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“Danger to Self or Others?”

Internment of women with sexually transmitted infections during and after World War II in Norway.

Katharina Bökenbrink

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Preface

After having written my bachelor thesis on women's and gender history, I was sure I wanted to continue studying this field within history, but I was not yet sure how and what and who to focus on. Additionally, I was also interested in writing about the Second World War in Norway, one may call it generational trauma, but having grandparents and great grandparents who had been national socialists I felt a need to write about it from a historically informed and scientific perspective. Not knowing how to approach my master thesis, I joined a film project in Narvik during the summer of 2021. That visit to Narvik and a conversation with historian Michael Stokke at the *Narviksenteret* changed that. While I was then mainly interested in the Polizeihäftlingslager Tromsdalen and Sydspissen and considered writing about that, Stokke mentioned women who were arrested for having an STI at the camp Espeland. This sparked immediately my interest. He sent me some interviews he made with women who had experienced the camps and I started reading more and more about the other camps and STIs in Norway at the time. Soon had my research question for my master thesis. So, a big thank you must go to Michael Stokke, otherwise I maybe would not have found this subject. Thanks go as well to my supervisor Marianne Neerland Soleim who has taken the time to talk this topic through again and again and commented and helped me along the way but also let me deal with my thesis on my own time. Thank you to Mattias Ugelvik and June Sørli who commented and read parts of this thesis and helped me to stay on track. Thank you to everyone else who read this thesis and gave me feedback or let me rant to them about this topic.

Katharina Bökenbrink

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Abstract

This thesis is primarily concerned with the representation of women with sexual transmitted infections (STI) who were incarcerated in internment camps (*Polizeihaftlager*) during and right after the German occupation of Norway. There is little previous research on this specific prisoner category, the available sources are scarce and those who are available differ in its consistency and type. The overall goal of this thesis is to give an insight into the life of these prisoners and the discrimination and treatment they received, through the analysis of language and terms used to describe them. Since there are no sources by the prisoners with STIs themselves, the thesis must rely on others representation of them, which comes with the problem that these representations blend description with discrimination. Therefore, must discrimination and stigma because of infection be a central topic that will be explored along the lines of language, representation, and discourse analysis. This thesis aims as well to illustrate how this discrimination manifests itself through language and how it, in this case, is mainly affecting women. To implement a gender perspective in this specific case the thesis relies on the concept of intersectionality, a concept that aims to describe the intersections of discrimination. The incarceration of women with sexual transmitted infections during and after the occupation has many cross points with other research topics within the broader topic of the Second World War. It relates to the general incarceration of enemies of the national socialist system, sexual morality and policies related to that, especially the persecution of the so-called “*tyskertøsene*” (“German Girls”), the women who had romantic or sexual relations to Germans during the occupation and the stigma related to these relationships.

Introduction

During the German occupation of Norway between 1940 and 1945 people who did not fit into or submit to the national socialist rule were captured and locked up for varying amounts of time in internment camps throughout Norway.¹ Some were further deported to concentration camps in Germany and occupied territories. This thesis focuses on a type of camp called *Polizeihaftlager* (police internment camp). There were four camps like this in Norway under the lead of the so called BdS (*Befehlshabern der Sicherheitspolizei und des Sicherheitsdienstes*) also known as Sipo or SD. These camps were used to incarcerate different prisoner groups such as Jews, political prisoners, homosexuals, people classified as “asocial” which could be any kind of unwanted behaviour like prostitution, having an STI, exhibiting signs of mental illnesses and more. In Norway other prisoners were also deserters, and persons who tried to escape to Sweden or England. This thesis main focus is on the category of prisoners of women, usually Norwegian, who were or had been infected with a sexually transmitted disease or had behaved otherwise in a way that the national socialist rule deemed as criminal or unwanted.² The reason of arrest was of sexually transmitted infections (further shortened as STI). This thesis is trying to illustrate what they experienced while imprisoned during the war and afterwards. This will be achieved through the analysis of how they were described by others. This requires an analysis of the sources that describe this group of prisoners which will be based on critical discourse analysis and a focus on the role gender plays in all of this. Asking questions along the line of: What terms are used to describe them? Is there a general discourse on these prisoners and has it changed with time? There do not seem to be first-hand accounts by the women themselves therefore this thesis relies on second-hand accounts by fellow prisoners, both men and women, journalists, official and public documents and rapports, laws from the 1940s and historians and authors who have mentioned and described these prisoners after the war up until today. These available sources make a puzzle that can give some insight into the perception of these women and related stigma and discrimination.

The imprisonment based on infection or alleged infection with STI, which was already common during the First World War, did not stop with the end of the German occupation but

¹ NOU 1998:12, 131: The rapport concludes that around 40.000 people have been imprisoned for a variety of reasons during the war and occupation by the national socialists in Norway.

² Riedel. 2009, 430-448.

continued through the imprisonment of the so-called “German Girls”, women who had romantic or sexual relationships with Germans, in former German occupied countries like Norway in the years after the war. They were imprisoned after the war often on ground of a law that was supposed to stop the spread of STI. Some of them were found and incarcerated through lists the German had made to register cases of STI during the occupation.³ After the war they were often imprisoned in separate internment camps like the one on *Hovedøya*, an island in the Oslo fjord,⁴ in women’s prisons and like for example in Tromsø in the former internment camp *Tromsdalen/Krøkebærslatta*.⁵ This shows that the topic could be span much wider including all the places of imprisonment, but this is a master thesis with a limited number of pages. It would be a too extensive research project that would require more time and resources. Therefore, this thesis focuses only on the four *Polizeihaftlager* Grini, Espeland, Falstad and Tromsdalen/Krøkebærslatta. Through the limitation on four police internment camps, this thesis has the opportunity to show how this group of prisoners was viewed compared to other prisoners.

Organisation of the paper

Due to the complexity of the topic and the variety of sources, the analysis this thesis represents will be split into three main sections that follow the types of sources available. Before diving into the main analysis, the first chapter “Internment and sexual transmitted infections in Norway: A brief historical and juridical overview” will provide background information and the historical context. Discussed topics will be the internment camps in Norway called *Polizeihaftlager*, the STIs, at that time still called venereal diseases (VD), the jurisdiction and preventive measures connected to said infections before, during and after World War II. This chapter focuses on both Norway and Germany to create a broader understanding of infection control during the German occupation of Norway. The chapter aims to draft some answers on questions like: What did infection prevention look like before, during and after the war? How did the prevention laws affect women and men? Were there differences? Did the prevention measures lead to discrimination and loss of independence? If so, for whom? What laws did

³ Olsen. 1998, 295-296.

⁴ Olsen. 1998, 292.

⁵ Nordlys. «Tyskertøsrassia på Røstbakken», Tromsø: 19.november 1945, 2.

exist in Norway and Germany to prevent or regulate prostitution? Did these laws relate to the laws on STI prevention?

Based on the context of the first chapter the second chapter “Perspective by inmates on women with sexually transmitted infections” and therefore the first section of the analysis explores how inmates described fellow inmates with STIs. Chapter two is further divided into four undersections representing the four *Polizeihaftlager* in Norway, Grini, Espeland, Falstad and Tromsdalen. I choose these divisions to present the information in a structured way and to make it easier for the reader to compare the camps with each other. Chapters 2 and 2.1 are here only meant as an introduction to the situation at the camps, while chapter 2.2 is the first section of the CDA analysis. Chapter 2.2 explores questions like how other prisoners viewed the infected prisoners? Where the women infected with STI’s separated from other women? If and what kind of work were women put to during their imprisonment and did the infected women work as well? Are there any indications that the guards treated them differently? And finally what role does sexual morality play in their incarceration?

The third chapter “Internment camps in Norway after World War II” and second section of the analysis explores how women with relations to the Germans after the war and the occupation were incarcerated under the pretence of protecting the public from STIs. This section relies on different sources such as newspaper articles, law texts, personal rapports, and camp specific sources. This chapter seeks to draft answers to the following questions. Were women imprisoned because of STIs released with the other prisoners after the end of the occupation the 8th of May 1945? How and on what basis were women with relation to the Germans incarcerated after the war? What role did STIs play in this and how does it relate to sexual morality at the time?

Finally, chapter four “Representation in Research and Literature”, the third and last section of the thesis analysis focuses on the representation of this prisoner group in research and literature: How do the historians and other scientists describe the women in question compared to journalists and authors? Do the representations include a moral judgement? Are there representations that can be described as discriminating and/or judgemental? This thesis red thread is the focus on gender and discrimination based on gender. The following section will present the terminology and theories that are the basis of this thesis and the analysis.

Terminology and Theory

Terminology and theory are linked together in this thesis therefore they will be presented in one chapter. This chapter will give a short introduction into some ideas behind critical discourse

analysis and some understandings of sex and gender, intersectionality and present definitions of concepts and terms used throughout this thesis. An important term that was already used throughout the introduction and in the title is “sexually transmitted infections” (STIs). There are other terms that could be used to describe STIs such as “sexually transmitted disease (STD) or the older term “venereal disease” or “venereally transmitted diseases” (VD) which quite dominant in the literature used in this thesis. Other variations of the terms are “sexual transmissible diseases/infections” which creates not just a problem in the sense of terminological inconsistency, but clinically describes something different than a “sexual transmitted disease/infection”. A sexually transmitted disease/infection is in fact transmitted through sexual contact, while some infections/diseases (for example hepatitis or pubic lice) are transmissible without sexual contact. The words infection and disease are also not interchangeable but have fine difference in their meaning when we talk about sexually transmitted infections/diseases. A disease includes that there are symptoms, while an infection can be present without.⁶ In the 1940s Venereology, a branch of medicine that is concerned with sexually transmitted infections and diseases, was already a field on its own often closely linked to Dermatology because of the nature of diseases like syphilis that manifested itself in wounds. This led to the use of the term Syphilology, the study and treatment of syphilis, up to the 1960s. The term venereal disease is today often seen as morally stigmatizing. It relates to the Christian view on venereal diseases and how the infection was being seen as a sin. Also does the word venereal stem from the Latin word Venus, adding more mythological meaning to a medical term.⁷ The term was as slowly exchanged with the terms “sexually transmitted disease” or “sexually transmitted infection” beginning in the 1960s, correlating with a shift in the view on sexuality in general and the first oral contraceptives going on the market.⁸ Since the sources that are used usually have no to little information about with what exactly the women were infected and if it was an infection or already a disease, will this thesis use the term “sexually transmitted infection”. In most cases there is no description found that indicate symptoms and the infection having developed into a disease. The sources used usually describe the STIs as “venereal disease” or more colloquial terms used at the time, which will be a topic again during

⁶ Anderson. 2019, 1-2 and 4.

⁷ Oriel. 1994, 1-10.

⁸ Anderson. 2019, 3-5.

the critical discourse analysis of the sources used. These terms are in a constant shift and updated terms define new views on STI's and vice versa.

The third chapter will contain terms that are derogatory, which therefore crave some further explanation and discussion. In Norwegian “*tyskerjentene*” or “*tyskertøsene*” are the standard terms at this time in academic literature to describe women who had romantic/sexual relationships to Germans during the occupation of Norway.⁹ After my knowledge there is no existing neutral term to describe them. The term “German Girls” will be used in the title of the chapter, since it is the one available, but I will try to avoid the further use of the term in the chapter whenever possible. The term is derogatory in the sense that it diminishes women who had a relationship with Germans to “girls” making them seem young and not recognizing them as adults and women, but children, and it seems to be implied that they were less independent and smart. While there were underage women who had relations to Germans, this was not the standard and does not justify the use of the word “girls”. Additionally, the term suggests that they belonged to the Germans, which again defines them as not independent, which might have been the reality but using the term for all women can be seen as a generalization. Another term that will need a short introduction is the term “sex worker” in contrast to the terms “prostitute” and “prostitution”. Since the 1980s has the term “sex worker” become more popular in the context of the attempts to decriminalize prostitution. I have chosen to use this term in this thesis instead of “prostitute” since the latter comes with associations like crime.¹⁰

Within social sciences a distinction between sex and gender is usually made in the following way. Sex is defined as a biological component while gender is the social concept based on one's sex.¹¹ As for example Judith Butlers writings or the works by physician Magnus Hirschfeld show, it seems to be not as binary.¹² As gender scientist Thomas Koellen states “[...]the social and cultural aspects of male and female bodies could be interpreted as

⁹ The problem with these terms has been recognized before by former master student Elizabeth Strømme from the University of Oslo who has written about these relationships. She expresses the need as well for a more neutral term in academic literature on this topic. See: Strømme. 2019, 4.

¹⁰ Oxford Reference. “sex work”. Retrieved April 25th 2023.

¹¹ Koellen. 2016, 2-3.

¹² Magnus Hirschfeld (1869-1935) was a German physician who first started using the terms “trans” and “cis” that are now a central part of gender sciences. He worked for the decriminalization of homosexuality (between men) in Germany, but because he was Jewish and gay, he had to leave Germany during the NS years and died in France 1935, see: Sigmund. 2008, 180-184; Koellen. 2016, 11.

phenomena that are produced on a daily basis, without solely having to refer to biological explanatory models.”¹³ So were there already theories on more than two gender identities in the early 1920s including trans persons receiving surgery to transition into their gender.¹⁴ There are many ways to study the concept of gender and sex and the relation between sex and gender, but since this thesis is about a specific group of people and not the evolving of different gender theories this thesis will only apply a gender in discourse. Using writings by Judith Butler and indirectly writings of Simone de Beauvoir, Michel Foucault and Luce Irigaray since Butler is building her theories on some of the ideas presented by them.¹⁵ Gender in discourse was chosen for this thesis a perspective, because of its focus on language and power. After Judith Butler is gender made through discourse. What do we talk about and what do we not? And how? Gender is therefore made through language, and like language also an everchanging process.¹⁶ The constructions sex and gender play a role in this thesis and how they intersect with other constructions like ethnicity, class, sexuality, age, health/(dis-)ability, nationality, and other sociocultural constructions/categories. The concept of intersectionality was first written about by Kimberlé Crenshaw, an American law professor in 1989 and is slowly becoming a part of feminist theories but has also created many disputes and conflicts between scholars.¹⁷ As professor of Gender Studies, Nina Lykke, describes it, intersectionality can be utilized as a tool. Through both theoretical and methodological approaches inequalities and discrimination resulting of the interplay of sociocultural categories presented above can be studied. The intersections of these categories are in some way always about power or the lack thereof.¹⁸ Everyone has a gender, sex, sexuality, age, ethnicity, age, and a certain (dis)ability to function in the society and culture one is living in. These categories intersect with each other.¹⁹ As for this thesis subjects a woman from Norway in the 1940s infected with STIs has less power and privileges than a healthy woman from Norway. A healthy woman still has less power and privileges than a healthy man and arguably also less than a man infected with a STIs as some

¹³ Koellen. 2016, 3.

¹⁴ More on this topic is presented by Rainer Herrn in the chapter on “Operative Geschlechtsangleichungen im Institut.” See: Herrn.2022, 423-432.

¹⁵ Jegerstedt; Mortensen. 2008, 18-19.

¹⁶ Jegerstedt; Mortensen. 2008, 19.

¹⁷ Lykke. 2010, 50.

¹⁸ Lykke. 2010, 51-52.

¹⁹ Lazar. 2005, 1.

of the examples later will show. A lesbian from Finland with an STI in the 1940s face other and possibly more discrimination than a Norwegian women infected with sexual transmitted diseases, as will be shown in the chapter on Falstad.

Method

This thesis uses Critical Discourse Analysis as a theory and method to illustrate how ideas of gender, sex and sexuality have influenced the treatment and representation of women with STIs in the four *Polizeihaftlager* in Norway. Critical Discourse Analysis (from now on shortened as CDA) as theory deals with how language and society influence each other and how language is a tool to construct meaning through description. A discourse can be described as a structure within representations. Who do we talk about and how? What kind of reality is created through our words? Can we be objective and does objective rationality exists? What do we take as given truths? And how do these assumed truths reflect in our use of language? These are questions that build the foundation of CDA.²⁰ Through these questions topics like gender, class, ethnicity, and sexuality can be explored on a more structural level, considering a wider context of the society in question and social practices at a given time.²¹ This is where the aspect of language becomes an important part of CDA. Through analysing the use of language, it can be possible to discover for example underlying structures of power and the lack of power.²² As professor for linguistics Janet Holmes states: “[...] CDA increases awareness of the reciprocal influences of language and social structure. [...] critical discourse analysts aim to describe the ways in which power and dominance are produced and reproduced in social practice through the discourse structures of everyday interactions.”²³ Meaning is presented through different forms of media besides language in spoken or written form, it can be expressed through pictures, music, movement, and many other forms.²⁴ In this case it is not possible to access most of the forms, but only the spoken and written ones. The central question of this thesis is: How does the discourse, the way people talk and have talked about it, define, and present the women in question? Something that will become clear through the analysis of the representation of the women central to this thesis. CDA has been developed by professor for linguistics and English

²⁰ Hitching; Nilsen; Veum. 2011, 114; Melve. Ryymin. 2018, 61-63.

²¹ Skrede. 2017, 24.

²² Hitching; Nilsen; Veum. 2011, 116- 117; Skrede. 2017, 23-24.

²³ Holmes. 2005, 31.

²⁴ Hitching; Nilsen; Veum. 2011, 113, 22, 31

language Norman Fairclough over years but was established in the 1990s.²⁵ Before diving into explaining how I will use CDA as a method on this thesis topic, I will have to say a few words about what kind of role my own interests and values play. CDA has been criticised of being contradicting since it is impossible to analyse something objective while being critical.²⁶ The chosen theories and methods reflect on how I view the world and what I perceive as problematic, the chosen topics can be described as feminist and my personal and political values and views influenced my interest in this specific topic. As well as my choice of words reflects my reality even in scientific writing. An important note is that the researcher always is a part of a society and is therefore not objective to how language and society influence one another. As the writer of this thesis, I only have language available to express the results and I am never going to be able to be neutral but try to be as neutral and objective as possible. Even though here the focus will lie on language in use, scientists working with discourse analysis do not agree to what degree discourse analysis should be language based. Norman Fairclough's analysis assumes a three-part process of how texts are produced which focuses on the social conditions of production also known as context, the process of production and process of interpretation which define the text.²⁷ Following a step-by-step CDA analysis of a text or texts one would answer the questions of vocabulary, grammar, structure/narrative and genre, asking for example the question of what kind of text is object of analysis: an academic paper? Or for example a newspaper article from the 1940s?²⁸ The deconstruction and analysis of use of terms and words is another step in the analysis. While analysing the use of terms of words that the quality and quantity can be important. How and is language used to legitimate? What reality is described by words? Are these words for example used in day-to-day conversations? Are models used to explain and or legitimate?²⁹ While analysing terms and words some ideological keywords can be found that show the political direction of a text. The identified keywords are not objective.³⁰ The choice of words is as well a way to receive insight into social identities of groups.³¹ In addition to that it is important to note in CDA how texts relate to each other. This

²⁵ Skrede. 2017, 20 and 24-26.

²⁶ Hitching; Nilsen; Veum. 2011, 20.

²⁷ Hitching; Nilsen; Veum. 2011, 119

²⁸ Skrede. 2017, 34; Hitching; Nilsen; Veum. 2011, 120-121.

²⁹ Hitching; Nilsen; Veum. 2011, 120-121.

³⁰ Hitching; Nilsen; Veum. 2011, 121-122.

³¹ Hitching; Nilsen; Veum. 2011, 181.

is called intertextuality. As well as are there direct or indirect references to other texts? Do texts use a similar composition or language? This part of the analysis is called interdiscursivity.³² A part of analysing discourse is also to point out what topics, incidents or people are not mentioned, why that is and if these topics show up later in time. At last, CDA tries to untangle if there is categorization for example of people in the to be analysed text.³³ On the topic of discrimination, especially misogyny as well as stigma of diseases, gender and intersectionality will become important, as I discussed in the chapter about theory and terminology. So will gender will become a category of analysis. As linguist and professor for English language Michelle Lazar states in the introduction to the book on gender discourse analysis: “Gender ideology is hegemonic in that it often does not appear as domination at all; instead it seems largely consensual and acceptable to most in a community.”³⁴ The attempt for Lazars work is to show the complexity of gender and power and how subtle it can be expressed through discourse.³⁵ The overall goal in this thesis is to make narratives and perspectives visible that might be accepted as given truths or perceived as an overall reality. What do we see as natural and or given?³⁶ From there one could answer more philosophical questions such as “what is justice?”³⁷ When does treating people differently become discrimination? This is a question that can be analysed with CDA and will show up again throughout the thesis chapters.³⁸ In this thesis this question will become important, and different views on justice which is enforced by different societies and ideologies are the basis and the reasons of why my thesis exists. CDA is a useful approach to this topic because of the type of sources available. The sources that mention the prisoner category of women with STIs are usually other prisoners. They present their subjective reality and their personal experiences of the internment camps. Since there are no

³² Skrede. 2017, 51-52.

³³ Hitching; Nilsen; Veum. 2011, 122-128 and 133.

³⁴ Lazar. 2005, 7.

³⁵ Lazar. 2005, 9: “Overt forms of gender asymmetries or sexism include blatant exclusionary gate-keeping social practices, physical violence against women, and misogynistic verbal harassment and denigration. Such overt manifestations of power (or the threat of it), to varying extents, remain a reality for women in many societies, including Western societies such as the USA which, despite legislation against blatant sex discrimination, continues to witness a rampant ‘rape culture.’ Much more pervasive and insidious in modern societies, however, is the operation of a subtle and seemingly innocuous form of power that is substantively discursive in nature.”

³⁶ Hitching; Nilsen; Veum. 2011, 130.

³⁷ Hitching; Nilsen; Veum. 2011, 129.

³⁸ Hitching; Nilsen; Veum. 2011, 132.

known personal accounts by women who were there for spreading an STI this thesis needs to rely on others subjective accounts and their representation of them, this makes CDA the most ideal method to analyse these sources. A focus on language and what discourses were created at the time turn subjective accounts into useable sources.

State of Research

The Second World War in Norway has been narrated in many ways and with different goals. Narratives about the Second World War in Norway are a part of Norwegian cultural memories and through that national identity.³⁹As historian Ola Kristian Grimnes wrote in his article “*Hvor står okkupasjonshistorie nå?*” [Where are we at in writing history about the [German] occupation?] have historical actors at the time been painted in black and white”, as bad and good ones, but it is not that simple. The complexity of collaboration and resistance demands a closer look at the existing narratives. As Grimnes points out there has been a bigger focus on narratives of resistance and heroism during the Second World War since it can contribute to a positive understanding of Norwegian national identity. Topics like collaboration, the Norwegian national socialist party *Nasjonal Samling*, the treatment of women who had a relationship and/or child with a German, and the deportation and murder of Jews in Norway have received little attention until the 1970s.⁴⁰ Tendencies like these in narratives on the Second World War can still be found in newer publications and it is especially present in so-called popular science. A question one can ask is why that is? Are some topics less discussed because they do not contribute to a positive self-image as a nation or, as Grimnes claims, because they are “lesser traumas”?⁴¹ Since this thesis, especially the last chapter, relies on published research and popular literature as not a second-hand source but primary source this thesis uses critical discourse analysis as a method to dissect published material to learn how this prisoner group is represented. Here it is as well important to not just look at how they were represented but also where and when and to what extent. On this thesis topic the published literature is scarce. There is no article specifically dedicated to the prisoner group of women with STIs. Therefore,

³⁹ Stugu. 2021, 170-177.

⁴⁰ Grimnes. 2009, 480-481; Danish historian Anette Warring points out how the research and collection of material on the so-called “German Girls” and children from relationships between German men and Danish women was already started during the war and openly continued after the war and occupation ended. See: Warring. 1994.

⁴¹ Grimnes. 2009, 481.

relevant literature is here all research, publications, and literature on the internment camps Grini, Falstad, Espeland and Tromsdalen/Krøkebærsletta, including literature on the so-called “German Girls” and general research on sexually transmitted infections during the Second World War. Possible explanations for why there are no publications on this prisoner group could be: That compared to other existing prisoner categories the women with STIs were not seen important group of prisoners, or to small group to write about. Another reason could be the stigma of STIs and the general taboo of talking and writing unrestricted about sex at the time. After the war these women were often categorized as traitors (Norwegian: *landssviker*) since it was assumed they all had sexual relations to Germans. This reasoning could also explain why there have been so few publications since it did not contribute to a positive self-image of the now sovereign Norway. Another explanation could be the general disinterest in women’s stories up until the 1970s. Even though this has changed the prisoner group of women with STIs is compared to others small and might because of several of the presented reasons not received attention. As already mentioned, sources on this topic are scarce which might be as well a reason that the topic has not brought out many publications.

As it will become clear in the next chapter on sources, the sources are difficult to come by and often inconclusive and spread out in single sentences over many books, which demands time to collect, analyse and puzzle together in a coherent text. There is a decent amount of literature that has been published over the years on the two internment camps Falstad and Grini, there is less on Espeland and until October 2022, when there was published a three-part work on the Second World War in North-Norway, there was almost nothing on Tromsdalen and Sydspissen, besides a few pages in other books on the war in the North.⁴² Another source of information on the internment camp in Tromsø is a draft for a report on the area *Tomasjorda* and *Krøkebærsletta* by *Tromsø Kommune* in 2007, mentioning the internment camp and how the camp was after the war changed into housing for homeless people and later a school as it is still today.⁴³ The camp is also mentioned in a book by the journalist Kjell Fjørtoft that discusses the afterwar period in the North.⁴⁴ Fjørtoft describes the crimes that happened in the period following the capitulation of the Germans. Including pictures from Tromsdalen internment

⁴² See: Fagertun [ed.]. 2022; Evjen [ed.]. 2022; Bones [red.] 2022.

⁴³ Sandøy, Ranghild. 2007. Krøkebærsletta og sørlige del av Tomasjorda, gnr 15. Historikk og navn-utkast til rapport, Tromsø: Tromsø kommune. For information on the camp see page 10-14.

⁴⁴ The book mentioned:

Fjørtoft, Kjell. *Oppgjøret som ikke tok slutt*, Oslo: Gyldendal 1997.

camp were corpses had to be dug up.⁴⁵ Two other books which contain at least a few sentences on Tromsdalen internment camp and women with STIs are historians Pål Christensen and Gunnar Pedersen book on Tromsø between 1945 and 1996 and Nils Andreas Ytrebergs work on Tromsø called “*Tromsø bys historie*”.⁴⁶

Many descriptions of Grini are based on personal memories of inmates and their families, then scientific and historical analysis. A good deal of these books was published between 1946 and the 1960s. Examples for the earlier books published on Grini are the so-called Grini books [*Griniboken*] consisting of two volumes published in 1946 and 1947.⁴⁷ The Grini books are special in the way that they collected interviews and stories from prisoners this early after their imprisonment, making the memories presented possibly more reliable than the interviews made many decades after the occupation. That memories are unreliable especially when there has been time passing between the events and an interview is a common problem when one wants to base research on oral history.

There seem to be more scientific publications on Falstad than on Grini though most of them are written or edited by historians Jon Reitan and Trond Risto Nilssen. The newest book by them was being published in 2021.⁴⁸ The research on Espeland is slimmer than on Grini and Falstad. The most important work, besides personal accounts spread through different books with the topic World War Two in Norway, on Espeland is so far, the book “*Helter, svikere og mordere*” by historian Michael Stokke and journalist Kjartan Rødland.⁴⁹ Stokke and Rødland had analysed the categories of prisoners in Espeland showing that one third of the women imprisoned there were imprisoned because of STIs. That fact was the reason that I became interested in this specific topic and at last chose it as my master thesis. On the

⁴⁵ Fjørtoft. 1997, 128-129.

⁴⁶ The sources mentioned above: Tjelmeland, Hallvard. *Fra Byfolk Og Bona Til Tromsøværing. 1945-1996*. Vol. 4. Tromsø: Tromsø Kommune, 1996; Ytreberg, Nils Andreas. *Tromsø bys historie*. Bind 3, Tromsø 1971.

⁴⁷ Lange, August; Schreiner, Johan [ed.]. *Griniboken*. Bind 1, Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag 1946 and Lange, August; Schreiner, Johan [ed.]. *Griniboken*. Bind 2, Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag 1947.

⁴⁸ Literature and research on Falstad: Reitan, Jon; Nilssen, Trond Risto; Hjorth, Ingeborg. *Falstad nazileir og landssvikfengsel*, Trondheim: Tapir akademisk, 2008; Reitan, Jon; Nilssen, Trond Risto. *Falstad. Fangeleirer i diktatur og demokrati 1941-1949*, Oslo: Spartacus/Scandinavian Academic Press 2021.

⁴⁹ Stokke Michael, Rødland Kjartan. *Helter, svikere og mordere*. Espeland fangeleir, Stiftelsen Espeland fangeleir 2011.

Polizeihäftlingslager Espeland and Ulven there is as well information in the books on Bergen during the war [Bergen i krig], published in 1978 and 1979.⁵⁰

There are a few articles which take on the topic of gendered discrimination of people infected with STIs during the timeframe that this thesis discusses. The Norwegian historian Ida Blom has written two articles that discuss the topic, especially how the discrimination becomes visible through laws at the time.⁵¹ Blom states that this discrimination continued until the 1960s and the imprisonment affected usually only women, especially those that earned money as sex workers. She describes how German soldiers who were found during nightly raids with Norwegian women were not taken to clinics for a STI check-up while the women they were with were sent. A fact is that that all parties included could be infectious and in need of treatment, but seemingly the gendered sexual morality categorized these women as possible infections and their behaviour as not “women-like”.⁵² Blom’s work builds theoretically on the works of Peter Baldwin. Especially his book published in 1999 “Contagion and the State in Europe”. Research on the afterwar period and STIs is closely related to the research topic of the so-called “*tyskerjentene*”; The women who had or allegedly had a relation to a German during the war. An insightful book on the topic is the collaboration work by Icelandic, Norwegian and Danish historians Inga Dora Björnsdottir, Dag Ellingsen and Annete Warring published in Norwegian as “*Kvinner, krig og kjærlighet*” in 1995. As well are the publications by Kari Helgesen on “*tyskerjentene*” and Kåre Olsen work on the children of German soldiers and Norwegian women.⁵³ They write on the topic from three different nations perspectives and on STIs in general. On the topic of the internment of these women Knut Papendorf’s analysis of related jurisdiction in the afterwar period is insightful also on the topic of STI’s when considering that interment of these women often happened on the background of the so-called

⁵⁰ Greve. 1978 and 1979.

⁵¹ The articles referred to above: Blom, Ida. «Contagious Women and Male Clients: Public Policies to Prevent Venereal Diseases in Norway, 1888–1960». *Scandinavian Journal of History* 29, nr. 2 (2004), 97–117.; Blom, Ida. «Gender, Class, Race and Sexuality. A transnational approach to legislation on venereal diseases, 1880s – 1940s» I *Gender History in a Transnational Perspective: Networks, Biographies, Gender Orders*, Oliver Janz og Daniel Schönflug [ed.]. New York, Berghahn Books, 2014, 200- 290.

⁵² Blom. 2004, 103.

⁵³ Helgesen. 1990; Olsen. 1998.

“*Provisorisk Anordning*” from 1945, a provisional decree that allowed imprisonment in case of STI’s if the patient did not follow the treatment plan.⁵⁴

The state of research on STI treatment and gender discrimination at the time is a loose field often connected with topics like prostitution and the history of medicine and public health. On the topic of public health and the Second World War, the work by historian Aina Schiøtz gives a good overview on the situation in the 1940s in Norway.⁵⁵ She describes the war years as a laboratory for new treatments and new ideologies influencing public health.⁵⁶ A name that shows up when searching for research related to sexual morality and the national socialist period is the historian, Dagmar Herzog. She has published the books “Sex after Fascism” and “Sexuality in Europe: A Twentieth-Century History.” While “Sex after Fascism” discusses sexual morality under the national socialist rule and how it influenced the genocide, the second book takes up sexuality and sexual morality in Europe in a more general way. Herzog focuses on the Scandinavian countries as well and her work can contribute in this thesis to put the persecution of women with STIs into a broader perspective on sexual morality in the 20th century.⁵⁷ Another broad book on the national socialist view on sex and gender and sexuality is Anna Maria Sigmund’s work published in 2003, discussing everything from STIs, prostitution to homosexuality and eugenics.⁵⁸ On the topic of STIs there are several articles that discuss prostitution and STIs as well as sexual morality that are linked in the footnotes.⁵⁹ What

⁵⁴ The mentioned analysis was published in the book: Papendorf, Knut. *Siktet Som Tyskertøs: Rettsoppjøret I Videre Forstand*. Oslo: Novus Forlag, 2015

⁵⁵ See: Schiøtz, Aina. *Folkets helse - landets styrke 1850-2003*, Bind 2, Oslo: Universitetsforlaget 2003.

⁵⁶ Schiøtz. 2003, 273.

⁵⁷ Herzog writes about Norway’s and Denmark’s sterilization programs and the military brothels for the German soldiers during WWII: Herzog. 2011, 82-87.

⁵⁸ Sigmund, Anna Maria. *Das Geschlechtsleben bestimmen wir. Sexualität im Dritten Reich*, München: Heyne, 2008.

⁵⁹ Ash, Hillary H. 2021 “Rhetorical Vessels: Public Womanhood as Visual Warrant in World War II Venereal Disease Campaigns, In *Women’s Studies in Communication*, 44 Nr. 3, 360-379; Debruyne, Emanuel; Röger, Maren. 2016. “From Control to Terror: German Prostitution Policies in Eastern and Western European Territories during Both World Wars”, In *Gender & History*, 28, Nr. 3, 687-708; Ericsson, Kjersti. 2010. «Rape, love and war—personal or political? », I *Theoretical Criminology*, 15, Nr.1, 67–82; Harris, Victoria. 2010. «The Role of the Concentration Camps in the Nazi Repression of Prostitutes, 1933–9», *Journal of Contemporary History*, 45 Nr.3, 675-698; Skjelsbæk, Inger. 2009. «Kjønnsbasert vold i krig: Hvordan få god kunnskap og på hvilken måte? », *Sosiologi i dag*, 39, Nr. 2, 72-90; Timm, Anette, F. 2002. «Sex with a Purpose: Prostitution, Venereal Disease, and Militarized Masculinity in the Third Reich», In *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 11, Nr. 1-2, 223-255.

most of the articles have in common is the view that women at the time were seen as national property, which indirectly refers to their discrimination based on their gender.⁶⁰ A new Norwegian book published in 2021 on the topic of abortion gives a well described insight into the national socialist population policy.⁶¹ The policy at the time was pronatalist and therefore forbid the sale of contraception under the penalty of up to one years in prison, if broken.⁶²

To conclude this, one can say that there has been collected historical material that builds a foundation for research, but while there has continuously been research and publications on the internment camps, women with STI have no or a small place in these publications. However, numerous articles and books on STIs in the period and how this intersects with gender, sexuality and also nationalism. Most of this research was published in the 1990s and 2000s, but there were earlier publications, as early as the 1920s when considering Magnus Hirschfeld work.

Sources

When choosing sources for this thesis CDA already played a role in the decision and categorization process. What kind of sources are available and what kind of genre are they? Both scientific publications and non-scientific publications such as personal memories, newspaper articles and literature can become primary sources in this thesis. Literature on the four police internment camps will be analysed with CDA the goal to find out how women with STIs are represented or if they are represented at all. How has the discourse changed over time is something that the chosen sources ideally are supposed to show. It would have been interesting to have first-hand accounts from the women themselves and how they would describe their situation, but there is to my knowledge no source like that. Therefore, the topic is approached through the narrative of other prisoners, women and men, laws, rapports, and statistics made by doctors, literature, and academic publications, mainly published after the war.⁶³ My assumption is that CDA will be helpful to dissect these sources with a focus on discrimination based on gender. Concretely looking at representation and choice of words.

⁶⁰ For example, in: Ericsson. 2010, 67-82.

⁶¹ The book in question is: Elvbakken, Kari Tove. *Abortspørsmålets politiske historie. 1900–2020*, Oslo: Universitetsforlaget 2021.

⁶² Elvbakken. 2021, 137-138.

⁶³ An example for a publication that contains doctors reports and views on the situation that was published after the war is the book Kjørstad, Asbjørn. *AIDS og juss. kampen mot smittsomme sykdommer - fra Svartedauden til*

The archive material like the prisoner cards, the registers that were made to document the people incarcerated in the internment camps, are confidential.⁶⁴ This applies as well to all archive material on STIs at the time where people were registered when infected. I have had access to these sources since I applied at the archive (through *arkivverket*) to view these materials and decide if there are possible sources that might be insightful for this master thesis. These sources contain sensitive information, such as medical information, name, address, occupation and more depending on the source, which will be anonymized. Confidential sources I had access to are from the state archive in Tromsø and *Falstadsenteret*, as well as prisoner cards from Grini and Falstad through *Riksarkivet* that are digitally accessible. Interestingly the same type of sources is not digitally accessible from Espeland internment camp. I will use the sources from *Riksarkivet* but without making the people mentioned recognizable. The prisoner cards are partially published digitally both in the archives database and on their extra website *fanger.no*, and in a lexicon in the case of Grini. There is as well a published book that tried to collect the names of all Norwegian prisoners, but the names, when comparing them to the lists and prisoner cards by the Germans in the archives and the names on *fanger.no* seem to be incomplete.⁶⁵ In the case of Tromsdalen internment camp I was able to compare the four sources; the prisoner cards/lists, the published prisoner lexicon, *fanger.no* and interviews made with three women who were imprisoned in Tromsdalen internment camp. I created a list with only the women in Tromsdalen, collecting their names, birthdates, reason of imprisonment and all other available information, to use in this thesis. This seemed necessary since the information on Tromsdalen internment camp is so scarce and spread out and was difficult to work with otherwise. The lists will be deleted after finishing this thesis as will the copies of other confidential information. Besides nine women all other women were registered in the prisoner lexicon or *fanger.no* in addition to the prisoner cards. Only one person is just mentioned in the interviews, and I was not able to find the name anywhere else. All information

HIV-epidemien, Oslo: Universitetsforlaget 1987. The chapter on the afterwar period covers Tromsø and how STIs were managed after the capitulation of the Germans.

⁶⁴ Access to historical material in archives is restricted in some cases by the law. There are different laws regulating different types of material, so are statistical sources regulated the Norwegian *statistikkloven*. See: Melve; Ryymin. 2018, 114-115.

⁶⁵ Giertsen [ed.]. 1946.

on STIs will be complimented by national statistics published after the Second World War by *Statistisk Sentralbyrå*.⁶⁶

Primary sources

The thesis method is what here divides primary sources from secondary sources. The primary sources are analysed with CDA. As already stated, these will be only second-hand accounts. Mainly books both academic and non-academic on the internment camps. Examples of these books are presented in the chapter before “State of research.” In the case of Falstad, I had access to transcribed interviews with other prisoners which gave an insight into the daily life in the internment camp, their work, and the relationship between prisoners and between prisoners and guards. The interviews were made in the 1990s and 2000s and the narratives told by them have probably changed with the time passed. The broad facts are the same in the interviews and fit together with other literature on Falstad, which is an indication that the sources are relatively reliable. On the internment camp Tromsdalen/Krøkebærsløtta in Tromsø some insightful sources on women with STIs are newspaper articles from the newspapers *Tromsø* (now *iTromsø*) and *Nordlys*, but I was not able to include them in this thesis since they require a different methodological approach.

Many descriptions of Grini are based on personal memories of inmates and their families, then scientific and historical analysis. Examples for the earlier sources published on Grini and the so-called Grini book (*Griniboken*) consisting of two volumes published in 1946 and 1947. They contain personal narratives by prisoners edited by August Schreiner Lange. Another important source at the time was the *Grini fangeleksikon* which published the prisoners’ names and prisoner numbers, information that now is found in the digital archive on *fanger.no*. Other personal reflections on the time as a prisoner in Grini can be found in books like Johan Borgen’s “*Dager på Grini*”, in Blichfeldt’s, Rønning’s and Thoruds publication just called “*Grini*” from 1946, in Gerda and Elizabeth Vislie’s “*Da mor satt på Grini*”. Vislie’s book will become especially important for this thesis since it gives an insight into how Gerda Vislie and other women in Grini spoke about women with STIs and prostitutes. Insightful were also Bjørg Fogstads personal accounts of Grini published in the book “*Brystkaramellene: Fra*

⁶⁶ An example for the statistics can be seen here: Statistisk Sentralbyrå. «Sunnhetstilstanden og medisinalforholdene. *Hovedresultatene 1942-1944*, 90-92, Oslo: Aschehoug 1948, 55-56.

XU til Grini”. A newer published book from 2020 is Per Vollestad’s «*Livet på Grini under annen verdenskrig*». Vollestad is a music historian but attempted to write an overview book on Grini. His descriptions will also later in this thesis become relevant,

Secondary sources

This thesis’ secondary sources are anything that gives context to STIs and internment camps during the Second World War, and usually not analysed with CDA. The archive sources from the state archive in Tromsø will be used to back up how STIs were managed during and after the war in Tromsø, as well as two transcribed interviews I was able to receive that were made by historian Michael Stokke with women who were inmates in Tromsdalen internment camp. Books on the internment camps will be used in chapter one and two to illustrate how the camps were used and worked and especially what women’s position was in these camps. In chapter one the sources will be books and law texts on STIs, and connected jurisdiction and prevention politics be used to build up context for the analysis. This chapter will as well be drawing on statistics made after the war on STIs. Laws are as well a secondary source here, but they will be closer described in chapter 1.4.

1 Internment and sexually transmitted infections in Norway: A brief historical and juridical overview

1.1 Polizehaftlager

According to NOU 1998:12 about 40.000 people had been arrested by the NS government in Norway during the German occupation between 1940 and 1945. Prisoners were sent to internment camps like *Polizehaftlager*, other specific camps or prisons. ⁶⁷*Polizehaftlager* were camps in the occupied territories of Germany during the Second World War and the type of camp this thesis will focus on. The term can be translated to “Police prison camp.” In Norwegian the *Polizehaftlager* are described with the term “*fangeleir*” (prisoner camp.) The questions here are how this type of camp differed from other internment camps and what led to imprisonment. There are several different terms in German to describe the same type of camp such as *Polizehaftlager* or *Polizeigefängnis*. In Norwegian *fangeleir* is used most often which

⁶⁷ NOU 1998: 12, 131.

translates to just internment camp.⁶⁸ Some people referred to the camps as concentration camps, but even though the four *Polizeihaftlager* had many similarities with concentration camps, especially *Polizeihäftlingslager Grini* and the so-called *SS-Strafgefangenenlager Falstad* when it came to how the camps were structured, the overall conditions were better, aside from Falstad people were less often murdered by the guards and the work was hard but not mainly used as a torture and murder method as it was in concentration camps.⁶⁹ The Norwegian historian Michael Stokke describes as well how different names were used on the internment camp Espeland close to Bergen. Here the names in different documents vary from *Polizeihäftlingslager*, *Polizeigefangenenlager*, *Internierungslager* and *SD-Gefangenenlager*.⁷⁰ The camps in Norway were built when the regular prisons ran out of space for the political and other prisoners.⁷¹ Depending on place and time the use of the camps varied as well as the groups of inmates, which makes it more difficult to describe the camps with one term.⁷² In this thesis I will use the term *Polizeihaftlager*. The Norwegian literature, that represents a great amount of the thesis sources, mainly refers to the camps not as *Polizeihaftlager*, but *Polizeihäftlingslager*,⁷³ a term which seems to be mainly used in Norwegian literature but is usually absent in German descriptions of the camps, despite the many terms available. The camps were under the jurisdiction of the *Befehlshabern der Sicherheitspolizei und des Sicherheitsdienstes* (BdS) [English: Commanders of the security police and security service] which are also referred in short to as Sipo and SD, and therefore the responsibility of the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* (RSHA) [English: Reich Security Main Office].⁷⁴ Guards in these camps were usually members of the *Ordnungspolizei*, with the exception of Sydspissen and Tromsdalen/Krøkebørsletta where the guards were mainly members of the *Waffen-SS*.⁷⁵ In 1942

⁶⁸ *Polizeigefangenenlager* (police prisoner camp), *Polizeigefängnis* (police prison), *Sicherungshaftlager* (Security prison camp), *Sammellager* (Collection camp), *Judenauffanglager* (Jew collecting camp), *Geisellager* (Hostage camp), *Internierungslager* (Internment camp). This is just a selection of terms. For more terms see: Königseder. 2009, 39; Riedel.2009, 433.

⁶⁹ Königseder. 2009, 39; Riedel.2009, 433; Stokke; Rødland. 2011, 29.

Falstad is also classified as a *Polizeihaftlager* but was called *SS- Strafgefangenenlager* at the time.

⁷⁰ Stokke; Rødland. 2011, 24.

⁷¹ Reitan. 2021, 128-129; Riedel. 2009, 432.

⁷² Königseder. 2009, 19.

⁷³ Reitan. 2021, 128.

⁷⁴ Königseder. 2009, 19.

⁷⁵ Reitan; Nilssen. 2021, 132; Larsen Ugelvik; Sandberg; Dahm. 2008, 74.

a new law was ratified that regulated how specific prisoners were treated and what rights they had or were taken from them. Here the group of sick prisoners were allowed to receive visitors every fourth month and were allowed to receive one letter every month. Compared to prisoners who had been arrested for being of Jewish heritage or were for other reasons supposed to be sent to a concentration camp in Germany, they were not allowed to have any visitors or letters. In addition to that law each camp had their own rules that dictated the life of the prisoners in detail from often 5 in the morning to late in the evenings.⁷⁶ The type of inmates differed as much as the terms used to describe the camps. There were political prisoners, war prisoners, Jewish prisoners (that often were sent further to concentration camps in Germany), and people who were held hostage.⁷⁷ In Norway hostages were often women who were married to political activists held hostage, other prisoner categories were homosexuals and also East Europeans who were deported to Norway for forced labour.⁷⁸ Another group, which is rarely mentioned, is the group this thesis is about: women who were or were allegedly infected with STIs. Among them were women who worked as prostitutes, women who had or allegedly had relations to German soldiers and women who presumably had infected Germans with a sexually transmitted disease.⁷⁹ Even though the types of prisoners varied are the camps described as mainly for political prisoners in newer research.⁸⁰ Of course it could be argued that all the types of prisoners mentioned above are in fact political prisoners since they did not fit in the national socialist view of how and who a citizen has to be, and therefore prisoners with STIs could be viewed as political prisoners. In Norway about 44.000 people had been prisoners in one or more of the four *Polizeihafnlager*. Prisoners were moved around in Norway which can be tracked

⁷⁶ Stokke; Rødland. 2011, 27.

Stokke shows a list over all the different categories and their codes. The code for sick prisoners was IA, for political prisoners IB, people who were in pound the categories ranged from I to III depending on the nature of their crimes. People who were supposed to be sent to Germany the code was NN. Jews fell here into the categories of either III or NN.

⁷⁷ Königseder. 2009, 19-20.

⁷⁸ Sigmund. 2008, 8, 179-211; Neerland Soleim. 2019, 7-13.

⁷⁹ As this thesis will show this group of prisoners is usually mentioned with a word or a sentence here and there but tends to be not classified as an own category of prisoners. Examples of where we see mentions of this category of prisoners are: Reitan. 2021, 74.

⁸⁰ Reitan. 2021, 129.

today in the now digital prisoner register.⁸¹ The four camps were spread over the country. One in the South close to Oslo called *Grini*, one close to Bergen called *Ulven/Espeland*. The first camp close to Bergen was called *Ulven* and under commander and SS-man Otmar Holenia the *Ulven* prisoners had to build a bigger camp during the winter of 1943 named after the area: *Espeland*.⁸² There was another camp close to Trondheim called *Falstad* and technically two camps in the North in Tromsø called *Sydspissen* and *Tromsdalen fangeleir* also called *Krøkebørsletta* by the locals.⁸³ The camp in the South of the Tromsø island (*Sydspissen*) was dissolved in November 1942 and all prisoners were moved to *Tromsdalen*.⁸⁴ More detailed information about the different camp and their structures will be provided in the next chapter with the introduction to each camp.

1.2 Sexually transmitted infections

The sources that were available for this thesis do usually not specify what kind of infection or disease was present. Therefore, this chapter will give a brief introduction to the type of sexually transmitted diseases that were tracked in the Norwegian national statistics collected during and published after the war, to give some background information on the nature of the diseases and their treatment. There are three different diseases mentioned in the statistics made between 1926 and 1945. Chancroid, gonorrhoea and syphilis. Chancroid is a disease caused through infection with the bacteria *Haemophilus ducreyi*, causing genital wounds and non-cancerous ulcers. Gonorrhoea is a disease caused through an infection with the bacteria *Neisseria gonorrhoeae*, which was first discovered in 1879.⁸⁵ While Chancroid causes symptoms after 1-14 days, but usually within 5 days, Gonorrhoea can break out after 2-7 days but while men usually show symptoms after that time, half of the women infected tend to do not experience symptoms at all. All the mentioned diseases can now be treated with antibiotics, though Gonorrhoea is

⁸¹ The prisoner lists from different camps can be now digitally accessed through the website fanger.no which is provided by the Norwegian peace and human rights organization *Arkivet - freds- og menneskerettighetscenter* and the Falstad foundation *Stiftelsen Falstadsenteret* and supported by the Norwegian state archive *Arkivverket*. As the archive material is not always complete the prisoner lists on fanger.no are sometimes inconclusive and not complete but match the analogue materials.

⁸² Riedel. 2009, 433.

⁸³ Königseder. 2009, 39; Reitan. 2021, 128; Sandøy. 2007, 10-14.

⁸⁴ Reitan. 2021, 132; Riedel. 2009, 434. A map over the four camps can be found here: Riedel. 2009,431.

⁸⁵ Baldwin. 1999, 374.

known to be resistant to many antibiotics, but these treatments were not as available in the 1940s as they are now. The most effective prevention at the time as today is using condoms.⁸⁶ The report divides the cases of syphilis, caused by bacteria *Treponema pallidum*, in the ones contracted through sexual contact and the cases that were congenital, meaning that the infection was spread from an infected mother to her unborn child.⁸⁷ During the Second World War the number of people infected in Norway, but also other countries, went significantly up.⁸⁸ The increase of syphilis numbers in Norway was six-fold in 1943 as it was compared to the numbers in 1940.⁸⁹ Local registers collected by the county doctors, for example the ones collected in Tromsø state archive suggest the same increase during the war and decrease after.⁹⁰ Local statistics made after the war for the North of Norway between 1959 and 1971 show how there were more men registered than women in any case of STI. Additionally, showing how the spread of diseases was higher in cities like for example Tromsø and Harstad and lower to none in the countryside. The statistics only contain numbers on the diseases syphilis and gonorrhoea,

⁸⁶ FHI. Om Gonorre. URL: <https://www.fhi.no/sv/smittsomme-sykdommer/seksualitet-og-helse/diag/om-gonore/>, sist hentet 11.01.2023.

FHI. Bløt sjanker - veileder for helsepersonell. URL:

<https://www.fhi.no/nettpub/smittevernveilederen/sykdommer-a-a/blot-sjanker---veileder-for-helsepe/>, sist hentet 11.01.2023.

⁸⁷ FHI. Syfilis- veileder for helsepersonell. URL: <https://www.fhi.no/nettpub/smittevernveilederen/sykdommer-a-a/syfilis---veileder-for-helsepersone/>, sist hentet 25.1.2023; Statistisk sentralbyrå. 1949, 60-61.

⁸⁸ Schiøtz. 2003, 293.

Statistisk sentralbyrå. 1949, 60-61: «*Det største tall hadde vi i 1943, da det ble meldt 1977 tilfelle av ervervet syfilis og 79 tilfelle av medfødt syfilis. I 1944 og 1945 er tallene igjen litt lavere, men ligger dog langt over førkrignivået*». [The highest number was registered in 1943 where there were registered 1977 cases of syphilis through sexual contact and seventy-nine of congenital syphilis. In 1944 and 1945 the numbers went a bit down but there were still higher than before the war.]

⁸⁹ Evjen [ed.]. 2022, 190; Blom. 2004, 103; Statistisk sentralbyrå. 1949, 45 and 60-61.

⁹⁰ Since the sources covering the 1940s in the North of Norway only registered women with STIs the increase and decrease can be seen only through the suggested and used budget between 1940 and 1950. The budget was six-fold in 1943 and 1944 compared to 1940. While the budget is missing in the source material for 1945, the budget suggestion in 1946 and 1947 shows a significant decrease. The budget suggestions even contain comments in 1950 on the decreasing numbers of STIs suggesting using less money. The comments in the 1950s budget are interesting since the used sums exceeded the suggested budget in around 15.000 to 20.000 NOK in 1948 and 1949.

See: S-0239, Tromsø karantekommissjon/helseråd/stadslege/distriktslege: Ga-L0006, forhandlingsprotokoll, 1939-1964

and the numbers show that gonorrhoea was spread significantly more than syphilis in the 1960s.⁹¹ The statistics after the war both the statistics covering the whole of Norway and the ones used here exemplary for the North of Norway, show how more men than women were infected, which stands in contrast to the incarceration of women with STIs and raids of public restaurants only targeting women. It could also be used as the foundation for questioning for why *Tromsø Karantenekommisjon* only registered women in the 1940s. The registers were starting in 1940 and were continued up until 1947. Until 1947 names and addresses were registered by *Tromsø Karantenekommisjon* of women who had an STI, after 1947 the regional protocols seem to end correlating with the decrease of numbers.⁹² It is important to note that Germans were treated by German doctors, while Norwegian women were treated and registered by Norwegian doctors.⁹³ Aina Schiøtz, who wrote a two-pieced extensive work “*Folkets helse – landets styrke*” on public health in Norway, suggests that one reason is the link to sexual morality, especially women’s sexuality.⁹⁴ The history of STIs has been and still is closely linked to sexually morality. In the 19th century a model citizen did not have an STI, which shows that STIs were not just a medical and epidemic issue, but a moral one.⁹⁵ During the German occupation of Norway between 1940 and 1945 about 3000 women were registered because of STIs by the national socialists. The same registers were used after the occupation to find and imprison women who had a sexual relation to Germans. Officially, they were persecuted because they were assumed to still spread STIs based on a decree from 1947 that was supposed to prevent the spread of STIs.⁹⁶ More on the decree from 1947 and how it was used will be presented in chapter 1.4.

⁹¹ SATØ-340, Fylkeslegen i Troms, 2. avlevering, Da-L0069, sakarkiv, mappe 0003, 57 A veneriske sykdommer, 1945-1979.

⁹² Tromsø karantekommissjon/helseråd/stadslege/distriktslege: Ga-L0006, forhandlingsprotokoll, 1939-1964.

⁹³ Evjen. 2022, 190.

⁹⁴ Schiøtz. 2003, 294.

⁹⁵ Blom. 2004, 98.

⁹⁶ Evjen [ed.]. 2022, 191; Olsen. 1998, 292: Olsen mentions a central register made by the German occupation, but only refers to a register made for *Hovedøya interneringsleir* [Hyg. 111, Hovedøya interneringsleir, 1946-1948, Hovedøyaarkivet.] and not the central register. Since I was not able to travel to that archive and look at the source cited, I am relying on Olsens book alone, which is not ideal.

1.3 Preventive measures

Preventive measures differ based on the time and country one researches. Here I will present a quick overview of different strategies of infection prevention in the 20th century. What did infection prevention look like before, during and after the war? As Ida Blom states clearly in the beginning of her article “Contagious Women and Male Clients”, were preventive measures concerning STIs not just for the protection of the countries public health but closely tied to moral questions concerning sexuality.⁹⁷ In contrast to other infectious diseases, standard measures like quarantines and isolation were not efficient and made it more difficult to prevent STIs. Additionally, it was difficult to detect if one did contract a disease like for example syphilis since the first symptoms are painless and not everyone realized they were indeed infected. On top of the difficulties of detecting and treating the diseases the moral implications played an important role, as mentioned these target women more than they did men. The stigma related to diseases like syphilis did according to Baldwin “persist well into the twentieth century, only to flare up again in our own time in response to the AIDS epidemic. If VD was the just dessert of illicit sex [...] why should society mobilize against it?”⁹⁸ Preventive approaches and ideas that Baldwin drafts in his books are called environmentalist, contagionist, quarantinism, sanitationism, and regulationism. The environmentalist strategies, not to be confused with today’s environmentalists working to stop climate change, tried to change the fundamental situation that could lead people into becoming sex workers and therefore contract and spread STIs. Contagionists approaches tried to break the transmission chains of the diseases and thus prevent infection. The quarantinist strategies relied as the name indicated on quarantine and isolation as a preventive measure. Including sending infected people away to hospitals for a quarantine period. The sanitationist strategies of prevention can be described as less restrictive one compared to the others, relying mainly on improving personal hygiene. The different strategies have in common that they infringed individual rights and liberty to protect the public health. Preventive measures targeted certain people more than others. So were prostitutes for example targeted for mandatory check-ups and/or regulated through official

⁹⁷ Blom. 2004, 98.

⁹⁸ Baldwin.1999, 356 and 559. During the nationalsocialist rule in Germany the strategies varied between regulationism for prostitution and a quarantinist approach for general spread of venereal diseases. During the AIDS epidemic, the quarantinist approach was applied again even though such measures were abandoned after the end of the Second World War.

brothels run by the state, such as in NS-Germany.⁹⁹ The state-run brothels were discontinued after the war in 1946 in Germany, but instead a new registration system was put in place that tracked prostitutes for possible contact tracing and medical treatment if infected with a STI. This started already with the foundation of Germany in 1871. At the time brothels were legal if the prostitutes went to regular check-ups.¹⁰⁰ This form of preventive measures is called regulationism.¹⁰¹ A concept of prevention which, at first glance, presents itself as gender equal, targeting for example only sex workers not all women in general. Effectively it still was women who were targeted.¹⁰² In Norway prostitutes were as well as in Germany registered and were taken to regular check-ups to prevent spreading of STIs.¹⁰³ The expectation that sex workers are the source of this kind of infectious diseases has been enforced throughout centuries as research has shown.¹⁰⁴ An important book with more information on this topic is the one by Mary Spongberg called “Feminizing Venereal Disease”. Spongberg focuses on the 19th century and is therefore not as relevant for this thesis, but the same structures within the law persisted also in Norway and Germany.

Both in Germany and Norway check-ups were usually enforced through the police and especially in bigger cities like Oslo and Bergen, approximately between 1816 and 1888. In practice regulationism was forcing sex workers to register and show up to regular medical check-ups for STIs at a police station where a physician was present. Sex workers who were found to be infected had to stay at a hospital for treatment until they were deemed to be healthy. This strategy of prevention could be, after Baldwin, described as a more Quarantinist measure.¹⁰⁵ The physicians up until the end of 19th century usually only checked for symptoms, not for the presence of the bacteria. Gonorrhoea often stays asymptomatic in women, leaving especially female prostitutes infectious after check-ups.¹⁰⁶ While improving cleanliness is

⁹⁹ State-organized brothels did exist during both World Wars run by German authorities, as well as British authorities, See: Blom. 2014. 201

¹⁰⁰ Blom. 2014, 200-201.

¹⁰¹ Baldwin. 1999, 355-356 and 482; Blom. 2004, 98.

¹⁰² Baldwin. 1999, 362.

¹⁰³ Blom. 2004, 99.

¹⁰⁴ Spongberg. 1997, 7.

¹⁰⁵ The test at the time looked for outer symptoms and not the bacteria causing the disease, therefore people who seemed healthy again were possibly still infectious.

¹⁰⁶ Baldwin. 1999, 374-375.

helpful to improve infectious diseases, the 19th and 20th century sanitationists saw women's bodies as the source of STIs.¹⁰⁷ This shows again that sexual morality is involved in even the most liberal prevention measures. Female prostitutes were not seen as normal women according to Ida Blom's analysis of gender and the spread of sexually transmitted diseases.¹⁰⁸ Prostitutes were seen as "the culprit of spreading VD [venereal diseases] to males", and during the occupation of Norway during World War Two, they were sent to camps and prisons for varied amounts of time to prevent the spread to soldiers. Meanwhile soldiers were through state-run brothels supposed to be "kept happy and healthy".¹⁰⁹ It shows how a different sexual morality is applied to women and to men. The rule at the time was no sex before marriage and outside of marriage.¹¹⁰ Only women were presented as abnormal when transgressing that rule, while men were supposed to be kept safe by prostitute's check-ups on STIs, so it did not spread to them or possibly their families.¹¹¹ During the occupation of Norway, one could speak of a regulationist and quarantinist after Baldwin's theory. Sex workers were checked regularly, and state-run brothels did exist, but also women if working as sex workers or not were sent to internment camps, prisons, or hospitals for safeguarding society. Leading to isolating them and technically sending them into quarantine. This was ineffective though since the quarantine did not apply to the partner. How this played itself out in the four mentioned internment camps will be discussed later in chapter two. Additionally, competitive sale of contraception was forbidden in Norway starting in 1941. This cut out the most effective preventive measure: easy access to condoms which are still today the best way to prevent spread of STIs. The health department had to approve pharmacies access to condoms and pessaries. As the competitive sale was not allowed advertising contraception was forbidden as well. Acting against this law was punished with up to one year in prison.¹¹² Opposed to the quarantinist and regulationists ideas there was also prevention in the form of education. In the Weimar Republic, starting in 1919 exhibitions were created that intended to educate the public on STIs all through the republic with visitor numbers up to a million. Similar exhibitions in the later 1920s were already influenced by eugenics and did not focus primarily on a safe sexual life. While in 1926 eugenics became a

¹⁰⁷ Baldwin. 1999, 543.

¹⁰⁸ Blom. 2014, 200.

¹⁰⁹ Blom.2014, 200-201.

¹¹⁰ Blom. 2014, 201.

¹¹¹ Blom. 2014, 202.

¹¹² Elvebakken. 2021, 137-138.

more prominent topic, the *Institut für Sexualwissenschaften* [Institute for sex education and science] in Berlin started to host question evenings for the public, where contraception and protection against STIS were the two most prominent topics.

Prevention measures, politics and jurisdiction are naturally tied closely together. In the following chapter for this thesis important laws will be presented in addition to some historical context.

1.4 Jurisdiction and politics

1.4.1 Germany

In the Weimar Republic during the early 20th century an increase of diseases caused by STIs was feared and thought to be prevented through both education and law. STIs had increased during the First World War and were now to be prevented, first through creating fear among the citizens and promoting monogamy and later promoting condoms as contraception. How did the prevention laws affect women and men? Were there differences? Did the prevention measures lead to discrimination and loss of independence? If so, for whom? In 1927 a new law was ratified in the Weimar Republic that intended to work against the spread of STIs. The law was titled “*Gesetz zur Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten*” which can be translated to law fighting sexually transmitted diseases.¹¹³ The word “*Bekämpfen*” which can be translated to fighting or combatting is adding a military aspect to the law, it’s not preventing, but fighting, and can be read to present STIs in a specific negative way. Similar word choices can be found in the Norwegian laws on STI prevention from 1945 and 1947. The German law was applied between 1. October 1927 and until 23. July 1953. It ended with ratification of a new law for the German Federation.¹¹⁴ The German 1927 law on STIs gives an insight as well into the punishment for people who did not act according to law, including sending people to prison for at least 3 years, when one knowingly had intercourse while infected.¹¹⁵ This punishment was

¹¹³ Löwenstein Georg; Rosenthal, Franz E..1927. “*Das neue Gesetz zur Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten*“, In *Der sozialistische Arzt*, 2. Vol, Nr. 4 (März), 22–23.

The law replaced the law of 1918: See: R.G.Bl. 1927 1, 61: „§19 Dieses Gesetz tritt am i. Oktober 1927 in Kraft. Mit dem gleichen Tage treten die Verordnungen zur Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten vom 11. Dezember 1918 und die Verordnung. Über Fürsorge für geschlechtskranke Heeresangehörige vom 17. Dezember 1918 (Reichsgesetzbl. S1431, 433) außer Kraft.“

¹¹⁴ Bundesgesetzblatt. 1953. *Gesetz zur Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten*, Vol. 1, Nr.41, 700-706.

¹¹⁵ See §5 of R.G.Bl. 1927 1.

also applied but with a shorter time of incarnation (three months) during the occupation of Norway. The punishment sent women to internment camps under the accusation of knowingly having infected Germans.¹¹⁶ The 1927 law on STIs was changed later through and by specific actions and laws by the national socialist government between 1933 and 1945. For example, the so-called *Aktion Arbeitscheu* [action work-shy] that happened in May and June of 1938. Here they detained people that were deemed as unfitting for the national society, among others the detained persons were sex workers and persons with STIs. The label used for these people was *asozial* [asocial]. This action forced people into concentration camps and other work camps. Not only during these raids were people detained as asocial, but during this specific action about 10.000 people were arrested. The action is used as an example because it shows how the label asocial was used to arrest people, also those with untreated STIs.¹¹⁷ It is unclear how many have been arrested in total for having and spreading an STI, since these numbers overlap with those labelled just as *asozial* and those being arrested and released immediately after testing negative on STIs. Additionally, the sources available are not always reliable or complete, such as for example the prisoner cards mentioned in the chapter on sources. The complexity will become clearer throughout the thesis.

Women were punished by the national socialists for public sexuality like street prostitution. Women were supposed to be mothers, and sex workers, usually female, were only allowed in official brothels as a relief for male sexuality, which is a contradicting point in the national socialist sexual morality and politics.¹¹⁸ State-regulated prostitution was ended in the 1920s in the Weimar Republic. After the national socialists took over in Germany, the 1920s reforms on prostitution were changed back and transformed again into state-regulated prostitution, the approach earlier described as regulationism.¹¹⁹ Starting in 1943 brothels were added to concentration camps where women were used as sex workers as a reward for what

¹¹⁶ See §5 of R.G.Bl. 1927; For Norway, see prisoner cards like: RA, Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD, F/Fc/L0008: Fangeregister Falstad: Lindb - Nettet, 1941-1945; RA, Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD, F/Fc/L0008: Fangeregister Falstad: Lindb - Nettet, 1941-1945; RA, Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD, F/Fc/L0010: Fangeregister Falstad: R - Tølche og Tønseth, 1941-1945.

¹¹⁷ Ayaß, Wolfgang. 1995, 147-148.

¹¹⁸ Timm. 2002, 245-246; Roos. 2002, 93.

¹¹⁹ Roos. 2002, 68-69

Himmler called “industrious inmates”.¹²⁰ This use of female sex workers for concentration camp inmates gives an insight into a hierarchy where women working as sex workers are below some inmates of concentration camps. Historian Anette Timm writes, “Female sexuality was functionalized to serve the needs of the nation.”¹²¹ Timm shows as well how the national socialists build up a system to register prostitution and promiscuous behaviour among citizens, using STI registers in the 1920s during the Weimar Republic that contained categories like the one called “*häufig wechselnde Geschlechtspartner*” [frequently changing sexual partners] shortened to “*hwG*”. That category was used to describe people who often changed their sexual partners, leaving up to interpretation if the person earned their money as a sex worker or not and mainly targeted women.¹²²

1.4.2 Norway

In the early 20th century Norway, there were several attempts to draft a law for the treatment of STIs, but there was never a ratified law until 1947.¹²³ The drafts for a law included compulsory but free treatment for everyone infected by STIs, but this idea was abandoned in 1921 due to the economic crisis.¹²⁴ Only people who needed it because of their financially poor or unstable situation were offered free treatment starting in 1899.¹²⁵ In 1935 sailors did receive the possibility of free treatment as it was decided in the so-called Brussels agreement of 1924.¹²⁶ While the numbers of STIs rose in Norway during the war years the German occupation released a law that was supposed to support their pronatalist population policy that forbid competitive and free sale of contraception in 1941 in Norway, indirectly promoting monogamy

¹²⁰ Roos. 2002, 94: “By the summer of 1944, brothels had been opened in eight major concentration camps, including Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen, and Dachau. Sex in these brothels indeed reduced intercourse to a mere animal function. As one woman forced to work in the camp brothel at Buchenwald told historian Christa Paul, ‘It was nothing personal, one felt like a robot. They did not take notice of us; we were the lowest of the low. We were only good for this. No conversation or small talk, not even the weather was on the agenda. Everything was so mechanical and indifferent...They finished their business and left.’”

¹²¹ Timm. 2002, 246.

¹²² Timm. 2002, 242.

¹²³ In 1947 the law «åtgjerder mot kjønnsykdommer» was drafted and ratified starting the January the 1st 1948 and was used until 1995 when the law was changed anew. See: LOV-1947-12-12-4 and LOV-1994-08-05-55.

¹²⁴ Blom. 2004, 102; Koren, 2003.

¹²⁵ Blom. 2006, 209–234.

¹²⁶ Blom. 2004, 103; Blom. 2014, 201; Koren. 2003.

and limiting sexual activities to marriage.¹²⁷ The law was furthermore enforced by lectures on the topic broadcasted in Norway on the radio in early 1941. The lectures condemned abortion and contraception and supported the pronatalist view of the national socialist.¹²⁸ The less accessible contraception methods like condoms during the years of German occupation did not help preventing the spread of STIs but as a logical consequence must have been a factor in the increase of STIs.

With the increase of the spread of STIs during the war years, as drafted in the previous chapter, a new law was ratified June 22nd, 1944, by the national socialist authorities called *Lov om bekjempelse av kjønns sykdommer* [Law to fight sexually transmitted diseases]. The law allowed authorities to imprison people who were assumed to be a possible threat for spreading STIs.¹²⁹ Furthermore, the law demanded the instalment of clinics or spaces in communal hospitals that could treat persons with STIs. Especially important for this thesis are §7-10 which allowed to imprison people who were already treated and healthy in work or internment camps or similar institutions up to one year (§7), if the person had been sick more than one time this period could be extended to two years (§8). The law legitimized the arrest of people who were assumed to be “deviant” (§10), which happened in the cases of raids in restaurants and bars.¹³⁰ With this law the internment of women who had and presumably had spread an STI was technically legal. According to the Norwegian historian Kåre Olsen the 1944 national socialists’ law was turned into the provisional decree of June 12th, 1945, by the Norwegian government for preventing the spread of STIs after the war and occupation ended.¹³¹ This statement seems reasonable at first since both laws have the same central goals, but according to Knut Papendorf,

¹²⁷ As Elvebakken writes was the Norwegian bureaucracy under national socialist influence and by that far away from democracy, which influenced how cases for example of abortion were handled, see: Elvebakken. 2021, 124.

¹²⁸ The pronatalist population policy included four goals. 1. The closing of the so-called “*mødrehygienekontorene*” which are equivalent to Maternal and Child Health Bureaus. They were, in the national socialist opinion, making propaganda for contraception and abortion. 2. Stopping abortions and only allowing them for eugenic reasons. 3. The third goal was to support the women and children with for example insurance and other monetary help. 4. Criticizing everyone openly who worked for “depopulation» or the legalization for abortion for example Karl Evang in Norway. This kind of view on population control and growth was already present in Norway before the occupation in conservative and national socialist circles. See: Elvebakken.2021, 127-129.

¹²⁹ Olsen. 1998, 291-292; Helgesen. 1990, 304.

¹³⁰ Papendorf. 2015,57; Blom. 2004, 103.

¹³¹ «Provisorisk anordning av 12. juni 1945 om åtgjerder mot kjønns sykdommer.

professor of Criminology and Sociology of Law, they are not a continuation of another. The 1944 law was annulled after the war ended and is not related to the provisional decree from June 12th, 1945.¹³²

Possibly more important than comparing these two laws is another provisional decree, the one of November 24th, 1944, ratified by the exile government of Norway located in London at the time. It states that certain national socialist laws including the one on STIs from 1944 were not to be continued after the occupation ended. Since the provisional decree from June 12th, 1945, replacing the 1944 law was ratified and used first a month after the end of the occupation on May 8th, 1945, there was a gap in the jurisdiction on how to treat and prevent the spread of STIs. In practice, leading to the continuation of the NS-law on STIs even though the national socialist occupation had ended, which means that the internment of women with STIs after the war happened outside of the law. It was in this period many women were arrested on the basis on an NS-law that was not in place anymore.¹³³ This fact will become especially important to this thesis in chapter three. The mentioned laws use either the pronouns he/him as for example seen in the provisional law from June 12th, 1945.¹³⁴ While using male pronouns, the law was only applied to women.¹³⁵ Which again shows that law texts do not necessarily reflect how they were executed.¹³⁶ The provisional law from June 12th, 1945, was acted on until the 1947 law was ratified. The now presented laws were technically meant to prevent the spread of STIs but were in practice also used for other purposes, such as the incarceration and persecution of Norwegian women who had a relationship and/or child with a German.¹³⁷

To add a short excursion on this topic and broader perspective to the presented laws and the situation of people, especially women, infected with an STI: The German Democratic Republic until its end in 1990 and in the Federal Republic of Germany until 1953, imprisoned women on the assumption of them being infected with an STI.¹³⁸ In Norway it was until the

¹³² Papendorf. 2015, 45; 57. The law was ratified June 22nd, 1944.

¹³³ Papendorf. 2015, 58-60; Provisorisk anordning. 24. november 1944.

¹³⁴ Provisorisk anordning. 12.juni 1945.

¹³⁵ Blom. 2014, 200.

¹³⁶ Blom 2014, 201.

¹³⁷ Papendorf. 2015, 14-15 and 53.

¹³⁸ Steger. 2018; Steger; Schochow. 2017.

1950s not allowed to marry someone who had the STI syphilis. If one had this disease the partner had to be informed and confirm that they still agree with the marriage.¹³⁹ Similar situations occurred in other territories occupied by Germany during the Second World War and as well in the USA.¹⁴⁰

1.5 Chapter findings

While the function and use of *Polizeihäftlingslager* is rather straight forward and does not need a summary here, the complexity of STIs and their prevention in relation to gender crave a short summary. The texts and laws on and from the 19th and 20th century usually suggest all a connection between sex work and STIs. The laws on STI prevention and general ideas to approach prevention throw up questions of sexual morality and how it is related to gender. On the topic of prevention Baldwins five approaches on STI prevention during the 19th and 20th century were presented. The approach changed in Germany from a more liberal and environmentalist and sanitationist approach in the 1920s back to a regulationist and quarantinist approach under the national socialists in both Germany and Norway. Women's sexuality was viewed differently from men's and visible female sexuality was during the national socialist rule not socially and politically acceptable. Female sex workers were not seen as normal women but labelled as "deviant" and during the national socialist rule send to regular check-ups for STIs, while men were not. Norwegian women who socialized publicly with Germans could be arrested during raids of restaurants and forced to take a mandatory STI check-up. While presented as "deviant" and unnormal, women were used as sexual relief for soldiers and inmates of concentration camps, they were seen as low-rank and worthless persons. This shows clearly how the laws are built on certain perceptions of gender and sexuality. Women were also stronger targeted by the STI prevention laws. According to the statistics made between 1940 and 1945 in Norway, were more men than women infected, but only women were arrested for possibly spreading STIs, while simultaneously the laws use only male pronouns. It is possible to see here how health, gender and class are intersecting with

The imprisonment ended in the Federal Republic with the new prevention law ratified in 1953. See: *Gesetz zur Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten (GeschlKrG)*, 23. Juli 1953, in: *Bundesgesetzblatt*, Part I, Year 1953, 700–706.

¹³⁹ Gammeltoft. 1953, 628.

¹⁴⁰ For more readings on these topics see: Ash. 2021; Warring. 1994; Björnsdottir; Ellingsen; Warring.1995.

each other, when looking at how female sex workers were targeted more than others, and women were targeted more than men by the prevention laws and approaches. During the occupation years contraception like condoms was not as easily accessible as before, which might play a role in the increase of STIs as well. Promoting additionally monogamy and can be seen as an attempt to regulate sexuality to married people only. One could say that the sexual morality at the time influenced the policies and execution of the laws and lead and upheld prejudices towards women that formed further discrimination and stigma.

2 National socialist internment camps in Norway

This chapter is divided in two sections. The first section describes each camp and the women's life and tasks during the years 1940 and 1945 and is mainly descriptive. The second section will describe only the three camps Grini, Falstad and Espeland and how other prisoners there described women who were there for having an STI. Here CDA will be applied as a method to analyse the use of language to help detect discrimination based on gender and health, and through that the stigma of STIs. The focus lies on the use of language and terms used to describe them and how these expresses underlying hierarchies, discrimination, and stigma.

2.1 Women in national socialist internment camps

The following chapter will present women's life in the *Polizeihäftlingslager* Grini, Falstad, Espeland and Grini. The attempt here is to draft answers to questions like How was their life in the internment camps? What kind of work and tasks did they have? Who was allowed to work and with what? How was the relation between men and women in the camps? How were the housing conditions? Were the women with STIs in the same housing as the other women? Did they work together? The goal is to give some insight in the four camps in general but taking into account discrimination based on gender and health.

2.1.1 Grini

Polizeihäftlingslager, or as it was called in the 1940s, *Gefangenenlager* Grini, was located in Ila in the county Bærum in the South of Norway close to Oslo. It was built in 1938 and 1940 and was then still supposed to be a prison for women. It deemed to be ready for use in March or April of 1940, coinciding with the German occupation of Norway starting 9th april 1940. This led to the prison being repurposed as an internment camp in april 1940 for Norwegian officers by the national socialists and the name was changed to from Ila to Grini. Starting in

June 1941 Grini was the place war prisoners were sent to.¹⁴¹ The total number of prisoners at Grini between the years 1940 and 1945 was 1978. While there was space only for about 5000 prisoners at a time.¹⁴² The situation of the first women to come to Grini is described in the so-called first *Griniboken* by Margrete Aamot Øverland, who was in 1943 send to a concentration camp in Germany.¹⁴³ All of them were women who were arrested in 1941 for varied rebellious acts against the national socialist regime, some had been spies, distributed illegal newspapers, other had stolen from the national socialists. All of them were first arrested in the Gestapo headquarters prison in *Møllergaten 19* and then transferred to Grini and locked in a own section on the first floor.¹⁴⁴ According to Øverland the day started around five in the morning, followed by breakfast and a half an hour outside in the yard, which was repeated later in the day before lunch, and then work either in the basement doing laundry, working in the kitchen, or as for the elderly work in sewing room. They worked until 11.30, followed the half an hour yard and lunch and a break, the so-called “*Bettruhe*” until 15. This was followed by the second part of the workday ending at 18 and another time in the yard and dinner.¹⁴⁵ The women and men of Grini were not to be in contact with each other, and having some sort of contact or communication even looking at each other was forbidden and punished. Women were not supposed to be standing in their windows looking outside where the men were, but they still did. The reason for the not being allowed to look at each other was that at Grini a so-called *fingerspråk* [sign language] evolved. This made communication possible without being close.¹⁴⁶ There are descriptions of the men imprisoned at Grini sneaking in the women’s quarters as well, and when discovered send were all involved to a cell on their own for three weeks as punishment.¹⁴⁷ Øverland’s depictions of the work routine at Grini fits with other

¹⁴¹ Borgen. 1945, 207-208; Vollestad. 2020, 9-10 and 25.

After being *Ilebu landssviksleir* [Ilebu traitor camp] between 1945 and 1950, Grini is, since 1951, called Ila again and the buildings are used as a high security prison. See: <https://www.ilafengsel.no>.

¹⁴² Stokke; Rødland. 2011, 26

¹⁴³ Lange [red.]. 1945, 321 and 351.

¹⁴⁴ Lange; Schreiner [red.]. 1946, 321-323.

¹⁴⁵ Lange; Schreiner [red.]. 1946, 324; The type of work is as well described by Johan Borgen in his personal memories of Grini. See: Borgen. 1945, 63-64.

¹⁴⁶ Lange; Schreiner [red.] 1946, 324 and 279; Examples where *fingerspråk* was used: Fodstad. 2001, 145 and 150.

¹⁴⁷ Vollestad. 2020, 32; Lange; Schreiner [red.]. 1946, 328.

descriptions of it, for example the one by Gerda Vislie.¹⁴⁸ On this thesis topics *Griniboken* gives some insight into if women with STIs, sex workers, who were often assumed to have or had STIs, and other women were living in the same quarters. The women with STIs were to be treated in the *Sykeavdeling* [doctors ward]. One of the female camp doctors Astrid Lange Amlie describes how women who has been sex workers were checked for STIs when arriving at Grini. The STI check-ups at Grini fit with the general approach of STI treatment and sex work regulation during the occupation of Norway. It is possible to speak of a regulationist and quarantinist after Baldwin's theory. Quarantinist in the sense of women being sent to internment camps for safeguarding society, and regulationist in the sense of check-ups for sex workers at Grini. The approach was ineffective since the quarantine was not applied to the partner(s). Amlie describes that there were not that many immediate infectious women, but several who had syphilis and needed treatment.¹⁴⁹ Her descriptions do unfortunately not contain the exact number of patients. She does describe how the work inside with the three short breaks outside and little movement in general led to physical and mental illness among the women.¹⁵⁰ Taking up the work divided by gender and what effects it had on the women. Women who had been sex workers were supposed to be kept at distance to the others and the other women also kept their distance, according to Amlie, but it was not a written rule. In the stories about the 1940 Christmas Eve at Grini it is mentioned that the two sex workers were allowed to join, who otherwise lived in the basement, not because of their work, but for infection prevention.¹⁵¹ The distance between sex workers and other women imprisoned in Grini is well illustrated through the escape of one women's attempt to escape.¹⁵² More on that in chapter 2.2.1. In the first half of 1941 there were only between 18 and 24 women imprisoned. They were only 18 when the sex workers were sent away to other prisons, or their sentence had ended. In September 1941 there were already 50 women in the women's ward. Squeezing three persons at a time into one bed.¹⁵³ Physical and psychological violence was used against the women as stories show of the ones incarcerated because of their affiliation with the resistance. Others were sent away to Germany. A euphemism used to express that they were send to a concentration camp and faced

¹⁴⁸ Vislie. 2011, 47-54.

¹⁴⁹ Lange; Schreiner [red.]. 1947, 170-171; Hegland. 1994, 192 and 203.

¹⁵⁰ Lange; Schreiner [red.]. 1947, 167-168.

¹⁵¹ Lange; Schreiner [red.]. 1946, 329 and 333.

¹⁵² Lange; Schreiner [red.]. 1946, 329-330.

¹⁵³ Lange; Schreiner [red.]. 1946, 328 and 323.

the possibility of being murdered. This happened throughout the years until the capitulation of the German occupiers in 1945, but seemingly was only applied to political prisoners.¹⁵⁴ The women's ward was expanded during the summer of 1942, housing in August 118 women, extending their work as well to the vegetable fields outside and cleaning jobs and not just, laundry, kitchen and sewing which was all happening inside the buildings.¹⁵⁵ During the autumn of 1942 a number of Jewish women were sent to Grini as well, but just as a short stop before being sent further to concentration camps in Germany.¹⁵⁶ With an outbreak of diphtheria in 1943 in the women's ward they started up a bigger doctors ward than the existing one which only had space for six people. Here Ruth Madsen's stories of Grini collected in the first *Griniboken* describe the situation in the doctor's ward where everyone with any kind of disease was together in one room. She mentions as well that there were many women with STIs, specifically syphilis.¹⁵⁷ In 1943 there were also several cases of gonorrhoea among the male prisoners according to doctor Bjørg Fodstad. She claims that it was spread by two sex workers who used to escape their barrack at night. She also claims to have heard that the two sex workers had been attending parties of the Germans while being prisoners at Grini. It is not mentioned what happened to the men having been infected, but the two sex workers' punishment was to be locked in the basement.¹⁵⁸ In 1943 there were around 200 prisoners in the women's quarters and in 1944 it was already over 400, while the quarters were not expanded until spring 1944 with a new building and the fourth floor called *Fallskjermen* [parachute] with four-meter-tall beds. Another building was added to the women's ward again in spring 1945.¹⁵⁹ The age ranged from 15 to 75 and everyone who could was put to work.¹⁶⁰ Important for the women's ward

¹⁵⁴ Lange; Schreiner [red.]. 1946, 334-335.

There are mentions of people having a breakdown or more likely panic attack in the first *Griniboken*. Leading to some of them being sent to the hospital. See: Lange; Schreiner [red.]. 1946, 342.

¹⁵⁵ Lange; Schreiner [red.]. 1946, 337.

¹⁵⁶ Lange; Schreiner [red.]. 1946, 346.

¹⁵⁷ Lange; Schreiner [red.]. 1946, 355-357.

¹⁵⁸ Fodstad. 2001, 110-112.

¹⁵⁹ Lange; Schreiner [red.]. 1946, 31 and 366; Lange; Schreiner [red.]. 1947, 168; Vislie. 2011, 130-131.

Prisoner Randi Hognestad lived in these quarters and describes *Fallskjermen* filled with 79 prisoners in 1944 when she came to Grini, she claims she lived together with women who were affiliated in some way with the national socialists in the *Fallskjermen* and because of another diphtheria outbreak the quarters were made into an isolation ward. See: Jensen. 1986, 46.

¹⁶⁰ Lange; Schreiner [red.]. 1946, 360-362 and 378.

was the so-called *fingerspråk* [sign/finger language] with which they communicated without needing to speak, giving each other information and news, they had heard. This language was used in the whole camp. This is as well the way the news of the German capitulation spread through Grini.¹⁶¹ The capitulation led to the prisoners being released during the night of the 7th and 8th of May, but as the protocol made by the leaders of Grini shows this did not include sick women. It is not specified which diseases are meant with that, but for other camps like Espeland that rule was applied to women with STIs.¹⁶²

2.1.2 Espeland

The Polizeihäftlingslager Espeland was first called Ulven which was established with the occupation of Norway in 1940 and the first prisoners arrived presumably 1st of June.¹⁶³ As the internment camps in the North Tromsdalen/Krøkebørsletta and Sydspissen, the camp Espeland was built from scratch, partially build by prisoners from Ulven.¹⁶⁴ The total number of prisoners at Espeland was 2026 during the period 1943-1945 and 900 at Ulven between 1940 and 1943.¹⁶⁵ The camp Espeland was in the building process between 1942 and 1943. During 1943 both camps were in use until all prisoners were either send to Espeland, released or dead. Ulven internment camp was used mainly, as Sydspissen was as well, a step for prisoners who either had only a short sentence or were supposed to be send to Germany or a bigger camp like Grini. There are documents on thirteen prisoner transports to either Grini or Germany with varying numbers of prisoners send.¹⁶⁶ The camp commander was the person determining the treatment of the prisoners. If they were allowed to receive letters, what kind of food and work or if they were tortured or send to Germany or not. Insecurity determined the camp life.¹⁶⁷ This clearly shows how the prisoners were subject to one or a few persons authority over them. During the period 1944-1945 were also 120 women in the Espeland internment camp, divided

¹⁶¹ Lange; Schreiner [red.]. 1946, 279 and 385-388.

¹⁶² RA, Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD, F/Fa/Faa/L0031: Protokoll for Grini leirstyre, 1945, 3.

¹⁶³ Greve. 1978, 46.

¹⁶⁴ Stokke; Rødland. 2011, 23 and 25.

¹⁶⁵ Stokke; Rødland. 2011, 26.

¹⁶⁶ Stokke; Rødland. 2011, 30 and 75-76.

In November 1943 104 prisoners were sent away from Espeland while in January 1944 it was only nine who were transported to another camp. The transports continued until February 1945.

¹⁶⁷ Stokke; Rødland. 2011, 41.

in them who were arrested for working with the resistance and a smaller group of those who had STIs. The first woman was arrested and sent to Espeland was November 23rd, 1944, rather late compared to the men arrested. The youngest woman was 17 years old and the oldest was already 80. It was 80 women arrested for political reasons and 40 because of STIs.¹⁶⁸ Here Espeland is the one camp where there are clear numbers on how many women were arrested for STIs. The first woman who was arrested and sent to Espeland because of an STI was the December 30th, 1944. Her arrest was legitimized through the law, mentioned in chapter 1.4, of June 22nd, 1944, which allowed to arrest women for usually 3 months or up to 1-2 years if they had STIs. The goal was to prevent spreading these diseases to German soldiers. They did receive treatment for the disease they had inside the camp.¹⁶⁹ Historian Michael Stokke points out similarities between the conditions for women in the camp between Grini and Espeland. They lived isolated from the men in their own barrack, called barrack 5, that consisted of single cells.¹⁷⁰ The women arrested for political reasons were located on the opposite side to those with diseases and even though it was possible to move freely around inside the barrack, they stayed away from each other according to a description of prisoner Gunvor Mowinckel from 1970. Mowinckel was arrested and sent to Espeland because she and her family had hidden people from the national socialists in their attic.¹⁷¹ After Stokke's and Rødland's work the women with STIs were not allowed to work together with the other women as well. The work women in general were allowed to do was either in the kitchen, the laundry, fixing up and sewing clothes for other prisoners and cleaning tasks. As Grini the examples from Espeland show a similar approach to work and housing divided by gender and housing, if possible, divided by reason of arrest.

¹⁶⁸ Stokke; Rødland. 2011, 23, 70 and 89.

¹⁶⁹ Stokke; Rødland. 2011, 90. Papendorf. 2015,57: The paragraphs 7-10 allowed to imprison people who were already treated and healthy in work or internment camps or similar institutions up to one year (§7), if the person had been sick more than one time this period could be extended to two years (§8).

¹⁷⁰ Stokke; Rødland. 2011, 89.

¹⁷¹ Bergen byarkiv. Ma. 1802.MA 002. 0037. 03. Gunvor Mowinckel. 1970 i beretning til Bergen kommune; Stokke; Rødland. 2011, 89-90.

2.1.3 Falstad

Also in Falstad the work and housing was divided by gender and the women and men were not supposed to have contact but did it anyway.¹⁷² *SS-Strafgefangenenlager*, also called *Polizeihäftlingslager*, Falstad has been described as the most brutal camp in Norway.¹⁷³ Between the years 1942 and May 1945 there were 215 women in total imprisoned in Falstad, at most it was 50 women living there at once.¹⁷⁴ The women's quarters were located in the main house on the first floor.¹⁷⁵ Reitan and Nilssen mention in their first book on Falstad published in 2008 that the reasons of arrest ranged from political prisoners, hostages to sex workers and the so-called "German Girls". They also state that the other women were keeping their distance to those arrested for sex work and the "German Girls" since they assumed they were spies working for the Germans. There in fact were women who had been placed in the camp as spies but were found out as one by Reitan and Nilssen depicted case from Falstad shows.¹⁷⁶ They do not mention at all that there were women arrested and sent to Falstad based on having STIs. The prisoner registers made at Falstad show that even though Reitan and Nilssen do not mention this group of prisoners, they did in fact exist. Besides the women arrested for being "asocial", at least six women were sent to Falstad with a clear sentence that states they were arrested for spreading an STI and were supposed to be detained for three months.¹⁷⁷ There might have been more women this applied to, but all the names under the letter S are missing from the registers. For giving an example of what the registers states as reason for arrestation, the sentences usually stated: "*Verbreitung von Geschlechtskrankheiten. 3 Monate KZ*".¹⁷⁸ [Spreading of STIs. 3 months concentration camp/KZ]. It is interesting that the description uses the term KZ which stands for concentration camp in German and not another camp category. Another example on reasons of arrest from one of the prisoner cards is: "*Liederlicher Lebenswandel u. Infezierung*

¹⁷² Reitan; Nilssen. 2021, 51-52; Reitan; Nilssen. 2008, 41-42.

¹⁷³ Reitan; Nilssen. 2021,130.

¹⁷⁴ Reitan; Nilssen. 2021, 51-52.

¹⁷⁵ Reitan; Nilssen. 2008, 41.

¹⁷⁶ Reitan; Nilssen. 2008, 41; Reitan; Nilssen. 2021, 53.

¹⁷⁷ RA, Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD, F/Fc/L0005: Fangeregister Falstad: Hansen F. - Hå, 1941-1945, 1108; RA, Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD, F/Fc/L0006: Fangeregister Falstad: I - Kj, 1941-1945; RA, Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD, F/Fc/L0008: Fangeregister Falstad: Lindb - Nettet, 1941-1945; RA, Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD, F/Fc/L0010: Fangeregister Falstad: R - Tølche og Tønseth, 1941-1945.

¹⁷⁸ RA, Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD, F/Fc/L0006: Fangeregister Falstad: I - Kj, 1941-1945.

v. *Soldaten*”.¹⁷⁹ [Disgusting way of life and infection of soldiers]. The woman with this description was arrested in April 1945 and was released May 8th with the capitulation of Germany.¹⁸⁰ While some state clearly that the arrest was because of the spreading of a disease, there is one that just states “*geschlechtskrank*” [sexually transmitted disease] as reason of arrest.¹⁸¹

Interviews with the women imprisoned at Falstad give an insight into how the women’s quarters and work were remembered as well. As one woman describes: «*Kvinnene var ikke-personer. Vi var jo bare murt inne og leiet ned i denne trange kjelleren ... ned i vaskekjelleren ... vi så jo ikke lyset ... og opp igjen, og spise den maten som var da, og til sengs. Og det var jo ikke noe annet.*»¹⁸² [Women were non-people. We were just locked in and lived in this tight basement...down in the laundry basement...we did not see the light...and up again to eat the food that was there, and to bed. There was just nothing else.]. Even though descriptions like these are subjective experiences they fit as an experience of the strict rules. As in the other camps women were usually only inside occupied with work only interrupted by “*luftepause*”, which can be literally translated to “air-break”.¹⁸³ The work entailed doing laundry, working in the kitchen or with fixing other prisoners’ clothes, like they did as well in Grini and Espeland. They were first allowed to work in winter 1942, leaving everyone who was imprisoned before locked up in their rooms comparable to a regular prison.¹⁸⁴ On the topic of diseases and prevention of infectious diseases, as in Grini in 1943, there was a diphtheria outbreak that led to an increased activity in the doctor’s ward and the need to isolate prisoners from everyone else. Mental illnesses did as well contribute to reduced health among prisoners leading also to suicide attempts and suicide.¹⁸⁵ There are statements made in interviews that state that the worst attacks on women by, often drunk, guards happened before they were sent to Falstad and were detained in the women’s prison in *Munkegata* in Trondheim. Most women who ended up in

¹⁷⁹ RA, Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD, F/Fc/L0010: Fangeregister Falstad: R - Tølche og Tønseth, 1941-1945.

¹⁸⁰ RA, Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD, F/Fc/L0010: Fangeregister Falstad: R - Tølche og Tønseth, 1941-1945.

¹⁸¹ RA, Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD, /F/Fc/L0006: Fangeregister Falstad: I - Kj, 1941-1945.

¹⁸² F-00213-002-002, Intervju med NA. Intervjuere Sverre Krüger og Tone Jørstad, Utskrift februar 2013, 15.

¹⁸³ Reitan; Nilssen. 2021, 54.

¹⁸⁴ Reitan; Nilssen. 2008, 41-42.

¹⁸⁵ Reitan; Nilssen. 2008, 68-69.

Falstad had been detained there before being sent to Falstad. One woman's description suggests that it included sexual assaults.¹⁸⁶ It is difficult in these cases to get hold of reliable sources and proof since the most insightful sources are interviews with former prisoners.

2.1.4 Tromsdalen

Tromsdalen internment camp was also called Krøkebørsletta based on an old name for the flat area North of the Tromsdal river in the valley Tromsdalen. The name was not commonly used after World War Two, a report from 2007 made by Tromsø county suggests it might be because of the association to the *Polizeihäftlingslager* that was located there.¹⁸⁷ Although the archive material on this camp uses the name Tromsdalen not Krøkebørsletta, which would speak against this theory.¹⁸⁸ Before the year 1942 the internment camp for political prisoners, including Jewish prisoners, was in the South of Tromsø Island called Sydspissen. The prisoners of Sydspissen were forced to build their own barracks starting in spring 1941.¹⁸⁹ Until autumn 2022 there was public remembrance of the internment camp from where the Jews living in Tromsø at the time were deported to Germany and murdered. The Sydspissen camp became too small for the prisoners and July 1st, 1942, the prisoners were transferred to the bigger camp located in Tromsdalen, called either Tromsdalen or Krøkebørsletta. Between the July 1942 and May 1945 there had been about 2487 prisoners imprisoned in the *Polizeihäftlingslager*, arrested for different reasons such as political work against the national socialists, being Jewish, being a soviet war prisoner, or just being an irritation for the NS regime in Tromsø.¹⁹⁰ Some were being held hostage because of the political actions of relatives, for example work for the rebellion or fleeing to the political neutral country Sweden.¹⁹¹ The prisoner lists show that it was at least over 20 women interned there at the time, over half of them were sent further south

¹⁸⁶ F-00213-002-002, Intervju med NA. Intervjuere Sverre Krüger og Tone Jørstad, Utskrift februar 2013, 10; Reitan; Nilssen. 2021, 55.

¹⁸⁷ Sandøy. 2007, 5.

¹⁸⁸ For example, the prisoner registered at Tromsø state archive: SATØ/SATØ-28/1/M/Me/L2374, Navneliste Fangeleiren Tromsdalen; SATØ/SATØ-28/1/M/Me/L2375.

¹⁸⁹ Fagertun [ed.]. 2022, 264-266; Ytreberg. 1971, 609- 610; Evjen [ed.], 436-437.; Christensen; Pedersen. 1995, 463; NOU 1998: 12, 186.

¹⁹⁰ Evjen [ed.]. 2022, 524-525; Christensen; Pedersen. 1995, 463-464.

¹⁹¹ Evjen [ed.]. 2022, 436-437 and 498. Evjen shows the reader the complex aftermath of the prisoners held hostage because of a family member fleeing to Sweden.

to either Grini or Falstad, and in one case Vollan prison.¹⁹² Other women who were involved in political actions against the NS occupation were sent to prison in Tromsø and not to the internment camp.¹⁹³ The camp consisted of three prisoner barracks, which were located where *Tromstun* Middle School is located today. Further down at the road next to *Evjenvegen* were barracks and housing for the guards working for the *Waffen-SS*.¹⁹⁴

There are a few published accounts by women who were imprisoned in Tromsdalen. There seemingly were no women with STIs at Tromsdalen during the war, but first after the German occupation ended. It still seemed important to add a chapter on Tromsdalen and the conditions for women, since there are only a few publications that mention the *Polizeihäftlingslager* until today. One of the published accounts on the life at Tromsdalen for women is the one by Turid Erikstad Bårnes who was arrested and sent to Tromsdalen November 17th, 1944, together with her sister Tordis Juliussen and the woman who was about to become her sister-in-law, Anna Erikstad.¹⁹⁵ The brothers of Turid and Tordis had been involved with two other telegraphers in illegal radio broadcasts starting in 1942 with news from the exile government in England, they were arrested because of these activities, making them all political prisoners. All of them were sent to Grini in January of 1945.¹⁹⁶ Turid's descriptions including the housing conditions for women. Four women shared a cell at the time, they had mattresses no beds and woollen blankets with a *Hakenkreuz* on it. She claims that the name "Get[h]semane" was as well used for the camp (which is the word in Hebrew for "place of great suffering"), but this name does not show up in any other documents.¹⁹⁷ They were usually locked inside the cell besides one toilet break in the morning. Otherwise, the toilet was a bucket. The toilet break was used to communicate with the other, male, prisoners that they were otherwise isolated from, and to trade news and food.¹⁹⁸ Other sources show how women

¹⁹² SATØ/SATØ-28/1/M/Me/L2374, Navneliste Fangeleiren Tromsdalen; SATØ/SATØ-28/1/M/Me/L2375.

¹⁹³ Christensen; Pedersen. 1995, 465; Fjørtoft. 1981, 117-124. Journalist Kjell Fjørtoft describes the arrestations following the action on Arnøy in Northern Norway including the punishment involved women received. The war court in this case was held at the internment camp Tromsdalen/Krøkebørsletta.

¹⁹⁴ Sandøy. 2007, 12; Ytreberg. 1971, 616.

¹⁹⁵ Bårnes. 1992, 44.

¹⁹⁶ Bårnes. 1992, 46-48.

¹⁹⁷ Bårnes. 1992, 44.

¹⁹⁸ Bårnes. 1992, 45.

Turid Erikstad Bårnes descriptions compare well to another personal publication made by Aslaug Bjørnsund. See: Bjørnsund. 1996.

were arrested and sent to Krøkebørsletta for political actions like giving food to soviet prisoners.¹⁹⁹ A few days before the German capitulation, May 5th, 1945, the prisoners of Krøkebørsletta were moved south in a coal boat with the name “Morgo” down to Narvik by the orders of Sipo. Possibly as a last attempt to work against Norwegian rebellion and the Red Army coming from the North. Most of them were placed in the internment camp Djupvik or put to work to unload coal in Narvik. They were transferred back 5 days later to Tromsø after the end of the war and occupation.²⁰⁰ The internment had their consequences as interviews show, both psychological and physical.²⁰¹

2.1.5 Chapter findings

To summarize the conditions for women at the four camps one can say that at all four of them their life was rather isolated and prison-like, while the most prison-like for women seemed to have been Tromsdalen. The conditions of work and housing varied from camp to camp and year to year, but were usually divided by gender and if possible, reason of arrestation. Increasing prisoner numbers turned the housing very crowded. If people were caught in something the camp rules forbid, or if one had an STI, the punishment could be being sent to a cell in the basement or in general a single cell. Women with STIs were, even though it was not a written rule in any of the camps, kept away from other prisoners. It is unclear based on the available sources to what degree women who had an STI were put to work and if so if they were working together with other women. What they all have in common is that they only got scheduled “air-breaks” during the day where they were allowed outside. When put to work, the work was gendered, and tasks included what was perceived as typical “women’s work” at the

¹⁹⁹ Evjen [ed.]. 2022, 100.

²⁰⁰ Ytreberg. 1971, 641- 642.

²⁰¹ As an interview with a female prisoner in Falstad shows did people both suffer from psychological consequences and others. This interview mentions a woman who was as well a prisoner in Tromsdalen before being sent to Falstad F-00213-002-002, Intervju med NA, Intervjuere Sverre Krüger og Tone Jørstad, Utskrift februar 2013, 7: «[...] en som hette I.D. Og det verste som hendte for henne, det var jo når de kom med barnet på besøk like før Freden, vet du. Og jeg glemmer det aldri, for det var liksom hun forsto at hun fikk ikke lov å beholde barnet, de prøvde å skulle adoptere det bort. Og jeg vet ikke den dag i dag hvordan det har gått med henne. Og jeg har tenkt på ... mannen hennes satt på dødsdom på Akershus, men jeg har hørt at han var en av de få som ikke ble skutt, at han kom levende ut. Men hun hadde trøbbel med nervene hele tiden altså».

time. Usually including tasks like laundry, working in the kitchen and cleaning. Sex workers seem to be sent to work, as there are several claims at Grini and Falstad that they were attending parties at the Germans at night. Men and women at all the four camps were not allowed to be in any sort of contact, making it forbidden to look at each other or speak. Effectively, men and women did still communicate with for example the sign language at Grini.

2.2 Perspectives by inmates on women with sexually transmitted infections

This section of the chapter is based on the method and theory of CDA. The aim is to show how women with STIs were described by other prisoners and what the use of language reveals regarding stigma and discrimination based on gender and health and how these intersect with another. The analysed sources are mainly interviews, published and unpublished, by both male and female prisoners. There are unfortunately no descriptions from Tromsdalen before the end of the war and occupation, so this section will only deal with three prison camps.

2.2.1 Grini

As presented in the previous chapter, women were usually separated from the men in the camps and the women who were there for a disease were as well avoided by the other women if they were not already separated by them through the housing conditions. An insightful source on Grini are the two volumes of *Griniboken*, which are going to be subject to CDA here. *Griniboken* is a collection of stories from former Grini prisoners edited by August Lange and published right after the war in 1946 and 1947. It is not a reliable source in the sense of historical facts, but it is in the sense of getting an insight of how women with STIs were talked about at Grini. Since CDA aims to emphasize on the meaning of language and analyse what words can tell us about beliefs, values, and assumptions and how they relate to the social, political, and historical context, *Griniboken* is a useful source.

One conversation recalled in the first *Griniboken* between a female guard and a woman imprisoned at Grini give the reader a concrete insight into the fear of STI's among the prisoners. The prisoner Margrete Aamot Øverland pointed out to their guard that a recently arrested woman who had been send to 'one of the best cells' was a sex worker arrested for stealing from a German and after the words of the prisoner 'needed to be send to the doctors ward because she might just have an STI'. The conversation in Norwegian was recalled like this:

*“En annen gang kom det en svært elegant, sminket og melankolsk fange, som uten videre ble plassert på en av de beste cellene. Tillitsmannen gikk da til Freyer og ba om at den nye fangen straks kunne bli lægeundersøkt. ‘Hvorfor?’ ‘jo, jeg er redd hun er venerisk syk’ ‘Was meist du sie ist doch eine Dame!’ ‘Nei, hun er nok ikke det. Hun er arrestert som mistenkt for å ha stjålet penger fra en tysk soldat som overnattet hos henne’.”*²⁰²

Following this up the guard apologized for having judged the situation wrong adding: *“‘Har jeg kunne ta så feil? Men klærne, smykkene, hele fremtoningen – ‘Bare imitasjon alt sammen [...]’”*.²⁰³ According to Øverland’s account did the woman in question have syphilis.²⁰⁴ In this situation the prisoners managed, through their trustee, to express a fear of STIs. When focusing on the specific mentioning of that she was sent to “one of the best cells” could also be read as a sign of jealousy or reaction towards unfair treatment, expressing that a sex worker does not belong there, but somewhere worse. This gives an indication of hierarchy among prisoners. The quote also gives an insight into her supposed looks, as the prisoners describe her as elegant and using jewellery and make-up. Her looks are also interpreted or claimed to be imitation and a way to sneak herself into a better position within the camp, according to the trustee: *“Men klærne, smykkene, hele fremtoningen – ‘Bare imitasjon alt sammen [...]’”*.²⁰⁵ This quote insinuates also that one can determine a sex worker or STI infected person by their looks. In another example Øverland describes how the prisoners and their trustee worked together to remove an older woman from sharing a cell with two sex workers, whom she calls *“gatepiker”*.²⁰⁶ The general negative attitude towards sex workers becomes clear through another statement by the same prisoner that during the summer of 1941 there were only women

²⁰² Lange; Schreiner [ed.]. 1946, 329. Translation: Another time a very elegant, in make-up and melancholy prisoner, was placed just like that in one of the best cells. The trustee went and asked Freyer [the women’s guard] and asked her to send the women to be checked by a doctor. ‘Why?’ ‘I am afraid she might have a venereal disease’ ‘but isn’t she a lady?’ ‘No, she is not. She was arrested because she is suspected to have stolen money from a German who slept over at hers.’”

²⁰³ Lange; Schreiner [ed.]. 1946, 329: Translation: “‘Could I have been so wrong? But the clothes, jewellery, her whole look’ ‘it is all just imitation.’”

²⁰⁴ Lange; Schreiner [ed.]. 1946, 329.

²⁰⁵ Lange; Schreiner [ed.]. 1946, 329.

²⁰⁶ Lange; Schreiner [ed.]. 1946, 329.

at Grini one could rely on, since all the sex workers and “Hird-Girls” had been released or transferred.²⁰⁷ The original quote from *Griniboken* is:

*“Belegget var i denne tida helt nede i 18 kvinner. Hirdjentene og gatepikene var løslatt eller overført til andre fengsler for å sone straff. Vi hadde bare ordentlige folk, som kunne stole på hverandre i ett og alt, og kameratskapet var det aller beste. Det var gode dager.”*²⁰⁸

Especially expressive here is the use of words “Vi hadde bare ordentlige folk [...]” [We only had decent people]. Followed by the expression that they could trust each other “*som kunne stole på hverandre*” and to almost exaggerate that the ‘comradery was the best’ “*og kameratskapet var det aller beste*” and ‘those were good days’ “*Det var gode dager*”. This example indicates as well that there was a bond between prisoners, but sex workers were excluded from that comradery, since they were perceived as not trustworthy. The statement indicates a Us versus Them approach towards sex workers. Another account made by a male prisoner shows a similar attitude towards prisoners who were arrested for other reasons than political work against the national socialists. He states that at Grini were: “*Foruten de politiske fanger var det mange tøser og tvilsomme individer [...]*”²⁰⁹ The presented statement above show again an Us versus Them attitude and narrative, dividing inmates into political prisoners and “*tøser*” and “shady individuals”. The word “*tøser*” is short for “*tyskertøser*” and indicates the woman was arrested but also if one takes the word by its meaning had a relationship with a German, which was during the war not a reason to arrest a woman, but first after the war had ended. This might be an indication that the word “*tøser*” was applied to women who were sex workers during the war and/or arrested for spreading STIs. This theory will become more likely when considering all the examples presented in this chapter.

²⁰⁷ Hird-Girls or in the original *hirdjentene*, refers to the girls or women who were a member of the Norwegian NS youth organisation *Jentehirden*, also written *Gjentehirden*, that was a part of *NS- Ungdomsfylking* a youth branch of the Norwegian national socialist party *Nasjonal Samling (NS)*.

Lange; Schreiner [ed.]. 1946, 328.

²⁰⁸ Lange; Schreiner [ed.]. 1946, 328. Translation: “The inmates were down to 18 women at the time. The Hird-Girls and Street-Girls had been released or had been send to other prisons to serve their sentence. We had only decent people and could trust another in everything, the comradery was the best. Those were good days.”

²⁰⁹ Blichfeldt; Rønning; Thorud, 1946, 94: Translation: “Besides the political prisoners there were many *tøser* and shady individuals [...]”

The next example shows that there were also more nuanced attitudes towards sex workers at Grini. The informant describes an incident where a sex worker and Hird-Girl tried to escape Grini, but was caught, because two other prisoners in the women's quarters told the guards. Her descriptions entail a short recaption of the discussion among the women after if it wasn't culpable in the original the Norwegian word "*forkastelig*" is used to tell on another women. In this example from *Griniboken* the same woman who had expressed herself about how in 1941 there were just women they could trust at Grini, judges here the two women who told the guards someone was escaping, for their lack of comradery.²¹⁰ This presents a small contradiction in her narrative and shows possibly that she had a more nuanced moral approach to sex workers and Hird-Girls, when debating a case. The same inmate described the 1940 Christmas celebration and stated that the guards allowed two "*gatepike*", a Norwegian synonym for sex worker, to join the celebration. They were otherwise locked in the basement for infection prevention. While using the word *gatepike*, that can be literally translated to "street girl", the discourse here on the two women with STI's doesn't show the previous discriminatory choice of words and narrative that separated them from the other prisoners. The other female prisoner, Ruth Madsen, who got her experiences published in the first *Griniboken* describes the queues of women with STI's waiting for their medicine. She calls them "*syf-jenter*" [syf – girls]. *Syf* stands for syphilis, but the term is not further explained by her.²¹¹ She emphasizes that there were many women with STI's in the camp and a recalled conversation between one woman with syphilis and one with diabetes. This conversation can show how some women with STI's talked openly about their disease. Madsen recalled:

“En ung pike med sukkersyke sto i sprøytekø sammen med noen syf-jenter. Da en av dem kom ut, holdt hun seg på det sprøytede sted og sa: ‘Faen og, å mange sprøyter ska en ha, jeg tror jeg har fått tredve.’ ‘ Det er vel ikke så mange’ sier sukkersyken blidt, ‘jeg har fått over tusen’. Da stråler den første opp og sier ‘Jøss, har du syf, du og’.”²¹²

²¹⁰ Lange; Schreiner [ed.]. 1946, 329.

²¹¹ Lange; Schreiner [ed.]. 1946, 357.

²¹² Lange; Schreiner [ed.]. 1946, 357. Translation: A young women with diabetes stood in line for the injections with some of the syf-girls. One of them came out [of the office] and hold her hand on the place of injection and said "Shit, how many injections is one to get, I think I have gotten 30". The one with diabetes answered politely

What Madsen described does not necessary reflect a real conversation, but it can be read as presenting a picture of women with STI's who were complaining about their treatment. It shows also how through the term *syf* and *syf-jenter* women with an STI were described with specific terms but possibly also used the shortage *syf* for syphilis themselves. The terms for women with STIs were overlapping with terms for sex workers, Hird-Girls and so-called "German Girls". In interviews made with former female inmates of Falstad, one of them also recalls her time at Grini and answers on the question of STIs there:

*"[...] der ble jo masse gatejenter eller tyskertøser som vi kalte dem, som da hadde smittet tyskerne for eksempel eller... Og annet kriminelt ... de ble jo satt inn sammen med oss, fordi da kunne de angi oss hvis vi snakker om noe og sånn, for å få bedre...[...]."*²¹³

This informant states clearly that they called "*gatejenter*" [street girls] "*tyskertøser*" instead. She also makes the connection that those sex workers were at Grini for having infected a German with an STI if it was not for another crime. She also takes up the allegations of them working as spies for the German, but here for their own interests. This fits with the allegations women made at Falstad (see chapter 2.1.3).

The second *Griniboken* contains an interesting choice of words by the doctor Astrid Lange Amlie, describing sex workers she had checked when arriving at Grini for STI's with the term "*gatepikeelementene*". This term can be roughly translated to "street girl elements". Which doesn't just reduce women who earned money with sex work to girls but also elements which can be read as reducing them further to things or subjects than actual people.²¹⁴ All the previous examples show as well how the prisoner categories of sex worker and women with STI's overlapped mainly. This makes sense when recalling the treatment and persecution of sex workers and people with STIs in general throughout the 19th and 20th century, especially with strategies like regulationism. The blending of the terms "*tyskerjentene*" or "*tyskertøsene*" into

"Well, that is not that much, I have gotten over thousand". Which makes the other one smile and say "Shit, have you Syf as well?"

²¹³ Falstad Centre. F-00520-001-001. Intervju med NN, Utskrift februar 2013, 5: Translation: "There were a lot of street prostitutes or German-Girls there, that's how we called them. They had infected the Germans for example or done something else criminal. They were put together with us because then they could spy and tell on us if we talked about something, so they could get it better..."

²¹⁴ Lange; Schreiner [ed.]. 1947, 170; Hegland. 1989, 203.

the terms for sex workers like “*gatepike*” or “*gatejente*” and infected women is present in the next example as well. Prisoner Helge Wåle claimed that the German guards working for the SD and Sipo had a fun life being guards with drinking and having Norwegian “*tøser*” around, specifically mentioning here *SS-Untersturmführer* Walter Niebel. He claims as well that guards were repeatedly out sick, officially with a kidney disease, but Wåle claims it was STIs.²¹⁵ There are, after my knowledge, no available sources to prove if these statements could be correct or are just claims. If in this case they are correct or partially correct it would emphasize the gendered treatment of ST infections where women were seen as the source of infection and punished, while the men were just treated for the disease.

Johan Borgen was another prisoner at Grini who was able to publish his experiences and stories from that time in a book called “*Dager på Grini*” [Days at Grini] in already 1945. The book was written in 1941 and 1942 while he was imprisoned and is full of his own opinions and impressions. While he doesn’t describe women with STIs does he describe the women during their break in the yard. Objectifying them and comparing them to school kids.²¹⁶

Another insightful and newer publication of memories from Grini is the one published in 2011 by mother and daughter Gerda and Elisabeth Vislie. While telling Gerda’s stories from her two periods at Grini, the duo also describes sex workers and women with STIs with word choices of words and narratives that can only be described as discriminating and influenced by prejudice. Vislie who had been after her account the first time been falsely arrested instead of other teenagers that had been working against the national socialists. Vislie describes the female prisoners at Grini, stating that Grini was not filled by good and decent Norwegians but NS people, criminals, and sex workers. “*Hvis man ute trodde at Grini bare var befolket av gode og skikkelige nordmenn, så tok man feil Her fantes alt fra NS-medlemmer, kriminelle elementer og forkomne gatepike, til mer diffuse angivere.*”²¹⁷ Vislie literally used the words «criminal elements» and the word “*forkomne*” that can be translated to rotten, here “rotten prostitutes”. While complaining about the sex workers and their hard use of language at Grini, she uses harsh

²¹⁵ Lange; Schreiner [ed.]. 1947, 12.

²¹⁶ Borgen. 1945, 61: «*Der kommer også Leoparden, som en tid satte sinnene sterkt i bevegelse på mannssiden. Uaktet hun har en notorisk ekte leopardpels er det mange som har påstått den bare er kanin [...] To og to som venninner i skolegården farer de runden rundt, kikker seg omkring, hilser kanskje stjålet til en kar i skogsgjengen på den andre siden av gjerdet.*»

²¹⁷ Vislie. 2011, 78. Translation: If one thought that Grini housed good and decent Norwegians, than one was wrong. Here there were NS-members, criminal elements, rotten prostitutes, and other traitors.

words to describe them as well, when stating that they were an additional weight to the general heavy life as a prisoner at Grini. Claiming that it was the Germans who decided to send sex workers there was well to make the prisoner life harder.²¹⁸ While several inmates at Falstad and Grini claim that some women were sent there as spies for the German, there is no proof that women who were sex workers or criminals were sent to Grini to make others life harder. Vislie's statements can almost be described as delusional here and describe only her personal experience. Vislie like Øverland, Madsen and Amlie use consequently the word “*gatepike*” to describe women who were at Grini for non-political reasons.²¹⁹ Vislie claims that sex workers that came to Grini usually had STIs, lice and scabies, describing them as “*nedkjørt*” [run down], claiming that they might even have liked Grini because they got free food and housing. While these are all claims and personal opinions expressed by Vislie, her descriptions of them being first locked in the basement for a period before being allowed upstairs fit with the descriptions published in the first *Griniboken* and might have been reality.²²⁰ Other words Vislie used to describe sex workers, which here seem to be again thrown in the same category as STI infected women, are “*gates løse fugler*” [loose street birds], and interestingly also the pitying expression “*stakkarene*” [poor ones] when mentioning how they got locked up in the basement.²²¹ While depicting them as rotten, loose and run down she also describes them as “crazy for men”. This opinion is illustrated with an anecdote of a woman flashing some male prisoners.²²²

Again, it becomes visible how the words “*gatepike*” and “*tyskertøs*” or just “*tøs*” are in some cases thrown together and the differences are not clearly defined, meaning both women working for the Germans, being a sex worker or having an STI. Another example for mixing of these terms are the stories by Randi Hognestad published in Johan Jensens “*De nære årene*”, in contrast to the previous examples she states her definition of the word “*tøser*” when asked by the interviewer. “*De nære årene*” is a book consisting of personal accounts collected through interviews of the war years published in 1986. Hognestad was sent to Falstad, more about that

²¹⁸ Vislie. 2011, 78. «Vi trodde i hvert fall at tyskernes hensikt med å sette inn gatepiker på Grini skulle være akkurat det, en ytterligere belastning.» [We thought at least that the Germans goal by adding ‘street-girls’ to Grini was just that, another weight.]

²¹⁹ Vislie. 2011, 78-79.

²²⁰ Vislie. 2011, 79.

²²¹ Vislie. 2011, 79.

²²² Vislie. 2011, 79-80.

in the following section, but she also sends to Grini after her arrest at Falstad.²²³ Hognestad was arrested for her political activities in 1944. She described that she, her husband, and brother-in-law were sent first to the prisons Vollan, for the men, and *Munkegata*, for her. She claims it was just her and 52 other women in the prison who she called “*tøser*”.²²⁴ The interview host follows up on her using the word “*tøser*”, leading to her elaborating: “*Enten hadde de stjålet fra tyskerne eller så hadde de skulket arbeid hos dem eller så hadde de smittet dem med veneriske sykdommer. De siste medførte nemlig straff.*”²²⁵ [Either they had stolen from the Germans, or they had not shown up to work while working for them or they had given them venereal diseases.]. As well as to the more negative descriptions of “*tøser*”, she also recalls crying together with a “*tyskertøs*” called Else when the war and occupation ended, and they were released from Grini. She describes Else as “*så god og snill*” [so good and sweet] and that she had a child with a German, which fits more the general understanding of the word “*tyskertøs*”.²²⁶ This shows a mixed understanding of the word “*tyskertøs*” that does not match with the understanding of the afterwar understanding of the word, which was usually used for Norwegian women having worked or had relations and/or children with Germans. She also clearly mentions that women who spread STIs were punished, usually with arrest in a camp or prison. The use of the word “*tøs*” in Hognestad’s stories is similar to the one Helge Wåle uses. It is unclear if the use of the words “*tøs*”, “*tyskertøsene*” and “*tyskerjentene*” started already during the war or if the use of these words after the war has influenced the publications and interviews about the war made in later years, like in this case the 1980s. Her descriptions of Grini claim that 40% of the prisoners are “*tøser*”, after her definition. Being 14 women on the boat that moved them to Grini, she claims it was just four of them being arrested for political reasons while the rest was “*tøser*”.²²⁷ She emphasizes on them being dirty, both in the sense of having lice and scabies and being promiscuous.²²⁸ Hognestad alludes to sex work happening within Grini, or some kind of transaction between female prisoners and guards. Its not clear if it was forced or voluntarily. “*Flere av tøsene ble om kvelden last ut av avdelingen og inn til de tyskevaktmannskapene. Det var fast takst. Om morgenen dukket de opp med en pakke smør,*

²²³ Jensen [ed.]. 1986, 46.

²²⁴ Jensen [ed.]. 1986, 41.

²²⁵ Jensen [ed.]. 1986, 48.

²²⁶ Jensen [ed.]. 1986, 48.

²²⁷ Jensen [ed.]. 1986, 46.

²²⁸ Jensen [ed.]. 1986, 46-47.

noen egg eller et eller annet i den retning."²²⁹ She describes this as a regular activity, and follows up on that story of transactions between guards and prisoners with a story about four of them having sex with polish prisoners through the grid in the basement that divided the men's and women's quarters. "*Fire av dem hadde en ettermiddag lukket seg inn i vaskekjelleren og hatt samleie med noen polakker gjennom gitteret som skilte dem fra mannsavdelingen.*"²³⁰ Emphasizing again like also Vislie did the promiscuity of some female prisoners through specific stories about them. Like Vislie, Hognestad describes women who either were sex workers, had STIs, were affiliated with the national socialists through organisations like the "Hird" or all the above as violent with words and physical and dominant. "*Noe nav tøsene var svært dominerende, og kom man i veien for dem, hendte det at de bare slo.*"²³¹ She emphasized as well that some of them were also 'very nice and sweet people'.²³² Again creating, like the previous examples, an 'us versus them' narrative, and it needs to be emphasized by her that there were exceptions and some of them were decent and sweet and humans like them: "*Men samtidig var de som oss, mennesker på godt og ondt. Noen var riktig søte, fine mennesker.*"²³³ There are other accounts for example the one made by Bjørg Fogstad of women who were used by the guards for their services as sex workers. Fogstad describes her own experiences at Grini as a political prisoner but mentions how in 1945 the STI gonorrhoea had been spread in the men's quarters. The source was seen in two women who had been active sex workers in the camp, seemingly both for the guards and some male prisoners.²³⁴ Fogstad uses both the word "*gatepikene*" and "*jentene*" for the two women in question. Writing specifically that they used to call them mainly "girls", in Norwegian: "*jentene*".²³⁵ After being caught for their work the two women were locked up in the laundry basement instead of the barrack, so an escape was made impossible. After having turned on the water over night and having flooded the basement to rebel against being locked up, Fogstad describes her as "*flott*" [nice/great]. It was Bjørg

²²⁹ Jensen [ed.]. 1986, 46: Translation: Several of the 'German-Girls' were let out in the evening and send to the German guards quarters. This was routine. In the morning the showed up again with some butter or some eggs or something like that.

²³⁰ Jensen [ed.]. 1986, 46.

²³¹ Jensen [ed.]. 1986, 46-47.

²³² Jensen [ed.]. 1986, 47.

²³³ Jensen [ed.]. 1986, 47: Translation: But simultaneously were they, like us, humans for better or worse.

²³⁴ Fogstad. 2001, 110.

²³⁵ Fogstad. 2001, 110.

Fogstad who discovered the flooded basement and is an eyewitness to the scene following. According to Fogstad “*Erteblomst*” stood up to the *Lagerkommandant* Kunze when she was supposed to be punished for her actions, ending up defending herself against his whip with a lock of a laundrysteamer. As any eyewitness account, they are not a reliable source, but what Fogstad saw made her describe “*Erteblomst*” as a rebel, *flott*, and saying she admired her.²³⁶ Fogstad claims that the scene ended with “*Erteblomst*” and Kunze flirting and sees this as the reason for “*Erteblomst*” possibly being released from Grini. She uses the words; “*Erteblomst kunne kunsten å bedåre mannfolk.*” A sentence that will show up later again in chapter 3.2.²³⁷ Ending this chapter with some positive accounts on a woman who was both a sex worker and was assumed to be had STIs. The accounts from Grini show that there are terms like “*gatepike/jentene*”, “*tyskertøsene/jentene*” or just “*tøser*” are intertextual and are dominant in most accounts from the camp, as well as the other camps as the next sections will show.

2.2.2 Espeland

There is little information on Espeland when it comes to the discourse on women with STIs, but there is a little information collected by Rødland and Stokke that gives an insight on the view of other inmates. Based on an interview with the prisoner Kjell Simonsen, Stokke and Rødland describe an incident where the women with STIs were to manually empty all the toilet buckets, since the toilets had a broken pipe and could not be used that day. That this task was supposed to be done by them was decided by another prisoner, former police constable Johan Sætrum-Jørgensen, who oversaw and delegated work.²³⁸ That another prisoner had the power to decide that exactly this group of prisoners was supposed to take on this task, gives an insight into a power dynamic among different group of prisoners at Espeland. Those with STIs were deemed lower in the prisoner hierarchy, a hierarchy where political male prisoners were on top, women with STIs could be decided over by, in this case, a political prisoner, and as a former police constable, possibly was used to have the authority over others.

On May 8th, 1945, the camp was taken over by the Norwegian police in Bergen. After the German capitulation all prisoners were released, besides thirty men and women. Fourteen women who were not released because they had an STI.²³⁹ Stokke and Rødland mention two

²³⁶ Fogstad. 2001, 111.

²³⁷ Fogstad. 2001, 111-112.

²³⁸ Stokke; Rødland. 2011, 91-93; Fanger.no. Johan Sætrum-Jørgensen: <https://www.fanger.no/persons/32023>.

²³⁹ Stokke; Rødland. 2011, 112-113.

women concretely who have had sex with Germans and contracted STIs. These cases are documented because they became a “*landssvikssak*” [traitor case] after the occupation had ended and the Norwegian government took over again. Both cases state that the women contracted the disease from their partners not the other way around.²⁴⁰ The book by Stokke and Rødland also contains a poem on “*tyskerjentene*” made by Victor Nøstedal og Norman Senneseth called “*Eier du ikke stolhet i livet?*” [Do you have no pride (in your life)?] Which is a nationalist and rather aggressively written poem on Norwegian women who had a relationship with a German. In the poem the women who went out with a German are called “*gatepike*” [street girl] meaning that they are sex workers. Additionally, the poem calls them just “*pike*” [girl] and the poem asks the question what her parents would think: “*dine foreldrene har intet å si?*”²⁴¹ Indicating how they were perceived as young and not independent by the author, and as will become clear in chapter 3.1 this view on “German Girls” was rather persistent in the Norwegian society in the years following World War Two. More on this will be presented in that chapter.

2.2.3 Falstad

On the way from Falstad to Grini prisoner Randi Hognestad describes an incident that expresses the perceived promiscuity of those who she called “*tøser*”. She tells the story of being in a boat with 13 other women and 7-8 German guards, claiming 12 of them were “*tøser*” and one who had word for Milorg and had been arrested for that. Hognestad depicts that they were pressed in a small room and since one of the “*tøser*” had gotten hold of a bottle of high-proof liquor, Hognestad claims that the situation turned into an orgy between “*tøser*” and guards. “*Stemningen steg, som det heter. Noen ble temmelig fulle o getter hvert utviklet det hele seg til en regulær orgie. Jentene hadde ikke undertøy på og satt på fanget til tyskerne ... og resten kan man jo tenke seg!*”²⁴² Hognestad tells that she just tried to look at a book she had with her, reading the same page again and again, but being confronted by, who she calls one of the worst “*tøser*”, Molly, about not wanting to join the. “*Du skulle vært med, vi hadde det moro, vi!*”²⁴³ The descriptions made by Hognestad imply that it was in this case more consensual, but that

²⁴⁰ Stokke; Rødland. 2011, 90.

²⁴¹ Stokke; Rødland. 2011, 91.

²⁴² Jensen [ed.]. 1986, 44-45.

²⁴³ Jensen [ed.]. 1986, 45: Translation: You should have joined we had it fun.

also alcohol might have been abused to deal with a situation. It shows as well again the distinctions made between prisoner categories, for Hognestad it was important to distinct herself and the one working for Milorg from the others, which all have their unique arrest reasons, but are all put into the category “*tøser*”. She also calls them girls, indicating in a way that they were young, but it also fits with other texts, like for example from Grini, where “*jentene*” [girls] was a synonym for “*tyskertøs*”.²⁴⁴ If there were STIs at Falstad or not was perceived differently by prisoners and some remember there were women who were infected while others deny it. The prisoner cards where all prisoners at Falstad were registered on, show clearly that there were women arrested for spreading them at Falstad. This chapter is mainly based on personal accounts collected through interviews made by historians working for the Falstad Center. As pointed out in the chapter on sources, the interviews were made in the 1990s and 2000s and time passing has surely influenced the memories of the persons interviewed in some way. This might explain why one woman does not specifically remember STIs at Falstad, but only at Grini. When specifically asked about STIs and relationships between Germans and Norwegians at Falstad: “*Det er blitt sagt at det var ganske mange jente som ble ... ja, de ble involvert i tyskerne gjennom et nokså tilfeldig kjærlighetsliv kanskje, og endte opp med både sjukdomma og graviditet. Hadde du noe kontakt med dem angående det?*” [It was said there were a lot of women who had...well, were involved with Germans through random romances maybe and ended up with diseases or pregnant. Did you had contact/talked about with any of them about that?], she recalls that there was one were who she was not sure about but that all the others were, in her words, ‘clean’: “*Nei. Det var én, som sagt, hun ... men jeg husker ikke hva hun heter, som jeg har satt et lite spørsmålstegn ved. Men ellers ... alle de andre var helt rene, helt fine.*”²⁴⁵ This informant uses as many of those mentioned before the word “girl” for describing the women who had relation to Germans. Interesting is here as well that she uses the words “*helt rene, helt fine*” [completely clean and nice], insinuating there being “dirty” women/girls, in the sense of sexual behaviour and/or diseases. In contrast to her experiences at Falstad, she recalls that at Grini it was the other way around. She mentions that there were a lot of “*tøser*”.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁴ Jensen [ed.]. 1986, 44-45; Grini example: Fogstad. 2001, 110-111.

²⁴⁵ Falstad Centre. F-00520-001-001. Intervju med NN, Utskrift februar 2013, 5. Note: The interview is not marked with a date, therefore it is not known in which year it was recorded.

²⁴⁶ Falstad Centre. F-00520-001-001. Intervju med NN, Utskrift februar 2013, 5.

Interviews with one of the doctors at Falstad give an insight into how the doctors ward was organized and how treatment it was regulated by the guards and the national socialist regime. He does not talk about the treatment of STIs but recalls stories of sexual relations in the camp and something that can be assumed to have been a series of sexual assaults by the commander of Falstad. The name is not clearly stated in the interviews, but his first name was supposed to be Jeck or Jack.²⁴⁷ He recalls a story that he had heard from a female prisoner who worked as a nurse that claimed that the commander of Falstad called all women in his office and asked them to sew the button back on his trousers while he still had the trousers on. Those who said no were allowed to leave those who did it were put on a list and called back in later for sexual services.²⁴⁸ Another older publication on Falstad, which is generally rather sensationalist written is the book “Falstad- en konsentrasjonsleir i Norge” by Egil Ulateig. This book is mentioned here since Ulateig is quoted by newer books on Falstad and additionally the discourse on women with STIs in prisoner camps becomes interesting when compared to for example Vollestad. He uses a similar sexualized language, focusing on topics like men sneaking into the women’s quarters for presumably sex. He does not use words like “*gatepike*” or “*tyskertøs*” but takes uses the euphemism “the world’s oldest profession” for describing the sex workers at Falstad.²⁴⁹ He follows this up by claiming that the German guards never abused the women at Falstad sexually, without basing this claim in any sources. He then contradicts himself by describing the commanders attempts of testing the women and abusing them by making them sew a button back on his trousers.²⁵⁰ This story is an indicator of sexual assaults at Falstad enforced by the camp leaders. It shows an abuse of female prisoners and how camp

²⁴⁷ Falstad Centre. 2004. F-00005-001-001, ,8-9; Falstad Centre. 2013. F-00520-001-001, 3-7. The stories of the commander show up in several interviews.

²⁴⁸ Falstad Centre. F-00005-001-001, Intervju med NN, Utskrift mai 2004,8-9: «*De [kvinnene] skulle møte på hans kontor og medbringe nål og tråd. [...], så fikk de si at de var innkalt for å sy i en knapp i kommandantens bukse, og den knappen skulle syes i buksesmekken mens han hadde buksa på seg. Og de som sa nei skjedde det ingen ting med, men de som sa ja ble satt opp på liste og måtte da regelmessig møte til knulling hos kommandanten.*» Translation: [They (the women) were supposed to show up in his office and take with them needle and string [...]] then they got to know that they were supposed to sew a button back on the commander’s trousers, this button was supposed to go on the trousers fly, while he still had the trousers on. And those who said no, nothing happened with them, but those who said yes were put on a list and had to meet up regularly for shagging the commander.]

²⁴⁹ Ulateig. 1984, 136: «Det hendte også det kom damer an en annen årsak, enkelte ganger noen som hadde slått inn på verdens eldste yrke.»

²⁵⁰ Ulateig. 1984, 136.

leaders used their position of power for their own interests. Even though it was claimed the women could say no, it is possible to imagine that in such a situation not everyone dared to say no to the commander at Falstad. In one of the interviews, he claims that there was in general a lot of talk about sex in Falstad.²⁵¹ He was as well accused of having had sex with another prisoner leading to the punishment of that there were not hostages released as planned.²⁵² Which again gives an insight into power dynamics at Falstad. The informant also confirms the prisoner categories and that there was little contact between male and female prisoners, and if there was it was punished.²⁵³ The story about the button and the commander shows up in several other sources, which might be an indicator that this really happened more or less as described.²⁵⁴ In another interview with the same informant, he uses the term “*tyskertøser*” as well to describe some women in the camp, not specifying what he means with that exactly, but a story he tells about one of them shows that his use of the term included women with STIs: “*en gutt [...] i dameavdelingen som hadde fått seg et nummer med en... men det var en av tyskertøsene da som... Og han fikk i hvert fall en dryppert.[...] jeg vet ikke noe mer ... jeg vet ikke om noen som ble smittet i leiren, men jeg vet at tyskertøser som ...*”.²⁵⁵ [a boy[...] in the women’s quarters who did a number with one..well it was one of those German-Girls who there...and anyway he got a ‘drip’ [...] I don’t know any more... I don’t know if anyone got infected in the camp but there were German-Girls who...]. The informant does not remember clearly what happened

²⁵¹ Falstad Centre. F-00005-001-001, Intervju med NN, Utskrift mai 2004,8.

²⁵² Falstad Centre. F-00005-001-001, Intervju med NN, Utskrift mai 2004, 12: «[...] dette var før jul i -44. Og så ble det på gisselappellen dagen etter at jeg hadde vært på denne Levangerturen, kunngjort at doktor NN skulle... hadde drevet "schweinerieien in den T[r]eppen und Korridoren mit (uklart)". Og så fant jeg ut, husker jeg, at det var han...[...], det var han som hadde funnet ut i hvert fall at jeg hadde delt ut skrå, som tok hevn med å melde meg offisielt for det. Nei, det må ha vært tidligere, fordi at det var... dette skjedde lille julaften, og han tyskeren som da anklaget meg for denne store forbrytelse, han sa at: som straff for dette, blir det ikke noen løslatelse av gisler før jul. Og flere... da var virkelig flere av gislene altså rasende på meg». Translation: This was right before Christmas 44. And at the hostage roll call they day after I had been on this tour to Levanger, it was announced that doctor NN had done some ‘dirty business in the staircase and corridors with (unclear)’. And so I found out, I remember that it was him [...], it was him who had found out anyway that I had given out tobacco, and that now he took revenge in accusing me for this big crime, he said that as punishment no hostages will be released before Christmas. And several....there they were really many of the hostages raging at me.”

²⁵³ Falstad Centre. F-00005-001-001, Intervju med NN, Utskrift mai 2004, 12.

²⁵⁴ Sources that mention the story: Hegland. 1994, 136-137; Ulateig. 1984, 136; Falstad Centre. F-00005-001-001, Intervju med NN, Utskrift mai 2004, 12; Falstad Centre. 2013. F-00520-001-001, 3.

²⁵⁵ Falstad Centre. F-00005-001-003, Intervju med NN, Utskrift april 2013, 12.

and how. He mentioned that the boy he talks about here got “dryppert” which is Norwegian slang for gonorrhoea and can be roughly translated as ‘drip’, but he then seems unsure if that is how it happened. He follows up on this story with a statement on “*tyskertøsene*” at Falstad in general and how they were not sent to the hospital but to the *Polizeihäftlingslager* Falstad and this is how infected women ended up there, but he also states that he had nothing more to do with them, which leaves the question if they received treatment there or not. As a doctor at Falstad, he should have overseen treating them for diseases, but it might also be the case that he does not remember. “*Når du er en tyskertøs, så blir hun jo ikke sendt på sykehus, men ble sendt til Falstad. Så at vi visste at flere av de jentene som var der, var smittsomme. Men noe mer enn det hadde vi ikke med det å gjøre*”.²⁵⁶ [When you are a German-Girl, you don’t get send to the hospital, you get send to Falstad. So, we knew there were several girls there who were contagious. But we had nothing more to do with them than that.]. He as well uses the term “girls” to describe them. His statements also could be an indication of the lack of professional treatment women received, as after his claim there were not send to a hospital but an internment camp.

Another interview recorded in 1999 with a woman who was arrested in January 1943 and send first to Vollan prison and then Falstad takes up the topic of STIs and “*tyskertøser*” as well. She as well seems to struggle with her memory of Falstad but states: “*Tror dem fleste va politiske fanga, eller va det også sånn såkalte gate piker på Falstad? For det va det i perioda. Tyskertøser, som dem ble kalt*”.²⁵⁷ She does not remember if there were sexually transmitted diseases going around in the camp or not but also, she means with “*gatepiker*” and “*tyskertøser*” the same prisoner category.²⁵⁸ As the story about the commander already emphasizes there seemed to be German guards and commanders at Falstad who acted as sexual predators. It can be assumed that this could have spread fear among female prisoners. Another informant from Falstad, a woman who struggled with diphtheria seems to confirm that. Through her stay at Falstad claimed that it was her disease that saved her from rape.²⁵⁹ She rather casually stated in an interview: «*Og du vet, menn som kløp og menn som tok her og der og sånt, det har satt sine spor. Og det var jo klart at alle sånne tyskere, så sant de kunne komme til, så gjorde de det* [...]»

²⁵⁶ Falstad Centre. F-00005-001-003, Intervju med NN, Utskrift april 2013, 12.

²⁵⁷ Falstad Centre. 1999. F-00064-001-001, 5.

²⁵⁸ Falstad Centre. 1999. F-00064-001-001, 5.

²⁵⁹ Falstad Centre. 2013. F-00213-002-002, 5 and 9-10.

*Det er jo mange ting man ikke orker å verken tenke på eller å snakke om.»*²⁶⁰ [And you know, men who grabbed and, men touched you here and there and such things, that left a mark. There are many things one doesn't want to think about or talk about.]. This shows the silence about such topics after the war again and how possible received trauma through their incarceration silenced them or made it difficult to talk about it until today. The same informant recalls an incident in the interview that there was a Finnish woman who had an STI at Falstad, she claims also that she was homosexual and was interested in the informant sexually: “*Det var en ung pike [...]. Hun var finsk og var blitt med troppene, og hun hadde venerisk sykdom. [...] Jeg skjønnte ikke hva hun sa heller, men vi skjønnte hva hun mente. Og så var hun homoseksuell [...] og hun elsket meg, som hun sa, og hun kastet seg over meg.*”²⁶¹ [There was a young girl [...] She was Finnish and had come with the troops and she had a venereal disease. [...] I didn't know what she was saying either, but we understood what she meant. And she was homosexual [...] and she loved, like she said and through herself at me.]. As opposed to the other descriptions of women STIs here none of the words like “*gatepike*” or “*tyskertøs*” are used by her. That she did not use the more usual discriminatory words did not entail that she spoke pleasantly about the Finnish woman. She describes her in depth as ugly: “*Og ved siden av det, hun hadde et lite heldig utseende, kan du si, og et språkbruk som ikke gjør seg nå [...] Hun hadde jo sånne ... omtrent sånne hugtenger, så hun bet, vet du.*”²⁶² [And besides that, she had rather unfortunate looks, you can say and a way to speak that didn't hold [...] She just had these ... about this long fangs, and she bit, you know.]. She describes an incident as well where she was beating this woman with a soup ladle, when she felt harassed by her, and an incident were she and some other women locked her up in a broom closet when they were annoyed with her. The informants attitude expressed through her description of the Finnish woman with STIs varies from her attitude towards other women with STIs. In the whole interview she does not use words like “*tyskertøs*” or “*gatepike*” and when talking about other women who were arrested for having STIs or had a relation to Germans she expressed that they in a way “sat in the same boat”, through telling the interviewer: “*Jeg tror vi var... nesten at vi var i samme båt. De var jo så ulykkelige mennesker. Og når du lærte dem å kjenne, så skjønnte man jo i grunnen*

²⁶⁰ Falstad Centre. 2013. F-00213-002-002, 6.

²⁶¹ Falstad Centre. 2013. F-00213-002-002, 9.

²⁶² Falstad Centre. 2013. F-00213-002-002, 9.

at de var utnyttet av...”²⁶³ [I think we were...almost in the same boat. They were just so unhappy humans. And when you got to know them you understood that they were actually used...]. She followed this statement up by claiming “*de var nesten glad når de ble hentet til seksuelt samkvem.*”²⁶⁴ These statements by this informant stand in contrast to the other interviews, but also her own statements about the Finnish woman who she does not describe with an understanding tone. It is an interesting contrast that here women who were sick and were used for sex by the Germans are described with words like “unhappy humans” and that they were “used/taken advantage of” and none of the usual derogatory terms are applied. It could be argued that time passing between the imprisonment and the interview have altered her understanding of the incidents, but the other interviews show that time passing did not have the same effect on everyone. Effectively there is no clear and scientific answer why the descriptions are how they are, in this interviews case one could argue that her more understanding tone could have come from the fear of being raped by guards, which she in several cases expresses.²⁶⁵ That rape was a threat at the prison Vollan and Falstad, and that her suffering from diphtheria might have spared her.²⁶⁶ The topic of STIs shows up several times during the interview with her. When asked about if there were children born at Falstad, she describes first that when it happened the children usually died, but expressing also that she does not dare to go into details on this topic, but still following up with:²⁶⁷ “*Og det var jo en gravid som var... hun var så dårlig altså, og hun gråt da Freden kom. Men hun hadde venerisk sykdom. Det hadde de jo.*”²⁶⁸ [And there was one who was pregnant who was...she was rather bad really, and she cried when the Peace came. But she had venereal disease. They usually had that.] In this description the phrase “*Det hadde de jo*” is interesting for the analysis because who is “*de*” [they], does she mean

²⁶³ Falstad Centre. 2013. F-00213-002-002, 10.

²⁶⁴ Falstad Centre. 2013. F-00213-002-002, 10.

²⁶⁵ Falstad Centre. 2013. F-00213-002-002, 10- 12.

²⁶⁶ Falstad Centre. 2013. F-00213-002-002, 12: On the question if the women at Falstad talked about if one had been sexually assaulted, she answered: «*Nei, vi gjorde ikke det. Alle skjønte når det hadde hendt noe. Og det er derfor jeg synes liksom at... det er vanskelig, for det kunne hendt meg like så godt som det kunne hendt noen som helst annen. Jeg finner ikke ord for det der, jeg, for det var jo en redsel.*» [No, we didn't do that. Everyone knew that something had happened. And this is why I think like...this is difficult, because this could have happened to me like it could have happened to someone else. I don't have words for this, I, because this was a fear.]

²⁶⁷ Falstad Centre. 2013. F-00213-002-002, 14.

²⁶⁸ Falstad Centre. 2013. F-00213-002-002, 14.

“*tyskertøsene*”? It is a generalizing statement, but it is not entirely clear who she is generalizing about.

The work the women had to do in the camp included laundry and here the topic of STIs shows up again. “*Og du skulle vaske disse underbuksene til elskerinnen til kommandanten. [...] Så jeg satt med hendene mine i det der om kvelden, ble jo så sår, vet du. Så da jeg skulle ta Wassermanns prøve da jeg fikk barn, så var jeg virkelig nervøs, om jeg hadde fått noe. Men da ikke jeg fikk noe da, [...]*”.²⁶⁹ Here the informant expresses her fear of having been infected through the forced labour at Falstad, overseeing washing the underpants of others, after her also the commander’s lovers’ underpants. She mentions being nervous for possibly testing positive for syphilis before giving birth to her child, the so-called Wassermann’s test, after she had been at Falstad and had to wash clothes with her bare hands, ending up getting wounds from the detergent.²⁷⁰ This shows us both the psychological and physiological impact of the forced labour on women at Falstad.

2.2.4 Chapter findings

CDA aims to emphasize the meaning of language use and can be used to show what the choice of words can tell us about beliefs and values and reveal assumptions and how they relate to the social, political, and historical context. It can be used to uncover power structures expressed through language use. This chapter was the first part of an answer to the research question: How does discourse define and present women with STIs in the camps? The presented examples in the second section of this chapter contain some possible answers to this question, exploring questions like: What terms are used to describe them? Is there a general discourse on these prisoners and has it changed with time? The chapter also explores questions like how other prisoners viewed the infected prisoners? What role does sexual morality play in their incarceration? All the analysed sources in the chapters in this section are based on interviews with eyewitnesses, making all the sources into subjective accounts of the time and do not reflect necessarily all historical facts. To answer the question what terms are used to describe women

²⁶⁹ Falstad Centre. 2013. F-00213-002-002, 15-16. Translation: [And you were supposed to wash the underpants of the commander’s lovers. [...] I sat there until the evening with my hands in this [the laundry], and I of course I got wounds, got wounds, you know. When I then was supposed to take the Wassermann’s test when I got children, I was really nervous, maybe I had gotten something, But I didn’t catch anything there, [...]].

²⁷⁰ Falstad Centre. 2013. F-00213-002-002, 16.

with STIs? The term most applied is “*gatepike*”, followed by terms like “*tyskertøs*”, “*tøs*”, “*gatens løse fugler*”, “*tyskerjentene*” “*jentene*”, and “*syf-jenter*”. The terms “*tvilsomme individer*” and “*kriminelle elementer*” also show up, but it is unclear who these terms include. Here it is already possible to see an overlap of the terms for sex workers like “*gatepike*” and “*tyskertøs*” meaning someone with an STI, or it is assumed that they must have one. There seems to be no clear terminological distinction during the 1940s. Simultaneously it is unclear when the terms “*tyskerjentene*” and “*tyskertøsene*” were used for the first time and if their uses possibly increased during the years after the war, influencing the interviews made in many years after the war had ended, here mainly in the 1990s and 2000s. The use of language that shows the same terms in all the camps indicates that there is a general discourse on these prisoners, but there is no clear answer on how this has evolved over time. The terms used can be summarized as showing a negative perception of women with STIs, or even of every other female prisoner that was there for other reasons than political activism. The terms are related to perceptions of being unclean, having lice, having diseases like STIs or being a sex worker, which was perceived as something negative in itself. The word choices are discriminatory perpetuating the stigma and align with other treatment by others. This is clearly shown through examples of locking them up in the basement and giving them the most disgusting work available like it was done at Espeland or denying them medical treatment by sending them to an internment camp instead of a doctor. The words “*jentene*” or “*syf-jenter*” emphasize the women’s age, while it seemingly did not matter how old they really were, and presents them as young, stupid, and less independent. Viewing these women as young indirectly influenced the power dynamic between them and others, indicating they have less authority as they are young individuals. The picture that is painted with the use of these terms continues after the war as it will become clear during the following chapter. It becomes clear that the women with STIs do not represent a clear category, but overlap, at least in the terminology, with sex workers and so-called “*tyskertøsene*”. This blends women who had an STI into the same group of people like sex workers and national traitors who were already perceived as negative, making it more than an infection but something perceived as immoral. Here health or the lack thereof intersects with the infected person’s gender. The imprisonment for spreading STIs was only applied to women and while women already received a different treatment than men in the internment camps, the women who possibly had an STI were as well rejected and stigmatized by the other women, as expressed through their use of language.

3 Internment camps in Norway after World War II

The internment of women with STIs did not end with the end of the Second World War and the occupation of Norway. This chapter is going to give an insight into how the internment was continued under the Norwegian government, to whom it was applied, for which reasons and how it was legitimized both through law and without. This chapter seeks to draft answers to the following questions: Were women imprisoned because of STIs released with the other prisoners after the end of the occupation the May 8th, 1945? How and on what basis were women with relation to the Germans incarcerated after the war? What role did STIs play in this and how does it relate to sexual morality at the time? For the last question CDA will again be relevant as a method.

The transition period between to justice systems in Norway happening mainly in 1945 can be called a transitional justice period. It describes the period where Norway transitioned from one system to another.²⁷¹ The new justice system that was supposed to take over for the German NS-laws was already planned by the Norwegian exile government in London during the war and was implemented usually through provisional decrees in Norway in 1945.²⁷² The internment camps after the war were officially meant for political traitors, Germans and the so-called “German Girls”, in Norwegian: “*tyskertøsene*” or “*tyskerjentene*”. The way the imprisonment of women who had a relation to Germans was legitimized varied from case to case. Some argued they had to be protected from society since the immediate aftermath of the occupation was assumed to be brutal against women who had had a relationship to a German. It was not only the so-called “German Girls” who were interned after the war but also sex workers who were possibly infectious. These women were arrested to protect allied soldiers from sexually transmitted infections. These women were often called “*tyskertøsene*” as well, not because they necessarily had had a relation to a German as well, but because the terms of “*tyskertøs*” and “prostitute” were often used synonymous.²⁷³ Again, it is STIs who play a role

²⁷¹ Dahl; Sørensen [ed.]. 2004, 9 and 23.

²⁷² Dahl; Sørensen [ed.]. 2004, 25-26.

It might be important to note that Dahl and Sørensen have edited the book quoted here on the transitional justice period in Norway with the question if it was indeed just. Though, they do not mention the “*tyskerjentene*”/“*tyskertøsene*” at all, even though they were persecuted during this period, including them being registered as an *L-sak* (*landssvikssak*) and persecuted by law.

²⁷³ Olsen. 1990, 298.

in women's arrestation. This time not necessarily out of a perceived need to prevent infection, but to legitimize internment of women who were seen as traitors. All arguments refer to protection, but none were meant to protect the women or society but were meant to legitimize the arrest of women categorized as "tyskertøs". The protection arguments are explained by the historians Warring, Bjørnsdottir and Ellingsen and they refer to them as the so-called "protection myth". The so-called "protection myth" describes the attempt of the Norwegian government to justify the internment of women who had romantic or sexual relations to Germans by protecting the women from society and possible hate crimes.²⁷⁴ The "protection" was either justified through the provisional decree of February 26th, 1943. Called "*Provisorisk anordning om polititjenesten i Norge under krigen*" [Provisional decree for the police force in Norway during the law] also called "*beskyttelsesanordning*" [protection decree]. While the title of the decree does not indicate much relevance for this topic at first but was meant according to Papendorf as a basis within the law for the Norwegian police to arrest women for being a "tyskertøs" but based on the argument to protect them from society.²⁷⁵ The paragraph six of the decree is especially important here since it is the only part of a decree that made the internment of women categorized as "tyskertøs" legal. The paragraph states:

*"Personer som blir eller befryktes å ville bli utsatt for overlast fra befolkningens side på grunn av formodning om unasjonalt sinnelag kan av politiet (jfr § 7) tas i forvaring på slik måte og for så lang tid som anses nødvendig av hensyn til deres egen sikkerhet, dog ikke utover 30 dager. Justisdepartement kan bestemme at fengslingen skal vedvare, dog ikke utover til sammen 120 dager."*²⁷⁶

As also Papendorf points out, is it worth to note that even though the promoted intention of this decree was protection does this paragraph speak of imprisonment [*fengsling*] and detention [*forvaring*].²⁷⁷ Simultaneously, was the detention or imprisonment not decided based on a committed crime but a suspicion of an unnational disposition. The other decree that also

²⁷⁴ Bjørnsdottir; Ellingsen; Warring. 1995, 59-60.

²⁷⁵ Papendorf. 2015, 36-42 and 46-47.

²⁷⁶ Papendorf. 2015, 46. Translation: "Persons who are or are assumed to be exposed to nuisance through society because of the expectation of their unnational disposition can be taken into detention by the police as long as deemed necessary for their own safety, but not longer than 30 days. The Department of Justice can decide that the imprisonment can be extended but not for more than 120 days in total."

²⁷⁷ Papendorf. 2015, 46.

promoted “protection” but from infection was the already in chapter 1.4 mentioned provisional decree on preventing the spread of STIs, called: “*Provisorisk anordning av 12. Juni 1945 om åtgjerder kjønnssykdommer*” [Provisional decree of June 12th 1945 on fencing of STDs] or “*smitteanordning*” [infection decree].²⁷⁸

3.1 Internment of “German Girls”

Norway’s police chief Andreas Aulie categorizes the so-called “German Girls” into three groups. The main group he claimed consisted of “*vanlige prostituerte*” [regular prostitutes] who had STIs and were therefore in his opinion a danger for society. The second group women who had or have had several romantic/sexual relationships with a German and/or had worked for the NS government in different ways. The third group in his opinion consisted of women who he claimed were usually from rural areas of Norway and who had or had had a relationship with one German. He claims that the last group should be treated with care and not put into prison camps since they were only young and without or little experience.²⁷⁹ This is the women who were arrested in the years of 1945 and 1946 by the Norwegian government. Having a relationship, romantic and/or sexual was not a crime, but in the aftermath of the occupation women were still persecuted for it.²⁸⁰ There were women who did not have a relationship to a German but had worked for them as a kitchen help, cleaner or sewing help, tasks that fell under the term “*tyskerarbeid*” [German work], they were still arrested as a “*tyskerjente*” or “*tyskertøs*” or as a “*landssviker*”.²⁸¹ Historian Terje Andreas Pedersen analyses this in his book “*Vi kalte dem tyskertøser*”. Those who were assumed to be had a relationship to a German were described as stupid, “uniform-crazy”, and overtly sexual or as “whores”.²⁸² The ones who were persecuted were categorized based on their looks and behaviour, meaning if it varied from what was perceived as a decent woman at the time.²⁸³ The persecution was applied to about 3000 to 5000

²⁷⁸ Papendorf. 2015, 55-58.

²⁷⁹ Papendorf. 2015, 21-22.

²⁸⁰ Pedersen. 2012, 8; Helgesen. 1990, 286; Årnes. 2009, 50-51.

²⁸¹ Papendorf. 2015, 19.

²⁸² The phrase ‘she does not look like a tyskertøs’ was used in argument in favour of a woman in a *L-sak*. Showing how the categorization was in some way superficial and based on a woman’s looks. See: Pedersen. 2012, 28. Other examples of German Girls being categorized as “whores” are mentioned by Pedersen. See: Pedersen 2012, 39; 61; Helgesen. 1990, 299.

²⁸³ Pedersen. 2012, 7-8; 39-41. Olsen. 1998. 300-301.

women in Norway according to historian Kåre Olsen.²⁸⁴ A radio lecture with exiled *Venstre*-politician Toralf Øksnevad made during the occupation in London is a documented example of how the term “*tyskertøs*” overlapped with the definition of prostitution. He warned Norwegian women in the radio lecture to not show interest in Germans if they would not like to be seen as prostitutes.²⁸⁵ Cases from Bergen show us how women were being called “*tyskerhore*” [German whore] among other things. None of the cases however ended up in court. Journalist Helle Årnes depicts a case in her book “*Tyskerjentene – Historiene vi aldri ble fortalt*” how a father accused his daughter of being a “German whore”, she reported him, but the case did not go to court.²⁸⁶ The punishment for being a “*tyskertøs*” was rather arbitrary and was not within the law.²⁸⁷ They were beaten up, lost their jobs and often their hair was cut off and they had to undress publicly.²⁸⁸ This procedure was called commonly “shearing” in Norwegian “*skamklipping*” [shame clipping].²⁸⁹ The English term shearing creates an image of shearing, like shearing sheep, making them into something more animal like than human.²⁹⁰ The Norwegian word contains already the word shame, making the intention clear why it was done and what was supposed to be achieved through it. “Shearing” was illegal, but it was anyway common. It was usually young men between 17 and 35 who were the perpetrators and most of them were drunk while doing it.²⁹¹ If “shearing” was put to trial, the trials were according to Pedersen often rigged. Pedersen presents an example where a judge diminishes the punishment from a payment of 40 Norwegian Crowns to 10 Norwegian Crowns, since the “shearing” was

²⁸⁴ Olsen. 1990, 284-285.

²⁸⁵ Helgesen. 1990, 298.

²⁸⁶ Aarnes. 2009, 51.

²⁸⁷ Helgesen. 1990, 298: «Det er en kjent sak at «tyskertøsene» var den gruppe som etter krigen ble straffet for sine relasjoner til fienden på den mest brutale og vilkårlige måte. Hvem har ikke hørt eller lest om trakasseringen som foregikk i vår- og sommermånedene 1945, om snauklipping, om utskjelling og regelrett pryling av disse kvinnene? «Gatas justis» ga seg sterke og uverdige utslag som stort sett ble akseptert og applaudert av folk flest. Det meste av dette kan vel heller ikke dokumenteres ut fra skriftlige kilder, men noen konkrete handlinger og mange uttrykk for holdninger har nedfelt seg i politianmeldelser, aviser og enkelte andre dokumenter.»

²⁸⁸ Papendorf. 2015, 21.

²⁸⁹ Pedersen. 2012, 9, 73-74 and 77; Papendorf. 2015, 25-31. Papendorf analyses “shearing” with gender as an analytical category.

²⁹⁰ Aarnes. 2009, 48.

²⁹¹ Warring. 1994, 83; Pedersen. 2012, 73-74.

successful according to the defendant.²⁹² According to Pedersen's analysis there were about 30.000-50.000 Norwegian women that were categorized as "*tyskertøs*".²⁹³ "Shearing" was not a practice that started after the war and the occupation, but was already applied by Norwegian men in for example here 1941 and 1942. The prisoner book from the prison in Oslo, *Møllergaten 19*, shows how men were arrested this early because they had cut women's hair after having seen them with a German.²⁹⁴ The practice of "shearing" during the war could be a more intensive research topic if given time and resources. There seems to be archive material that could build a solid foundation for research. As historian Kari Helgesen points out in her article "*...siktet som tyskertøs*", being accused of being a "*tyskertøs*" was connected to a woman's honour.²⁹⁵ She quotes several examples of cases where women were accused of being a "*tyskertøs*" or a "German whore" by men. The cases she quotes are the ones where the accused tried to defend themselves in court against the claims made about them, but all ending without a verdict, since it was "her word against his".²⁹⁶

STIs were used as an argument to send women into internment camps like Grini, Falstad, Espeland and Tromsdalen and own camps made for "*tyskertøsene*" like Hovedøya in Oslo. So Norwegian men and allied soldiers were protected from them and the possible diseases. Though later analyses show that in for example Hovedøya internment camp only 20% of the inmates had received treatment for an STI. Leaving the question if only 20% had an STI or if only 20% received treatment.²⁹⁷ The camps were also called "*fangeleir*" [prisoner camp] and not hospital or polyclinics or something that indicated the supposed medical reasons of imprisonment. In camps like Hovedøya they were forced to do intelligence tests, that were supposed to confirm the assumption that they were stupid and therefore the reason why they had a relation to a German. Their background was checked as well. Did they finish school? How was the family situation. Anything to explain why they would have made such a choice. Women who had supposedly or known a relation to a German were in Norway, as well in other

²⁹² Pedersen. 2012, 80.

²⁹³ Pedersen.2012, 18-19.

²⁹⁴ RA, Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD, E/Ea/Eac/L0001: Fangeprotokoll (Gefangenebuch). Fangenr. 1-246, 1941-1942.

²⁹⁵ Helgesen. 1990, 302-303; This is also pointed out by Danish historian Anette Warring in her analysis of the Danish government and societies treatment of Danish "*tyskertøser*". See: Warring.1994. 306-307.

²⁹⁶ Helgesen. 1990, 302-303.

²⁹⁷ Papendorf. 2015, 64-65.

countries that had been occupied, abused, and attacked.²⁹⁸ The women persecuted for relations to Germans were persecuted based on a gendered perception of sexual morality. While in Norway women who had relations to Germans were shamed and locked up Norwegian soldiers in Germany in the so-called “*Tysklandsbrigaden*” suffered from an epidemic of STIs, that they had gotten there.²⁹⁹ None of them were shamed or persecuted in the way women in Norway were. It seems to be all a question of gendered sexual morality, turning women’s sexuality during the war into something owned and controlled by a nation.³⁰⁰ The historians Björnsdóttir, Ellingsen and Warring refer to it as a double moral towards preventing STIs.³⁰¹ The historian Pedersen argues that it was easier to frame women who had a relation to a German as stupid, ugly, or hypersexual and through that immoral than admitting that they did prefer a German to a Norwegian man.³⁰² He argues as well that these women seemed to be more hated by the Norwegian society than the occupants themselves.³⁰³ Here it is possible to use the theory of women becoming a nation-owned thing during wartimes and in occupied countries during wars. This theory is used internationally but was also applied by historians Kari Helgesen and Anette Warring on the topic of the so-called “*tyskertøsene*”.³⁰⁴ The internment of the so-called “German Girls” did not happen without criticism at the time. The Psychologist Johan Scharffenberg already criticized the internment in 1945 in a speech, asking: “*Er de indignerte klar over hva de er så indignert over? Er det for kjønnsmoralens skyld eller for noe nasjonalismens skyld? Kanskje det i mange tilfelle er ren sjalusi?*”³⁰⁵ [Are those of you who are indignant aware of why you are so indignant? Is it because of the gender moral or for nationalism? Maybe in many cases it is just plain jealousy?]. This criticism again called out for Norwegian men publishing their opinions on “*tyskertøsene*” in newspapers, among other statements they wrote that cutting of their hair was only a “mild punishment”.³⁰⁶

²⁹⁸ An example from Tromsø for the violence against women known as “*tyskertøs*” at the time can be found in: Aas. 2014, 179.

²⁹⁹ Hem. 2010, 130; Björnsdóttir; Ellingsen; Warring. 1995, 64-65; Ringdal. 1987, 185-187.

³⁰⁰ This argument is taken up by Ida Blom in her article on women with STIs during the war and afterwar years. See: Blom. 2004, 106-111.

³⁰¹ Björnsdóttir; Ellingsen; Warring. 1995, 64-65.

³⁰² Pedersen. 2012, 40-41.

³⁰³ Pedersen. 2012, 8.

³⁰⁴ Olsen. 1999, 291-292; Warring. 1994.

³⁰⁵ Quoted after Pedersen. 2012, 87; Ringdal. 1987,188.

³⁰⁶ Olsen. 1998, 272.

As already mentioned in the introductory chapter on jurisdiction and STIs, in June a provisional decree was ratified in Norway that on the first glance was made for interning persons who did not comply to their treatment of a contracted STI but was effectively used for women who were categorized as “*tyskertøs*” or “*prostitutes*”.³⁰⁷ The decree included that the police would get involved if the person would not let themselves be treated and that they could be interned for the period of being infectious.³⁰⁸ At Grini, the women who had been arrested for being “*tyskertøs*”, “*prostitute*” and infectious were not released from camps like Grini after the German capitulation.³⁰⁹ When Grini was renamed *Ilebu* and repurposed as a camp for traitors after May 8th, 1945, women were send there for being a “*tyskertøs*” or having shown signs of being a sex worker. For both was the legitimization of arrest the possibility of them spreading STIs.³¹⁰ At Falstad, after the occupation ended the camp was renamed *Innherad tvangsarbeidsleir* [Innherad forced labour camp] and turned into a camp where different types of so-called *landssviker* were imprisoned. This camp existed between 1945 and 1949. A publication by the Falstad Centre on the shift from Falstad to *Innherad* shows how especially in May and June 1945 a lot of women were imprisoned. They were arrested as “*tyskertøs*” under the provisional protection decrees.³¹¹

According to Kåre Olsen’s book *Krigens barn* [War Children] there were about 20 “*tyskertøsene*” who were arrested and send to Espeland after the war was over. They were first interned there and later send to a specific camp for “*tyskertøsene*” called *Tennebekken*, were in the aftermath of the war about 700 women were interned for different reasons.³¹² Rødland and Stokke describe this as well in their chapter on *Espeland tvangsarbeidsleir*. The women who were at Espeland for being infected with an STI from before, they were not released 8th of May 1945, with the other prisoners but had first be checked by a doctor if they were still infectious.³¹³ Rødland an Stokke categorized the women who were arrested after the occupation ended in five categories, those with STIs, political prisoners/traitors, meaning they had been members of

³⁰⁷ Helgesen. 1990, 301; Aarnes. 2009, 59; Provisorisk anordning av 12. juni 1945 om åtgjerder mot kjønnsykdommer”.

³⁰⁸ Provisorisk anordning av 12. juni 1945 om åtgjerder mot kjønnsykdommer”; Helgesen. 1990, 304.

³⁰⁹ Jensen [ed.], 48.

³¹⁰ Olsen. 1999, 285-287.

³¹¹ Hjort; Karevold; Nilssen; Sem. 2009, 18

³¹² Olsen. 1998, 286.

³¹³ Stokke; Rødland. 2011, 136.

Nasjonal Samling or another national socialist organization, women who had worked for the German police, and those who had been arrested for “their own safety”. The last category included those women who had been married to a German. They were sent to Germany.³¹⁴ For this thesis the first and the last reason are most relevant. Women were both imprisoned for STIs and for their safety from society, following the protection decree and allowing them to stay arrested for 30 to 120 days.³¹⁵ There are also accounts of women being sheared by Norwegian men during the occupation, leading to that the men were sent to Ulven/Espeland for punishment.³¹⁶

The sources on the afterwar period interments are many compared to the ones during the war when researching Tromsdalen/Krøkebærslletta internment camp. It is documented in the newest book on the war in the North that about 52 women were interned at Krøkebærslletta.³¹⁷ In the Tromsø region the women who were persecuted as “*tyskertøs*” or had otherwise seemed like a sex worker or had an STI were sent first to a specific camp for women in *Balsfjord* in 1945. From there many of them were sent further to a camp at *Sandvikeidet* and later during the autumn of 1945 they were sent to the camp Tromsdalen/Krøkebærslletta. About 50 women were also sent to a camp in Bardufoss and Tromsø prison.³¹⁸ The editors of the newspaper *Nordlys* in Tromsø suggested that women should wear an armband with the letter “T” on for “*tyskertøs*”.³¹⁹ This idea was not put into action, but it calls to mind how Jewish persons were throughout history, but also during the NS-period made to wear a sign that showed who they were. This suggestion does not reflect positive on the editors of *Nordlys* at the time but shows how intense the persecution became after the war. The protocols of arrest did show the reason of arrest, and these varied from “*omgang med tyskerne*” [relation to Germans] to a simple T for “*tyskertøs*”. This label was applied to most of the 304 women arrested in Tromsø. Only 5 were registered as NS-member and one was arrested for “*angiveri*” [betraying].³²⁰

³¹⁴ Stokke; Rødland. 2011, 137.

³¹⁵ Stokke; Rødland. 2011, 136-137.

³¹⁶ Greve. 1978, 198.

³¹⁷ Evjen [ed.] 2022, 158.

³¹⁸ Olsen. 1998, 286.

³¹⁹ Olsen. 1998, 271.

³²⁰ Jørgensen. 2006, 44 and 72; Papendorf. 2015, 34.

The journalist Kjell Fjørtoft depicts some of the more extreme cases of persecution of women who were called “tyskertøs” in his book “*Oppgjøret som ikke tok slutt*”. He shows how the attacks varied from rape and police violence to even cases of murder.³²¹

3.2 Chapter findings

It becomes even clearer with a look at the internment of “German Girls” that the words for ST infected women, sex workers, and women with relations to German’s are often used synonymous. As already pointed out in the chapter on STIs and jurisdiction, the laws do not indicate that they are only applied to women, but the opposite since they only use the pronouns, he/him in the texts. There are sources that point out that women who were arrested for having an STI were not released from the internment camps with the other prisoners on May 8th, which again shows how they treatment of STIs was based on a person’s gender. Additionally, the sources do not indicate that the camps were made for treatment of STIs, even though it was claimed that that was why the women were mainly send to the camps, if not for general protection or punishment. On top of that women were rearrested based on old registers which indicated they had had an STI and given it to a German during the occupation. The view on women’s sexuality came with moral implications at the time legitimizing their imprisonment. The word choices like stupid, “uniform-crazed”, or “whore” were used as insult and if one was perceived like that did that lead to discrimination and stigma. Having a health issue like an STI added to that. As did having a relationship with a German. Since there was for a month no jurisdiction on STI treatments the imprisonment of women was technically illegal or was based on the 1944 NS-law, which technically had been annulled May 8th, 1945. Only starting in June 1945 there was the new provisional decree that technically allowed to hold uncooperative patients away from the public for their treatment. This was applied to many women who were known to be a “*tyskertøs*” and as the numbers from Hovedøya show, only a small percentage did receive treatment for a STI, which either means only a small percentage had an STI or the rest were not treated but just imprisoned. The examples presented in this chapter show again alike the other examples that the treatment and approach was based on the infected persons gender and that the combination of being a woman, ST infections and relations to Germans

³²¹ Fjørtoft. 1997, 47, and 34-36.

were blended in one tangled narrative. Again, a person's gender and health did play a role in how they were treated by others and the government in the transition period after the war.

4 Representation in Research and Literature

To round this thesis analysis off, this chapter will deal with the representation of the prisoner category of women with STIs in research and literature. How were they presented by researchers and authors afterwards? To this question this chapter will draft an answer to based again on a CDA analysis of relevant texts. How do the historians and other scientists describe the women in question compared? Do the representations include a moral judgement? Are there representations that can be described as discriminating and/or judgemental? To not drift into a full historiographical analysis of all the books used in this thesis, which would be too much, I picked out one to two authors for each subject to show the range and similarities.

Per Vollestad's book «*Livet på Grini*», published in 2020, is the newest book to this date on the life in Grini internment camp. Vollestad has a doctor in music sciences and focuses his book to a degree on the music and texts produced by prisoners in the camp, but he also describes the general life in the camp. While Vollestad is a researcher with an academic education, the book's language is rather colloquial and is aimed at a broader Norwegian audience. The book contains continuous sexual comments on women in the camp. The women's quarters are described by him as the "*aller helligste*" [the most holy].³²² He describes nightly visits between the men's and women's quarters, which are not closer described, but imply a sexual nature.³²³ He gets more specific when he presents the case of the guard known as Frau Schmidt, which is also described in the first *Griniboken* by Margarete Aamot. The guard was fired after having been caught having sex with two other guards. The fact wouldn't be that relevant for this thesis wasn't it for the language that Vollestad uses. While he also quotes Aamot directly, he writes in his own words that the guard had "*litt for gode øye til menn*", which can be roughly translated to her being too interested in men.³²⁴ He presents the stories of Gerda Vislie as well, mentioned in chapter 2.2.1. He does not quote her directly but uses her words in his text, making it seem like this is his recollection and making it additionally unclear which are his words and what were hers. An example for this is: «*På kvinneavdelingen var det flere prostituerte, såkalte*

³²² Vollestad. 2020, 31.

³²³ Vollestad. 2020, 32.

³²⁴ Vollestad. 2020, 32; Lange [ed.]. 1946, 138.

gatepiker. Både fine og mindre fine, unge og gamle. Grunnen til at de var fengslet, var som oftest at de hadde en eller annen kjønnssykdom og derfor ble holdt vekk fra gaten og fra samkvem med tyske soldater.» [In the women's quarters there were several prostitutes so called streetgirls. Both nice (looking) ones and less nice, young, and old. The reason that they were imprisoned was often that they had one or another venereal disease and were therefore kept away from the streets and sex with German soldiers.] He continues using words like "*barmfager skjønnhet*" to describe a woman, still not quoting Vislie directly and making it therefore technically his words. He also implements another story published previously in the first volume of *Griniboken*, on a sex worker who tried to flee from Grini. As in 1946 in the *Griniboken* uses Vollestad the word "*gatepike*" and "*hirdjente*" to categorize her.³²⁵ He does not contextualize or differentiate the terms. While she was a young woman, the chosen words "*pike*" and "*jente*" do make her seem especially young and less independent and fall into the same choices of words made in the 1940s. Interesting is also that Vollestad writes about STIs at Grini, but the topic is not mentioned when he describes the upstart of the doctor's ward at Grini, after ill Grini prisoners had fled from *Ullevål* hospital where they had received treatment.³²⁶ He mentions the spread of gonorrhoea in the men's quarters in February 1945, which before was only found in the women's quarters, after Vollestad only among "prostitutes". A note on that: None of the sources used in this thesis indicate that there were even check-ups for STIs in the men's quarters so there might have been STIs before that but undetected. The information on the spread of gonorrhoea in the men's quarters is taken from Bjørg Fogstads book "*Brystkaramellene. Fra XU til Grini*", but he does not quote here there yet. Additionally, he uses the same phrasing as Bjørg Fogstads uses in her book from 2001 without referencing her. Bjørg Fogstad accounts for her personal experience at Grini, which Vollestad claims as his. After finding the gonorrhoea infections in the men's quarters Vollestad asks a rhetorical question: "*Det ble stor oppstandelse, hva hadde skjedd?*". While Fogstad, which he does not quote here, had written a very similar rhetorical question in 2001: "*Stor ståhai, hvordan kunne nå det ha skjedd?*".³²⁷ The incident Vollestad is referring to here is already a part of chapter 2.1.1. Claiming the spread of STIs came because of a sex worker called "*Erteblomst*" and another unnamed one who snuck

³²⁵ Vollestad. 2020, 34.

³²⁶ Vollestad. 66-68.

³²⁷ Vollestad. 2020; 283; Fogstad. 2001, 110.

out at night to in his words “*utøvet sin virksomhet*” [did their job].³²⁸ Vollestad switches between the use of the words “*prostitutert*” and “*gatepike*”, but it is unclear if this is his original choice of words since he retells the story that Bjørg Fogstad lived, while not quoting here besides one direct quote at the end of his section on “*Erteblomst*”, but which is not related to the rest of the story.³²⁹ Alike Fodstads presentation of the events he mentions the reason the sex worker in question was probably released. After Fogstad and Vollestad it was that she seduced the guards: “*Jentene ble ført bort, men Erteblomsten kunne åpenbart kunsten med å bedåre menn.*” [The girls were led away, but Erteblomsten knew the art of how to seduce a man.] Again, Vollestad uses the words of Bjørg Fogstad, without quoting her. Fogstad wrote in her book the sentence on Erteblomst “*Erteblomsten kunne kunsten å bedåre mannfolk*”.³³⁰ While he is not using exactly the same words as Fogstad. The similarity is rather visible. Vollestad is as well using the words “*Jentene*” which makes the two sex workers seem young and the word “*gatepike*”.³³¹ On top of that he claims that she was released because she seduced them, Fogstad mentions it as well, but she phrases it as a question not a statement. He does quote her once, when he describes how “*Erteblomst*” had been at a party of the German guards at Grini before leaving the camp.³³² Her release after this incident is difficult to verify or falsify since her given name is not mentioned in the stories on her, making it impossible to check the prisoner cards for a documentation of a possible release if that was even documented. During 1945 the shooting of prisoners became more and more common.³³³ Something that is even mentioned in the following paragraph in Vollestad’s book, but the theory of them being murdered is not mentioned, even though this could have been a possibility. As well as the use of words and what is mentioned, it is also important what is not mentioned. So does Vollestad not mention the imprisonment of the so-called “*tyskertøsene*” in the Ilebu camp with a word in his short chapter on it.³³⁴ All in all is Vollestad’s book on the first glance an academic publication, but with regard to the colloquial language he uses and sparse use of sources, including the case where he uses another person’s work and personal account of the life at Grini

³²⁸ Vollestad. 2020, 283-284.

³²⁹ Vollestad. 2020, 285.

³³⁰ Fogstad. 2001, 111.

³³¹ Vollestad. 2020, 283-285.

³³² Vollestad. 2020, 284-285; Fogstad. 2001, 111-112.

³³³ Vollestad. 2020, 284-285; Jensen. 1986,46.

³³⁴ Vollestad. 2020, 307-309.

without crediting her properly, the book should not be considered a scientific publication. His use of words does not differ much from the use of words contemporary eyewitnesses and informants used. Why their and his language do not differ that significantly from each other might also be due to his lack of paraphrasing others work or directly quoting other people.

When it comes to the camp of Falstad the book by Reitan and Nilssen from 2008 is the first book that takes up women at Falstad in a publication that can be considered academic literature. Alike to the representation through Stokke and Rødland on the internment camp Espeland has Jon Reitan and Trond Risto Nilssen's book on Falstad internment camp a separate section on women in the camp. It is three pages long. Which on one side does acknowledge their existence and life in the camp, but it can also be read as a separation from the "standard" prisoner, men, which the rest of the book is about.³³⁵ Reitan and Nilssen draft some categories that were at Falstad, here they mention, resistance members, hostages and "tyskerjenter" and "gatepiker".³³⁶ Unlike Vollestad, they nuance that these terms were used by their sources, and they put both terms in quotation marks, additionally indicating it is not their words. Reitan and Nilssen describe although not what these terms imply and do not mention STIs with a word, although their sources contain the interviews made at *Falstadsenteret* used earlier in this thesis. They do contain mentions of this prisoner category, but they chose to not take this information within their book. This has not changed in their new publication from 2021. They mention how other prisoners were afraid of the "tyskerjentene" or "gatepikene" assuming they were spies for the Germans.³³⁷ They do mention STIs when they describe the *landssviksleir Innherad* which Falstad was changed into in 1945. They describe the arrest of women seen as "tyskertøsene" under the claim of protecting, either them from the angry citizens or protecting society from them since it was claimed they had STIs.³³⁸ They summarize on about one page how the provisional decree on STIs from 1945 was used to incarcerate women who had a relation to Germans without an actual base in the law. They also point out the difficulty drafting this situation at Falstad since there were no prisoner protocols until June 1st, 1946, leaving historians today without exact numbers.³³⁹

³³⁵ See: Reitan; Nilssen. 2008, 41-45.

³³⁶ Reitan; Nilssen. 2008, 41.

³³⁷ Reitan; Nilssen. 2008, 41.

³³⁸ Reitan; Nilssen. 2008, 136-137.

³³⁹ Reitan; Nilssen. 2008, 137.

Reitan and Nilssen acknowledge in their book on Falstad published in 2021 the lack of research on women's war- and prisoner experiences, in for example the *Eitinger-rapport* which was the basis for how to calculate war pensions for those who had become disabled during the war. Reitan and Nilssen also do not contribute to that fact to change. They also focus their representation of women entirely on women in the resistance, not those who were there for diseases, with a chapter on the women's quarters that fills just about 10 pages of 393 pages that the book has.³⁴⁰ Which is still more than the 3 pages they wrote about women in Falstad in 2008.³⁴¹ They describe the type of work women were forced to do at Falstad and how they were based on gender norms. Meaning that women were supposed to work with the laundry, in the kitchen, sewing or various cleaning tasks.³⁴² Based on the interviews Falstadsenteret had made with former female prisoners Reitan and Nilssen describe their overall impression as Falstad being an isolating place for women based on the tasks they were supposed to work with and the strictly enforced "air-breaks" throughout the day. Making Falstad mainly into a prison for them.³⁴³ They mention the struggle of women who had been categorized as "tyskertøsene" after the war to get a war pension like other citizens and acknowledge indirectly the systemic discrimination that happened and was enforced by the Norwegian state.³⁴⁴ They do not mention this specifically and the missing war pension could have been analysed and explained in a broader context. All in all, is the book by Reitan and Nilssen from 2021 a nuanced description of Falstad, but they fail to describe STIs and sex workers life at Falstad, something that they had done in their previous book. Additionally, they draw a lot of material from their previous book on Falstad published in 2008. Making especially the chapter on women at Falstad still rather short and relying on the same informants.

Stokke and Rødland's book on Espeland is as the book by Reitan and Nilssen from 2021, written more neutrally than Vollestad's. They do not use occasionally the term "gatepike", but the term "venerisk sykdom" [venereal disease] for describing STIs.³⁴⁵ A term, which is still common, but not a neutral expression, see the chapter on terminology and theory.

³⁴⁰ Reitan; Nilssen. 2021, 48-51.

³⁴¹ See chapter «Kvinnene» in Reitan; Nilssen. 2008, 41-43.

³⁴² Reitan; Nilssen. 2021,52.

³⁴³ Reitan; Nilssen. 2021, 54.

³⁴⁴ Reitan; Nilssen. 2021, 48-49.

³⁴⁵ Stokke; Rødland. 2011, 89.

They also use the term “*kjønns sykdom*” [sexually transmitted disease],³⁴⁶ which is the most neutral and medical term in Norwegian for an STI. As Reitan and Nilssen they have written an own chapter on women at Espeland which takes up five pages of the 243 pages of the book. Plus, another chapter on the interment of “German Girls”, counting three pages. The words “*tyskerjente*” shows up in their book but always in quotation marks.³⁴⁷ The two books on Bergen during the war “*Bergen i krig*” from 1978 and 1979, are an insight into the camp Ulven/Espeland and author Tim Greve also mentions the “German Girls”. He uses quotation marks when he uses the word, but also puts them into the sex worker category, when claiming that most of them met their German when indulging into what he calls “*gatetraffikk*” [street traffic].³⁴⁸

Terje Andreas Pedersen book «*Vi kalte dem Tyskertøser*» uses the word «*tyskerjentene*» to describe the women who had a relation with a German. He does not use quotation marks but since the book’s topic is “*tyskerjentene*” it does not play into a discriminatory discourse. He takes up the symbolism that women’s sexuality becomes during war and occupation for a nation.³⁴⁹ He drafts the relevance of STIs in the arrest of “*tyskerjentene*” and which role STIs played for the German occupants during the war.³⁵⁰ Presenting all in all a very nuanced depiction of STIs and what role they played in the arrestation of women during and after the war. In this regard is Knut Papendorf’s book “*Siktet som tyskertøs*” from 2015 similar, while he focuses on how the imprisonment of “*tyskerjentene*” was based within the law and where it was not, uses he sets the word “*tyskerjentene*” in quotation marks and uses not other derogatory terms.

Ida Blom’s article “Contagious women and male clients” is, even though the topic is closest to this thesis than any other book or article, using older less nuanced terms. Blom uses the term “venereal diseases”, shortened to VD and “German hussies” to describe STI’s and the women who had relations to Germans.³⁵¹ Seeing the whole article in the general discourse on STI’s and “*tyskerjentene*” her arguments are still very nuanced and reflected, but the choices

³⁴⁶ Stokke; Rødland. 2011, 90.

³⁴⁷ Stokke; Rødland. 2011, 135-137.

³⁴⁸ Greve, 1978, 198.

³⁴⁹ Pedersen. 2012, 41.

³⁵⁰ Pedersen. 2012, 46-55.

³⁵¹ See for example: Blom. 2004, 105.

of terms might stem from an older discourse. Like other older articles on STI's contain both the term "venereal disease" and STD.³⁵²

4.1 Chapter findings

Summarizing how historians and other scientists and other authors describe the women in question compared to one can say that the authors used here as an example for recent publications Reitan and Nilssen and Rødland and Stokke use a rather nuanced approach to women arrested for STI or sex work. Reitan and Nilssen use terms like "gatepike" or "tyskerjenter" but make it by using quotation marks it's not their term but a historical one. While Rødland and Stokke seem to include women's experiences into their book both in a chapter but also throughout the book, Reitan and Nilssen confine them to one chapter, both in their book from 2008 and in the new publication from 2021 on Falstad. In the newest publication they do mention STIs and the protection decree, but in their terminology on STIs they hop between the terms "venerisk sykdom" and the newer term "kjønnsykdom". While they mention that there is a lack of research on women who had been imprisoned at Falstad, they still only write 10 pages on them which seems contradicting. The presented authors mainly use quite nuanced terms that do not contain moral judgement, apart from the newest publication on Grini made by Per Vollestad. Vollestad does not differentiate between terms the informants have used like using for example the term "gatepike" as a term for a sex worker. His choices of words are throughout the book very close to the words and sentences the informants used, and since he often does not quote them directly it can come across as his moral judgement when he writes about sex workers and STIs. Terminology wise Ida Bloms article is interesting since she uses older terms like "venereal disease" or "German Hussies" but has otherwise a very nuanced article on the implications of STIs for women during the German occupation and after, which shows that the use of language is only one part in how texts can be perceived as judgemental or as a perpetuation of stigma.

5 Conclusion and final remarks

Our perceptions of the world made through and expressed by language and are an everchanging process. This thesis aimed to discuss the representation of women with STIs who were incarcerated in *Polizeihafthlager* during and right after the German occupation of Norway. The

³⁵² See for example: Helgesen. 1990.

central question was how are these women represented within discourse? But an additional goal of this thesis was to make these women more visible. This additional goal seemed necessary since there is little previous research on this specific prisoner category, the available sources on them are scarce. This thesis attempted to deconstruct and analyse the use of terms and words. How was and is language used to legitimate the treatment of the women in question? What reality is described by words? The choice of words is as well a way to receive insight into social identities of groups, here prisoner groups. Additionally did the presented texts in this thesis relate to each other, which is called intertextuality. There could be found direct or indirect references to other texts and similar composition or language, which shows that there is interdiscursivity.

As the first, more introductory chapter shows were STI prevention approaches tied to a person's gender. The prevention policies show that there was an assumption that sex work had to be tied to the spread of STIs but targeting mainly women in the policies. Female prostitutes were not seen as normal women but as deviant and the source of spreading STIs to men. While there were different approaches during the 20th century, the dominant ones during the Second World War in Norway and Germany were the regulationist and quarantinist approach, again targeting women, especially sex workers or those not behaving in the way there were expected based on their gender. In practice this led to arrests of women who either had or were assumed to have STIs. A way these arrests were made was during police raids of restaurants and bars the Germans in Norway frequented. Checking women for STIs but not men during the occupation of Norway shows how the view of women as the source of STIs persisted. There are unfortunately no exact numbers known of how many arrests were made at the time. The arrests were during the German occupation based within the law, especially the 1944 law called *Lov om bekjempelse av kjønns sykdommer* [Law to fight sexually transmitted diseases]. Allowing authorities to imprison people who were assumed to be a possible threat for spreading STIs. The 1944 law has a clear relation to the German law on STIs from 1927, also allowing imprisonment if one had spread an STI. Some of the women were sent to the so-called *Polizeihäftlingslager* that are the central setting of this thesis.

The four camps Grini, Falstad, Espeland and Tromsdalen were different from another but the situation for women at these camps seems to be rather similar. For women these camps were usually more prisonlike, especially Tromsdalen. Women at Espeland, Falstad and Grini were put to work for the other prisoners and guards, making food, fixing clothes, doing the laundry, and performing cleaning tasks. All of these are tasks that were considered "women's work" at the time, making the work at these camps divided based on gender. As an example,

form Espeland shows were the more unfortunate tasks like emptying toilet buckets reserved for women who were there for STIs. The women who were there for having STIs were usually kept at distance from other women, or the other women kept their distance, expecting them to be either spies for the Germans or finding them indecent. This created different prisoner groups not just by reason of arrest but also gender and prejudice. When analysing the accounts made by different informants there is a clear number of discriminatory terms that shows up in accounts from the three camps Espeland, Falstad and Grini. Creating a discourse on these women as dirty, deviant, and overtly sexual, while simultaneously making them seem young through calling them “girls” (*gatepike/tyskerjente*). The term most applied is “*gatepike*”, followed by terms like “*tyskertøs*”, “*tøs*”, “*gatens løse fugler*”, “*tyskerjentene*” “*jentene*”, and “*syf-jenter*”. Other terms are “*tvilsomme individer*” and “*kriminelle elementer*”. The terms used perpetuate the stigma of sex work and health issues like an STI. The terms also blend the discourse on sex workers, women with STIs and the so-called “German Girls”, making it difficult to distinct the different groups from another. These terms show that gender intersects with other constructions, here mainly class, sexuality, age, health/(dis-)ability and nationality when focusing on the so-called “German Girls”. The “German Girls” were alike the women arrested for STIs often called “whores”, stupid, young or “uniform-crazy”, their arrest was until June 12th, 1945, not based within any law. They were often assumed to be the same persons who were already interned at camps for STIs, leading to new arrests based on registers that had collected the names and addresses of women who had been arrested based on spreading a STI during the German occupation of Norway. Those who were still interned when May 8th, 1945, happened were not released with the others. My sources do not indicate that the camps after the war were made for treatment of STIs, even though that was the official reason many of the women were send to the camps, if not for general protection or punishment. To summarize the different sections of the analysis: There is a discourse on women with STIs that mixes with the discourse on “*tyskerjentene*” and based on the terms used and the use of language shows how the stigma of STIs, being a sex worker or a “*tyskerjente*” was connected. The discourse has developed over time, at least within academic literature when focusing on the choice of words. The newest publications on Espeland and Falstad do not contain derogatory terms, but women are still given very little space in the literature, confining their experiences often to a few pages. One could argue that there is a need to publish more on this topic in the future. Especially since there are still new publications that use stigmatizing words for these women, like the newest publication on Grini. Publications like this repeat the discourse present in the 1940s and 50s and show how even though other researchers have chosen newer, and more neutral terms are

there other voices. It shows how we all have a task when writing and speaking about others. To choose our words wisely.

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Attachments

Attachment Nr. 1

Overview of all the camps in Norway.

Source: Bohn.



