

“A desolate backwater of the education system”?

A Historical Perspective on Media and the Public Perception of Correctional Education in the Rhineland in the 20th Century (Germany)

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In 2006, Germany saw the launch of a broad discussion of the history of reformatories run by Catholic and Protestant organizations.¹ This was sparked by several publications written by the journalist Peter Wensierski from the leading national news magazine *Der Spiegel*. The title of his book, *Schläge im Namen des Herrn* (Beatings in the Name of the Lord), captures his main thesis in a nutshell.² The inmates were systematically and regularly subjected to punishment and grew up in a system of religious coercion. Furthermore they were financially exploited as their work was underpaid, if they were paid at all. With these accusations and his call for compensation, Wensierski set the ball

rolling. As a result, the German Federal Parliament in 2009 set up a ‘Round Table’ as a fact-finding commission, and in 2012 followed this up with a fund of 120 million euros for the victims of the reformatories.³ In order to understand Wensierski’s success it is necessary to relate his positions to a long string of media criticism of the reformatories. The historical background of the current discussion is the focus of this article.

To understand its exact scope, two preliminary remarks are in order, one on the German term for abuse, *Mißbrauch*, and one on the current state of research. The first point is a problem of terminology. In Germany there have been – also with regard to the media coverage – two

- 1 With regard to the historical research sparked by this discussion, see Benad, Schmuhl and Stockhecke (eds), *Endstation Freistadt*; Kuhlmann, “*So erzieht man keinen Menschen!*”; Krögerand and Schraper (eds), *Fürsorgeerziehung der 1950er und 1960er Jahre*; Damberg et al. (eds), *Mutter Kirche – Vater Staat?*, for a good introduction to the state of research, see esp. Kaminsky, ‘Schläge im Namen des Herrn’; Frölich, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Heimerziehung in Westfalen*; Henkelmann et al., *Verspätete Modernisierung*; Frings and Kaminsky, *Gehorsam – Ordnung – Religion*; Kraul et al., *Zwischen Verwahrlosung und Förderung*; Paul, *Anpassung und Selbstbehauptung*.
- 2 There is no English translation of the book. Regarding this publication, see Henkelmann and Kaminsky, ‘Konfessionelle Wohlfahrtspflege und moderner Wohlfahrtsstaat’.
- 3 Regarding the Round Table set up by the Bundestag, see <<http://www.rundertisch-heimerziehung.de/>> (last consulted 25 August 2015); for the fund initiated by the round table <<http://www.fonds-heimerziehung.de/>> (last consulted 25 August 2015).

abuse scandals. The first is the above-mentioned abuse scandal regarding the treatment of children and young adults in reformatories, especially from the 1950s till the 1970s, which erupted in 2006. The second is the scandal of sexual abuse in boarding schools,⁴ which came to public notice in 2010 and soon led to reports of sexual abuse in many other parts of society, although the churches were very often in the centre of media interest. There are of course connections: sexual abuse was also reported by former inmates of the reformatories,⁵ but did not dominate this discussion, being one among many forms of abuse which former inmates have talked about. With regard to the political dimensions, this explains why there have been two round tables in Germany, one for the victims of the reformatories and another for the victims of sexual abuse.⁶ The focus of this article is not the media coverage of sexual abuse, but the media coverage and public perception of the *Fürsorge-erziehung* (henceforth FE) in the 20th century, especially in the former

Prussian province Rhineland, since 1946 a part of the state of North Rhine-Westphalia.

This region is especially suited as an example for this research purpose because with its predominantly Catholic population (in 1871 the population was 3,600,000, with 2,620,000 being Catholic) the Rhineland was and is heavily influenced by the Roman Catholic Church, with many of the Church's activities in the fields of education and welfare, including reformatories, subsidized by the state. Cooperation between Church and State was strongly established, as will be explained below. The Rhineland can be seen as exemplary for the situation in Catholic regions of Germany.

The second remark refers to the state of research. The history of correctional education in Germany has sparked a lot of research. In the beginning, this focused on the formation and development of FE in the German Empire and the Weimar Republic.⁷ Meanwhile, as a result of the discussion surrounding Peter Wensierski's position, there have

4 The most prominent scenes of these crimes included the Odenwaldschule, a private boarding school founded in 1910 and well known for its progressive education, and several prestigious Jesuit boarding schools, such as the Aloisiuskolleg in Bonn. On the Odenwaldschule, see Oelkers, *Pädagogik, Elite, Missbrauch*.

5 See Frings and Kaminsky, *Gehorsam – Ordnung – Religion*, 502-506.

6 The final report is available at <<http://www.bmfsfj.de/RedaktionBMFSFJ/Broschuerenstelle/Pdf-Anlagen/Abschlussbericht-Runder-Tisch-sexueller-kindesmissbrauch.property=pdf,bereich=bmfsfj,sprache=de,rwb=true.pdf>> (last consulted 25 August 2015).

7 The trail for such research was blazed by Peukert, *Grenzen der Sozialdisziplinierung*. See also Schwall-Düren, *Kinder- und Jugendfürsorge im Großherzogtum Baden*; Schrapfer and Sengling (eds), *Waisenhäuser und Erziehungsanstalten in Westfalen*; Frie, *Wohlfahrtsstaat und Provinz*, 29-41; Gräser, *Der blockierte Wohlfahrtsstaat*; Dickinson, *The Politics of German Child Welfare*; Blum-Geenen, *Fürsorgeerziehung in der Rheinprovinz*; Hong, *Welfare, Modernity, and the Weimar State*; Köster, *Jugend, Wohlfahrtsstaat und Gesellschaft*; Oberwittler, *Von der Strafe zur Erziehung?*; Malmede, *Jugendkriminalität und Zwangserziehung im deutschen Kaiserreich*; Schmidt, *Gefährliche und gefährdete Mädchen*; Uhlendorff, *Geschichte des Jugendamtes*; Steinacker, *Der Staat als Erzieher*.

also been several studies for the period after 1945.⁸ Nevertheless, the state of research is limited because the focus of these studies was and remains the question “What happened in the reformatories, and why?” The question of how the media reported on the reformatories and how this media coverage influenced correctional education was only occasionally raised.⁹ Research on this question is challenging since there are so many sources. There were about 4,200 daily newspapers in Germany in 1914, for many of them not all issues are extant.¹⁰

These high numbers make it difficult to research the attitude of different socio-cultural groups by analysing their newspapers. In 1929, for instance, 203 newspapers were affiliated with the SPD (German Socialist Party), 47 with the KPD (German Communist Party) and around 400 with the Centre Party / BVP (Bavarian People’s Party) (the Catholic parties).¹¹ So even for a region like the Rhineland it is difficult to give an overview on the topic. However, with the reference to the Rhineland as the regional scope of this article there are exception-

- 8 In addition to the literature listed in footnote 1, see also Dickinson, *The Politics of German Child Welfare*, 244-285; Köster, *Jugend, Wohlfahrtsstaat und Gesellschaft*, 509-562; Lützke, *Öffentliche Erziehung und Heimerziehung für Mädchen*; Gehlthomholt and Hering, *Das verwahrloste Mädchen*; Zahner, *Jugendfürsorge in Bayern*.
- 9 On the press campaigns of the LJA Rhineland in the Weimar Republic, see Steinacker, *Der Staat als Erzieher*, 218-223. Several studies on the crisis of FE in the last years of the Weimar Republic (e.g. Kuhlmann, *Erbkrank oder erziehbar?*, 30-47; Gräser, *Der blockierte Wohlfahrtsstaat*, 102-106; Dickinson, *The Politics of German Child Welfare*, 194-203) mention articles on reformatory scandals. As for the period before 1933, historical research on the media coverage of FE is rare. See Lützke, *Öffentliche Erziehung und Heimerziehung für Mädchen*, 106-109, and with a different approach Henkelmann and Kaminsky, ‘Die Geschichte der öffentlichen Erziehung im Rheinland,’ 137ff. See also Henkelmann, ‘Flucht vor den Heimen in Aachen.’ The article discusses one of the most important documentaries on correctional education in Germany, *Flucht vor den Heimen* (produced in 1971 by the well-known journalist Günter Wallraff), and outlines some of the aspects discussed in the present article. See also Frölich, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Heimerziehung in Westfalen*. There are several interesting articles from local newspapers (in particular Nos 31, 97, 99, 100) in this source collection.
- 10 Meier, *Zwischen Milieu und Markt*, 155. The number of newspapers was lower during the Weimar Republic, 3,723 in 1932, for instance. The average circulation was also low. Dussel, *Deutsche Tagespresse*, distinguishes three groups: in the early 1930s one third of all newspapers had a circulation under 2,000 copies, one third had between 2,000 and 5,000, and one third over 5,000. The highest circulation during the Weimar Republic, peaking at around 600,000 copies, was that of the *Berliner Morgenpost* in 1928. Unsurprisingly the local media with small-circulation newspapers has rarely attracted attention from historians. Studies like Meier’s *Zwischen Milieu und Markt* are the exceptions.
- 11 Dussel, *Deutsche Tagespresse*, 143f. Despite all fragmentation it is obvious that a small number of partisan newspapers were most influential on the reporting of national occurrences. For Catholic newspapers the *Germania*, published in Berlin, set the tone. Around half of the newspapers did not indicate a party-political affiliation (Dussel, *Deutsche Tagespresse*, 130). Nevertheless it is highly questionable whether these newspapers were non-partisan. The argumentation below analyses an article from the *Berncasteler Zeitung*. This newspaper – the only one in the small town of Berncastel on the Moselle – was officially not affiliated to a party, but in a town like Berncastel with a Catholic majority of more than 90% and the Catholic Centre Party politically dominant, it is obvious that the newspaper could only survive economically if it reflected the prevailing cultural milieu. On the partisanship of non-partisan newspapers in the vicinity of Berlin, see Fulda, *Press and Politics in the Weimar Republic*, 107-130.

ally good sources to be found for the Rhineland's regional *Landesjugendamt* (State Youth Bureau, henceforth LJA) and its archive.¹² The LJA collected articles on its work and part of this work was correctional education.¹³ The files with these articles are outstanding sources for research into the media coverage of the correctional education, which will be used in this article.

With regard to the difficulties of translation it is necessary, too, to give a few remarks on the German system of correctional education. The 1900 law on *Fürsorgeerziehung* set the pattern. Though amended several times it was not repealed until 1990. The key word in FE was *Verwahrlosung*, meaning "neglect" or "state of neglect". The aim was to prevent or "cure" this state of neglect. Persons who had not reached the age of discretion could be committed by a court to correctional education to prevent a state of neglect. It is important to notice the difficulty of translating the term *Fürsorgeerziehung* as correctional education, which might suggest education in a prison or a prison-like institution. In fact many inmates considered the reformatories even worse than prisons, leading many to run away. Nevertheless in the self-understanding

of the proponents of this law, FE was not a punishment but an education.

Another term to be clarified is *Öffentliche Erziehung* (Public Education). This was an umbrella term, as FE was not the only tool to save children from neglect, and (contrary to surface appearances) it refers only to public child welfare programmes on a national and a state level, not to the activities of counties and cities, which also committed minors to institutions but on a different legal basis.

The institutions responsible for the functioning of *Öffentliche Erziehung* were the LJAs. Though it was called Public Education, independent charities were crucial to the system. With the new FE law of 1900 the number of minors committed increased dramatically – in the Rhineland from 1,200 in 1900 to almost 12,000 in 1912.¹⁴ This meant that the LJA needed more reformatories. For financial and political reasons the LJA in the Rhineland, like many other LJAs, relied on Catholic and Protestant organizations. Only three institutions were directly run by the LJA.¹⁵ Most minors lived in confessional institutions. In 1912 there were 24 Catholic youth homes.¹⁶ The LJA did not own an institution for girls so for girls it depended completely on the cooperation of independent charities. This cooperation and the FE itself were

12 Regarding correctional education in the Rhineland, see Blum-Geenen, *Fürsorgeerziehung in der Rheinprovinz*; Steinacker, *Der Staat als Erzieher*; for the period after 1945, Lütze, *Öffentliche Erziehung und Heimerziehung für Mädchen*; Henkelmann et al., *Verspätete Modernisierung*.

13 See *Archiv des Landschaftsverbandes Rheinland* (Archive of the Rhineland Assembly of Municipalities, henceforth ALVR) 14039-14041, 14043, 18918, 39658, 40620, 40942-40943.

14 See Steinacker, *Der Staat als Erzieher*, 912.

15 Even though public, these institutions took only children from one confession and were directed by a Catholic priest or a Protestant pastor (Blum-Geenen, *Fürsorgeerziehung in der Rheinprovinz*, 186-194).

16 To be more precise: the vast majority of minors who lived in reformatories were in confessional institutions. It should be mentioned that not all minors committed to FE were placed in reformatories; some of them lived in families.

already heavily criticized in the German Empire. Opposition continued until the repeal of the FE law in 1990. The role of the media in this opposition will be treated in the pages that follow. This article does not aim to give a comprehensive treatment. Several important issues such as the media coverage of FE between 1933 and 1945 cannot be treated. Instead the aim here is to be a starting point for discussion, hoping to spark further research, and focusing on two theses:

- The extensive reform of correctional education and youth care during the 1970s and 1980s can only be understood in the context of what were called the *Heimkampagnen* of 1969: campaigns conducted by various left-wing groups against the youth welfare system and reformatories. The success of these campaigns was largely due to the fact that the issue of radical reform of children's homes was picked up by the media and became the focus of intense public debate.
- The media campaign against what was regarded as an antiquated system needs to be understood as a problem that was brewing for a long time. The child welfare system was highly controversial right from the time of its institution in 1901.

This scepticism, which often developed into criticism, is documented in a broad spectrum of media outlets in different socioeconomic and ideological camps, reflecting a variety of different motivations and a considerable public impact. Correctional education was evidently one of the most unpopular measures of the welfare state. It was unable to shake off the image of a punishment worse than imprisonment and instead to present itself in the media as part of the education system.

Media coverage of correctional education in the German Empire and the Weimar Republic

As has already been indicated, the introduction of FE broke new ground in correctional education. The initial law faced strong opposition. Foremost among its opponents and sceptics was the SPD. The party saw it as an instrument for disciplining working-class youngsters, and voted against the correctional law when it was put before parliament.¹⁷ The SPD also vehemently denounced any form

17 The state of research regarding the SPD and KPD struggle against FE is not very satisfactory. For a good introduction see Gräser, *Der blockierte Wohlfahrtsstaat*, 57ff. Important for the many sources collected in the book is Autorenkollektiv, *Gefesselte Jugend*, Chapter VI: 'Zum Kampf der revolutionären Arbeiterbewegung gegen die bürgerlichen Fürsorgeerziehung vor 1933' (The struggle of the revolutionary workers' movement against the bourgeois FE), 241-287. See also Dickinson, *The Politics of German Child Welfare*, 66ff, 104f; and for the Weimar Republic Kuhlmann, *Erbkrank oder erziehbar?*, 30-35, and Steinacker, 'Martherhöhlen der kapitalistischen Republik'. The most prominent condemnation was perhaps Rühle, *Das proletarische Kind*, 315-346, esp. 316f: "Dieses ekle Gemisch von plärrender Gottseligkeit und kieselharter Herzensroheit, selbstgerechter Frömmigkeit und perverser Brutalität, Knute und Halleluja – dieses widerliche Frucht eines Systems, das eine einzige große Veründigung am Recht des Kindes verkörpert, ist es, was sich – von wenigen rühmlichen Ausnahmen abgesehen – heute bei uns Fürsorgeerziehung nennt." On Rühle (1874-1943), a politician for various left-wing parties with expertise in pedagogy and psychology, see Stecklina and Schille (eds), *Otto Rühle*.

of cooperation between the state welfare system and religious institutions of any denomination.¹⁸ But the party was unable to prevent the law coming into effect, or to achieve a purely state-run system of correctional education. Therefore it focused its struggle against FE on a well-proven strategy, producing scandal.¹⁹ It is therefore hardly surprising that the first major scandals were publicised in articles that appeared in SPD newspapers. The starting point was a scandal in Mieltshin. In August 1909, the SPD newspaper *Vorwärts* reported on the brutal punishment of a boy in a reformatory in the small village of Mieltshin in Pomerania.²⁰ This report elicited widespread response in Germany. Other newspapers picked up the story, an investigation was carried out, and in December 1910 four of the educators and teachers, including the Lutheran pastor Breithaupt, who ran the institution, were sentenced to

several months' imprisonment. Breithaupt became one of the first media icons for a poisonous pedagogy that focused on corporal punishment.²¹

This pattern was repeated over the following years.²² As in the Mieltshin case, SPD, or later KPD, newspapers were the first to report on the major reformatory scandals of the Weimar era. These included incidents in the following institutions: Rickling in Neumünster (*Schleswig-Holsteinische Volkszeitung*, 3 April 1928, with the headline 'School or Penitentiary? An inmate describes his experiences in Rickling'),²³ Scheuen in Lüneburger Heide (*Berlin am Morgen*, 1930),²⁴ Waldhof-Templin, north-east of Berlin (*Berlin am Morgen*, 27 June 1931, headlined 'We accuse again! Templin – a second Scheuen').²⁵ These scandals and the media coverage represent only the tip of the iceberg compared to the many articles published in local KPD and SPD newspapers. In the Rhineland

- 18 See Karl Liebknecht's "Leitsätze zur Verwaltungsreform in Preußen" (Proposals for administrative reform in Prussia), adopted by the SPD at the party conference in 1910. Liebknecht demanded that all minors committed to FE must be housed in LJA-run public reformatories and that placement in private institutions run by religious organizations was not acceptable: "Die Fürsorgezöglinge sind in Anstalten unterzubringen, die von den Verwaltungskörpern errichtet sind. Private oder kirchlich geleitete Anstalten sind ausgeschlossen" (quoted after Autorenkollektiv, *Gefesselte Jugend*, 260).
- 19 A good introduction to this strategy is Hall, *Scandal, Sensation and Social Democracy*.
- 20 See Trüper, 'Mieltshin.'
- 21 See Hubmann, 'Transparente Subjekte', 150-154.
- 22 A short clarification has to be made for the Weimar Republic: the SPD newspapers had to face the challenge of reconciling their readers' concerns with SPD government policies, which were often marked by considerable compromises when the SPD was part of a coalition government (Dussel, *Deutsche Tagespresse*, 141). It would be interesting to investigate what this meant for the coverage of correctional education, as the SPD could not simply oppose it anymore.
- 23 'Strafanstalt oder Lebensschule? Ein Fürsorgezögling über seine Erlebnisse in Rickling' Banach, *Der Ricklinger Fürsorgeprozess 1930*, 164.
- 24 Regarding Scheuen and *Berlin am Morgen*, see Bondy, *Scheuen*, 12.
- 25 'Wir klagen wieder an! Templin – ein zweites Scheuen!' After Hinz-Wessels, 'Zur Krise der Fürsorgeerziehung in der Weimarer Republik', 345. Hinz-Wessels does not say in which Communist daily the article was published. Judging by the headline it was very probably *Berlin am Morgen*.

alone, the LJA files reveal at least a dozen other scandalous reports.²⁶ Novels, plays and films were also important means of presenting FE in a scandalous light, and these were often published or written with the support of the SPD, the KDP, or an organization aligned with one of them. First and foremost of these were the publications of Peter Martin Lampel (1894-1965):²⁷

The mass press, too, was relentless in its sensationalist coverage of scandals and revolts in correctional education. The culmination of this publicistic campaign was the production of a play by Peter Martin Lampel [...]. Enthusiastically received

by the public, the piece unleashed a storm of discussion and criticism which included public meetings [...] and inflammatory pieces in popular papers.²⁸

The tabloid-style *Berlin am Morgen*, linked to the KPD, was just one of the newspapers to report Lampel's attacks on FE and reformatory scandals at great length with several articles.²⁹

Were these reports of child abuse taken seriously in all parts of Weimar society? Was the media coverage on the reformatories influenced by the social and cultural segregation into social segments known to Germany historiography

26 A few examples: 'Das Gefängnis als Erlösung - der Schrecken der Fürsorgeanstalt,' *Rheinische Zeitung*, Cologne (SPD), No. 229, 30 September 1926 (in ALVR 14039); 'Mittelalterliche Gegenwart ein Beitrag zum Kapitel Fürsorge-Erziehung,' *Volkstimme - Sozialdemokratische Tageszeitung für die Bezirke Duisburg, Mülheim, Oberhausen, Sterkrade, Dinslaken, Wesel, Rees und Moers*, No. 135/22, 13 June 1927 (in ALVR 14040); 'Caritas-Zuchthaus M.Gladbach,' *Die Freiheit*, Düsseldorf (KPD), No. 87, 13 April 1929 (in ALVR 14043); 'In den Klauen der Fürsorge - Was geht hinter den Mauern des Martinusklosters vor - Junges Mädchen versucht über Dächer zu fliehen,' *Die Freiheit*, Düsseldorf (KPD), No. 244, 17 October 1929 (in ALVR 14043); 'Fürsorge-Skandal im Schatten des Domes,' *Kommunistische Zeitung*, Koblenz, 22 January 1931 (in ALVR 14043); 'Was Adenauers Geschäftsausstellung "Das Kind" verschweigt: Moderne Sklaverei in der Euskirchener Kinderhölle. Eine furchtbare Anklage gegen die Muckermänner und alle Patent-Moralprediger,' *Sozialistische Republik*, Cologne (KPD), No. 118, 5 June 1931 (in ALVR 14043). The exchange of articles between newspapers - which the smaller ones in particular depended on - was common so that the articles cited might first have been printed elsewhere or might originally have been written for another newspaper.

27 In 1928 Lampel, who had worked in a reformatory and who was at this time a sympathizer of the KPD, published *Jungen in Not*, a very critical documentary report on FE, and developed a successful play based upon it, *Revolte im Erziehungshaus*, which went through more than 500 performances in different theatres. A film followed which was screened in 1930 after several rounds of censorship (see 'Revolte im Erziehungshaus,' in: Gandert (ed.), *Der Film der Weimarer Republik*, 534-546). On Lampel, see Rinke, *Sozialer Radikalismus und bündische Utopie*. Discussions of Lampel's work also took place in the Rhineland. The LJA tried - without much success - to prevent the reception of Lampel's publications and urged the theatre in Düsseldorf, for example, not to stage *Revolte im Erziehungshaus* (see ALVR 14043). Other highly discussed novels on FE, which were published by the Communist publishing house Agisin Vienna, were Georg Glaser's *Schluckebier* (1932) and Justus Ehrhard's *Strassen ohne Ende* (1931).

28 Dickinson, *The Politics of German Child Welfare*, 195.

29 See Lücke, 'Aufsätze männlicher Fürsorgezöglinge aus der Weimarer Republik,' 13.

as *Milieus*?³⁰ The American historian Young-Sun Hong proposed the theory that debates on correctional education and youth care during the Weimar Republic reflect a *Kulturkampf* between various socio-political camps.³¹ The historian Markus Gräser follows a similar argument, identifying the religious welfare organizations as obstructing all attempts at reform during the Weimar era.³² Indeed, he titled his dissertation ‘The Obstructed Welfare State.’

On the basis of the contemporary press reports, such as those surrounding the scandal at the Protestant institution in Rickling, their interpretation would appear at first sight to be accurate. As has already been mentioned, a newspaper closely linked to the SPD first broke the story of abuse at that institution in 1928. This resulted in a trial that was closely observed by media outlets throughout the country. The nature of the reporting reflected the ideologies of the different political camps. The following excerpt from an article published

on 5 June 1931 in the *Kieler Zeitung*, a bourgeois newspaper with strong links to the Protestant church, is a good example of the bias of reporting:

The outcome of this trial has proven clearly and unequivocally that the Innere Mission [the Protestant organization which ran the institution], which had been driven into a defensive position for years by the attacks of malicious opponents, has won a victory, one that opens the way for further work and gives the front of Christian forces in our nation a position of strength against the onslaught of all worldly and godless dark forces, who also ply their evil trade among the opponents of Christian child and youth care.³³

It must be added that, contrary to what this report suggests, the accusations against various teachers and educators in Rickling were true, and this was reflected in the court’s initial judgement. The report therefore deliberately or

30 A groundbreaking work in this regard is Lepsius, ‘Parteiensystem und Sozialstruktur.’ On the state of research with regard to the Catholic milieu in Germany from very different perspectives, see Henkelmann, *Caritasgeschichte*, 18-34; O’Sullivan, ‘From Catholic Milieu to Lived Religion’; and Becker, ‘Katholisches Milieu.’ Groundbreaking for the Catholic milieu were Arbeitskreis für katholische Zeitgeschichte, Münster, ‘Katholiken zwischen Tradition und Moderne’ and Blaschke and Kuhlemann, ‘Religion in Geschichte und Gesellschaft.’

31 Hong, *Welfare, Modernity, and the Weimar State*.

32 Gräser, *Der blockierte Wohlfahrtsstaat*.

33 “[...] und zwar, daß dergleich festgestellt werden, mit einem völligen Zusammenbruch sämtlicher von der Linkspresse aller Schattierungen in Berlin und im ganzen Reiche jahrelang in grellster Form erhobenen Beschuldigungen gegen Rickling und damit auch gegen die gesamte christliche Fürsorgeerziehungsarbeit. Die Innere Mission, die durch die jahrelangen Angriffe böswilliger Gegner in eine Verteidigungshaltung gedrängt war, hat, das hat der Ausgang dieses Prozesses klar und eindeutig bewiesen, einen Sieg errungen, der das Feld für die weitere Arbeit freimacht und der Front der christlichen Kräfte in unserem Volke eine feste Position gibt gegen den Ansturm aller weltlichen und gottlosen dunklen Mächte, die letzten Endes auch in den Kreisen der Gegner christlicher Fürsorgeerziehungsarbeit ihr Unwesen treiben.” From ‘Das Ende einer Hetze. Zusammenbruch sämtlicher Verleumdungen gegen Rickling,’ *Kieler Zeitung*, No. 154, 5 June 1931 (in ALVR 14040).

unwittingly omitted or distorted certain facts. However, a simple distinction between opponents and supporters of the correctional education system based on media reports and social milieus is not sufficient.

The reports in KPD and SPD newspapers were not automatically dismissed as untrustworthy scandalmongering by people outside the working-class milieu. For one thing, the Weimar Republic was a constitutional state, despite class bias within the justice system. Thus, judges were bound to sentencing guidelines and certain accusations had to be reviewed by the regional youth welfare authorities, particularly as to whether there were grounds for prosecution. In some cases, the affected minors pressed charges with the support of groups linked to the KPD or SPD. If a case then came to trial, this provided a platform for opponents of correctional education to brand the system as unjust in front of a broad spectrum of the German press. This approach was successful in several cases, not least because reservations about the correctional education system also existed within other social groups. The liberal press, which was read by many SPD voters, was open to reports on abuse in reformatories.³⁴ The *Frankfurter Zeitung*, one of the most important newspapers of the Weimar Republic,

reported in depth about the prosecutions following from occurrences in Rickling and later in Scheuern.³⁵ The newspaper was also linked to a group of child and youth welfare reformers connected to *Reformpädagogik* (progressive education), known as the *Sozialpädagogische Bewegung* (social pedagogical movement), and published articles by Curt Bondy, one of the major proponents of this movement.³⁶ In a similar vein the liberal and highly influential *Berliner Tageblatt* reported on the Rickling trials, calling the reformatory a *Kulturschande* (a disgrace for a civilized society). In 1926 the *Generalanzeiger für Dortmund*, another liberal daily with a nationwide readership, reprinted an article from the *Rheinische Zeitung*, an SPD newspaper in Cologne, with the impressive title ‘Das Gefängnis als Erlösung’ (the prison as salvation), claiming that many minors committed to FE would have preferred prison to the reformatory.³⁷

But were there also reservations within the confessional camps? If we look at the Catholic daily press, as far as one can tell these newspapers did not report negatively on Catholic children’s homes. On the contrary, we find a large number of articles praising the virtues of these institutions, as well as articles defending them from the attacks of communist

34 See e.g. Bösch, *Mediengeschichte*, 169. Bösch shows that the market share of SPD newspapers was only three to 4% of all newspapers published in the Weimar Republic, even though the party could garner roughly 25% of the votes.

35 See Rohrwasser, ‘Nachwort’, 336-339.

36 A good introduction to the *Sozialpädagogische Bewegung* is Schwarte, ‘Sozialpädagogische Bewegung’.

37 See Vossen to Eickmann, 18 October 1926, in ALVR 14039.

newspapers.³⁸ This can be largely attributed to the close relationship between Christian groups and the child welfare authorities in many regions like the Rhineland.

And yet the system of correctional education was not universally defended. Elements within the Catholic camp had spoken out against the FE law when it was first passed.³⁹ Other Catholic groups saw many deficiencies in the work of the Catholic reformatories, calling particularly for the training of the educators to be improved.⁴⁰ While it is not possible to detect the extent to which these feelings and observations impacted newspaper reporting, it is clear that a certain level of scepticism and criticism regarding the correctional education system was shown by some Catholic dailies. This can be seen in articles about the trials relating to the aforementioned incidents in the reformatories at Rickling,

Scheuen and Waldhof-Templin. There is no evidence in these reports of editorial opposition to the prosecutions, as in the *Kieler Zeitung*.⁴¹ This was evidently possible because all three of the institutions mentioned were run either by the *Innere Mission* (a Protestant organization) or by a state youth authority; none were Catholic institutions. Moreover, it is worth noting that the trials relating to the incidents in Rickling, Waldhof-Templin and Scheuen produced overwhelming evidence against most of the accused parties. Presumably this evidence had its effect by the end of the 1920s. For example, in 1931 several local newspapers, including the newspaper in Bernkastel on the Moselle, a stronghold of the Catholic Centre Party, published an article calling for fundamental reform of the correctional education system, demanding both stronger controls by the

38 See e.g. 'Zur Eröffnung des "Uebergangsheimes" im Kloster vom Guten Hirten Maria Trost', *Koblenzer Volkszeitung*, No. 228, 2 October 1931 (in ALVR 14041): "Wahrlich, das katholische Volk kann stolz sein auf diese herrliche Blüte im Kranze seiner karitativen Anstalten, und es wäre nur zu wünschen, daß noch mehr hochgesinnte Jungfrauen sich entschließen wollten, an der Rettung unsterblicher Seelen im "Guten Hirten" mitzuarbeiten". Also 'Für die gefährdete Jugend - Die Erziehungsheime der Provinz Westfalen - Vorbildliche öffentliche Fürsorge', *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, No. 332, 2 July 1930 (in ALVR 14040): "Wer die Erziehungsheime der Provinz Westfalen durchwandert hat, für den erhält das Wort 'Fürsorgeerziehung' einen ganz neuen sachlichen Begriff: Erziehung gefährdeter Jugend durch öffentliche Mittel auf dem Boden christlicher Caritas zu guten Menschen! Wir mußten immer wieder lächeln, wenn wir in diesen schönen, meist ohne Zaun und Absperrung inmitten schöner und friedlicher Umgebung gelegenen Heimen daran dachten, daß es Bücher und Leute gibt, die hier Erzählung oder Theaterstück - etwa unter dem unmöglichen Titel: 'Revolte im Erziehungshaus' - spielen lassen wollen."

39 See Henkelmann, 'Karitative katholische Vereine'.

40 See Id., 'Die Entstehung der Vereinigung für katholische caritative Erziehungstätigkeit'.

41 See 'Revolte im Erziehungsheim', *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, 15 December 1930 (in ALVR 14040); 'Der Skandal im Erziehungsheim Waldhof', *Westdeutsche Landeszeitung*, 26 November 1931 (in ALVR 14041).

responsible agencies and better training of the educators.⁴²

While some of these reports expressed doubts about the implementation of the correctional education system and portrayed the children as victims, others criticized this system for a very different reason – that the system had failed in its goal of disciplining the children and young adults. In such cases, the inmates of the reformatories were mainly portrayed as offenders. This portrayal was very common. A typical example is the following very short article from the *Sieg-Post*, a local newspaper of the Catholic Centre Party, published in the 1926 in the small town of Kirchen an der Sieg:

On Sunday afternoon between 5 and 6 a.m. a bicycle was stolen in front of Schlösser's pub right here in Siegburg. The thief made off in the direction of Schladern. The owner of the bicycle, who immediately noticed

the theft, mounted a different bicycle and pursued the culprit. He managed to catch up with and apprehend the thief just before Schladern. A local policeman, who immediately appeared on the scene, took the offender to the police lock-up in Sieg. The offender was found to be a reformatory inmate.⁴³

The final sentence is crucial. The article does not discuss whether the theft was in any way related to the boy's correctional education circumstances. Instead, articles such as this encouraged a sense of threat and suspicion – suspicion that reformatories and correctional education were incapable of curbing such unruly youth.⁴⁴ Naturally, this scepticism implicitly led the reader to a different conclusion about the future of the correctional education system than did the critical articles – a conclusion that is concerned less with reform and more

42 *Traben-Trarbacher Zeitung*, No. 226 (1931), 226 (in ALVR 14040): "Wir haben ja erfahren, daß in den Erziehungsheimen immer alles in schönster Ordnung war, wenn ein Inspektionsbesuch eintraf, während die Leiter der Erziehungsheime in ihrer leider vorhandenen Souveranitätsstellung ungehindert die gröblichsten Verletzungen begehen konnten. Wir brauchen auf die einzelnen Affären nicht noch einmal eingehend zurückzukommen, das ist bereits zur Genüge geschehen. [...] wir haben eine Reihe von Anstalten in Deutschland, die diesem Prinzip in vorbildlicher Weise gerecht werden, aber sie können nicht das gut machen, was in anderen Anstalten gesündigt wurde und noch gesündigt wird. [...] Wie kann man reformieren? Ganz einfach, indem man das System ändert. Die Leiter, Lehrer und Erzieher solcher Anstalten müssen auf Herz und Nieren geprüft werden, ob sie für diesen Beruf überhaupt geschaffen sind [...]. Die Souveranitätsstellung sollte ebenfalls eine Beeinträchtigung erfahren, und die behördliche Kontrolle sollte ganz anders ausgebaut werden." On the publication of the article in the *Berncasteler Zeitung*, see Wolfer Waisenheim to Hecker, 8 October 1931 (in ALVR 14040). Bernkastel lies 8 km from Traben-Trarbach but in contrast to the predominantly Protestant town of Traben-Trarbach was almost completely Catholic.

43 "Am Sonntagnachmittag zwischen 5 und 6 Uhr wurde vor der Wirtschaft Schlösser hier selbst ein Fahrrad gestohlen. Der Dieb fuhr in Richtung Schladern davon. Der Eigentümer des Rades, welcher den Diebstahl sofort bemerkte, setzte sich auf ein anderes Rad und fuhr dem Täter nach. Es gelang ihm dann auch, denselben unterhalb Schladern einzuholen und festzunehmen. Ein Landjägerbeamter, der sofort erschien, überführte den Täter in das hiesige Polizeigefängnis. Es handelte sich bei dem Täter um einen Fürsorgezögling." ALVR 14040.

44 Other examples can be found in the files of the LJA Rheinland. See ALVR 14040.

with singling out young people and which led to the measures that were put into effect after 1933.⁴⁵ Yet both perspectives – and this is worth emphasizing – express doubt about the usefulness of the correctional education system. These examples show that a straightforward division into social democratic and communist opponents of correctional education on the one hand, and bourgeois/Christian supporters on the other, is insufficient. Scepticism could be found in all political and cultural camps. The efforts of the Rhineland LJA and other agencies to steer public opinion were, all in all, unsuccessful and fruitless. The crisis of FE is often linked to the final years of the Weimar Republic.⁴⁶ But actually, because of the scandals in the media since its inception, FE was in a state of a permanent crisis. It was already considered a stigma in the Empire and did not manage to lose this reputation in the Weimar period, quite the contrary.⁴⁷

Media coverage of correctional education after 1945

Little changed with regard to the scepticism and rejection in the media coverage after 1945, even though the situation

of the media altered in some ways.⁴⁸ The British military government followed the US-American zone of occupation and licences to publish newspapers were issued at first to panels with persons from different political backgrounds in order to encourage the greatest possible plurality of opinion. But by 1946 this was already changing and licenses were being given to individuals with party affiliations. This political affiliation to a party resembled the situation during the Weimar period, but with several differences. The number of licenses (53) sharply contrasted with the seemingly uncountable number of newspapers before 1933. This did not change with the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany.⁴⁹ Secondly, party affiliation was never as strong as in the Weimar Republic and continued to lose importance during the 1950s. For example, the affiliation of the *Neue Ruhr Zeitung* to the SPD was not comparable with the party affiliation of its predecessor, the *Ruhrzeitung*.

Another important change in the media was that by the 1950s daily newspapers were losing ground to popular ‘tabloid-style’ newspapers (such as *BILD*, founded in 1952) and to illustrated magazines such as *Stern* (founded in 1948) and *Der Spiegel* (founded in 1947), as

⁴⁵ See Kuhlmann, *Erbkrank oder erziehbar?*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁴⁷ For the Empire, see Henkelmann, *Die Entstehung der Vereinigung für katholische caritative Erziehungstätigkeit*; for the Weimar Republic: Gräser, *Der blockierte Wohlfahrtsstaat*, 100f. A good source of this perception is the monthly paper *Arbeiterwohlfahrt*, published by the eponymous SPD-affiliated welfare organization, e.g. Hans Maier, ‘Brauchen wir noch Fürsorgeerziehung’, *Arbeiterwohlfahrt*, 1 (1926), 129-133.

⁴⁸ See Dussel, *Deutsche Tagespresse*, 214-216, and for an extensive treatment: Koszyk, *Geschichte der deutschen Presse*, Vol. IV.

⁴⁹ The number of newspapers mushroomed in the first years of the Federal Republic. In 1954 around 1,500 daily newspapers existed but the vast majority of them were local papers belonging to a few large publishing houses, which did not have their own national and international news sections (see Dussel, *Deutsche Tagespresse*, 226-231).

well as to TV and radio. Unlike the local editorial teams of the daily newspapers, the tabloid and magazine journalists did not have ties to local administrations. Similarly, the state youth authorities did not have any way to influence these journalists. But even the relationships to the local newspapers changed. Already in the 1950s, the leading figures in the LJA were unsure how to handle the media in general. During the Weimar Republic the LJA in the Rhineland tried to steer public opinion by means of a number of press campaigns. The agency invited all local newspapers to a tour of a specific reformatory (in July 1927, for instance, to the *Erlenhof* on the outskirts of Euskirchen) to demonstrate the outstanding achievements of FE. It sometimes intervened directly, urging newspapers not to use certain negative headlines about FE. The LJA based its argumentation on its professional expertise and the authority of the office. Considering the media as a mouthpiece, they expected newspapers simply to follow their suggestions.

During the Weimar Republic the LJA did have some success, with several newspapers simply adopting its point of view, but many others did not and in one case a paper rejected the interference of the LJA by referring to the freedom of press.⁵⁰ After 1945

most of the leading persons in the LJA nevertheless hoped to succeed with a renewal of such a strategy.⁵¹ But they were soon disabused, as even the more conservative newspapers acted independently and would not consider acting as mouthpieces of the LJA. On the one hand, many articles in local newspapers praised FE and the reformatories in the Rhineland to the skies on the occasion of a sports festival or the opening of a new reformatory.⁵² On the other, even in the bourgeois press the call for reform was highly visible. The conservative *Rheinische Post*, which had good relations with both churches, published an article characterizing some specific institutions as outstanding, including the *Kinder- und Jugenddorf* (children's village; an institution in which the educators lived with a group of mixed-age inmates in a bungalow or a separate entity) run by the Dominican sisters in a village called Waldniel, close to Mönchengladbach. The title of the article, 'The "orphanage" will become extinct', already suggests a development the article wants to support, that the old anonymous institutions should become history: "The orphanage with its long, tall corridors, its gigantic dormitories and refectories, is becoming a thing of the past". Reforms would be necessary to establish family-like institu-

50 See Steinacker, *Der Staat als Erzieher*, 222.

51 Martha Beurmann in particular, an LJA FE executive, sought with great energy and small success to steer the media. See Beurmann to Jans, 22 January 1957 (in ALVR 40942): "Bisher zeigte sich gerade auf dem Gebiet der Jugendwohlfahrt, daß die Presse wenig wirksam zur richtigen Unterrichtung der Öffentlichkeit und Bildung der öffentlichen Meinung wird."

52 See e.g. Walter Vitten, 'Männer, die mehr tun als ihre Pflicht - ein Tag im Landeserziehungshaus Erlenhof', *Rheinische Post*, No. 234, 6 October 1956 (in ALVR 38695). Even the officials from the LJA considered this article too "rosy" as witnessed by a note, dated 8 October 1956, in ALVR 38695: "Der Aufsatz ist verhältnismäßig gut lesbar geschrieben, enthält aber einige Darstellungen, die vielleicht doch etwas zu rosig erscheinen."

tions.⁵³ Though not explicitly critical, the article infuriated the officials of the Rhineland LJA, perhaps in part because they felt helpless to steer public opinion in their preferred direction.

This impression was probably strengthened by two articles published in 1956 in the most important German tabloid, *BILD*.⁵⁴ Both articles were highly emotional, depicting the staff of the LJAs as heartless bureaucrats who “pfänden” (impound) children and take them away from their family. Furthermore, even though efforts to put FE in a scandalous light did not reach the level of Weimar Era media coverage, there were a couple of local scandals in reformatories in the Rhineland which attracted very critical articles.⁵⁵ All in all, the advocates of correctional education felt they had been pushed into a defensive position by the media. Hans Wollasch, then one of the leading persons in the *Deutscher Caritasverband* (the Catholic welfare umbrella organization), captured this feeling in a nutshell in a

talk held at a major conference of Catholic childcare workers in 1959:

According to public opinion, correctional education in children’s homes is a remote, unapproachable and desolate backwater of the education system. Few travellers visit this region, and their accounts tell of the backward, even medieval state of these homes. [...] In the last decade friendlier settlements have been established beyond the dark centres of correctional education in this far-flung outpost of the educational landscape. The pretty houses of children’s villages [Kinder- und Jugenddörfer] are more accessible to reporters and are more photogenic. [...] But of course this just intensifies the shadow that is cast on the orphanage and the residential care home.⁵⁶

Wollasch may have exaggerated, yet the attention given to the children’s villages and any new institutions that followed “modern methods of education and

53 See “‘Das Waisenhaus’ stirbt aus,’ *Rheinische Post am Sonntag*, 9 February 1957 (in ALVR 41276). On the *Rheinische Post*, see Henkel, *Anton Betz*.

54 ‘Man kann nicht nur Klaviere pfänden. Es gibt auch gepfändete Kinder’ (26 June 1956); ‘Bürokraten ohne Herz’ (3 July 1956). Both articles in ALVR 40942.

55 See Henkelmann, ‘Flucht vor den Heimen in Aachen’, 229f. For Westphalia see also Frölich, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Heimerziehung in Westfalen*, 161-163, No. 31. It is noteworthy that the article comes from the local Communist newspaper *Volks-Echo für Westfalen und Lippe*. It would be a very promising field of research to tackle the question of the difference to the Weimar Republic. Was this because the quality of education was higher or because of a transformation of the media? After 1945, Communist newspapers could not regain the success they had had before 1933.

56 “Nach der öffentlichen Meinung liegt die fürsorgliche Heimerziehung im entlegensten, unzugänglichsten und wohl auch verwildersten Teil der pädagogischen Provinz. Selten kommen Reisende in diese Gegend, und ihre Berichte lassen eine zurückgebliebene, wohl gar mittelalterliche Verfassung dieser Heime vermuten. [...]. Den dunklen Zentralbereichen der Heimerziehung in diesen fernen Teil der pädagogischen Provinz haben sich im letzten Jahrzehnt freundlichere Siedlungen vorgelagert. Die schmucken Häuser von Kinderdörfern lassen sich von Reportern leichter erreichen; sie sind viel ‘fotogener’ [...]. Der Schatten, der auf Waisenhaus und Fürsorgeerziehungsheim fällt, vertieft sich freilich damit noch mehr.” Wollasch, ‘Standort und Aufgabe der Katholischen Heimerziehung’, 33. On Wollasch see Nachbauer, ‘Wollasch, Hans’.

childcare”, was considerable, especially considering that the absolute majority of the children and youth in institutions lived in conventional homes.⁵⁷ For a number of reasons, neither the state-run institutional care system nor the religious-run homes were able to emerge from this defensive position. First, the crisis of FE worsened during the 1960s.⁵⁸ Second, the self-understanding of many German journalists was changing. Until the 1950s a *Konsensjournalismus*, journalism based on consensus with official authorities and the churches, dominated. This changed with the 1960s as a new, critical journalism started to prevail. Prominent examples are the TV programs *Panorama* (started in 1960) and *Report* (started in 1961).⁵⁹ Accordingly, the media coverage of the churches and their issues was also transformed too.⁶⁰ The first investigative reports that typified this new journalism began to appear around 1960. These reports must also be seen in the context of what were known as the *Halbstarckenkrawalle* (teenage hooligan riots).⁶¹ These disturbances, heavily reported in the period from 1955 to 1958, can be interpreted as landmarks of social modernization, signalling a changed attitude to life and a greater

value being placed on individuality and self-determination.⁶² Using these two values as benchmarks, it is clear that the correctional education of minors and young adults came under even greater pressure in the 1960s as it remained – despite all semantic camouflage – a form of forced education, or at least an attempt at forced education.⁶³ One good reason for choosing 1960 as a crucial turning point was the broadcast of the documentary film *Stiefvater Staat* (Stepfather State) on 26 September 1960.⁶⁴ This was the first documentary of its kind to be shown on German television. The film included reports from various German states, and was in no way positive in its treatment of correctional education. Rather, it strongly emphasized the need for reform, also of the religious education in the reformatories, which was presented as anachronistic.

Opposition to correctional education became more radical after 1968. The history of child welfare policies underwent profound change. The so-called *Heimkampagnen* (Home Campaigns) initiated by the *Außerparlamentarischen Opposition* (extra-parliamentary opposition – a German new left movement) opposed

57 See Henkelmann and Kaminsky, ‘Möglichkeiten und Grenzen konfessioneller Heimerziehung.’

58 See Id., ‘Die Geschichte der öffentlichen Erziehung im Rheinland,’ 124-135.

59 A good analysis of this development is Zimmermann, ‘Geschichte von Dokumentarfilm’; also Hodenberg, *Konsens und Krise*. The development of critical journalism is linked to a generational change within editorial staffs and a stronger demand for such articles.

60 See Hannig, *Die Religion der Öffentlichkeit*, 103-305.

61 See Kurme, *Halbstarke*.

62 On youth values and norms, see Maase, *BRAVO Amerika*; Zinnecker, ‘Halbstarke.’

63 See Henkelmann and Kaminsky, ‘Die Geschichte der öffentlichen Erziehung im Rheinland,’ 133-136.

64 The journalist Heinz Stuckmann, who was responsible for the film, also published a very critical report about a year later in an influential liberal newspaper: Stuckmann, ‘Erziehung hinter Gittern?’

correctional education.⁶⁵ Media played an important supporting role in presenting the educational institutions as antiquated and oppressive.⁶⁶ Children in care were generally portrayed as victims, and the main call was no longer for reform, but rather for fundamental and systemic change. Characteristic of this development was a documentary film made by Günter Wallraff in 1971.⁶⁷ Unlike the earlier film *Stiefvater Staat*, Wallraff's documentary suggested in its title alone that the issue was no longer the state and its responsibilities. Wallraff's film was titled *Flucht vor den Heimen* (Fleeing from the Homes). This indicated that it was no longer possible to reform the reformatories and that youth in care could only save themselves by running away. Unlike *Stiefvater Staat*, Wallraff's film attested to a total failure of the system.

Another prominent example is the journalist Ulrike Meinhof (1934-1976). She engaged with this topic and wrote several articles about it before penning the script for the documentary film *Bambule* in 1970.⁶⁸ The film was not screened until 1994 because Meinhof

had in 1970 joined the German terrorist group *Rote Armee Fraktion* (Red Army Faction).⁶⁹

Concluding remarks

In terms of the intensity of media coverage the years around 1968 may be compared to the late 1920s. Moreover, there is another parallel between these two eras. Just as in the Weimar Republic, some of those running Catholic charities perceived a press conspiracy against the Church and religion in general.⁷⁰ Indeed, the 1970s saw the revival of a *Kulturkampf* mood on the issue of correctional education and reformatories, reflected in the meetings of the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Kinder und Jugendhilfe* (AGJ), the umbrella organization of all child and youth care bodies. Groups like *Sozialistische Aktion* were calling for radical change to child welfare policy. Among its fundamental demands was the call to close all children's homes and to rely solely on *Jugendwohnkollektive* (youth communes). The Catholic organizations also faced calls for weak-

65 See Schrappner, 'Voraussetzungen, Verlauf und Wirkungen der "Heimkampagnen"'; Arbeitsgruppe Heimreform, *Aus der Geschichte lernen*; Köster, 'Heimkampagnen'; Kaminsky, 'Die Diakonie im Angesicht des "Paukenschlages"'. See also Autorenkollektiv, *Gefesselte Jugend*; Brosch, *Fürsorgeerziehung*.

66 The most critical articles were published by the magazines *Stern* and *Konkret*. Examples from *Stern* are: 'Einzelhaft für Kinder - wie in christlichen Heimen Fürsorgezöglinge mit aller Gewalt zu besseren Menschen erzogen werden', No. 25, 22 June 1969, 148-150; Peter Neuhauser, 'Kinder, die keiner mehr haben will', No. 3, 15 February 1970, 38-43; from *Konkret*: Marianne Herzog, 'Heimerziehung', No. 9, 22 April 1969, 30-37; Ernst Böbel, 'Kinder-KZ in Landau', No. 25, 27 November 1969, 16-19.

67 See Henkelmann, 'Flucht vor den Heimen in Aachen'.

68 Meinhof's first articles on FE and the reformatories were published in 1966. See e.g. Meinhof, 'Die Flucht der Margarete M.'. Extensive coverage of the topic from very different points of view and with very different results can be found in Wesemann, *Ulrike Meinhof*, 312-317; Lehto-Bleckert, *Ulrike Meinhof*, 243-257, 480-495.

69 Meinhof, *Bambule: Fürsorge - Sorge für wen?*, afterword by Klaus Wagenbach.

70 See e.g. Mann, 'Um die Zukunft unserer Anstalten'; and for the Catholic reaction to the "Heimkampagnen", Henkelmann, 'Caritas als zivilgesellschaftlicher Akteur'.

ening parental rights in favour of children's rights, as well as the demand for a complete secularization of the welfare state, to mention two other proposals from various leftist groups. The Catholic side could prevail on the last point but in general the 1970s stand for a broad transformation of all aspects of child and youth welfare. Even though there are different opinions on the success of the endeavours to reform the reformatories in this decade⁷¹ and even though FE was not finally brought to an end until 1990, the signs of change were unmistakable. The total number of minors committed to FE fell from 25,017 in 1965 to 5,962 in 1975.⁷² Correctional education became irretrievably outdated in the 1970s, and media coverage had done its share to bring this about.

71 Rather sceptical is Schrapper, 'Voraussetzungen, Verlauf und Wirkungen der "Heimkampagnen".'

72 Frings, 'Annäherung an eine differenzierte Heimstatistik,' 34.

Summary

This article analyses the historical development of the public debate on *Fürsorgeerziehung* (correctional education) in German institutions and shows how deeply intertwined the responsibilities of Church and State became. In Germany this related to both Catholic-run and Protestant-run homes for the socialization and rehabilitation of children and young people. Complaints about and criticism of these institutions were a constant, in which an ideological justification was also invariably embedded. Initially, criticism from socialist and communist circles focused on the clear denominational stamp of these institutions. By the late 1960s, the so-called *Heimkampagnen* then focussed on the principles of 'educational reform' of institutional education in general. The latter phase of fundamental criticism resulted in a complete review of institutional education, resulting in open housing situations and individual guidance.

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