

SPECIAL ISSUE ARTICLE

Incarceration as welfare: Transgressive female sexuality and the workhouse in West Germany, 1950–1969

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Abstract

Despite the rights and protections enshrined in its new constitution, the West German state confined beggars, alcoholics, convicted prostitutes and vagrants in workhouses on criminal sentences until 1969. Using administrative and inmate files, alongside local press coverage, this article turns to the largest remaining workhouse in West Germany, Brauweiler, between 1950 and 1969 and considers the internment of women arrested under the ‘correctional post-internment’ measure. It explores the gendered experiences of workhouse inmates, from the reasons for their internment to the reproduction of gendered boundaries during incarceration. Rather than providing an institutional history, it considers the micro-perspective of inmate experiences.

In 1965, the liberal newspaper *Kölner-Stadt-Anzeiger* asked its readers: ‘Does the state keep slaves?’¹ The question referred to the low pay given to prison inmates during a period of acknowledged labour shortages. The corresponding article did not consider, however, the fate of those West Germans still incarcerated in workhouses and subjected to regimes of forced labour. The ostensible purpose of the workhouses was to re-integrate the deviant and ‘work-shy’ into society. The inmates’ involvement in low-paid labour was a prerequisite for those leaving the workhouse before the legally prescribed maximum sentence.²

The foundation of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1949, only a few years after Germany’s crushing defeat in 1945, represented a significant shift in the laws and rights accorded to the individual. The introduction of Basic Law guaranteed that the ‘freedom of the person shall be inviolable’ (Article 2).³ Yet, despite the rights and protections enshrined in the new constitution, the West German state confined beggars, alcoholics, convicted prostitutes and vagrants in workhouses on criminal sentences until 1969.⁴ This article turns to the largest remaining workhouse in West Germany, in Brauweiler near Cologne, between the years 1950 and 1969 and considers the internment of women in workhouses on criminal offences. Rather than providing simply an institutional history, it uses

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preserved inmate files to consider the micro-perspective of individual inmate experiences. These case files situate the period of confinement in Brauweiler within longer life histories of interactions with welfare workers and local moral police forces.

Inmate experiences of workhouse confinement were always gendered, from the reasons for their internment to their treatment within its walls, to the reproduction of gendered boundaries during their incarceration, with the systemic sanctioning of women who did not conform to presumed norms of femininity. This is most evident if we turn to women admitted on criminal offences, which were frequently related to their engagement in transactional sex: while workhouse admissions in this period dwindled in West Germany, the proportion of admissions on prostitution offences increased. At the same time, judges frequently used charges of homelessness, vagrancy or not possessing ID papers, particularly when compounded with evidence of a woman's promiscuity or participation in commercial sex, to intern women in Brauweiler. The article, therefore, focuses on these female inmates to explore both the gendered experiences of workhouse inmates and the wider implications of shifting admission patterns in West Germany's first two decades.⁵

This study takes the history of the German workhouse, typically viewed as a phenomenon of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, into the context of post-war Germany, a period more commonly known for its economic upswing and the expansion of the welfare state.⁶ While living standards improved for many West Germans, the examination of workhouse admissions draws attention to the limits of these transformations.⁷ It turns the focus to the margins, to those women designated by social workers, police officers and the courts as 'asocial' or 'work-shy' and subsequently confined to an institution. Overwhelmingly, inmates came from the working class, had non-normative family constellations, including single-parent families or had spent time in a reformatory, with low levels of education.⁸ West Germany's largest workhouse, therefore, provides the basis from which to explore the punitive and carceral elements of welfare as enacted against marginalised members of society.

The workhouse measure evidences a central tension between caring and disciplinary imperatives in West German welfare measures. Indeed, historians have long explored this tension in studies of social control and social assistance in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁹ This study instead considers the context of the sexually conservative culture of the 1950s, as promoted by West Germany's Christian Democratic and Christian Social parties under the influence of the Protestant and Catholic churches. Their vocal insistence on pre-marital chastity as a supposed contrast to the years of Nazism clashed with the reality of post-war sexual behaviours, such as the widespread fraternisation of German women with US military forces.¹⁰ For some women who had sexual relations with US soldiers, particularly with soldiers of colour, this clash saw them interned in a workhouse, as authorities sought to bring about their moral improvement through discipline and labour.

This study rests on a range of sources from the Brauweiler workhouse, currently held at the *Archiv des Landschaftsverbandes Rheinland*. These include the house rules and records, communication between staff, local administrative bodies or interviews with interested publications. In addition, I use detailed inmate files from female internees in Brauweiler on criminal charges, which typically contain confiscated letters, behaviour logs, court and medical documents, to follow an inmate-centred approach that goes beyond the institution. These sources are complemented by contemporary newspaper reporting.

By highlighting the persistence of 'asociality' or 'work-shyness' as concepts in post-war Germany, this study builds upon work on the treatment of so-called 'asocials' in Nazi Germany, and indeed longer continuities reaching back to Weimar Germany and the German Empire.¹¹ The following examination is embedded in the wider literature on 'vagrancy', a criminal paragraph often used to punish prostitution or promiscuity, and incarceration, in particular, the use of closed institutions as a re-education measure.¹² It follows the recent call to incorporate 'the history of the coerced re-education of so-called "asocials" (in this case, women engaged in prostitution) through labour' within broader histories of unfree labour.¹³ Yet, it also acknowledges that for many of these inmates, their apparent engagement in prostitution was only temporary: repeatedly punctuated or surpassed by periods of confinement.

Here I first examine the German workhouses and the punishment of vagrancy and ‘asocial’ behaviour prior to 1949, before exploring the place of workhouses in West Germany after the Second World War. I then consider case files of female inmates interned in the Brauweiler workhouse under the ‘correctional post-internment’ measure to explore experiences of workhouse incarceration, integrating individual life stories in the history of the institution and assessing the gendered implications of workhouse confinement in West Germany. Individual case files illustrate the disciplining of transgressive female sexuality, particularly if combined with frequent mobility, an uncoupling from family ties, or sexual relations with foreign men.¹⁴ Inmate files also showcase widespread experiences of poverty, violence and institutional interventions, which sit uneasily with narratives of West German prosperity and security. Welfare and state care interventions, targeted to form the ideal gendered citizen, emerge as a coercive and disruptive force in the lives of Brauweiler inmates.

WORKHOUSES, VAGRANCY AND ‘ASOCIAL’ BEHAVIOUR PRIOR TO 1949

As in much of Europe, the earliest workhouse institutions in Germany developed around the beginning of the seventeenth century. One factor that distinguishes the German workhouse from its European counterpart is a legal construct first found in Prussian law in 1794, which introduced the concept of ‘correctional post-internment’ (*korrektionelle Nachhaft*) – an additional workhouse incarceration after completion of a criminal sentence, intended to bring about the individuals’ moral improvement through labour.¹⁵ The legal grounds for admission variably included vagrancy, begging, poverty (if seen to be self-inflicted, such as through gambling and alcoholism), prostitution, work-shy behaviour, homelessness, lack of identification papers and receiving welfare benefits. ‘Correctional post-internment’ survived into the second half of the twentieth century, allowing for workhouse admission after the completion of a prison sentence.¹⁶

The figure of the work-shy individual in need of re-education changed over time, yet gendered differences remained. Female vagrancy was overwhelmingly linked to female sexuality, and in particular to prostitution.¹⁷ Germany’s vagrancy legislation, like that of many of its European neighbours, interpreted prostitution as work-shy behaviour, and therefore viewed labour as a solution to female prostitution.¹⁸ Although vagrancy convictions in early modern Germany were primarily of male offenders, in the twentieth century, eugenic discourses linked female sexuality to ‘asocial behaviour’. As a result, female vagrants entered crime statistics, discourse, prisons and workhouses in greater numbers.¹⁹ In Weimar Germany, prostitutes and pimps began to be referred to as ‘asocial’ hereditary deviants, and, for a time, men on pimping offences joined the group of potential workhouse inmates.²⁰ Although the decriminalisation of prostitution occurred in 1927, with the state regulation of prostitution outlawed, women who sold sex remained targets for workhouse admission, for instance through the application of vagrancy charges.²¹

The treatment of so-called asocials was taken to extremes during the Nazi period; mass arrests marked the Nazi takeover of power in March 1933.²² The Nazi regime viewed asocial behaviour as endangering the state or the *Volk* – a central feature of ‘asocials’ was, in Nazi ideology, ‘their unwillingness to integrate themselves into a system of order that is intrinsic to a national socialist state’ – and the Nazi regime subsequently subjected ‘asocial’ behaviour to particularly strict punishments.²³ Characterizations of asociality were invariably gendered; definitions of female asocial behaviour, for instance, included becoming too easily aroused.²⁴ While workhouse admission remained possible throughout the period, over time those deemed asocial were far more likely to be sent to a concentration camp, where a black triangle announced their identity.²⁵ The Nazi regime repurposed German workhouses as sites of labour camps, Gestapo prisons and concentration camps.²⁶

The Allied takeover in 1945 halted the most extreme persecution of supposed asocials, yet the association of promiscuity and prostitution with vagrancy remained. In the context of mass mobility in the aftermath of the Second World War, the Allied forces, German police and health officials shared

the wish to control female sexuality, patrolling the streets and bars, targeting women in raids and subjecting them to forced medical examinations.²⁷ In this context, women constituted the majority of workhouse sentences: 673 of the 776 people in total were ordered to the workhouse by the German courts until Spring 1949.²⁸ Women admitted in this period had often lived together with Allied soldiers, thus transgressing moral codes through their fraternisation with the occupiers.²⁹ Colloquially known as *Ami-Liebchen* (Yanks' Sweethearts), these young women – who sought financial security, companionship or fun after the war years – faced moral scorn and open disapproval. As historian Elizabeth Heineman writes, 'Germans reserved their harshest criticism ... for women who associated with occupation soldiers'.³⁰ German judges used the vagrancy paragraph, previously only rarely applied to women, to punish this behaviour.³¹ US Allied forces expressed unease with the workhouses and in February 1949 repealed the workhouse measures in the US zone, thus closing any remaining workhouses in this area; however, workhouses in the British, French and Soviet zones continued to operate.³²

WORKHOUSES IN WEST GERMANY

The uneven legal situation regarding workhouses persisted after the foundation of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1949. It was only rectified in 1953 through a criminal code modification, which reinstituted workhouse admission in the former US zone, with the maximum internment period now codified as two years for an individual's first stay and four years for any subsequent stay. Although reinstituted, workhouse admissions still were generally low. By 1961, only two independent workhouses – Brauweiler and Benninghausen – remained. Other federal states simply installed workhouse wings within prison complexes or sent potential workhouse inmates across state borders.³³

In West Germany's early years, concerns about the impact of the war and post-war years on girls and young women were pervasive. The so-called 'hunger years' after the Second World War had seen widespread concern about sexually promiscuous women.³⁴ Although the economic situation improved markedly after the currency reform of 1948, welfare workers stayed concerned about 'wayward' women unable to re-enter orderly society.³⁵ A concerted post-war push to restore conservative sexuality – including by the churches and the Christian Democratic ruling party – painted Nazism as overly permissive and argued that order must be restored.³⁶ With the churches significantly involved in West Germany's welfare state structures, such thinking permeated social services: organisations such as *Caritas*, under the auspices of the Catholic church, offered emergency relief in the immediate post-war period while promoting 'Christian values'. In the years that followed, *Caritas*, alongside other church-affiliated organisations, became a central provider of welfare services, both in the community and by operating closed institutions such as sanatoriums and children's and retirement homes.³⁷

Wider concerns about wayward women and children directly fed into discussions about the place of workhouses and forced admission into closed institutions in the new state, as welfare workers contended with the individual rights and freedoms enshrined in West Germany's new constitution. Representatives of various welfare services and countless women's associations, alongside representatives of both large Christian churches, vehemently demanded the drafting of a law that would allow for the forced placement of adults in closed institutions.³⁸ In May 1950, the Brauweiler workhouse's acting director reported that the events of the war and post-war years had increased the numbers of homeless youth 'to such an alarming extent' that local judges felt a workhouse sentence was 'the only way to save the worst of them'. He portrayed the workhouse as a way to 'educate the majority of these young people to become useful members of human society', thus arguing for the continued existence of Brauweiler itself.³⁹ Much as historian Markus Wahl has identified for the case of East Germany, there was a continuity in 'mentalities, language, and concepts concerning marginalized groups of society' in the post-war West.⁴⁰ West German judges, workhouse staff and welfare workers continued to

use the terms 'work-shy' (*arbeitsscheu*), 'asocial' (*asozial*) and 'wayward' (*verwahrlost*) for decades to come.

Rapid post-war economic growth – soon known by contemporaries as the 'economic miracle' – did not dislodge the gendered character of workhouse admissions. Although prostitution itself was not criminal, several related charges – including 'conspicuous' prostitution, procuring and vagrancy – upheld the figure of the 'prostitute' in need of reform. In late 1950s Cologne, city administrators with members of the police, prosecutor's office and various welfare agencies expressed concern that judges did not send enough prostitutes to the workhouse; they organised a lecture and tour of the workhouse for local judges to rectify the situation.⁴¹ While targeting women who sold sex, the actual offences that directly led to a workhouse sentence were often different. Charges included a lack of identification papers, lack of housing, vagrancy, the violation of the obligation to pay child maintenance or theft (particularly if connected to sexual intercourse).⁴² Police referred to the latter as *Beischlafdiebstahl*: A 1965 report on criminality in West Berlin defined it as cases that use 'sexual moments' to commit the theft, such as thefts of clients by prostitutes.⁴³ Federal law soon reinforced local-level attempts to boost workhouse admissions: sixteen years after the end of Nazi rule and thirty-four years since the decriminalisation of prostitution in Weimar Germany, a 1961 modification of the criminal code instated the workhouse as a direct consequence for women who contravened the new regulations on selling sex in a restricted area (*Sperrbezirk*) in towns and cities across the country.⁴⁴ Measures to contain prostitution were becoming stricter, and the proportion of young women on prostitution or prostitution-related offences admitted to West German workhouses increased in the late 1960s.⁴⁵ Also in 1961, lawmakers expanded the grounds for workhouse admission with the Federal Social Assistance Law (*Bundessozialhilfegesetz*, or BSHG). Section 26 of the BSHG allowed for the forced placement of welfare recipients in closed labour facilities if they refused to do reasonable work despite repeated requests to do so.⁴⁶ This expansion illustrated the integration of carceral measures in the West German welfare system, with multiple pathways leading to workhouse internment.

Nevertheless, despite varied routes to incarceration, the overall numbers of workhouse admissions across the 1950s and 1960s remained low, with authorities often first preferring to try other measures to deal with such persons. In 1966, only 402 West Germans were admitted to a workhouse. In 1968, this had sunk to only 233 workhouse admissions.⁴⁷ Yet, while admission numbers were small relative to the general population, historian Matthias Willing argues that we should not underestimate the significance of the 'threat potential' of the workhouse, enacted on a far larger scale against 'wayward' women. West German authorities deployed the prospect of workhouse admission, he argues, to achieve women's compliance with other interventions.⁴⁸ Arrest reports and health department records from the period offer evidence of the use of this 'threat potential' when women caught selling sex failed to cooperate.⁴⁹ In 1957, police officers warned Liselotte B.* that she could be sent to the workhouse after they caught her entering a car near the banks of Cologne's Rhine River. The threat apparently achieved its desired effect, as reports document that Liselotte retracted her previous declaration that she would keep selling sex and instead informed officers of her intention to begin a 'different, better life'.⁵⁰

For young women deemed to be prostitutes or 'at risk' of becoming one, the workhouse functioned as leverage for authorities, such as the local social welfare office (*Sozialamt*), to achieve an ostensibly voluntary stay in a reformatory. Far more young women became confined to such reformatories than to the West German workhouses.⁵¹ These homes housed teenagers and young women up to twenty-one years old, with most aged between fourteen and eighteen years. Regulations focussed on discipline and order, cleanliness and obedience, with the 'education to work' as their aim, through the implementation of strictly regimented schedules and exhausting labour.⁵² Many workhouse inmates had previously spent time in a reformatory in their youth, with life in the workhouse typically part of a life touched by institutional encroachments.⁵³

THE BRAUWEILER WORKHOUSE

Despite shifts in the institution's remit, inmate case files indicate that individuals experienced the inside of Brauweiler's walls across multiple regime changes. Brauweiler had been home to a workhouse since the early nineteenth century, yet over time the grounds and facilities served other purposes. In 1933–4, Nazi authorities installed an early concentration camp on the grounds; in 1938, they used cells to intern Jews before their transport to Dachau; and from 1942, the Cologne Gestapo used the cell block to hold prisoners.⁵⁴ In the immediate post-war period, Allied forces removed some, although by far not all, of the remaining staff in an attempt to make a break with its usage by the Nazis, briefly deploying Brauweiler as a camp for Displaced Persons. After the foundation of the new West German state, authorities once again instated Brauweiler as a workhouse in May 1950.⁵⁵ On reopening, administrators planned to again admit inmates on the 'correctional post-internment' clause, those incarcerated for welfare reasons, as well as alcoholics placed under guardianship. In addition, Brauweiler began admitting women for six-week closed venereal disease treatments, under the Law on Combatting Venereal Diseases (*Gesetz zur Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten*); this group was held separately from other inmates.⁵⁶ New contracts with other federal states meant that alongside inmates from North Rhine-Westphalia, Brauweiler took in people from the states of Hesse, Baden-Württemberg, Saarland and the Rhineland-Palatinate. In 1963, 35 *per cent* of inmates came from another federal state.⁵⁷ By 1967, Brauweiler held around half of all West German workhouse population.⁵⁸

After its reopening in 1950, authorities asserted that the workhouse would no longer be run as before, with workhouse incarceration little different than a prison stay. They made Brauweiler's 'house rules' less strict, yet the workhouse regime remained paternalistic and authoritarian, continuities that Matthias Willing attributes to structural and financial restrictions, as well as personnel continuities.⁵⁹ Punishments for misbehaviour varied from a simple reprimand, the removal of privileges (such as the daily smoking allowance) and work payment reductions, to incarceration in an isolation cell without sheets and with a reduced food allowance (for example bread and water).⁶⁰ The local press soon exposed the more extreme punishments: one visitor in 1953 told the press that the 'medieval' isolation cells resembled 'gestapo cellars'.⁶¹ While internal documents dispute some claims made in the media, they substantiate the existence of isolation cells and food rationing.⁶² The use of such measures into the late 1960s resembled the wide range of corporal punishments found to be typical in contemporary reformatory homes for children and young adults.⁶³ Indeed, the workhouse leadership's professed goal remained the same as in previous years: 'to return work-shy people and those who are addicted to drink to an orderly and lawful life by accustoming them to regular work'.⁶⁴

Upon arrival, inmates in Brauweiler were separated according to gender and admission criteria, with a separate department for alcoholics and for ostensibly voluntary inmates, and a reformatory home for boys/men aged between eighteen and twenty-one. For its new West German iteration, the staff placed more emphasis on the educational role of the institution, including the cultural education of inmates. It organised film screenings, Christmas and carnival events, and an institutional football team.⁶⁵ The range of both functions and institutions that shared these grounds demonstrates the wide reach of carceral practices beyond the workhouse proper.

The following exploration of the Brauweiler workhouse considers the circumstances of admission as well as life in the institution, viewing female inmates as workers, mothers, friends, lovers and rebels. It is based on twenty-seven randomly chosen case studies of women interned under 'correctional post-internment', separate from male inmates or detainees in the sanatorium or youth reformatory. The women were between nineteen and forty-four at the age of their first internment in Brauweiler, with a mean age of twenty-seven. The majority of women (eighteen) were unmarried, with one widowed and five divorced. For twenty-one of the twenty-seven, correctional post-internment directly followed a prostitution conviction such as selling sex in a restricted area (*Sperrbezirk*) or in a 'conspicuous' manner. The remaining six were convicted on 'vagrancy' or 'idleness' (*Müßiggang*), although inmate files indicated past prostitution convictions in three cases. Workhouse convictions were, therefore, overwhelmingly implemented to discipline ostensibly transgressive sexuality.

CIRCUMSTANCES OF ADMISSION

During the 1950s, the number of female inmates in Brauweiler rose rapidly, suggesting an increased willingness by West German courts to sentence women to the workhouse. Between 1956 and 1957 alone, the female inmate population rose by 22 *per cent*. An examination of gender and age distributions in Brauweiler also shows a disproportionate weighting of *young* female inmates. While the ages of male inmates were distributed evenly, 72 *per cent* of female workhouse inmates were thirty years of age or younger.⁶⁶ This weighting contrasts with the earlier figure of the older female vagrant and seems to reflect wider fears about female sexuality, as supposedly promiscuous or prostitute women were being targeted by the criminal justice and welfare systems, and by public health departments looking to stop the spread of venereal disease.⁶⁷ As one judge reasoned in the sentencing of Christel J.*:

It would be completely wrong in terms of criminal policy to implement these measures only against old beggars and vagrants. It is precisely this young, sturdy prostitute of the defendant's type, who brags that she has quickly served the maximum six weeks' imprisonment, who should be sent to the workhouse as early as possible.⁶⁸

Christel's admission on prostitution charges was typical for many of the female inmates. By 1967, most of Brauweiler's female inmates were there on such charges, primarily street prostitution.⁶⁹

Although female inmates were overwhelmingly in Brauweiler on prostitution-related charges, they remained only a small proportion of women who engaged in pre-marital sex or who sold sex in West Germany. The case files, in particular the court judgments, suggest that their poverty, mobility across West Germany and beyond, and willingness to frequently engage in transactional sexual relationships, often with foreign men, played a significant role in the sentencing process.

Closer examinations of inmate files also reveal frequent cases of women who traded sex in garrison towns to US or French soldiers, particularly Black GIs or Moroccans stationed as part of the French troops. In the case of Agnes L.*, for instance, the courts assessed that 'she frequented dubious pubs in the Kirschgarten and other old town districts in Mainz and consorted (*verkehrte*) with occupying soldiers – mainly Negroes'.⁷⁰ The Brauweiler women frequently visited garrison towns, such as Baumholder in the Rhineland-Palatinate, exchanging sex for money, clothes, lipstick, stockings, drinks and food, attracted by the 'riches to be made in the "El Dorado of the West"'.⁷¹

Historian Maria Höhn has explored German reactions to relations between German women and US soldiers in Baumholder of the 1950s in the context of the 'national crackdown on immorality' spearheaded by the Christian Democratic government, conservative institutions and Christian-led welfare organisations. While Baumholder judge Dr. Schnapp engaged in a particularly strict disciplining of female sexuality – for instance by including the acceptance of a meal or gifts in kind as evidence of prostitution – he was more lenient with the daughters of solidly middle-class homes, taking their behaviour as a temporary lapse in judgment.⁷² As the 1950s progressed, and the local community became more accepting of relations between German women and US soldiers, Höhn identifies a shift in focus to the primary policing of relations with black soldiers, a focus exhibited also in contemporary press coverage.⁷³ For Höhn, this concern rested on 'the shared understanding of both American and German law-enforcement officers that interracial sexuality was unacceptable'.⁷⁴

Interracial relations of German women with foreign soldiers of colour remained particularly transgressive, even if the women avowed of a long-standing romantic relationship with the intention to wed. In the case of Rita E.*, who claimed to see herself as the future wife of a Moroccan soldier stationed in Donaueschingen, the court ruled that 'a betrothal or even a marriage in a sense corresponding to European moral concepts would not at all seriously be considered between a Moroccan soldier and a European prostitute of the accused's type'.⁷⁵ Brauweiler staff shared this concern over interracial sex: In 1960, the director argued against the early release of Maria N.* citing that 'in her statements she is often with her coloured US soldiers and intends to return to them'.⁷⁶

Fears about the sexuality of young single women exhibited in the inmate files were often related to their mobility, such as in cases in which they hitchhiked and engaged in transactional sex with lorry drivers.⁷⁷ A 1967 *Der Spiegel* article described the figure of the *Autobahn* prostitute amongst Brauweiler's inmates, a character clearly reminiscent of Julia Laite's exploration of the phenomenon of the 'Lorry Girl' in 1930s and 1950s Britain.⁷⁸ Laite's lorry girls were 'young women who were defined by their sexualized social transgression; their rejection of the domestic roles of wife, mother, or daughter; and their disregard for social institutions like family, church, school, or reform home'.⁷⁹ In this, they closely resembled the young single women admitted to Brauweiler. Like Laite's lorry girls, the Brauweiler women were happy to engage in pre- and extra-marital sex, as a transaction – for a ride to the next city or army base, for drinks or meals or for money.⁸⁰ Although in the UK case Laite finds that, by the 1950s, the lorry girl was no longer primarily discursively linked to prostitution, in West Germany, courts could use legislation on 'conspicuous' prostitution, vagrancy, missing ID papers or a failure to register with the local authorities to prosecute the cases of mobile young women engaging in transactional sexual encounters. In 1953, after Ilse R.*'s arrest on the West German *Autobahn*, a judge at the Oberhausen *Amtsgericht* found that she had been

drifting aimlessly on motorways and was in Hamburg twice, four or five times in Bremen and a few times in Hanover. Most of the time she was on the road, letting long-distance lorry and car drivers pick her up and give her a lift, some of whom gave her food and some money. In most cases, she engaged in sexual intercourse in return.⁸¹

Their engagement in commercial sex was often casual. The charges that led to workhouse admission could appear disproportionate, sanctioning a lifestyle rather than a specific crime. As one inmate in a Frankfurt workhouse claimed in 1967: 'when I tell someone today that I was incarcerated for two years because I had no ID and didn't register, they laugh about it, they say that's not possible'.⁸²

ACCUSTOMING INMATES TO REGULAR WORK

Women's (lack of) engagement in regular work emerges as a central consideration in court cases, often taken by the courts as evidence of the accused's unstable, 'work-shy' character. The case of twenty-one-year-old Christine H.*, who entered Brauweiler on prostitution charges in July 1964, is illustrative here. A court judgment described Christine's previous work experiences as largely unsuccessful. She lost her first position after two years, gave up her second after only a few weeks, and was fired from her third after a fortnight due to irregular attendance. Multiple encounters with police and welfare workers later found Christine placed by court order into a reformatory home.⁸³ When Christine resumed selling sex in Cologne, the courts found her to be 'obviously work-shy and unteachable', and sentenced her to the workhouse.⁸⁴ In official parlance, this was conceptualised as an opportunity for her betterment.

As part of the admission process, Brauweiler staff assessed inmates for their mental and physical fitness, more specifically for their ability to engage in full-time work in the institution. On Christine's arrival, the workhouse doctor found her to be both mentally and physically fit, and, importantly, 'fully capable of work'. The institution's pastor noted that 'a new beginning should still be possible for [C.H.]'.⁸⁵ To bring about this new beginning, the staff assigned Christine to the weaving and sewing work groups. She was now expected to work for meagre compensation and, by doing so, prove her suitability for life on the outside.

In a 1966 interview, workhouse director Müller explained, 'foremost, the focus is on work because they are all work-shy; this shyness is the prerequisite for being sent to the workhouse'.⁸⁶ Although labour was remunerated, inmates received a negligible sum: In the late 1950s, they worked for forty-six hours a week at a daily rate of 0.45 Deutschmarks, half of which was saved by staff until the inmate's release.⁸⁷ In 1955, a woman labouring in the textile industry could expect to earn fifty-nine Deutschmarks a week, around twenty-two times as much as her Brauweiler counterpart.⁸⁸ Women held

in Brauweiler were assigned work in traditionally feminine professions such as weaving, dressmaking or laundering: Workhouse measures aimed at moulding female inmates to conform to a specific model of femininity and the female worker. Contemporary reports detail how the workspaces as modernised, with new facilities and machinery, yet the required work still was physically taxing.

Brauweiler's director claimed to inmates in their workstation according to their skills, and occasionally their wishes, while sending 'handicapped' ('*minderbegabt*') women to perform kitchen tasks such as cleaning vegetables or peeling potatoes.⁸⁹ Brauweiler envisioned labour both as the cure for those interned on criminal offences and as a treatment for alcoholism.⁹⁰ With a focus on manual labour, the available work options reinforced the social position of those confined to the productive working class. Remuneration, work forms or freedoms, however, differed depending on the workhouse; around sixteen inmates in the Hamburg-based Anstalt Neuengamme made electric plugs.⁹¹

The involvement of inmates in manual labour was a prerequisite to leaving the workhouse prior to their maximum internment. Their presumed likelihood to keep a job upon release played a central role in deliberations by workhouse staff and the director in the twice-yearly review.⁹² Staff repeatedly expressed concerns about inmates' ability to work – 'her performance at work can be described as below average' – included in reports on mental or physical states.⁹³ News reports from 1967 claimed that the requirement to labour also applied, to a lesser extent, to inmates over the age of seventy, suggesting that the supposedly restorative qualities of labour, and not just their integration into the job market, remained a concern of the workhouse director.⁹⁴

Ahead of an inmate's release, a welfare worker for outside life (*Außenfürsorgerin*) contacted potential employers and provided references, in an attempt to integrate the inmate into working society.⁹⁵ These women also looked to ensure that released persons had a suitable place to stay and contacted charitable institutions – often with links to the Protestant or Catholic churches – when they deemed extra support as necessary.⁹⁶ After an inmate's release, the welfare worker tried – sometimes successfully – to retain contact.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, the overall success rate of these reintegration measures is uncertain. Although Brauweiler director Müller emphasised individual successes, he also acknowledged that the workhouse's ageing population meant that many found it difficult to begin anew.⁹⁸ In the face of Brauweiler's negative reputation in the wider community, it is likely that former workhouse inmates faced significant stigma after release.⁹⁹ Others did not wish to change or enter an 'orderly society' to use the workhouse's term but rather returned to their previous ways.¹⁰⁰ Despite apparent support from the institution in their search for suitable work, many returned to Brauweiler after reintegration had failed.¹⁰¹

UPHOLDING GENDER NORMS

The goal of workhouse incarceration was ostensibly to re-educate inmates through manual labour and strict discipline. In the case of female inmates, staff also sought to prevent inmates' transgressive sexuality – expressed through their engagement in transactional, interracial or queer sex – and their non-normative family constellations – as single mothers or in unmarried couples – in an attempt to mould them to their gendered role as wives, mothers and daughters.

The workhouse strictly regimented outside influences on inmates, such as contact with families, friends or partners. Staff monitored all inmates' correspondence, with letters deemed inappropriate, as well as any packages, removed. Inmates were only permitted to write letters on a Sunday or a holiday, and only once a month, while outsiders could visit only monthly, after prior approval by the workhouse's director.¹⁰² Christine H.'s Brauweiler file, for instance, contains four letters from her boyfriend Heinz, at that time imprisoned in an Aachen prison for theft and handling stolen goods. Staff deemed correspondence with Heinz contrary to the aims of her workhouse stay; accordingly, they kept these letters from her.¹⁰³

It appears that, in addition to monitoring contact with the outside, staff looked to minimise interpersonal relationships – both friendly and antagonistic – between workhouse inmates on the inside. Even

within the space of the workhouse, staff sought to protect inmates from negative influences posed by fellow detainees. Nevertheless, cramped quarters, with sometimes thirty women sleeping in shared dormitories, undermined any separation. In such circumstances, fights and rivalries were common, documented meticulously by staff in official logs. While interventions by workhouse staff looked to punish violence or rivalries between the inmates, former inmates argued that staff also looked to preclude all friendships and allegiances amongst the women.¹⁰⁴ Nonetheless, friendships and allegiances between women grew, suggesting that inmates could find solace and support in personal relationships. These could develop during working hours, during free-time activities such as watching television in the common rooms, or when locked in shared dormitory rooms after 8:30 pm.¹⁰⁵ Inmate records evidence of how Hannelore F.* was punished for bringing a sandwich to a friend kept in the isolation cell without food.¹⁰⁶ Luise P.*'s file documents inmates staying up late into the night 'telling bad jokes', 'sitting together half the night on the beds' or 'getting into bed with one another'.¹⁰⁷

In some cases, female inmates entered into sexual relationships. Although sex between women had never been illegal under German law – unlike sexual relationships between men that remained outlawed under §175 of the criminal code until 1969 – Brauweiler staff expressed particular concern about inmates engaging in supposed 'perverted' acts, which they saw as evidence of their overly sexualised, deviant natures. Welfare workers repeatedly disciplined kissing between female inmates, either confirmed or denied.¹⁰⁸ Sexual relationships came to the attention of the courts after one inmate, Irmgard H.*, told outside authorities about widespread sex between female inmates in the dormitories. She was caught trying to escape Brauweiler and told the judge that 'there were multiple young ladies who were there, for them it made no difference if it was a man or a woman. They looked for a girlfriend in the workhouse'.¹⁰⁹

In order to dismiss Irmgard's statements about the prevalence of same-sex relations – which, she had claimed, was the norm in one dormitory – staff looked to question Irmgard's trustworthiness. They portrayed her as a liar, by referencing a previous account she had made about having sex with a former employer, which she later recanted, and by disputing that the accused women were housed in the same dormitory. Although staff used her recanting the tale of sexual relations with her former boss as evidence of Irmgard's general untrustworthy nature, there are many reasons why she might have done so, such as a sense of shame or the influence of outside pressure, perhaps by these very same staff members. Irmgard herself claimed: 'I was forced to take it all back'.¹¹⁰

Privately, Brauweiler staff admitted that some female inmates engaged in sexual relations. In these cases, staff blamed the women's inherent promiscuity and the lack of available men, as well as similar previous experiences during periods of confinement in prisons and reformatory homes:

It should be borne in mind that the majority of our women have had frequently changing sexual partners and that a large number of them, due to the lack of men during the war years, had already indulged in perverted inclinations while they were still free or in prison.¹¹¹

Reports on contemporary prisons suggest that female–female sex was often accepted by inmates, with open same-sex relationships playing out behind bars.¹¹² With many having previous experiences of imprisonment, it is likely that inmates had been exposed to – or participated in – more visible queer sex.

Brauweiler staff also claimed that prostitute women had typically engaged in queer sex prior to their detention – 'In the brothels, too, the prostitutes also have relations with each other on the side, for example Ursula B.* claims to have learned perverted intercourse in a brothel in Aachen'.¹¹³ Although it is certainly possible that women like Ursula had previous same-sex experiences, such insinuations played into the older trope of the prostitute as lesbian. More generally, interpretations of female inmates as hyper-sexualised represented eugenicist thinking about working-class women that claimed that they had overactive libidos.¹¹⁴ Unlike Estelle Freedman's findings that the figure of the prison lesbian overtook that of the prostitute to represent deviant female sexuality over the course

of the twentieth century, in Brauweiler these two deviant identities seemed to conflate.¹¹⁵ Women deemed to have an inclination to queer sex, or a history of doing so, could face particularly harsh treatment in the workhouse. Ursula B., for instance, was sent to solitary confinement to prevent her from seducing other inmates.¹¹⁶

Disruption of intimate relations took multiple forms. Although politicians and the churches lauded the primacy of the family, detention in the workhouse – implemented with no stated end date – certainly could fragment existing family relationships. This was most evident in the separation of mothers from their children. When women were admitted to workhouses (or prisons), they often left behind children who simultaneously lost their mothers and primary carers. For many children, this loss in turn heralded their own entry into the state care system.¹¹⁷ Rita E.*, who entered Brauweiler after a conviction for unlawful prostitution and a lack of identity papers, left behind one child in a children's home and another in the care of its grandmother.¹¹⁸ Margot P.* left her daughter in the care of the child's grandmother.¹¹⁹ It is likely that separation from their children left many incarcerated women feeling guilt and shame.¹²⁰

In 1950, on reinstituting the Brauweiler workhouse, West German authorities emphasised its enhanced welfare and re-educational qualities.¹²¹ In 1951, following up on these new priorities, the Brauweiler workhouse opened its first children's unit, only a few years after the creation of Germany's first prison mother-and-baby-unit in Frankfurt-Preungesheim.¹²² Here, the children of mothers who gave birth during their confinement lived, cared for by a nurse, until they reached around two years of age. Mothers were permitted to visit their children after the end of the working day, and thus build and maintain a relationship. At most, the children's unit only held around twenty-five children at a time and thus represented only a fraction of the children of female inmates.¹²³

For inmates with children under the age of two, the children's unit could mitigate the family separation central to workhouse confinement. Yet even here it did not preclude workhouse staff from intervening in the family circumstances of inmates. Visitation and time spent with a baby were subject to 'good behaviour'. Soon after the arrival of inmate Bärbel H.*, described as 'clean and tidy', 'calm and proper', staff suggested she put her daughter up for adoption. Despite her noted hesitations, Bärbel signed a provisional document agreeing to the adoption in July 1968. Welfare workers encouraged adoptions even when female inmates repeatedly declared their intention to take up work and care for their child.¹²⁴ At Bärbel's next review, staff suggested she be released from the workhouse.¹²⁵ The typicality of this case and the role that her acquiescence to the adoption played in her release are unclear, yet the case indicates the influence staff members had upon their charges.

INMATE RESISTANCE

If we consider the loneliness and hardship surely faced by many inmates, it is unsurprising that many inmates sought to escape or resist their confinement. Behavioural reports, punishment logs, court files and contemporary news reporting record various attempts. Nevertheless, it bears remembering that incidents of resistance feature more heavily in the remaining sources than cases of compliance, with the uneven archival record shaping our impression.

Inmates in Brauweiler negotiated the terms of their confinement through a range of methods, exhibiting both acquiescence and resistance. With labour as the institution's central organising principle, inmates withdrew their labour in order to make specific demands. A supervisor noted in May 1965: 'D. refused to work this morning, saying she wanted to get out of the patchwork room, and into the sewing room'.¹²⁶ Inmate files feature various refusals to participate: to write the required CV upon arrival, undergo a medical examination, wash their clothes or accept food.¹²⁷ Others turned to physical violence, as in the case of Sigrid*, who reportedly threw plant pots, smashed pictures from the wall and threatened to swallow the shards of glass when guards attempted to take her to the isolation cell.¹²⁸ Her threat is reminiscent of the relatively common practice of swallowing dangerous objects such as nails or razor blades in German prisons, a practice that staff often interpreted as 'blackmail'.¹²⁹

Attempts in 1958 and 1959 by female inmates to set their cells on fire illustrate a level of desperation, which, at least in the first case, resulted in severe hospitalisation.¹³⁰

Escapes and attempted escapes also feature frequently in the files. Sometimes the reports survive because the escapees came to a tragic end, as in the case of the forty-eight-year-old female inmate who died in July 1959 when the fabric she used to climb out of the window ripped and she fell to her death.¹³¹ A few years later, a twenty-two-year-old came to a similar fate, although Brauweiler told the press her death was ‘unique’.¹³² Other escapes were less dramatic, as in the case of twenty-one-year-old Margarete A. *, who escaped successfully during a trip to the university hospital women’s clinic.¹³³

Often, workhouse staff interpreted emotional outbursts or rebellious behaviour that transgressed gendered norms through a psychiatric lens, as evidence of feeble-mindedness (*Schwachsinn*) or hysteria, to be treated with medication or coercive measures. Judgments of feeble-mindedness were used to place inmates under guardianship, illustrating the control mechanisms such a diagnosis could provide.¹³⁴ Medicalised interpretations of misbehaviour allowed staff to ignore other possible reasons for inmate dissatisfaction:

Shortly after admission ... she took refuge in a hysterical state of emergency with intermittent refusal of food ... Under medical treatment the hysterical state of emergency has eased, so that it can be expected that Frau D. can be reassigned to the normal workhouse performance in the foreseeable future.¹³⁵

Such treatments seemed to prioritise bringing about an inmate’s return to their labour regime rather than earnest engagement with their mental health. At the same time, staff dismissed instances of self-harm or attempted suicide. Accordingly, an appraiser described one inmate as ‘playing’ at suicide, reporting, ‘she sometimes snips away at her wrist, but it’s not meant that seriously’.¹³⁶

Medical reports indicate that eugenicist thinking, known in Germany under the mantle of ‘race hygiene’, still held sway in Brauweiler. The Nazis had taken such thinking to its extremes. The 1933 sterilisation law listed congenital feeble-mindedness among those hereditary diseases determinative for a candidacy of forced sterilisation.¹³⁷ Brauweiler inmates during the Nazi period experienced the brunt of the sterilisation law, with 417 sterilisations carried out between the years 1934–40.¹³⁸ The Nazis used the diagnosis of feeble-mindedness to persecute a range of groups, including Roma and Sinti people, with diagnoses ‘largely determined by social criteria and therefore lack[ing] scientific precision; they could be applied to an ever-increasing number of persons’.¹³⁹

Historical work with such reports is particularly sensitive, as they are moulded by eugenicist interpretive frameworks. Alternate reasons or motivations for inmate behaviour, such as boredom or interpersonal power struggles, remain likely.¹⁴⁰ At the same time, harsh conditions in Brauweiler, combined with longer histories of confinement in reformatories or prisons, suggest that mental health conditions were overrepresented among inmates. Such files encapsulate a range of possible scenarios, which can only be imagined or presumed.

THE ‘DEATH SENTENCE’ OF THE WEST GERMAN WORKHOUSES

Over the 1960s, the wider society increasingly questioned repressive measures in closed institutions. In the mid-1960s, a series of fatal incidents in West German prisons, notably in Cologne prison Klingelpütz, where an exposé by the local newspaper *EXPRESS* broke the news of the brutal murder of an inmate by prison wardens, brought violence and substandard circumstances in prisons to the attention of the wider media.¹⁴¹ Around the same time, the practice of forced admission to an institution, to workhouses and reformatory homes, also caught public interest. Brauweiler itself became the subject of a longer investigation by the local *EXPRESS* newspaper. A 1967 national *Der Spiegel* article argued that the ostensible aim of the workhouse, the re-education of its inmates to learn how to work and

live an orderly life, was no longer the reality.¹⁴² Historians have attributed this public questioning to numerous developments. Politically, the conservative dominance of the Christian Democrats slowly faded and the Nazi past increasingly entered the public consciousness. As the old guard reached pensionable age, the extra-parliamentary opposition and student protests politicised the social climate.¹⁴³ An increasingly critical West German media culture may also have contributed to this shift.¹⁴⁴

The direct impetus for the federal law change came in the form of legal challenges to the provisions for forced admittance of adults to institutions under the guise of welfare (*Zwangsbewahrung*), as enshrined in the 1961 Federal Social Assistance Law. When the SPD-led states Hamburg, Hesse and Lower Saxony challenged this measure in the Federal Constitutional Court, the judgment of 18 July 1967 found that:

the forced placement of an adult in an institution or home, which serves neither the protection of the general public nor the protection of the person concerned, but exclusively his 'betterment', is unconstitutional.¹⁴⁵

This judgment was restricted to forced reformatory admission, and not admissions deemed voluntary, or admission to a workhouse as a result of a criminal conviction. Nevertheless, historian Willing describes the judgment in this case as a 'death sentence' for the workhouse.¹⁴⁶ As part of wider-reaching criminal code reforms, workhouse admission ended in September 1969.¹⁴⁷ The workhouse remained a measure to imprison 'work-shy' welfare recipients until the March 1974 reform of the Social Assistance Act.¹⁴⁸ In 1969, Brauweiler was converted to a hospital specialising in the treatment of addictions. Despite attempts to combat prison-like elements, much of the staff remained. After a number of tragic patient deaths hit the headlines in the 1970s, the local authority subsequently closed the Brauweiler hospital.¹⁴⁹

CONCLUSIONS

In a 1966 interview, Brauweiler's director Müller emphasised that 'placement in the workhouse is not a punishment ... it is rather a correctional measure'.¹⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the strictly regimented life, the requirement to labour and restricted freedoms inherent to the West German workhouses illustrate that the workhouses operated as institutions of coercive confinement similar to prisons.¹⁵¹

Although the West German workhouse population remained small, the disproportionate impact of the workhouse on marginalised individuals is overwhelming. A welfare worker assessed that the nation's economic prosperity had not reached Brauweiler's inmates.¹⁵² Their files show widespread experiences of poverty, violence and institutional interventions largely absent from histories of the West German 'economic miracle'. Although workhouse practices were couched in the language of re-education, inmates were separated from their surroundings, locked up and placed under a strict labour and behavioural regime, documented meticulously by the staff of the institution. The threat of workhouse confinement permeated throughout the welfare and criminal justice system as a coercive measure, implemented in particular against women caught trading sex.

Although much of the terminology used to describe inmates was inherited from the Weimar and Nazi periods, the functioning of the West German workhouses was not simply an extension of previous decades. As institutions whose importance had waned under the Nazi regime, they were re-implemented in the post-war years, with the pathways to workhouse admission expanded for women who sold sex. While workhouse internment remained the fate of the few, the shifting demographics of Brauweiler's inmates to include young female inmates in greater numbers illustrate a wider preoccupation with disciplining female sexuality. The typically young women interned on prostitution-related offences deviated from promoted norms through their mobility, rejection of family or employment structures and their willingness to trade sex in order to participate in the West German 'economic miracle'. The sentencing of these supposedly 'promiscuous' or deviant women demonstrates the sustained anxieties over single and sexually independent women into the late 1960s. For these women,

often the target of welfare workers for their non-normative family constellations, their involvement in transactional sex could result in long periods of confinement. For others, the threat of this fate by authorities could lead to acquiescence.

Confinement in the workhouse included wide-reaching interventions into inmates' private lives. Staff separated families, intercepted letters and encouraged inmates to put their children up for adoption, attesting to the continued paternalism entrenched in the West German welfare system. Assessments of inmates as feeble-minded, hypersexual or lazy indicate the role of gender, class and disability in workhouse admission, alongside the persistence of eugenicist interpretations. Incarceration in the workhouse was always gendered, beginning with the reasons for confinement, but this policing of the gender binary continued upon arrival in Brauweiler; as part of the 'betterment' process, inmates were re-educated to conform to gendered stereotypes. This took place through segregation based on gender and the assignment of gendered labour and separate behavioural regulations. Staff also regularly policed the sexuality of inmates, whether this was the supposed hypersexuality of women who sold sex, or the sanctioning of queer sex and relationships.

This article has concentrated on cases of female inmates admitted under a correctional post-internment regime. The range of institutions based in Brauweiler illustrates, however, that practices of coercive confinement had a much wider impact. Locked away from West German society, the stories of inmates confined in workhouses appear disconnected from narratives of liberalisation and economic prosperity. Turning back to these institutions allows us to tell the story of those whom the welfare state needed to exclude and control to lay claim to success.

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ENDNOTES

*The names of inmates have been anonymised.

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² Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln (HASStK), Acc-672-A13, *Concepte*, 'Besserung durch das Arbeitshaus?', 12 December 1966.

³ Grundgesetz für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland vom 23. Mai 1949, BGBl., p. 1.

⁴ 'Work-shy' welfare recipients could be incarcerated in workhouses until 1974.

⁵ Parallels can be found with the institutional laundries of Britain, Ireland, India and North America. See: Philippa Hetherington and Julia Laite, 'Trafficking, a Useless Category of Historical Analysis?', *Journal of Women's History* 33 (2021), p. 18; Frances Finnegan, *Do Penance or Perish: A Study of Magdalen Asylums in Ireland* (Piltown: Congrave Press, 2001).

⁶ On the workhouse in East Germany, see: Markus Wahl, 'The Workhouse Dresden-Leuben After 1945: A Microstudy of Local Continuities in Postwar East Germany', *Journal of Contemporary History* 55 (2020), pp. 120–44. The Magdalene Laundries, more prominent institutions of coercive confinement with a similar concern with disciplining female sexuality, survived in Ireland into the 1990s: Finnegan, *Do Penance or Perish*.

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- ¹⁶ Ayaß, 'Die "korrektionelle Nachhaft"', pp. 184–201.
- ¹⁷ Yvonne Svanström, 'Prostitution as Non-Labour Leading to Forced Labour. Vagrancy and Gender in Sweden and Stockholm, 1919–1939', *ERH* 29 (2022), p. 146.
- ¹⁸ Dolinsek/Hearne, 'Introduction', pp. 121–44.
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- ⁴⁷ Willing, 'Zwangsbewahrung', p. 476.

- ⁴⁸Willing, 'Zwangsbewahrung', p. 477.
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- ⁵⁰HASTK, Acc-194-A57.
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- ⁷⁷See, for instance, ALVR 75468 and 74465.
- ⁷⁸'Aus der Schublade', *Der Spiegel*, 19.02.1967, p. 49. See also Julia Laite, 'Immoral Traffic: Mobility, Health, Labor, and the "Lorry Girl" in Mid-Twentieth-Century Britain', *Journal of British Studies* 52 (2013), pp. 693–721.
- ⁷⁹Laite, 'Immoral Traffic', pp. 697–8.
- ⁸⁰Laite, 'Immoral Traffic', pp. 697–8.
- ⁸¹ALVR 74465, p. 8.
- ⁸²Gravenhorst, *Soziale Kontrolle abweichenden Verhaltens*, pp. 70–71.
- ⁸³ALVR 90640.
- ⁸⁴ALVR 90640, 2, p. 15.
- ⁸⁵ALVR 90640, p. 3.
- ⁸⁶'Besserung durch das Arbeitshaus?'
- ⁸⁷Daners, 'Ab nach Brauweiler...!', p. 273; 'Aus der Schublade', *Der Spiegel*, 19 February 1967, p. 49.
- ⁸⁸Statistisches Bundesamt, *Von den zwanziger zu den achtziger Jahren: Ein Vergleich der Lebensverhältnisse der Menschen* (Wiesbaden, 1987), p. 35.
- ⁸⁹'Besserung durch das Arbeitshaus?'
- ⁹⁰ALVR 15112, *Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger*, 'Die Landesarbeitsanstalt vor der Presse', 3 January 1967.
- ⁹¹'Aus der Schublade', p. 49.
- ⁹²HASTK Acc 672 A13, p. 18.
- ⁹³ALVR 90635, p. 25.
- ⁹⁴*EXPRESS*, 'Der Brauweiler-Report', 30 January 1967.
- ⁹⁵ALVR 75574. See Claudia Soares, 'Leaving the Victorian Children's Institution: Aftercare, Friendship and Support', *HWJ* 87 (2019), pp. 94–117.
- ⁹⁶'Besserung durch das Arbeitshaus?'; ALVR 76871, letter from welfare worker to employment office, 12 May 1954.
- ⁹⁷ALVR 90614, 30.
- ⁹⁸'Besserung durch das Arbeitshaus?'
- ⁹⁹See quoted letter in *EXPRESS* 'Der Brauweiler-Report', 26 January 1967.
- ¹⁰⁰See: ALVR 75466.

- ¹⁰¹ *Saarbrücker Zeitung*, 'Endstation für Außenseiter', 1 July 1960; *Kölner Rundschau*, 'Mehr als zwei Drittel kehren wieder nach Brauweiler zurück', 13 May 1965.
- ¹⁰² Daners, 'Ab nach Brauweiler...!', p. 272.
- ¹⁰³ ALVR 90640, p. 21.
- ¹⁰⁴ ALVR 17344, p. 5.
- ¹⁰⁵ 'Aus der Schublade', p. 49.
- ¹⁰⁶ ALVR 75470, P5c Anzeige 22.4.56.
- ¹⁰⁷ ALVR 75476 P3a.
- ¹⁰⁸ ALVR 75193, P5d.
- ¹⁰⁹ ALVR 17344, 4.
- ¹¹⁰ ALVR 17344, 1–2.
- ¹¹¹ ALVR 17344, 3.
- ¹¹² Colvin, *Shadowland*, p. 100.
- ¹¹³ ALVR 17344, 3.
- ¹¹⁴ See also: Anne Meis Knupfer, "'To Become Good, Self-Supporting Women': The State Industrial School for Delinquent Girls at Geneva, Illinois, 1900–1935", *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 9 (2000), p. 424.
- ¹¹⁵ Estelle B. Freedman, 'The Prison Lesbian: Race, Class, and the Construction of the Aggressive Female Homosexual, 1915–1965', *Feminist Studies* 22 (1996), p. 416.
- ¹¹⁶ ALVR 17344, p. 3.
- ¹¹⁷ Sarah Colvin, *Shadowland*, p. 99.
- ¹¹⁸ ALVR 79878.
- ¹¹⁹ ALVR 75466.
- ¹²⁰ See Colvin, *Shadowland*, p. 99.
- ¹²¹ Daners, 'Ab nach Brauweiler...!', p. 270.
- ¹²² Colvin, *Shadowland*, p. 99.
- ¹²³ Daners, 'Ab nach Brauweiler...!', p. 270. In 1967, the workhouse doctor attributed the lower numbers of babies and children on the children's unit down to extended access to birth control pills: *EXPRESS*, 'Der Brauweiler-Report', 24 January 1967.
- ¹²⁴ ALVR 75476, p. 15.
- ¹²⁵ ALVR 90608, 25–27, p. 38.
- ¹²⁶ ALVR 87309, punishment log, 20 April 1965.
- ¹²⁷ ALVR 87309.
- ¹²⁸ *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*, 'Zu viel Temperament', 28 January 1959.
- ¹²⁹ Colvin, *Shadowland*, p. 103.
- ¹³⁰ ALVR, 15110, p. 10. This is not unique to Brauweiler inmates. Karin Zipf, in her study of the Samarcand reformatory in North Carolina between 1929 and 1950 opens her study with the tale of teenage girls setting fires to achieve their release: Karin Zipf, *Bad Girls at Samarcand: Sexuality and Sterilization in a Southern Juvenile Reformatory* (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 2016), p. 1.
- ¹³¹ ALVR, 15110, p. 15.
- ¹³² ALVR, 15110, p. 40.
- ¹³³ ALVR, 87047, 1, p. 59.
- ¹³⁴ ALVR 90640, 36; *Der Spiegel*, 'Arbeitshäuser'.
- ¹³⁵ ALVR 87309, medical opinion, 29 January 1965.
- ¹³⁶ *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*, 'Zu viel Temperament', 28 January 1959.
- ¹³⁷ Henry Friedlander, 'The Exclusion and Murder of the Disabled', in Robert Gellately and Nathan Stoltzfus (eds), *Social Outsiders in Nazi Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), p. 148.
- ¹³⁸ Daners/Wißkirchen, *Was in Brauweiler geschah*, p. 204.
- ¹³⁹ Friedlander, 'The Exclusion and Murder of the Disabled', p. 149.
- ¹⁴⁰ Knupfer, 'To Become Good, Self-Supporting Women', p. 431.
- ¹⁴¹ Colvin, *Shadowland*, p. 37.
- ¹⁴² *Der Spiegel*, 'Arbeitshäuser'.
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- ¹⁴⁴ Christina von Hodenberg, 'Mass Media and the Generation of Conflict: West Germany's Long Sixties and the Formation of a Critical Public Sphere', *CEH*, 15/3 (2006), pp. 367–95.
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- ¹⁴⁷ Ayaß, *Arbeitshaus Breitenau*, p. 345.
- ¹⁴⁸ Willing, 'Zwangsbewahrung', p. 480.
- ¹⁴⁹ Daners, 'Ab nach Brauweiler...!', pp. 164–68.
- ¹⁵⁰ 'Besserung durch das Arbeitshaus?'
- ¹⁵¹ See: Ian O'Donnell and Eoin O'Sullivan, "'Coercive Confinement': An Idea Whose Time Has Come?", *Incarceration* 1 (2020), pp. 1–20.
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