¹⁶³ Larsen, Sandberg, Dahm, *Meldungen aus Norwegen*, 176.

¹⁶⁴ Larsen, Sandberg, Dahm, *Meldungen aus Norwegen*, 428.

¹⁶⁵ Larsen, Sandberg, Dahm, *Meldungen aus Norwegen*, 461.

¹⁶⁶ Larsen, Sandberg, Dahm, *Meldungen aus Norwegen*, 26.

¹⁶⁷ Larsen, Sandberg, Dahm, *Meldungen aus Norwegen*, 83.

¹⁶⁸ Larsen, Sandberg, Dahm, *Meldungen aus Norwegen*, 168.

¹⁶⁹ Larsen, Sandberg, Dahm, *Meldungen aus Norwegen*, 174.

¹⁷⁰ Larsen, Sandberg, Dahm, *Meldungen aus Norwegen*, 323.

¹⁷¹ Larsen, Sandberg, Dahm, *Meldungen aus Norwegen*, 539.

¹⁷² Larsen, Sandberg, Dahm, *Meldungen aus Norwegen*, 175.

General resistance and the Wehrmacht's response

In addition to the incidents already discussed, *Meldungen Aus Norwegen* contained a further 34 references to Norwegians being arrested or detained for openly showing their aversion to *tyskertøser*. The majority of the cases pertain to Norwegian men having been arrested for name-calling women, who either dated or worked for German soldiers, or for having expressed public insult, such as spitting on them.¹⁷³ It is interesting to note, however, also women faced the authorities for giving insult to the Wehrmacht's honour.¹⁷⁴ One such case which stands out is a head nurse being detained after having warned her students against association with the occupation soldiers.¹⁷⁵ During her interrogation, the woman explained it was her duty to protect the girls in training and remind them of their moral duties. The head nurse's opposition was seemingly shared by other health care professionals. A report from April 1941 stated health centres were ordered to close because they informed women about abortion and preventative measures.¹⁷⁶ This was potentially also a counter-measure intended to put women who wanted to associate with Germans at ease, as a report from January 1941 stated many Norwegian females were afraid to seek out and maintain such relations because of their fellow Norwegians' reactions.¹⁷⁷

Earlier in this chapter, I stated the claim that shearing was a novelty during the occupation could no longer be maintained. However, as we now shall see, the belief has a logical explanation. Firstly, for while it is relatively easy to source material about shearing and other forms of *folk-justice* in 1940-1941, and in the liberation period, similar material is scarce in the period between 1942-1943. Secondly, my study of *Meldungen Aus Norwegen* revealed an article from 1942 which stated incidents were now so few and far in between they were no longer necessary to report.¹⁷⁸ Thirdly, the article published in *Vi vil oss et land: Alt for Norge* in November 1940 which claimed it had become too dangerous to seek vengeance against *tyskertøser* - undoubtedly referring to the fact that shearers were sent to Nazi concentration camps. The sum of these three points do indicate shearing and sexualised violence did temporarily cease. This conclusion is further supported by the fact the illegal newspapers did not encourage its readership to immediate action against *tyskertøser*. Instead, most of the

¹⁷³ Larsen, Sandberg, Dahm, *Meldungen aus Norwegen*, 49, 189, 287, 423, 540.

¹⁷⁴ Larsen, Sandberg, Dahm, *Meldungen aus Norwegen*, 168, 265, 336, 385, 494.

¹⁷⁵ Larsen, Sandberg, Dahm, *Meldungen aus Norwegen*, 115-116.

¹⁷⁶ Larsen, Sandberg, Dahm, *Meldungen aus Norwegen*, 257.

¹⁷⁷ Larsen, Sandberg, Dahm, *Meldungen aus Norwegen*, 167.

¹⁷⁸ Larsen, Sandberg, Dahm, *Meldungen aus Norwegen*, 705.

underground publications urged people to bide their time because the day of reckoning would come.

THE ILLEGAL NEWSPAPERS DURING THE OCCUPATION

Whereas incidents of *folk-justice* appear to cease, the same cannot be said of the opposition against and the desire to punish *tyskertøser*. Through my study of the illegal newspapers, I found more than 50 articles chronicling and condemning *tyskertøser*. The contents range from stating these women should face punishment on equal grounds with quislings and other collaborators, to demanding that their children should be relocated to Germany once liberation came.¹⁷⁹ The next section of this chapter will therefore include excerpts from illegal newspapers published between 1941 and 1945. It will particularly focus on the articles, which are either generally representative of the material I found, or of particular interest to the wider debate on *tyskertøser*.

The first article we shall address was published in the March-April 1941 edition of *Arbeiderklassen: Organ for arbeiderne i Norge*.¹⁸⁰ Condemning Norwegian women's relationship with Wehrmacht soldiers, it wrote:

“The Norwegian girls are largely a tragic chapter. In some places, they are probably holding up and are with the Norwegian boys, but in other places, it is even so bad that it is an exception that girls aren't seen with the green suiters... But these girls can be sure that they will be noticed – and there will come a day – and then it will not be accepted as an excuse that they have chicken brains and similar sense.”

This is an example of a sentiment widely representative of materials published in the illegal newspapers over the next four years. It was specifically shared by the people behind the illegal newspaper *Norge* which republished the article just a few weeks later.¹⁸¹ The belief

¹⁷⁹ See *Aftenposten*, January (1), 1942; *Jøssingen*, Juli (26), 1942; *Whispering times*, July (24), 1942; *Norsk tidsskrift for hjemmefronten*, November, 1943; *Friheten: Kamporgan for norske patrioter*, (18) and (39), 1943; *Svart på Hvit*, January, 1944; *Fortroppen: kamporgan for ungdom på heimfronten*, April, 1944; *Bulletinen*, June, 1944; *Underveis*, Juli (2), 1944; *Fram Bergen*, September, 1944; *Gjallarhorn*, October, 1944; *Bulletinen*, April, 1945.

¹⁸⁰ *Arbeiderklassen: Organ for arbeiderne i Norge*, March-April, 1941, Bergen University Library, <https://digitalt.uib.no/handle/1956.2/3070#preview>, last accessed on November 6, 2019.

¹⁸¹ *Norge*, May 1941, Bergen University Library, <https://digitalt.uib.no/bitstream/handle/1956.2/3196/1941.mai.pdf?sequence=21>, last accessed on November 6, 2019.

that *tyskertøser* had no sense of honour or national duty, was also common. In June 1941, *Det kommer en dag* published an article demanding women understand that Norway was at war and that it was their duty to support the men fighting for the nation's freedom rather than throw themselves into the arms of "inferiors".¹⁸² An opinion which was also prevalent in the illegal newspapers was that *tyskertøser* should never be able to escape the shame they had brought upon themselves and the nation. In November 1941, *Romerikes frie avis* wrote:

*"Swine! Besides the swine with a tail and four legs, there are 3 types of swine in Norway today. It is naturally the Germans, the quislings and the 'German-girls'. 'German-girls' are a disgrace for the entire Norwegian people. ... For the majority of the Norwegian population, it is incomprehensible that Norwegian girls want to have dealings with our nation's enemies. It is downright treason... There is no excuse to associate with the Germans in Norway today. We also want to make aware of that every 'German-girl' will be noted and so will be remembered for all time."*¹⁸³

In February 1942, *The Whispering Times: Landsutgave* published two articles we shall also look at in-depth. The first of which warned that every man and woman who broke with the 'ice-front' would be named and shamed.¹⁸⁴ While the paper cautioned its readers to be sure before labelling such traitors, it also reminded its readers it was their duty to ensure everyone knew who these traitors were once 'guilt' had been established. The second article is of more relevance as it addressed *tyskertøser* directly:

"A women can, like no one else lift life... up to the highest peaks and create purity and love in our daily lives. A woman can also be capable of drenching everything we hold sacred down into a muddy pool of shamelessness. Here in our Norway, there are today a number of outgrowths which no good Norwegians would touch... These 'ladies' will receive their punishment when the time comes. They have sentenced

¹⁸² *Det kommer en dag*, June 1941, Bergen University Library, <https://digitalt.uib.no/bitstream/handle/1956.2/3169/1941.juni.pdf?sequence=2>, last accessed on November 6, 2019.

¹⁸³ *Romerikes frie avis*, November 1941, Bergen University Library, <https://digitalt.uib.no/bitstream/handle/123456789/3299/1941.nov.pdf?sequence=3>, last accessed on November 6, 2019.

¹⁸⁴ *Whispering times: Landsutgave*, February 1942 (6), Bergen University Library, <https://digitalt.uib.no/handle/123456789/3294>, last accessed on November 6, 2019.

themselves. Some have already received their just punishment already now, at least some of them.”¹⁸⁵

The latter comment referring to the fact the occupation authorities continued to arrange for razzias in popular restaurants and bars to root out women with transmittable diseases.¹⁸⁶ Consequently, we can see there was a nearly constant demand in the illegal newspapers for *tyskertøser* to face retribution. Nevertheless, there were articles which called for a more nuanced approach, such as one published in *Den Norske kvinne* in June 1942.¹⁸⁷ The article portrayed some well-known stereotypes, such as *tyskertøser* being a minority, many of them being prostitutes and of lesser intelligence. However, it was also one of the few demanding that society must take responsibility for the circumstances surrounding the women’s fall from grace. The article stated:

“From this sad and bitter phenomenon arises a task for the future which we must understand and solve if we should be allowed to call ourselves fighters for freedom and culture against barbarism. It is to a large extent women's role to better understand children, and daughters in particular, and to help them become active and interested, help them to joy and values in life. Only then can we really accomplish something with the girls who [associate] with Germans.”

The final article from 1942 we will look at was published in *Steil og hel*, in September. Here, the illegal newspaper expressed there was no room for sympathy towards Germans or *tyskertøser*, nor the children which resulted from these relations:

“When the Allied forces' victory is secured, the turn will come to, amongst others, [those of you who have] fallen. Then it will be the law of war that applies. It is harsh and severe as the war itself. It has no room for gentleness. It hits hard and inexorably, but justly. You are treated as traitors to the nation and have no right to exist amongst

¹⁸⁵ *Whispering times*, February 1942 (6).

¹⁸⁶ See also *Mens vi venter*, April 1942 (4), Bergen University Library, <https://digitalt.uib.no/bitstream/handle/1956.2/3195/1942.april.pdf?sequence=2> and *Tidens Tegn*, Juni 18, 1941 (87), Bergen University Library, <https://digitalt.uib.no/bitstream/handle/1956.2/2809/1941.nr.87.pdf?sequence=15>, both last accessed on November 6, 2019.

¹⁸⁷ *Den Norske kvinne*, June 1942 (2), Bergen University Library, <https://digitalt.uib.no/bitstream/handle/1956.2/2674/1942.nr.02.pdf?sequence=5>, last accessed on November 6, 2019.

free Norwegians. Your potential children have no place in Norway either. We have informed [you] in advance. The allied's victory comes nearer, day by day. Every minute, every hour, is bringing all of you [nearer] the day for the large and serious settlement.”¹⁸⁸

That *tyskertøser* “lost their right to existence” was a claim which was repeated continuously throughout the occupation. For example, in January 1943, *London Melder* published an article titled “TØS” (“slag”), where it stated such women had lost the right to call themselves Norwegians:

“There is no excuse for their behaviour. There is not even a question of confusion or ... idealism. We are facing perversity driven to the utmost consequence, and are witnesses to immorality in its most extreme form. These individuals have lost their right to existence. But they shall know this, the slags, that one day they will have to take responsibility for their actions. Then it will be no use saying ‘I didn’t know’ or ‘I thought’. The slags are the dirtiest stain on Norway’s name, and one day they will have to face the consequences of the shame they have brought upon the country.”¹⁸⁹

So far we have seen that most illegal newspapers urged patience regarding *tyskertøser*’s punishment because their time would come. There were however exceptions to this norm. Namely, an article published by *Rundskue* in late 1943 which suggested a husband should have beaten his wife, rather than the soldier she was socialising with:

*“We can, of course, understand that the man [attacked] the German, but it would have been better-spent energy if he had [attacked] the wife...”*¹⁹⁰

The calls for *tyskertøser* to face punishment continued to emerge in 1944 with articles encouraging people to show them such “disdain they would know they are considered worse

¹⁸⁸ *Steil og hel*, September 1942 (nr 326), Bergen University Library, <https://digitalt.uib.no/handle/123456789/3283>, last accessed on November 6, 2019.

¹⁸⁹ *London Melder*, January 1943, Bergen University Library, <https://digitalt.uib.no/handle/1956.2/3199>, last accessed on November 6, 2019.

¹⁹⁰ *Rundskue*, Desember 1943, Bergen University Library, <https://digitalt.uib.no/bitstream/handle/1956.2/2736/1943.12.01.pdf?sequence=35>, last accessed on November 6, 2019.

than whores”.¹⁹¹ An article from *Kirken i dag* proves most noteworthy, however, as it shows also the Church called for *tyskertøser* to face chastisement for their apparent lack of morality:

“... Most Norwegian girls have enough self-awareness to walk proudly past the uniformed without offering them a sideglance. Though, the phenomenon of *tyskertøser* is apparently more widespread among us than in most other countries at war. The catastrophic increase in STDs during the occupation period is alarming... The moral decay of our people forces the Church to speak. If it is the Church’s God-given duty to speak out when rulers violate law and justice, make black white... it must also take action with words of warning and chastisement when the people itself is trodding down the holy laws of life.”¹⁹²

The illegal newspapers furthermore showed interest in how traitors, particularly *tyskertøser*, were treated in liberated France. In August 1944, *Vårt Land* wrote:

“*Tyskertøsene in Normandie are now having to face their countrymen as the Germans are being cast out. For the time being, they are being shorn to a large extent.*”¹⁹³

The following month a further three articles about shearing in France were published in *Siste Nytt*,¹⁹⁴ *Krigsoversikt*¹⁹⁵ and *Bulletinen*¹⁹⁶ respectively. Moreover, at the beginning of 1945, *Avantgarden: Organ for Norske åndsarbeidere* issued a warning that *tyskertøser* would soon

¹⁹¹ Rundskue, 1944 (nr 3), Bergen University Library, <https://digitalt.uib.no/bitstream/handle/1956.2/2736/1944.Udatert.03.pdf?sequence=15>, last accessed on November 6, 2019.

¹⁹² *Kirken i dag*, December 1944, Bergen University Library, <https://digitalt.uib.no/bitstream/handle/1956.2/3172/1944.des.pdf?sequence=7>, last accessed on November 6, 2019.

¹⁹³ *Vårt land*, August 1944, Bergen University Library, <https://digitalt.uib.no/handle/123456789/3292>, last accessed on November 6, 2019.

¹⁹⁴ *Siste nytt*, September 4, 1944, Bergen University Library, <https://digitalt.uib.no/bitstream/handle/1956.2/2771/1944.09.04.pdf?sequence=131>, last accessed on November 6, 2019.

¹⁹⁵ *Krigsoversikt* September 23, 1944, Bergen University Library, <https://digitalt.uib.no/bitstream/handle/1956.2/2564/1944.09.20.pdf?sequence=2>, last accessed on November 6, 2019.

¹⁹⁶ *Bulletinen* September 25, 1944, Bergen University Library, <https://digitalt.uib.no/handle/1956.2/3073>, last accessed on November 6, 2019.

find themselves with even shorter haircuts than the German soldiers with their “Aryan hairstyle”.¹⁹⁷

As we now have seen, there was a strong sense amongst those who produced and distributed illegal newspapers that *tyskertøser* should be punished on par with Nazis and quislings. Nonetheless, already in 1941 *Eidsvoll: Evig og tro* wrote that “private acts of vengeance must be avoided at all costs”.¹⁹⁸ As liberation from the Nazi occupation neared in 1944 such calls for a peaceful and orderly settlement with the traitors, as supposed to *folk-justice*, emerged with some regularity.¹⁹⁹ Such as the following article published in *Norge*, in February 1945:

*”You must let the authorities take care of the settlement with the quislings. You can trust that they will receive their severe and well-deserved punishment! ... take note of evidence against informants and war criminals, but do not be tempted to participate in folk-justice and other debaucheries such as cutting the hair of tyskertøsene and the likes. It is not fitting and can expose good Norwegians to criticism and quislings to sympathy. Remember that liberation can cause certain transitional difficulties which are impossible to eliminate...”*²⁰⁰

In essence, the illegal newspapers warned against shearing and other forms of *folk-justice*, not because it would be a lawless act, but because it would risk the reputation of “good” Norwegians. A rather interesting find, considering these were the same people claiming to long for Norway’s tradition of the rule of law. A more nuanced article, echoing *Den Norske kvinne* in June 1942, emerged in *Gjallarhorn* in April 1945. Calling for reconciliation rather than exclusion in the post-war era, it stated:

¹⁹⁷ *Avantgarden: Organ for norske åndsarbeidere*, 1945 (3), Bergen University Library, <https://digitalt.uib.no/bitstream/handle/1956.2/2658/1945.nr.03.pdf?sequence=2>, last accessed on November 6, 2019.

¹⁹⁸ *Eidsvoll: Evig og tro*, September 1941 (5), Bergen University Library, <https://digitalt.uib.no/bitstream/handle/1956.2/2677/1941.nr.05.pdf?sequence=11>, last accessed on November 6, 2019.

¹⁹⁹ See *Alt for Norge*, December 1942; *Budstikken*, January 1943 (3); *Fritt land*, May, 1944 (22); *Norsk Front*, October 1944; *Utenrikskronikken*, November 1944 (35); *Den konstitusjonelle*, 1945 (3); *NN Dette er London*, 1945; *Kommunal nytt*, January, 1945 (14); *Krigens Gang*, January 1945; *Krigens Gang*, February 1945, all accessible from the National Library.

²⁰⁰ *Norge*, February 20, 1945 (14), Bergen University Library, <https://digitalt.uib.no/handle/1956.2/3196>, last accessed on November 6, 2019.

*”Simultaneously as one condemns those who engage with the enemy, one must consider the conditions, which made such degradation possible. And one comes back to the fact that their development has been neglected, that far too many women learn to view themselves solely as sexual beings and not as humans on par with the men. Just think about the disparagement of women, which lays in men’s disdain for all [traditional] women’s work. Think about how often one hears that women become the object of despicable conversation and wicked jokes by men who this way seek to increase their ‘male sense of dignity’ ... When one is to begin rebuilding in the post-war era, one also has to embark on the reestablishment of the women’s human dignity. They must not become a recumbent part of the people, but included in the cultural development and become responsible members of society with both duties and rights on par with the men.”*²⁰¹

Before moving on this chapter must also draw attention to “the voice from London”. On May 11, 1941, Toralv Øksnevad addressed *tyskertøser* in one of his speeches on Radio London. He warned that even though the current circumstances in Norway made serious reprisals impossible, “it would be a terrible price these women would have to pay for the rest of their lives” for not rejecting the Wehrmacht soldiers.²⁰² This statement reached a wide audience as it was broadcast by the BBC and reported by the illegal newspapers in Norway. This, in turn, as also argued by Olsen, could have been interpreted as the Norwegian Government authorising the punishment of *tyskertøser* at the opportune moment.²⁰³ While the authorities in London officially denounced the violent reckoning with *tyskertøser* in the liberation period, the potential influence of this statement on Norwegian mentality and consequent action cannot be overlooked. For if the statement was seen by members of the resistance movement as permission from the Norwegian authorities, the resistance would also see their persecution of *tyskertøser* as legitimate and just.²⁰⁴

Based on the material we have reviewed so far there are a few things we can conclude. Firstly, the opinion that *tyskertøser* had no sense of national duty and had brought shame upon

²⁰¹ *Gjallarhorn*, April 9, 1945 (7), Bergen University Library, <https://digitalt.uib.no/bitstream/handle/1956.2/2784/1945.nr.7.pdf?sequence=1>, last accessed on November 6, 2019.

²⁰² Toralv Øksnevad, *Det lå i luften* (Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co, 1946), 18.

²⁰³ Olsen, *Krigens Barn*, 246.

²⁰⁴ See Papendorf, *Siktet som tyskertøs*.

the nation appears a nearly unison perception. Secondly, there was a widespread desire for these women to face punishment for their betrayal of society's expectations. Thirdly, while calls for prosecution appear nearly unilateral, there was dissidence as to how the reckoning with *tyskertøser* was to unfold. The next section of this chapter will therefore discuss the implications of my findings in relation to three of the most favoured theories in the field. It will demonstrate these models of theorising are not fully compatible with Norway's case. Moreover, this discussion will result in a framework which arguably explains both the emergence of shearing in Norway and why *folk-justice* prevailed over calls for a peaceful settlement with *tyskertøser*.

TYSKERTØSER AND ESTABLISHED THEORY

A heavily favoured theory is that *folk-justice* occurred in Norway as a result of a power vacuum in the liberation period, or in other words, the violent treatment of *tyskertøser* can be explained by the Carnival Theory. In essence, the theory suggests the world is turned upside down and traditional societal structures are overturned for a fleeting period of time before law and order is reestablished. According to H.R. Kedward, "carnival is more and more seen as an archetypal and recurrent pattern of public behaviour ritualised in the Middle Ages and acted out as a ritual ever since, but going back well beyond Christian festivals to patterns of controlled, or permitted, inversion in Greek and Roman times."²⁰⁵ From this, it becomes evident why carnival has largely been favoured as a theory applicable to Norway. For up till now academic literature on *tyskertøser* has indicated *folk-justice* was rare until the liberation period. If one studies the violence in the liberation period separately from the occupation, Norway seemingly does fit the bill: *In 1944 shearing and illegal justice emerged as a ritual in Norway when authority was absent, and after a short period of time order was reestablished.*²⁰⁶

Nonetheless, based upon my findings it becomes clear the theory falls short of explaining Norway's reckoning with *tyskertøser*. A prerequisite of the theory is that such upheaval is spontaneous and only lasts for a short period of time.²⁰⁷ Throughout this chapter, I have demonstrated *folk-justice*, such as shearing, manifested itself in Norway already in 1940 and

²⁰⁵ H.R. Kedward, "Introduction: 'Ici commence la France libre'," *The Liberation of France: Image and Event*, ed. H.R. Kedward and Nancy Wood (Oxford/Washington: Berg Publishers, 1995), 5.

²⁰⁶ See Olsen, *Krigsbarna*; Papendorf, *Siktet som tyskertøs*; Fjørtoft, *Oppgjøret som ikke tok slutt*.

²⁰⁷ H.R. Kedward, "Introduction", 6.

continued until 1942. The violence seemingly ceasing only to re-emerge in the liberation period. Furthermore, my research has shown that while violence may have temporarily ceased, the planning of *tyskertøser*'s punishment was an ever-present conversation in the illegal newspapers. Therefore, we can conclude the Carnival Theory falls short because upheaval, or planning of such, was constantly present in Norway during the five years of occupation. Thus, it was not temporary and the *folk-justice* in the liberation period cannot be described as spontaneous. The theory also becomes problematic because the lawless treatment of *tyskertøser*, such as the women being interned in camps, was initiated by Norwegian authorities and continued well past the liberation period.²⁰⁸

A second theory championed in the academic community is that shearing and *folk-justice* in the liberation period was a result of a “crisis of masculinity” and the quest to rediscover, or reestablish a national identity. Thus, ritualised sexual violence was a way of purging society of unwanted elements which epitomised this crisis.²⁰⁹ It also allowed the participants of such violent acts to reaffirm their individual identity as loyal and patriotic citizens. The theory originated from Fabrice Virgili's research on the ‘tontes’ in France and his analysis of the material.²¹⁰ As mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, Virgili's research is one of the major literary pillars in the patchwork which makes up the academic knowledge about *tyskertøser* and punishment in Europe. Consequently, Virgili's theory has been applied beyond its initial scope of France; perhaps because it offered a compelling narrative which challenged the Carnival Theory. In essence, Virgili discards the Carnival Theory because the ‘tontes’ were carried out with the support of France's new leadership as a transitional process to restore the nation.²¹¹ Shearing and violence were therefore not temporary phenomena before a return to traditional power structures; the shearings and violence was a way for the authorities to establish their legitimacy.

While compelling, I would reason Virgili's theory also falls short because my research has shown the sexualised punishment of *tyskertøser* was an almost instantaneous reaction from the population in 1940. Shearing and persecution of these women must therefore be viewed as popular *folk-justice* rather than as the authorities' quest for legitimacy. I would argue this

²⁰⁸ See Papendorf, *Siktet som tyskertøs*; Kjell Fjørtoft, *Oppgjøret som ikke tok slutt* (Oslo: Gyldendal, 2014).

²⁰⁹ Virgili, *Shorn Women*, 241.

²¹⁰ See Virgili, *Shorn Women*, ch. 7 & 8.

²¹¹ Virgili, *Shorn Women*, 240.

remains the case when *folk-justice* re-emerged in 1944, despite the acts also being carried out by Norwegian soldiers and members of the official resistance.²¹² For as far as we are aware today these acts were not condoned by the government in London. Consequently, I would argue the Government cannot be said to have used these acts to reaffirm their. Based on the material I sourced from the illegal newspapers it also appears the Norwegian identity remained intact throughout the occupation. The repeated calls for *tyskertøser* to face punishment often appeared somewhat less concerned with the moral impropriety of the Norwegian-German relations, and more preoccupied with the women's "un-patriotic behaviours" as well as the shame this brought upon the nation. Shearing and *folk-justice* was thus primarily about reaffirming rather than reestablishing a national identity.

There is one further theory this thesis must address; that the violent reckoning with *tyskertøser* was a result of female sexuality being perceived as the property of the nation. Anette Warring established this theory based on her research on *tyskertøser* in Denmark. The theory essentially argues that female sexuality became its own battlefield during the occupation because women's relations with the Wehrmacht soldiers were seen as a national and political matter, rather than as a private affair.²¹³ Or in other words, female sexuality and national honour became interchangeable entities and relationships with the occupation-forces were seen as a betrayal of gender-expectations and patriotic duty.²¹⁴ While implicit, it must be stated the women's 'betrayal' was considered particularly grave because it had favoured the enemy at the cost of the nation's own men. Thus, *folk-justice* was wielded as a method to reaffirm masculine dominance which is often synonymous with national honour and identity.²¹⁵ Whereas Warring does not address where the knowledge of shearing came from as such, the historian does suggest shearing was used as a method of punishment because a woman's hair is her pride. Shearing was therefore a symbolic castration of the women intended to alter their relation to society for a period of time.²¹⁶

Of the established theories, I would reason Warring's is the best suited to explain both the early emergence and continuation of sexualised violence in Norway during the occupation: *Tyskertøser were persecuted with sexualised violence because they had violated society's*

²¹² See Papendorf, *Siktet som tyskertøs*.

²¹³ Warring, *Tyskerpiger*, 225.

²¹⁴ Warring, *Tyskerpiger*, 224-225 and 228.

²¹⁵ Warring, *Tyskerpiger*, 19.

²¹⁶ Warring, *Tyskerpiger*, 116.

expectations of what a woman should be and how they should behave. However, while the view of female sexuality as the property of the nation explains the violent reckoning with *tyskertøser* during the occupation and liberation period, it does not provide scope as to how the knowledge of shearing reached Norway. I would therefore propose we must move beyond theories established within national frameworks and look to one rooted in transnationalism to explain shearing and *folk-justice* in Norway. For as demonstrated in Chapter 2, there is reasonable evidence to suggest this knowledge emerged in Norway as a result of transnational borrowing and circumstantial evidence of Nazi Germany being the catalyst.

CHAPTER FINDINGS

In this chapter, we have seen the persecution of *tyskertøser* in Norway was likely a result of female sexuality being perceived as the property of the nation. Throughout the occupation, many of the illegal newspapers chronicled who these women were and vowed a time of reckoning would come once the Nazis had been defeated. The publications condemned *tyskertøser* as “worse than whores” and “traitors to the nation”. The chapter has demonstrated that shearing and other forms of *folk-justice*, such as spanking and bodily harm, occurred already within weeks of the occupation. Moreover, it has shown these incidents temporarily ceased until the liberation period because the Nazi regime dealt out harsh punishments, including concentration camp sentences, to those caught chastising *tyskertøser*.

We have also seen that while the sexualised violence halted for a time, the plotting of such *folk-justice* continued in the illegal newspapers. Therefore, the knowledge of punishment remained ever-present. The chapter discussed the ramifications of these findings in relation to leading theories in the field. It showed neither Virgil’s theory nor the Carnival Theory as applicable to Norway’s case because they centre on violence being the prerogative of the liberation period. Thus, Warring’s theory of *folk-justice* occurring because female sexuality was considered the property of the nation stands out as the only model applicable to Norway’s case. However, as Warring’s theory is a national framework, I reasoned it should be combined with a transnational approach to allow scope for how the knowledge emerged in Norway.

THESIS CONCLUSION AND FINAL REMARKS

To date, the academic community's overarching knowledge about *tyskertøser* remains a patchwork of scholarly literature. Consequently, Norwegian scholars have traditionally focused on the topic within a national framework. They have also relied on theories established by research undertaken elsewhere in Europe to explain Norway's violent reckoning with *tyskertøser*. A result of this reliance is that it is widely believed sexualised violence was a phenomenon tightly related to the liberation period and shearing was a natural punishment for Norwegians to use against *tyskertøser*. The main purpose of this thesis has therefore been to present an alternative narrative of Norway's reckoning with *tyskertøser* during the Second World War.

The thesis has done this on three main levels. Firstly, it has accounted for Norway's socio-cultural history regarding punishment of female sexuality. Secondly, it has applied a transnational approach to history to study how shearing originated in Norway. Thirdly, it has utilised previously unstudied primary sources to study how shearing and *folk-justice* manifested itself and developed throughout the occupation period.

Based on the evidence sourced from this methodology, I have made a point of underlining the fact that shearing was not an inherent part of Norway's socio-cultural history. Therefore it was not a quasi-natural punishment for Norwegians to have wielded against *tyskertøser*. This was outlined in Chapter 1, as it demonstrated there were well-established laws and practices in the Kingdom of Norway which dictated how women should be punished if they acted contrary to societal norms and expectations. As none of these laws or practices included shearing, I argued a transnational approach had to be applied in order to explain the emergence of shearing in Norway in 1940.

In Chapter 2, I therefore both used and demonstrated the suitability of the transnational approach in the study of Norway's reckoning with *tyskertøser*, as this sexualised ritual was wielded in a number of European countries at the beginning of the 20th century. The chapter established there was both reasonable scope and opportunity for the knowledge of shearing to have manifested itself in Norway as a result of transnational borrowing. I did not succeed in sourcing conclusive evidence that the knowledge of shearing emerged in Norway by way of Nazi Germany. However, I continued to maintain the Third Reich was the most likely catalyst

for this culture-transfer because the practice of humiliation and shearing was such an integral part of the Nazis' practice. Consequently, knowledge of sexualised violence travelled beyond its intended scope. This was clearly demonstrated by the fact that knowledge of shearing and sexualised persecution had reached England in 1934, and Norway as of 1935. Moreover, the chapter argued it was highly likely knowledge of shearing reached Norway because the newspapers were reporting on concentration camps and general punishments of *Rassenschande*. It must also be kept in mind that the sexualised violence in Nazi Germany occurred in far closer time proximity to the emergence of shearing in Norway than for example the practice in Belgium after World War One.

Thus, I would reason this thesis has presented enough evidence, albeit circumstantial, that the Third Reich cannot be ruled out as a source of origin for shearing having emerged in Norway, despite it being controversial.

Whereas some ambiguity as to the catalyst of shearing emerging in Norway remains, Chapter 3 gave conclusive evidence of the ritual, as well as other forms of *folk-justice*, being practised as early as 1940. It also presented material which suggested *folk-justice* only ceased after 1941 until the liberation period because the Nazi regime, amongst other punishments, sent those caught disciplining *tyskertøser* to concentration camps in the Third Reich.

Here, I would also like to draw attention to the fact that while the physical violence halted for a period of time, the planning of such sexualised punishments continued in the illegal newspapers for when Norway would be liberated from the German occupiers. This is central because it shows the incidents of *folk-justice* and shearing in 1944/45 were premeditated as the people had continuously deliberated on how *tyskertøser* should be punished once the opportune moment presented itself. This is arguably perfectly in line with Øksnevad's declaration from 1941: "it would be a terrible price these women would have to pay for the rest of their lives" for not rejecting the Wehrmacht soldiers.²¹⁷ Thus, the Norwegian population was systematically preparing disciplinary action against *tyskertøser*. This, in turn, underlines the fact that shearing and *folk-justice* in the liberation period was neither spontaneous nor incited by the overturn of traditional power structures, as suggested by the Carnival Theory.

²¹⁷ Øksnevad, *Det lå i luften*, 18.

As my research found the claim that shearing was a prerogative of the liberation period can no longer be maintained, I deliberated the applicability of the established theories to Norway's case. Based on the discussion present in the illegal newspapers, I argued that, among the established theories, only Warring's framework of violent persecution having occurred because female sexuality was considered property of the nation, is suited to explain Norway's reckoning with *tyskertøser*. While Virgili's theory also argues this point, I maintained Warring's framework is the one Norwegian scholars should use as a reference point in the future. Principally, as it is not contingent on violence being a liberation period phenomenon. Moreover, the debate in the illegal newspapers indicated the Norwegian identity remained intact throughout the occupation; hence, punishment of *tyskertøser* was a matter of reaffirming Norwegian values and not about reestablishing a national identity, as according to Virgili was the case in France.

This thesis has therefore demonstrated Warring's theory is uniquely apt at explaining why shearing and *folk-justice* was wielded both in the occupation and liberation period. However, I reasoned the framework must be combined with a transnational approach to fully encompass the complexity of Norway's case. Or in other words, a framework which encompasses both *how* knowledge of shearing reached Norway as well as explains *why* it was popularised throughout the Second World War needs to be established.

As I have demonstrated shearing that likely manifested itself in Norway as a result of transnational borrowing, with Nazi Germany being the probable catalyst, it would have been tempting to establish such a theory. However, I have not done so. Chiefly because my analysis does not rival the systematic studies undertaken in Denmark and France by Warring and Virgili, respectively. Establishing such a theory would, therefore, have been a premature move. Moreover, I would also contend an overarching argument for Norway's reckoning with *tyskertøser* can first be established once a similar undertaking has been completed here. Thus, I would reason my research stands as a contribution to the process of establishing an overarching argument suited to encompass both the knowledge of how shearing reached Norway, as well as why *folk-justice* manifested itself as it did throughout the occupation and liberation period.

Based upon challenges I faced in my own research process there were a number of questions I posed myself which lend themselves to further study: How widespread was sexualised violence in the occupation period? To what extent was the judicial system utilised by the Nazis to prosecute Norwegians who were caught shearing *tyskertøser*? How many Norwegians were in fact deported to concentration camps in the Third Reich for attacks on women? How oriented was the party-political press about sexualised persecution in Nazi Germany? To what extent did the Norwegian Government's actions during the occupation period influence the people's treatment of *tyskertøser*?

I would also like to suggest one further area of study: the agency behind the illegal newspapers in relation to the punishment of *tyskertøser*. As Luihn's *Den frie hemmelige pressen* shows, a number of prominent members of society, such as the then-future Prime Minister Einar Gerhardsen, contributed to the production and distribution of illegal newspapers during the occupation period.²¹⁸ Subsequently, another aspect which must be considered is whether *folk-justice* was a matter of punishment from the bottom-up, or if it was enabled by Norway's future elites. I have chosen to not directly address this topic in the main part of this thesis. This is because I would contend the gravity of the question necessitates an in-depth study of a magnitude unfortunately not permitted within the time frame set out for this thesis. However, the sources I have utilised, particularly the illegal newspapers and Luihn's overview of these publications, contain valuable information which could prove useful for such an undertaking.

In sum, I would argue that these questions, if answered, would greatly contribute to the academic community's understanding of the phenomenon of *tyskertøser* and punishment in Norway during and after the Second World War.

²¹⁸ See Luihn, *Den frie hemmelige pressen*.

LIST OF CITED SOURCES

PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES

Larsen, Stein Ugelvik, Sandberg, Beatrice and Dahm Volker, ed. *Meldungen aus Norwegen 1940-1945: Die geheimen Lageberichte des Befehlshabers der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD in Norwegen*. München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2008.

Wilkinson, Ellen. *The terror in Germany: being an account of some of the Nazi outrages in Germany under Hitler, with photographs - compiled from witnessed and authenticated documents, medical certificates, and personal observation*. London: The British Committee for the relief of the victims of German fascism, 1934.

NEWSPAPERS (1935-1940)

Arbeiderbladet for social-demokraten: Hovedorgan for Det norske Arbeiderparti (Oslo)

Dagbladet (Oslo)

Dagningen: Organ for det norske arbeiderparti (Lillehammer)

Firda: Bygdeblad for Sogn of Fjordane (Førde)

Fædrelandsvennen (Kristiansand)

Glommen (Sarpsborg)

Hamar Arbeiderblad (Hamar)

Lofoten Folkeblad (Lofoten)

Nordisk Tiende (New York)

Nordlys: Organ for arbeiderbevegelsen i Troms og Trømsø (Tromsø)

Porsgrunn Arbeiderblad (Porsgrunn)

Ringerikes Blad (Ringerike)

Romsdal Budstikke (Molde)

Sarpsborg Arbeiderblad (Sarpsborg)

Smaalenenes Social-Demokrat (Fredrikstad)

Stavanger Aftenblad (Stavanger)

Svelviksposten (Svelvik)

Tiden: Organ for det norske arbeiderpartiet I Aust-Agder (Arendal)

ILLEGAL NEWSPAPERS (1940-1945)

Aftenposten (Oslo)

Alt for Norge (Bergen)

Arbeiderklassen: Organ for arbeiderne i Norge (Unknown)

Avantgarden (Oslo)

Budstikken (Kragerø)

Bulletinen (Oslo)

Den konstitusjonelle (Sandefjord)

Den norske kvinne (Oslo)
Det kommer en dag (Oslo)
Eidsvoll: evig og tro (Oslo)
Fortroppen: kamporgan for ungdom på heimfronten (Bergen)
Fram Bergen (Bergen)
Friheten: Kamporgan for norske patrioter (Oslo)
Fritt land (Oslo)
Gjallarhorn (Bergen)
Jøssingen (Fredrikstad)
Kirken i dag (Oslo)
Kommunal nytt (Oslo)
Kongsposten (Flekkefjord)
Krigens gang (Oslo)
Krigsoversikt (Unknown)
London melder (Unknown)
Mens vi venter (Oslo)
NN. Dette er London (Ålesund)
Nordmannen: Norge vårt land (Bergen)
Norge (Oslo)
Norsk front (Oslo)
Norsk tidsskrift for hjemmefronten (Oslo)
Romerrikets frie avis (Lillestrøm)
Rundskue (Ålesund)
Siste nytt (Oslo)
Steil og hel (Oslo)
Svart på hvit (Oslo)
Tidenes tegn (Oslo)
Utenrikskronikken (Oslo)
Vi vil oss et land (A-utgaven) (Oslo)
Vi vil oss et land (B-utgaven) (Oslo)
Vårt land (Oslo)
Whispering Times (Oslo)

SECONDARY SOURCES

Aarnes, Helle. *Tyskerjentene: Historiene vi aldri ble fortalt*. Oslo: Gyldendal Forlag, 2009.

Bleuel, Hans Peter. *Strength through joy: Sex and society in Nazi Germany*. London: Secker & Warburg, 1973.

Blom, Ida and Sogner Sølvi, ed. *Med kjønnsperspektiv på norsk historie: fra vikingtid til 2000-årsskiftet*. Oslo: Cappelen Akademisk Forlag, 2005.

Calmeyer, Bengt. *The shoemaker from Sachsenhausen*. Oslo/Gjøvik: Dreyers Forlag, 1991.

Carter, Natalie. "'Always Something of It Remains': Sexual Trauma in Ernest Hemingway's For Whom the Bell Tolls." *War, Literature & the Arts* 25, 1 (2013): 1-40.

Drolshagen, Ebba D. *De gikk ikke fri. Kvinnene som elsket okkupasjonsmaktens soldater*. Oslo: Forlaget Oktober, 2009.

Ellingsen, Dag, Dóra Björnsdóttir, Inga and Warring, Anette. *Kvinner, krig og kjærlighet*. Oslo: Cappelen Damm, 1995.

Fraenkel, Ernst. *Military Occupation and the Rule of Law: Occupation Government in the Rhineland, 1918-1923*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1944.

Fjørtoft, Kjell. *Oppgjøret som ikke tok slutt*. Oslo: Gyldendal, 2014.

Gellately, Robert. *The Gestapo and German Society: Enforcing Racial Policy, 1933-1945*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.

Gjestland, Trygve and Gundersen, Thor. "Internert da freden kom: 'Tyskertøser' på Hovedøya." *St Hallvard* 68, 4 (1990).

Grøtnæs, Kirsti. "Jaktscener fra etterkrigstiden." *Kontrast* 86, 2 (1986).

Hauge, Karoline. "Kvinner, krig og forbudt kjærlighet: En studie av hvordan tyskerjentene i Hedmark ble behandlet i tiden like etter frigjøringen." Master Thesis, NTNU, 2016.

Haywood, John. *Encyclopaedia of the Viking Age*. London: Thames and Hudson, 2000.

Helgesen, Kari. "«... f.t. siktet som tyskertøs»." *Historisk tidsskrift* (1990).

Herrman, Gina. "'They Didn't Rape Me': Traces of Gendered Violence and Sexual Injury in the Testimonies of Spanish Republican Women Survivors of the Franco Dictatorship." In *Tapestry of Memory. Evidence: Evidence and Testimony of Life-Story Narratives*, edited by Nanci Adler and Selma Leydesdorff, 77-96. London: Transaction Publishers, 2013.

Herzog, Dagmar. *Sex after Fascism: Memory and Morality in Twentieth-Century Germany*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.

Herzog, Dagmar. *Sexuality in Europe: A twentieth-century history. New Approaches to European History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Hesse, Klaus and Springer, Philipp. *Vor aller Augen: Fotodokumente des nationalsozialistischen Terrors in der Provinz*. Essen: Klartext, 2002.

Johannessen, Monica Waage. “Tyskertøsene” – *Myndighetenes behandling og befolkningens reaksjoner*. Haugesund: Vormedal Forlag, 2016.

Jørgensen, Helle. “Norske kvinner og tyske soldater: En undersøkelse av kvinner fra Alta, Tromsø og Lenvik som var sammen med tyske soldater under andre verdenskrig.” Master Thesis, UiT, 2006.

Kedward, H.R. “Introduction: ‘Ici commence la France libre’.” In *The Liberation of France: Image and Event*, edited by H.R. Kedward and Nancy Wood. Oxford/Washington: Berg Publishers, 1995.

Kjendsli, Veslemøy. *Skammens barn*. Oslo: Metope, 1986.

Koonz, Claudia. *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family and Nazi Politics*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987.

Luihn, Hans. *Den frie hemmelige pressen i Norge under okkupasjonen 1940-45: En fortellende bibliografi*. Oslo: Nasjonalbiblioteket, 1999.

Olsen, Kåre. *Krigens barn: De norske krigsbarna og deres mødre*. Oslo: Aschehoug, 1998.

Ottosen, Kristian. *Nordmenn i fangenskap 1940-1945: alfabetisk register*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2004.

Papendorf, Knut. *Siktet som tyskertøs: Rettsoppgjøret i videre forstand*. Oslo: Novus Forlag, 2015.

Pedersen, Terje. “Tyskerjenter i Norge: reaksjoner og klippeaksjoner 1940-46.” Master Thesis, UiO, 2006.

Pedersen, Terje. *Vi kalte dem tyskertøser*. Oslo: Scandinavian Academic Press, 2012.

Riisøy, Anne Irene. *Sexuality, Law and Legal Practice and the Reformation in Norway*. The Northern World 44. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2009.

Pulsiano, Phillip. ed. *Medieval Scandinavia: an encyclopaedia*. New York: Garland Publishing inc, 1993.

Przyrembel, Alexandra. ‘*Rassenschande*’: *Reinheitsmythos und Vernichtungslegitimation im Nationalsozialismus*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003.

Ryan, Louise. ”‘Drunken Tans’: Representations of Sex and Violence in the Anglo-Irish War (1919–21).” *Feminist Review* 66, Autumn (2000): 73-94, doi: 10.1080/014177800440248.

Schjølberg, Oddvar. *Tyskertøsen som ble gatas samaritan: Historien om Agnes fra Larvik*. Risør: Aktive Fredsforlag, 2011.

Senje, Sigurd. *Dømte kvinner: tyskerjenter og frontsøstre 1940-45*. Oslo: Pax, 1986.

Sherrow, Victoria. *Encyclopedia of Hair: A Cultural History*. Westport, CT, London: Greenwood Press, 2006.

Snerting, Gunn S. “‘Simpel var du, tyskertøs’: Debatten rundt tyskerjenter i trønderske aviser etter fredsslutningen i 1945.” Master Thesis, NTNU, 2017.

Struck, Bernhard, Ferris, Kate and Revel, Jacques. ”Introduction: Space and Scale in Transnational History.” *The International History Review* 33, 4 (2011): 573-584 doi: 10.1080/07075332.2011.620735.

Strømstad, Diana. “Fra fordømmelse til anerkjennelse? En diskursanalyse av mediedebatten om de norske krigsbarna og tyskerjentene i periodene 1945 og 1986-2005.” Master Thesis, NTNU, 2006.

Telste, Kari. “Brutte løfter: en kulturhistorisk studie av kjønn og ære 1700-1900.” Doctoral Thesis, UiO, 1999.

Virgili, Fabrice. *Shorn Women: Gender and Punishment in Liberation France*. Oxford: Berg, 2002.

Wagnild, Anne-Katrine. “Et dobbelt svik? Tyskerjentene sett i lys av nasjonalitet og seksualitet.” Master Thesis, NTNU, 2010.

Warring, Anette. *Tyskerpiger: Under besættelse og retsopgjør*. København: Gyldendal, 1994.

Wildt, Michael. “Picturing exclusion: Race, Honor and anti-Semitic violence in Nazi Germany before the Second World War.” In *Violence and visibility in Modern History*, edited by Jürgen Martschukat and Silvan Niedermeier. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Øksnevad, Toralv. *Det lå i luften*. Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co, 1946.

ONLINE SOURCES

Anthony Beevor. “An ugly carnival.” *The Guardian*, June 5, 2009.
<https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2009/jun/05/women-victims-d-day-landings-second-world-war>, last accessed October 25, 2019.

Nasjonalbiblioteket. ”Aviser.” Last accessed November 10, 2019.
<https://www.nb.no/samlingen/aviser/>.

Office of the Prime Minister. “Official apology to girls and women who had relationships with German soldiers during the Second World War”, last modified October 23, 2018, <https://www.regjeringen.no/en/aktuelt/app/id2616005/>.

Stig Breistein. “Tyskertøsene fortjener ingen unnskyldning.” *Bergens Tidende*, October 25, 2018. <https://www.bt.no/btmeninger/debatt/i/bKx7lg/tyskertoesene-fortjener-ingen-unnskyldning?fbclid=IwAR0fmGbAfmpEODsBgBHHBGJXMZssSaWdj1g1sdIIU1hQo62Oq1gmGSfBDhQ>, last accessed November 10, 2019.

Universitetsbiblioteket i Bergen. ”Norske illegale aviser.” Last accessed November 10, 2019. <https://digitalt.uib.no/handle/1956.2/2453>.