

anhand der Werke verschiedenster belletristischer Autorinnen, zum Teil auch mit konkretem Fokus auf Brigitte Reimann, in den vergangenen Jahrzehnten bereits mehrfach bewältigt wurde und [mir] zudem für eine literaturwissenschaftliche Arbeit nicht sehr interessant erscheint" (10–11), wäre eine bessere Verknüpfung der Überblicks- und theoretischen Kapitel (2–4) mit der Interpretation von Reimanns Texten in Kapitel 5 wünschenswert gewesen. Die Bedeutung der Autorin und auch die besondere und kontroverse Rolle, die sie sowohl in der DDR als auch in Westdeutschland gespielt hat, werden auf diese Weise nicht ganz genau deutlich. Es wäre interessant gewesen Reimanns Texte vor dem Hintergrund ihrer widersprüchlichen Stellung in der DDR neu zu lesen, wo sie einerseits als so linientreu angesehen wurde, dass eine ganze Literaturströmung (die "Ankunftsliteratur") nach ihrem Roman benannt wurde, andererseits aber unter Zensur und Repressionen zu leiden hatte. Auch die teilweise politisierte Abwertung ihrer Texte in der BRD und die plötzliche Reimann-Renaissance nach der Veröffentlichung ihrer Tagebücher Ende der neunziger Jahre wäre ein interessanter Kontext gewesen um zu prüfen, ob eine Konzentration auf Bilder und Weiblichkeitsmythen in Reimanns Texten zu einem neuen Verständnis dieser Widersprüche beitragen kann. Trotz dieser Auslassungen bietet Müllers Buch aber hilfreiche Zusammenfassungen der Entwicklung der Frauenbewegung in Europa und den USA und detaillierte Interpretationen der Frühwerke und von *Franziska Linkerhand*. Der Gebrauch von Bildmetaphern in Reimanns Werk ist tatsächlich bisher nicht systematisch untersucht worden, und Müllers Studie bietet viele Impulse zu einer neuen Einschätzung von Reimanns Werk.

Vassar College

—Silke von der Emde

### **Varieties of Feminism: German Gender Politics in Global Perspective.**

By Myra Marx Ferree. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012. xvi + 302 pages + 10 b/w illustrations. \$85.00.

Why, asks Myra Marx Ferree, do certain feminist goals seem attainable in one country but unachievable in another? In Germany, for example, paid leave for mothers is a long accepted principle of state policy that seems utopian in the United States. In the US, anti-discrimination policy in education and employment seems reasonable but in Germany, it looks radical. Marx Ferree addresses this question through a study of German feminism that places it in the dual framework of historical context and international comparison. It focuses on the decades after 1968, but includes a chapter on German feminism's earlier history. It draws enlightening comparisons between the priorities of German feminism and Western, especially American, feminism.

Feminist theory and practice reflect, the author argues, the history, political culture, and material conditions of feminism's national context. These factors shaped a German feminism whose dominant premises were "social justice, family values, and state responsibility for the common good" (2). Marx Ferree defines these principles as "non-liberal" in contrast to the individual-rights orientation of liberal Anglo-American feminism. German liberal feminism lost traction, Marx Ferree argues, as the politics of class conflict divided the women's movement. Feminists across the

political spectrum increasingly saw women as a group defined by reproduction and the family but disagreed about the implications of women's family-centeredness. Radical feminists wanted to protect the rights of mothers and children; socialists emphasized social justice for the working-class nuclear family; conservatives venerated the hierarchical family. After 1945, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) promoted family values; paternal authority and state support dominated in West Germany. Social Democracy (SPD) rarely challenged this discourse and policy, Marx Ferree suggests, because the SPD too favored the male-breadwinner model. In East Germany (GDR), official rhetoric trumpeted support to mothers and children *and* women's right to employment as gifts of the socialist republic to "our women." Division on the "woman question" was now articulated in Cold-War terms rather than class language.

Germany's class divide also shaped feminist theory, according to Marx Ferree. American feminists saw sex discrimination as analogous to race discrimination, a perspective that reinforced their commitment to individual equality. In contrast, German feminists saw class oppression as the relevant analogy and assumed that, like workers, women should join together in solidarity as women. Marx Ferree offers thin historical evidence in support of this intriguing claim. As she notes, the SPD, in fact, discouraged solidarity based on sex in favor of class solidarity. And before 1945, I would add, Communists were downright hostile to women's organizational autonomy.

If not well-grounded historically, the "class analogy" argument illuminates salient characteristics of second-wave feminism in the 1970s and 1980s. German feminists were influenced by the consciousness-raising phase of American radical feminism and its rallying cries, "the personal is political" and "sisterhood is powerful." They, however, focused on empowering motherhood, emphasized sexual difference, were strongly separatist and averse to working with political parties, and called for women's solidarity in an autonomous movement for collective self-determination. In several excellent chapters, Marx Ferree analyzes radical feminism's struggle for reproductive rights, commitment to the social value of women's work in the home, and pursuit of organizational self-help through "projects," including shelters for battered women, women-only houses, centers, and bookstores; and a call for paid housework. Not all feminists agreed with the celebration of difference and the definition of emancipation as a collective transformation of power relations. Most famously, Alice Schwarzer demanded equal treatment of individual women so they could make it in the world of employment and politics.

The heyday of feminist autonomy passed as feminists became more engaged with the state in the later 1980s. Women's projects became "institutionalized" (98). To fund the shelters, centers, etc., activists applied for state grants. Local and state governments introduced the position of women's advocate (*Frauenbeauftragte*) to ensure that women's projects received a fair share of public funds. The new Green party worked to open parliamentary politics for women. Its successes convinced the SPD, FDP, and even the CDU that they too must promote female candidates. East German feminists, in contrast, distanced themselves from the state in the 1980s by criticizing the GDR's "mommy politics" of institutional childcare and maternal leaves as patronizing to women. Small groups of women met in the safe space of the churches. By 1989, they had defined themselves as a women's movement but, like other grassroots organizations, women's groups were quickly sidelined by parties with

West German ties. Marx Ferree agrees with feminist commentators that East German women lost in the process of reunification. Yet, ironically, West German women gained, she suggests, because reunification put abortion on the political agenda again and the resulting reform liberalized the law.

This partial advance was part of a wider process of progress for women as ever more women moved into politics, the civil service, and, to a lesser degree, professional and managerial employment. Political women, including prominent women in the CDU, advocated family policies that were not premised on all or only mothers staying at home to care for young children. Left feminists also shifted away from the politics of motherhood, although not before alienating some former East German feminists who wanted to concentrate on advances for women in education and employment. Global developments conspired to convince all German feminists to attend to “gender” more than “women,” to individual strategies more than group solidarity, and to gender integration more than women’s autonomy. According to Marx Ferree, Judith Butler’s work helped draw German feminists toward a “social constructivist view of individual agency” (179). International institutions and networks, including the European Union, United Nations, and feminist NGOs, “provided new frameworks of discursive opportunity and key material resources” that had the effect of winning more German feminists to “gender mainstreaming” and “gender-equality” policies (185), including EU laws against discrimination whose implementation German politicians initially resisted.

Marx Ferree’s sophisticated study shows, in sum, that German feminism was shaped by its own history and that of its nation-state. It has also adapted to new political conditions and incorporated ideas and policies gleaned from intellectual exchange and international institutions.

Carnegie Mellon University

—Donna Harsch

### **Violent Women in Print: Representations in the West German Print Media of the 1960s and 1970s.**

Clare Bielby. Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2012. x + 225 pages + 35 b/w illustrations. \$80.00.

The last few years have seen a proliferation of publications on RAF (*Rote Armee Fraktion* or Red Army Faction) terrorism in the 1970s and 1980s, which speak to an enduring fascination with the topic as well as to the horror it evokes. For example, *Seminar: A Journal for Germanic Studies* dedicated an entire volume to the topic (Vol. 47, February 2011), and some scholars also examined female terrorists more closely in these publications. At the same time, both the student movement’s and the RAF’s troubled relationship with the press, particularly with the conservative Springer publishing house that polarized West German society for decades and is said to have been significant in producing a political climate that led Josef Bachmann to shoot Rudi Dutschke in 1968, have been widely discussed.

Clare Bielby’s book, thoroughly informed on the subject and participating in this scholarly discourse, offers a slightly different angle and consequently fresh components: it sheds light on the German mass media’s depiction of women who bring together femininity, to some extent feminism, attractiveness, sexuality, and, most no-