



German-Language Children's and Youth Literature In The Media Network 1900–1945

Edited by

Petra Josting · Marlene Antonia Illies
Matthias Preis · Annemarie Weber

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Preface

Without the generous funding from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft spanning four years, our project and thus this volume could not have been realised. We would like to express our sincere thanks to their referee, Dr. Thomas Wiemer, for his manifold support. We would also like to thank many others who supported the project work in various ways.

First and foremost, the Bielefeld University Library, namely its director Barbara Knorn and her deputy Dirk Pieper, without whose willingness to cooperate and support a project that has opened up to the Digital Humanities with its online portal would have never been possible. Our cooperation began in the course of the application, continued after the project was approved with the development of the metadata structure (Edith Rimmert) and, in parallel, with the conception and development of the online portal, which offers a variety of innovative research and visualisation possibilities. We appreciate the commitment of Friedrich Summann, who, as head of the LibTec department, was always available for discussions and programmed the portal despite his many other mandatory tasks! We would also like to thank Artur Nold (Drupal system administration) and Sebastian Wolf (Web design) for the extended technical support on the part of the University Library.

We would like to thank three institutions for providing journals, archival materials, etc.: the Bundesfilmarchiv in Berlin, the Deutsche Kinemathek in Berlin, and especially the Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv in Frankfurt am Main, with which the project was continuously connected. Ms. Susanne Hennings supported us with research in the archives and with digitisation requests, Ms. Marion Gillum and Dorothee Fischer provided audio copies, and Ms. Julia Weber helped clarify usage rights.

The extensive source material could not have been handled by the project staff alone. Therefore, Dilek Çıkrıkcıoğlu, Elham Moghadas, Jenny Petermann, Natalie Regier and Kevin Richardt helped us with the digitalisation, the input of data and their linking. Support in the evaluation of sources was provided by staff members Alina Wanzek and Linda Schrader-Grimm. Annika Behler joined the project in its fourth year as a competent research assistant.

After sufficient material was available around the halfway mark of the project, we approached researchers of children's and youth literature in Germany and Switzerland with the request to present selected media networks at a joint conference at the Center for Interdisciplinary Research (ZiF) in Bielefeld and to publish them later in our volume. They agreed, which we are very grateful for, because as a project team alone we would not have been possible to accomplish this task due to time constraints. Our colleagues had to deal with a lot of unknown material, they searched film archives, did research and presented their first results in the form of a lecture. The thorough working atmosphere and the substantial contributions will positively remain in our memories. Many of them travelled to Bielefeld a second time a few months later for an exchange on media theories, in order to write down their results on this basis. Thank you to all of them!

No project and no conference can do without secretarial support. Therefore, we would also like to thank our secretary Dorothea Meerkamp for her organisational talent and for remaining calm even during hectic times. Last but not least, we would also like to thank Dr. Peter Schildhauer for translating the abstracts into English, the EDP support of our faculty (Martin Schmitz), the conference office of the ZiF (Trixi Valentin) and Larissa Jagdschian, who helped editing the texts with great commitment.

For the final editing and proofreading of the automated translation of this volume into English we were able to enlist Liam Rennekamp for our project, who we all thank very much.

Bielefeld, Germany
December 2021

Petra Josting
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Introduction: Concepts, Corpus and Strategies of Media Network Research



Petra Josting, Marlene Antonia Illies, Matthias Preis, and Annemarie Weber

The study of children's and young people's literature and its media networks in the period 1900 to 1945 is an attempt to make an innovative contribution to the historiography of children's and young people's literature, which until now has concentrated mainly on the medium of the book and thus often neglected inter- and transmedial aspects as well as the view of those involved in the so-called system of action in children's and young people's literature, i.e. the producers, mediators, recipients and processors.

The first aim of the research project was to record films and radio broadcasts that were produced for children and young people and/or selected for them and/or received by them in the period from 1900 to 1945 as completely as possible. Secondly, based on these two new forms of media, the aim was to record media compilations as comprehensively as possible, mainly including epic but also dramatic literature; i.e. not only novels, stories, picture stories or picture books were included, but also stage manuscripts and theatre performances. Thirdly, those discourses, pronouncements, announcements, etc. were recorded that refer to the individual medium as well as to the persons and/or institutions involved in the production, mediation, reception and processing of the respective media offer.

Parallel to this work, a metadata concept was developed in cooperation with Bielefeld University Library in order to build an online portal on this basis, in which both linked metadata and digital copies can be stored. Only the linking of metadata

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enables a comprehensive view of the development and constitution of media networks and at the same time generates new perspectives on the corpus of children's and youth literature.

In the following, the recording criteria of children's and youth film, children's and youth radio, children's and youth theatre as well as print media, records and advertising material are first outlined here in the introduction. This is followed by the theoretical framework of the project and an overview of the media networks of the period under investigation, including a brief description of the range of contributions presented in this volume. The orienting introductory chapter contains three overview articles in which Annemarie Weber presents the findings on children's and youth radio and Marlene Antonia Illies describes the development of children's and youth film as well as children's and youth theatre. Finally, Matthias Preis and Friedrich Summann in their contribution *Digital explorations of historical media networks. Outlines of portal development from an interdisciplinary perspective* display the potential of such an endeavour by describing how the database was conceived and constructed, and what kinds of presentation, visualisation, and research possibilities it offers.¹ In the following, the volume brings together thematically grouped essays on specific media networks from the period under investigation, most of which go back to the Bielefeld project conference *Lichtspiel – Hörspiel – Schauspiel* in September 2017.

Recording Criteria of Children's and Youth Film

Film and radio are the two main forms of media recorded in the database and form most of the corpus. The technical dispositives, the communication instruments and modalities, the institutional framings of the individual types of media had to be taken into account in the recording. In the case of film, these are mostly elaborate productions, usually well documented on filmstrips, because films were stored and duplicated, which enabled a spatially broad and temporally persistent distribution. However, it is precisely the early productions that puzzle researchers today, as the source material is often not preserved; around 80% of all silent films are considered lost and thus lost forever. The reason for this is the sensitivity of the nitrate film used until around 1951, which is highly flammable (numerous cinemas, storage rooms and entire film archives burned down) and decomposes if it is not stored at the right temperature and humidity. Therefore, only reports and messages from contemporaries can provide information about the content and production of the films that are no longer available. Sometimes extensive paratexts of production and reception provide insights, sometimes, especially in the early years of cinema, only a single advertisement testifies to the existence of a film.

¹<http://medienverbundportal.kjl.uni-bielefeld.de>

The film industry was privately organised, and politics and society attempted to control the production and publication or consumption of films by children and young people by means of binding rules, censorship, overt or covert subsidies or obstructions. During the period under study, film censorship went through eight different sets of regulations – from an absence of any censorship to recommendations of veritable acts of war (awarded the rating of *jugendwert*) for minors. Regardless of this, contemporary studies (cf. Auer 1911; Dinse 1932; Kimmins 1919) and the discussions in film and daily newspapers prove that children found their way into the cinemas even if a film had not explicitly been intended to be viewed by them.

These components constituting the media system of *film* helped determine the rules of recording. The recording is based both on clear decisions at the distribution level – such as youth releases, screening in children’s/youth performances or the predicate *jugendwert* – as well as on indications that point directly to reception on the part of children and young people, for example when fairy tale films or drama adaptations were shown in school performances (cf. theatre), or when films deal with youth issues and/or are about young people.

In order to indicate where a reception by children and young people on the part of the distribution is intended or factually proven by sources or not, the individual films were keyworded according to the categories common in the discourse surrounding children and young people’s literature. The keyword *KJ-spezifischer Film* refers to all films that were potentially and from the outset made for children and/or young people; the keyword *KJ-intendierter Film* refers to those that were addressed to children and young people at the distribution level (via censorship, advertising, screening in children’s/youth performances). The frequently used phrase *For Young and Old* in advertisements is indicative of deliberately attracting adults (who can pay for the cinema) to the cinema via their children (who want to see the film). In addition, school screenings and films that were shown in the National Socialist *Jugendfilmstunde* were also marked as *KJ-intendiert*, since here political authorities judged the films to be suitable for children/young people or even forced them to attend. The keyword *faktische KJ-Nutzung* was chosen for all films that appeared neither intended nor specifically suitable for children and adolescents, whose reception, however, is assured on the basis of sources. For those productions for which the availability of sources does not yet allow for a clear statement, the keyword *KJ-Nutzung unsicher* is used. In this way, doubtful cases did not have to be left out, and it was possible to collect a large corpus that forms the basis for further research. Of course, misinterpretations cannot be ruled out.

To develop media networks, new adaptations of *literarische Stoffe*² or remakes were also included, i.e. films produced after 1945. Based on the changing censorship measures of the period under investigation as well as changing attitudes towards what is suitable for children and young people, such *Stoffe* were also

² See Schulz (2011) on pp. 16 for a more detailed definition: He defines *literarische Stoffe* “as the main default for the plot of a narrative work (in literature, radio play, drama, film, comic, etc.)”.

comprehensively considered that were given a youth release at least once and possibly only after 1945 as a cinematic adaptation. Moreover, not only film adaptations of *literarischer Stoffe* were included, but also independent specific and intended children's and youth films, in order to cover the entire spectrum of production for this audience. Films were then, and still are today, dominant forms of media that often entail further processing; in the simplest case, the film is followed by film criticism, but often the screening of films was preceded by detailed reports on the production, and sometimes the so-called book to the film already followed in the period under investigation; this is also how media networks are formed.

A particular film forms one dataset at a time. The film critics, reviews, censorship decisions, various evidence of reception in different spaces and contexts (usually *Print (sekundär)*), and advertisements (*Werbematerial*) are linked to this dataset.

The main sources for the survey were the film magazines *Der Kinematograph* (1907–1934) and *Film-Kurier* (1919–1945). They are among the most widely distributed film periodicals of their time, cover the majority of the period under investigation, and had different target audiences. *Der Kinematograph* was a film trade journal that saw itself as representing the interests of the German film industry. The various specialist editorial departments served the areas of film politics, legal advice and technology, film criticism and international film reporting. The *Film-Kurier* however, focused on current news regarding the film industry, film reviews and schedules of Berlin cinemas. The paper, which was published daily at times, was addressed to a broader audience, the potential visitors of the cinemas.

In addition, the relevant research literature was evaluated. Reference was made to relevant encyclopaedias (Schäfer 1998), almanacs (Klaus 1988–2006; Lamprecht 1969), chronicles (Birett 1980; Estermann 1965; Hembus/Brennicke 1983), film histories (Faulstich/Korte 1994; Kreimeier 2012; Toeplitz 1975) and overviews (Faulstich 2005; Jacobsen/Kaes/Prinzler 2004; Schäfer/Wegener 2009). Informative insights into the viewing habits of and film production for children and young people can be found in period-, theme-, or genre-centered contributions on the cinema of the Kaiserreich (e.g., Müller 2008; Maase 2008; Töteberg 2008; Elsaesser 2002), the Weimar Republic (e.g., Räder 2009; Stiglegger 2003; Crăciun 2018; Nowak 2018; Marzolph 2008), the Nazi period (e.g. Hobsch 2009; Strobel 2009; Belling/Schütze 1975; Brücher 1995; Sander 1944/1984; Stelzner-Large 1996), fairy tale film (e.g. Höfig 2008; Pecher 2017; Schäfer 2017; Hartmann/Nölle 2017; Tomkowiak 2017; Schlesinger 2017) or on censorship (e.g. Kopf 2003; Loiperdinger 2004; Kanzog 1994). With the help of research literature on popular culture and trivial literature (e.g. Maase 2001; Kerlen/Rath/Marci-Boehncke 2005), a significant corpus of de facto children's and youth films was able to be recorded.

Recording Criteria for Children's and Youth Radio Programmes

Radio, unlike the film industry, was tightly framed by state institutions.³ After a short phase of controllable auditorium screenings reception became public and generally accessible – if one owned an appropriate radio set and, in the best scenario, also paid the radio licence fee. Consequently, there was already pre-ordered censorship in the production phase. Offensive broadcasts were not produced in the first place, radio was therefore *per se* appropriate for minors. As a rule, the audience was addressed by means of programmes produced especially for the respective target group, their age-appropriate placement in the course of the day and their corresponding announcement in the programme guide.

Another difference to film lies in the production and distribution technology: Programmes were transmitted live in the early years of radio and archived only in exceptional cases until 1929, which did not include those addressed to children and young people. Even from the period thereafter, vanishingly few recordings survived (cf. Elfert 1985, 11 and 57). The records of this project are therefore almost exclusively based on the information in the programme guides, which were systematically evaluated. As a rule, at least two publications were examined in parallel for the period of recording, in order to be able to check programme details and to find as many different commentaries, reviews, references to programmes and special pages for children and young people as possible.

In contrast to film, radio production can only be documented in the sparse programme information. Another essential difference between film and radio lies in the form of publication of the two media, which led to different recording modalities. While a film is a completed work and was screened as such, thus receiving an entry in the database, individual radio broadcasts are often hybrid forms. If, for example, a literary part of a programme was followed by instructions for handicrafts or if several fairy tales were told, the entry in the database was not made for the entire programme, but for the literary part of it for each individual fairy tale, whereby the entire programme of the respective broadcast is recorded completely in the data record for contextualisation. This is the only way to compare the processing of the respective *Stoff* in film and radio on the one hand and to establish *Stoff*-based media networks with printed works, recordings, theatre performances, etc. on the other. A concrete reference to the *Stoff* of the respective contribution was a prerequisite for its recording. Programmes with general information such as *fables, sagas, fairy tales* or similar were generally not taken into account.

The corpus in the field of radio broadcasting thus represents the programmes or programme segments with a literary-entertaining claim addressed to children and young people, which were produced and broadcast by the publicly licenced German-language radio stations, including Austria and – as far as published in the German programme press – the Swiss stations Bern, Basel and Zurich, from the

³ Cf. the article *Children's and youth radio from 1924 to 1945* by Annemarie Weber in this volume.

beginnings in 1924 up to and including 1944. No relevant broadcasts could be proven for the last months of the war.

Programmes were taken into account which were either identified as being addressed to children or young people or which could clearly be assumed to be (also) addressed to children or young people on the basis of other characteristics (indications). There had to be at least two indications in order for the programme to be considered: The title (ambiguous as to whether it was addressed to children or adults) and the time of broadcast (before the evening programme). Programmes from the early evening were also included, which were broadcast mainly during the Christmas period for an undefined group of listeners and were addressed to *adults and children, large and small children, the whole family*, and the like. This category includes programmes that (also) recommend books received by children and young people, but which are aimed at an adult (buying) audience.

When recording according to circumstantial evidence, there is a greater margin of discretion, which may well lead to misjudgements of the programmes recorded or not recorded. For example, not all of the broadcasters' fairy tale programmes were included, and indeed not those which were broadcast in the evening, for an adult audience only, often in combination with classical songs. Programmes that were recorded on the basis of circumstantial evidence and not on the basis of target group addressability are marked as *nicht als KJ-Sendung ausgewiesen* (not designated as programmes for children and young people). Programmes which have been identified at least once as being addressed to a target group are considered to be addressed to a target group overall and are generally not marked with the remark above. Programmes whose reception by children and/or young people is attested to in contemporary documents have been included. The comedy *Flachsmann als Erzieher* is one example, which was broadcast as a radio play by Funk-Stunde Berlin on February 11, 1927 from 20:30. It was followed with great interest by the pupils of a reformatory – according to a report by their director – on the radio in the common room (cf. Rake 1927).

In the case of mixed spoken word and music broadcasts, only the spoken word contributions were created as separate data records. Pure song or music broadcasts (including opera, operetta, etc.) were not recorded, except for so-called *school operas*. Programmes produced to support teaching were also taken into account, provided they met the above-mentioned recording criteria in terms of subject matter and genre – as a rule, they were identified as *Schulfunk*.

Programmes exclusively devoted to factual topics (hygiene advice, handicrafts, questions of etiquette, etc.) were not included. If literary forms – such as the fairy tale or the saga – served to convey educational content or questions of knowledge, the broadcasts were included, such as the Funk-Stunde Berlin series *Onkel Doktor als Märchenerzähler* or the naturalistic educational plays by Erna Moser produced by Mirag. Target group specific broadcasts addressing film and radio were included for contextualisation, even if they were not focused on literary content.

Accordingly, not all programmes addressed to children and young people are included, but only those which meet the criteria and restrictions listed. Programmes without content details in the programme guides were only taken into account in

exceptional cases, such as the project focuses on *Funkheinzelmann* and *Kasperliaden*; on the other hand, the Stuttgart series' *Gretle von Strümpfelbach erzählt* was not recorded, despite numerous broadcast episodes, because no details about its content can be found in the programme guides. Despite all the limitations, this project is the first comprehensive collection of sources on children's and youth radio of the first half of the twentieth century in the German-speaking world.

To capture the broadcasts, the programme notes/indications were transcribed. These programme notes are *paratexts* according to a term by Genette modified to electronic media by Stanitzek (2005). In Elleström's (2017) sense, the transcriptions of the paratexts into the database are *transmedial representations* of the radio programmes. In the media network constructed and represented by the database, they assume the role of placeholders for the broadcasts they represent. Paratexts that refer to the radio programmes, such as (short) reviews, reports, teasers, synopses and illustrations, e.g. on the target group-oriented special pages of the programme guides – *miscellanies* in Stanitzek's sense – are created as separate data sets, marked as *print* or *Bild* (image) and linked to the radio programme to which they refer. In the media network, they thus take the place of independent *media offers* in the sense of *process results* from the interaction of the four action domains of the media system identified by Schmidt: production, distribution, reception and post processing (cf. Schmidt 2008a, 148).

The main source of data collection was the national and oldest programme guide *Der Deutsche Rundfunk* (Berlin), which was published from 1923 onwards. In addition, individual volumes or numbers of the following magazines were consulted: *Die Funk-Stunde*, *Funk-Woche*, *Die Sendung* (all Berlin), *Die Funkwelt* and *Die Norag* (both Hamburg), *Die Mirag* (Leipzig), *Die Werag* (Cologne), *Die Sürag* (Stuttgart), *Radio Wien* (Vienna). For the period from 1 June 1941, when the programme guides had to cease publication (cf. Bauer 1993, 209), the daily newspaper *Völkischer Beobachter* (Berlin) was included. In 1941–1942 it published the radio programme only occasionally so that no contributions are recorded for 1942. It was not until 1943 and 1944 that there was a daily radio section, but the limited information (approximately 10 lines) no longer contains any target group addressing. The few contributions selected from this period are based exclusively on indications – as a rule, they are fairy tale radio plays or readings.

Recording Criteria for Children's and Youth Theatre

Children's and youth theatre is understood to cover the entire range of staged performances of *literarische Stoffe* for children and young people (puppet and figure theatre, *Singspiel*, professional stage performance, *Laienspiel*, school theatre, etc.). During the period under study, private associations and pedagogical committees in all large cities aimed to create theatrical performances suitable for schoolchildren, and some professional theatres founded their own youth departments.

Although the focus of the project is on adaptations in radio and film, the theatre could not be left out, since large interconnected fields developed during the period under investigation in which the media of film, theatre and radio were interwoven in a variety of ways – e.g. in radio adaptations of classical dramatic *Stoffe* for youth radio or in the outstanding role played by *Kasperle* stemming from the puppet theatre in radio, in numerous film adaptations of dramas as well as in the commitment of the Genschow-Stobrawa Children's Theatre to film.

The field of theatre was recorded in two forms: Stage manuscripts and plays regularly available in bookstores were created as *Print (primär)* and tagged with the keyword *Theater* for attribution purposes. In addition to plays whose performances for children and young people are mentioned by contemporary sources, the directory *Für Fest und Feier* (NSLB 1935) was evaluated and the recommended plays recorded. This builds on the *Verzeichnis wertvoller Spiele für die Schul- und Jugendbühne* (VDP 1932) and, compared to the previous one, has been expanded primarily to include the sections *Sprechchor*, *Musik* and *Spiel und Bewegung*, as well as new publications that conform to the National Socialism. Since the majority of the plays in this list correspond to the older list (including the annotations), it was possible to build up a text corpus of recommended plays for children and young people that is valid for the Weimar Republic and the Nazi period.

Performances were created as a dataset *Theater*. An individual production can be recorded with varying degrees of accuracy depending on the source situation. Sometimes the underlying stage manuscript including the author is known and preserved, press releases and archived playbills reveal the names of the directors, actors and other persons involved in the production. In other cases, only a brief announcement is found: For example, *Snow White* was performed in a particular theatre as a Christmas fairy tale for children. Where further research was unsuccessful, these productions were recorded despite and with the limited information. The same key-wording as for film was used to further identify the target audience: *KJ-spezifisch*, *KJ-intendiert*, *faktische KJ-Nutzung* and *KJ-Nutzung unsicher*.

In addition to *Für Fest und Feier*, contemporary monographies (e.g. Röttger 1922; Stahl 1911; Kalk 1926) on the subject have been evaluated. The statistics on school performances in various cities over a long period (from 1900) in Friedrich Bonn's *Jugend und Theater* (1939) proved particularly helpful. They made it possible to record numerous, mainly classical plays that were performed for children and young people or whose respective productions were at least recommended for them – in addition to *Minna von Barnhelm*, *Götz von Berlichingen*, *Die Räuber* and *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*, *Wilhelm Tell* occupies a prominent position throughout the entire period under investigation.

The trade journals *Das Puppentheater* (1923–1931) and *Der Puppenspieler* (1931–1933) were systematically evaluated and provided information on the development of puppet theatre in Germany. The theatre magazine *Die Schaubühne* was also examined, which from 1905 to 1918 was a good source for premieres and the general development of the German theatre industry, and always contained information about fairy tale plays, school performances, and children's and youth theatre in