

Controlling Youth and Society in the Miracle Years



In 1958, social commentators noted that dancing, rock 'n' roll music, comic books, and several other namely American products endangered the young and society as a whole. It is not surprising “that our culture is moving backwards [and] becoming more primitive,”¹ one voice noted. Psychologist Wolfgang Brudny made a similar argument. He surveyed the reaction of children at numerous movie theaters in Munich throughout the 1950s.² By then, of course, *the Halbstarke* and *the teenager* fully embodied contemporary fears, as both images symbolized threats to stability: he endangered productivity and moral order; she primarily jeopardized gender mores. As a result, and similar to discussions regarding *the delinquent boy* and *the sexually deviant girl* in the crisis years, both images of youth eventually provided authorities with the leeway to expand mechanisms of social control.

To step in against youth, however, was a complicated issue. Since May 1949 West Germany had been a democracy, grounded in the *Grundgesetz* common law that protected civil liberties and restricted random government interference in many areas. This framework meant that although local authorities might fear growing Americanization and had fought against it in numerous ways,³ they had limited possibilities to censor such influences. Moreover, the young had more means, freedoms, and confidence compared to the crisis years. Young males in particular often worked full time and contributed to recovery, productivity, and overall stability. For them, it became their right to do what they wanted after work, especially if they were over the age of eighteen. Finally, corporations had discovered youth as consumers, giving them even more say and power. As a result, adult authorities had a harder time single handedly restricting the doings of young people in these miracle years.

Soon traditional local authorities and a growing commercial sector nonetheless took on this challenge. In Munich, two conservative politicians in particular demanded stricter measures against primarily male youth. Member of the State Parliament Heinrich Junker introduced an urgency measure. It outlined the threat posed by *the Halbstarke* and provided support for additional policing, stricter laws, and more supervision; Member of the conservative Bavarian Party (BP) and Minister of the Interior August Geislhöringer repeatedly called for a stringent, possibly even brutal, police response in light of *the Halbstarke*.⁴ In a way, traditional conservative voices partially stuck in old mindsets spearheaded responses in Munich. The public's reactions against the rhetoric of Geislhöringer, at least, plus limitations based on shared governance, ultimately averted the implementation of most proposals. Apart from facing similar policies, *the teenager* also dealt with more indirect pressures. In particular, conservative West German Family Minister Franz-Josef Wuermeling and religious officials on the local level repeatedly enforced pious sentiments specifically targeting young women.⁵ In that sense, discussions of shame and guilt combined with strict rules against female youth became powerful ways to restrict teenage bodies and behaviors, as females once again faced a stigmatization based on age, gender, and sexuality.⁶ The growing influence of the commercial sector finally became a new and powerful force controlling youth as business interests quickly discovered the growing purchasing power of the young.⁷ Since rebellious *Halbstarke* and overly sexual *teenagers* were not lucrative in a repressive overall environment, a major rebranding effort created a more tolerable and profitable construct of youth. By the early 1960s, this corporate model of male and female youth embodied a new stage in life, between childhood and adulthood, now grounded, of course, in the need to purchase this teenage lifestyle.

Controlling the *Halbstarke*

Direct attempts to control *the Halbstarke* became increasingly noticeable by the mid-1950s. Following broader discussions about rebels and rowdies elsewhere, local authorities had long anticipated the arrival of this threat. Earlier campaigns against smut and filth had already targeted subversive foreign influences, and provided some leeway to expand overall surveillance.⁸ Plus police officers had by now begun monitoring public spaces as a way to disperse and prevent any gatherings of male youth in the first place. As a police report from March 1956 noted, "Most recently, the semigrown are trying to gain ground

on different corners at Münchner Freiheit square. As observed, they were sitting around on handrails ... , wearing well-known clothing (red and black bomber jackets, blue jeans, and such), or standing on street corners, teasing each other, molesting pedestrians, or calling someone names.”⁹ The report confined, “they are under close observation within such spaces and directed to move along and disperse, something they do most of the time without protest. ... So far we could not catch them in the act [of committing a crime], so that there is no basis for prosecution.”¹⁰

In light of a perceived increase in incidents, local officials soon coordinated their efforts. Influenced by looming fears, August Geislhöringer and the Ministry of the Interior outlined “measures against the wildness of the young” by May 1956.¹¹ After referencing various newspaper articles and thereby building on constructs of male youth as *Halbstarke* to justify their approach, the actual blueprint called for specific actions against the young. It outlined how “constant supervision of youngsters by the police is only partially feasible.”¹² Instead, the blueprint proposed a more comprehensive approach. Authorities should focus on “educating, supporting, and assisting the young in order to prevent criminal acts altogether.”¹³ These youth-saving measures in combination with police observations could partially prevent brawls and riots. The initial blueprint resulted in a far-reaching directive for the police. The measure noted, “In light of several incidents it has become obvious that wild and delinquent youngsters seriously endanger law and order. It is therefore necessary that the police during its patrols and other duties specifically focus on these individuals, and aim to prevent and prosecute criminal acts.”¹⁴

Such initial attempts and sentiments provided the basis for a comprehensive five-point plan, passed on to law enforcement in June 1956. According to the directive, local policemen should observe public spaces frequented by gangs of adolescents on a regular basis. “Acts of mischief are sufficient ... and evident if youngsters bother others.”¹⁵ This broad definition of misbehaviors provided an avenue for preemptive measures. A second point stated, “If youngsters are seen within the proximity of locations that constitute a moral danger,” then they need to be dispersed right away.¹⁶ Such immoral spaces included street fairs, certain squares, and train stations. Restaurants regularly visited by youngsters also had to be monitored very carefully. One of those places was the Weisse Kreuz restaurant in the quarter Neuhausen. Here, local youngsters met to play games, drink, and hang out.¹⁷ Other places invited youngsters to dance. Concerned about the rebellious potential of rock ‘n’ roll, the directive mirrored such fears. According

to point three, all youngsters “participating in dance events” after a certain time or within an immoral environment had to be “removed” immediately. The next point noted that youngsters driving motorcycles and mopeds “were a particular threat.” Given that not all youngsters broke existing traffic laws, authorities noted, “a punitive disruption ... can occur if the act of driving is not meant for reaching a destination but merely for entertainment, for instance, driving around city blocks. ... Driving back and forth with a rattling moped is furthermore a disorderly breach of peace. As a result, such trips have to be prevented.”¹⁸ Reminiscent of attempts to limit and control movements of supposed vagrants during the crisis years, police officers now had proper cause and the opportunity to stop youngsters on their mopeds. Finally, the directive outlined measures addressing possible resistance. Well aware of an increasing willingness of male youngsters to question authorities, it underscored the state’s desire to show little mercy, stating, “Resistance against governmental authority has to be broken.”¹⁹ In early summer, local authorities became proactive regarding a supposedly looming threat of youth.

This directive increased tensions on the streets. Constantly aware of potential delinquents, the police began profiling, criminalizing, and harassing young males based on their clothing, posture, or location. For example, those standing on street corners became targets of repeated controls. Police patrols checked for identification before dispersing them altogether. According to a contemporary journal, authorities acted “randomly against shabby, delinquent, and criminal youngsters and adolescents.”²⁰ In fact, the biker magazine *Das Motorrad* had to protest against such stereotyping, stating that not everyone wearing a leather jacket was automatically a criminal.²¹ Since many felt wrongfully accused and profiled, resistance against the police increased. That then became a sign for the rise in juvenile delinquency for authorities. The cycle arguably created a tense environment and panic, which fostered overreactions, sustained simplistic understandings of youth, and at least partially explains the uncompromising behaviors of some youngsters in the summer of 1956.

Instead of reconsidering their measures, however, events on the streets of Munich merely encouraged those determined to defend the state and public order. Initially facing only limited opposition amongst more liberal officials on the state level, two conservatives took up the task to fight *the Halbstarke* in Munich: Member of Parliament Heinrich Junker (CSU) and Minister of the Interior August Geislhöringer (BP). The latter saw “law and order jeopardized by the behavior of youngsters.”²² Such rhetoric indicated inherent fears regarding public safety

and social order, and followed widespread constructions of youth as deviant. Newspapers like *Der Münchner Merkur* had also called for “drastic measures against Halbstarke”²³ by early June, consequently indicating to Junker and Geislhöringer that their stricter approach had at least some public support.

Initial attempts by State Representative Junker to push for more rigorous laws did not succeed. In the last meeting of the Cultural Committee within the state government before the summer break, he put forward an urgency measure, titled “Measures for the Protection of Youth.” It proposed:

1. Steady observation of movie theatres, restaurants and parks and intervention without restraint by the police regarding disturbances of public order and safety.
2. Observation of young drivers, especially those with mopeds whose undisciplined behavior not only endangers other drivers but also pedestrians.
3. Strict opposition against any formation of gangs.
4. Breaking any resistance against state authority by the Halbstarke within legal boundaries.
5. Directives for prosecutors to request prosecution regarding the misdeeds of the Halbstarke.²⁴

Fellow party member Otto Schedl asked for further retributions, noting, “state institutions need to be instructed to check if guardians have breached their duty of supervision or failed in other ways. If necessary, authorities need to utilize and apply punitive measures.”²⁵ Although Junker had conservative support, the proposal needed the approval of other coalition members. After a heated discussion, “social democrats (SPD) and liberals (FDP) favored a pedagogical approach.”²⁶ According to the official transcripts, mainly the social democratic caucus did not feel comfortable with the proposed restrictions. State Representative and social democrat Rudolf Schlichtinger in particular “underlined that the buzzword Halbstarke seems unsuitable. ... Generally speaking today’s youth is not worse than the youth overall; it is just different and that is not surprising, if one recalls that these youngsters were born at the beginning of World War II.”²⁷ Fellow party member Fritz Grässler agreed, arguing, “The state of the youth is dramatized. ... I want to warn against popularizing the buzzword ‘Halbstarke’ making it into a term that already smells like crime.”²⁸ Whereas no other representative seemed as concerned about this issue as these two voices, the SPD and the FDP as parties generally favored a more liberal approach:

they both hoped for more discussions and a thorough investigation first—instead of quick and strict restrictions imposed on youth shortly before the upcoming summer break. In the end, the committee merely agreed with the initial request to investigate the problem at hand in more detail, hence limiting initial conservative yearnings for a more direct response.²⁹

With parliament and city council in recess during the summer months, discussions about expanding policing against *the Halbstarke* gained momentum. Minister of the Interior August Geislhöringer in particular used this temporary vacuum of governing and his authority to push for harsher measures. Fed up with the inabilities of other institutions to maintain public order, Geislhöringer opposed what he called “sloppy humanist sentiments” regarding the young.³⁰ He did not want to give “the impression that the state is powerless!”³¹ As a result, Geislhöringer demanded measures against all delinquent behaviors and specifically noted that harsh brutality, if necessary, has to be considered. In this sense he followed previous conversations around corporal punishment, an issue that had played an important role in the crisis years regarding the reorganization of schooling. He specifically proposed the expansion of police forces and wanted the police throughout the state of Bavaria to have access to baton sticks: “They should beat without mercy and should even obstruct those watching, so that such troubles finally end.”³² Influenced by growing anxieties and media outrage, Geislhöringer had substantial support. *Der Münchener Merkur* at least stated that Geislhöringer “is right. It is about time that Munich is cleansed from the Halbstarke.”³³ The local evening newspaper and tabloid *8-Uhr Blatt* underlined that a meeting initiated by Geislhöringer would finally bring “relief.”³⁴ Letters to the editor agreed with such sentiments. A concerned citizen wrote to *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung* in favor of stricter laws and deterrence. Using *the Halbstarke* as a way to sustain arguments for the reestablishment of a West German army, the author noted, “there is no better argument for quick remilitarization than how things developed so far.” The panicked submission was without a name because “by now one has to be careful about sharing one’s identity if hoping to avoid retributions and revenge aimed against oneself and one’s family from such juvenile gangsters and youngsters who are not even afraid to brawl with armed policemen.”³⁵ Geislhöringer himself also received numerous supportive letters. Such backing poured into his Munich office from all over West Germany. One such submission described “juvenile criminals as the foremost enemy of the state;” it also thanked the minister “in the

name of roughly a hundred thousand old, weak, war victims” for taking on this issue.³⁶

However, local authorities in the city of Munich did still not agree with Geislhöringer. Governed by a social democratic majority, they saw the problem in less dramatic terms, and were thus less inclined to move forward against *the Halbstarke*. For them, it was—if at all—an exaggerated problem that would eventually fade away. The virtual denial of the existence of *the Halbstarke* problem also had more selfish reasons: it limited the state’s influence onto the local level. Munich had its own city police until 1975—described by the newspaper *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung* as the mayor’s little army at one point.³⁷ As a result, authorities were extremely careful to mention issues of concern. It was consequently not surprising that a meeting initiated by Geislhöringer and city officials on 17 August did not bring the outcome the former had hoped for.³⁸ Instead, several city officials questioned and eventually stopped the minister and his more stringent approach.³⁹ Deputy Mayor Adolf Hieber and the Criminal Director Andreas Grasmüller at this point even spoke about “exaggerated reports,” claiming that the fuss about *the Halbstarke* was “constructed.”⁴⁰ In their view, existing measures were more than adequate to deal with the problem.⁴¹

Yet an enduring support of some media outlets plus the events in Munich-Allach more explicitly encouraged conservative voices to continue their efforts against the threat of *the Halbstarke*. In response to SPD and FDP resistance, *Die Abendzeitung* published a long list of incidents of juvenile delinquency happening in the last months. This inventory included the riots at the Auer Dult but also minor incidents, like youngsters splashing pedestrians with water.⁴² The shooting in Allach also gave conservatives led by Geislhöringer and Junker a vantage point to push their agenda. Soon Junker reminded the readers of regional newspapers about his earlier attempts to expand mechanisms of control. And whereas Geislhöringer admitted that “shooting right away” was not the answer, he still stood by his proposals in favor of baton sticks and the surveillance of immoral and delinquent spaces, now sharing such views on a national level.⁴³ Outspoken support for such comments from all over West Germany again strengthened his position. One such letter to Geislhöringer stated, “the more vehement and forceful you clamp down, the more thankful people will be!” Another submission in the same context underlined that—compared to the United States—“it was not too late” to act against *the Halbstarke*.⁴⁴ At the same time, however, the shooting in Allach also raised concerns regarding police brutality and Geislhöringer’s rhetoric. The national

newspaper *Die Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, for instance, wondered “if not all of us [should] react a little more coolly towards the ‘buzz-word’ describing youthful delinquents, unlike—as recently demanded in Bavaria—rushing the police in with baton sticks?”⁴⁵ A political cartoon in a regional Bavarian paper portrayed Geislhöringer as a “fully strong” cowboy in a wild-west stand off against the “semistrong.”⁴⁶ Such debates increasingly polarized society along political beliefs, regional contexts, and also age.

Discussions eventually resumed in the city council after the summer. At the first meeting on 11 September, conservative council member Franz Fackler put forward “urgency measure no. 47.” It stated, “various well-known incidents and their reception within the public put the problem of the so-called ‘Halbstarken’ in Munich on the agenda; this problem has to be taken seriously not only in the interest of the young but also to protect the reputation of Munich.” The proposal hoped for an open discussion and an in-depth analysis of the problem. Similar to Junker’s earlier attempt, Fackler also wanted to strengthen the role of the police. To avoid comparisons to his unsuccessful predecessors, however, Fackler toned down his rhetoric. He specifically underlined that “in contrast to the opinion of others we do not believe that this problem can be solved by employing brute force; instead we push for consistent assistance for the young.” Fackler also proposed additional resources for youth work. The council agreed with Fackler’s general sentiments and assessments, but after a brief discussion deemed the term *Halbstarke* insufficient. Several council members even reminded their colleagues that youth had been delinquent before. The meeting ultimately adjourned after all members voiced their support for a general inquiry to study the problem.⁴⁷ Although Fackler had hoped for more, the council—like the state legislature—at least decided to investigate the problem.

Scrutinizing to Control

In October 1956, the state government put forward its report on juvenile delinquency in Munich not only to frame subsequent proposals and debates but also as a way to use *the Halbstarke* as a means to increase the state’s influence overall. The Ministry of Culture and Education had taken a leading role during the creation of this blueprint. After numerous meetings, revisions, and constant discussions, a thirty-two-page “Memorandum Regarding the Problem of Semi-Grown-Ups” was submitted to state parliament. The report began with a by now

standard dismissal of the term *Halbstarke* before outlining “typical characteristics of current juvenile delinquency.” According to several statistics, juvenile crime was on the rise. This increase, according to the report, underlined “flawed trends” within society. The memorandum also briefly mentioned that girls are less likely to be criminals due to their “female mentality.” While this understanding excluded female delinquency from rowdy behaviors, female sexual deviancy was still a concern. A precise breakdown of offenses then outlined that there were bigger problems at hand, including postwar destitution, a lack of adult supervision, and declining morals. In addition, the report named “inner reasons” for such troubles, namely a lack of support from adults and an increasing exposure to smut and filth in the media. Such language set the stage for several subsequent proposals. Moving directly from constructed meanings to precise mechanisms of social control, the Ministry of Culture and Education asked for more funds for schools and youth groups; it also called for better coordination between schools, teachers, and parents. Another proposal put the Ministry of the Interior in charge of creating stricter guidelines against “alluring entertainment.” The level of enforcement of existing laws by the police had to be left up to the cities. According to the state proposal, however, more needed to be done. In this context, the report specifically pointed to Munich as a space with high crime. The memorandum also called on the Ministry of Justice to streamline the judicial process to ensure a coordinated application of the law. More funds, more law enforcement, and more coordination were needed to deal with these elements, the state memorandum concluded.⁴⁸ In this sense, this directive clearly illustrates that delinquent youth also provided a potential avenue for state authorities to gain more influence in the Bavarian capital.

The city of Munich acknowledged this proposal, but continued to follow its own approach. Coordinated by City Schools Inspector Anton Fingerle, its approach relied on the coordination of a variety of institutions. Numerous letters and reports from local schools and actual youth groups influenced the proposal. In this sense, the Bavarian capital included the voices of the young early on, possibly as a way to weaken the state’s attempts to gain more say. In fact, the local city youth ring outlined the lack of funding for traditional youth organizations as one reason for *the Halbstarke*; it also proposed to build a racetrack where the young could drive around with their mopeds. Of course, most institutions consulted by authorities hoped for additional resources: local schools noted that too many students in one class limited their ability to teach and educate the young.⁴⁹ In a way, investi-

gating the *Halbstarke* problem became a convenient avenue for local institutions to ask for more money and support.

The inclusion of the actual young still marked a dramatic shift in discussions. Shortly after the original meeting of the city council in September 1956, Council Member August Mühlbauer had invited the young to a “Young Citizens and Youth Forum” in Munich’s Hofbräuhauskeller restaurant.⁵⁰ The title of the event was, “Do Halbstarke Exist?”⁵¹ During the meeting, social democratic State Representative Rudolf Schlichtinger briefly introduced the topic of concern, at times directed at the supposed male delinquents present at the event. The latter, above all, critiqued the term *Halbstarke*. One youngster insisted, “We are not ‘Halbstarke!’”⁵² Others agreed: “We are not Halbstarke, but we are provoked. If in the evening we stand around at some corner, talking, if someone sees us on our mopeds, or if we play our music at a restaurant, then it is always the same: ‘Look, here they are, the Halbstarke, they miss the army.’”⁵³ Several undercover policemen attending the meeting heard similar statements from these supposed “anticitizens;”⁵⁴ they also learned that the young simply looked for a place to mingle and to let off steam—to be young.

The lack of such city spaces for youth in Munich should not have been surprising. During the crisis years Munich tried to accommodate a seemingly endless amount of refugees, making the reconstruction of housing a main priority. Spaces for youth, on the other hand, had been a secondary concern, especially once traditional institutions for youth reappeared. As a result, lower- and working-class youngsters in particular felt not only a lack of adequate housing but also the need for more open spaces: they rarely had their own rooms and could also seldom afford to escape the city and enjoy the beauty of its surroundings. Besides, once the U.S. Military Government began playing a less active role, open youth groups in the city like the GYA, which were accessible to all and less controlled, closed their doors, or traditional adult-supervised setups absorbed them. There, authorities monitored youngsters closely, making sure the young did what they were told. American music was certainly not welcome or allowed in such environments. According to one youngster, even in more open settings “there is always a youth worker that wants you to do ‘something meaningful.’”⁵⁵ As a result, youth hung out at movie theaters or in ice cream parlors instead. For those without the needed financial means, street corners in working-class neighborhoods became their space. Here, they had hoped, they could enjoy themselves without constant supervision. When the young shared such information at the meeting with authorities, it became apparent that both sides had never spoken to each other about

such problems. Authorities had feared *the Halbstarke* throughout the last weeks and months without ever making the attempt to approach the actual young. Once this initial step had taken place, then solutions became quite obvious: more spaces for the young within Munich's urban landscape.

Aware of the potential of such meetings, organizers continued conversations and tried to capitalize from their success. In October 1956, politicians and authorities discussed the current situation with youngsters at a local trade school. Again, supposed *Halbstarke* voiced their opinions. One stated, "We are condemned to be the *Halbstarke* and thereby act like them."⁵⁶ Another youngster reiterated the common view that there was no space for youth in the city by asking, "Where can we go in the city without raising suspicion?"⁵⁷ These and many other statements indicated that the young had closely and critically followed debates. According to one young participant, "The *Halbstarke* is a topic of concern only in an effort to sustain the importance of the military";⁵⁸ another one noted that this image merely provided sensationalist headlines for the media. Rudolf Schlichtinger reported on the triumph of such meetings in January 1957;⁵⁹ he was also amongst those not shy to self-righteously promote his own ability to potentially solve *the Halbstarke* problem.

Such meetings eventually helped shift media reporting. With national media outlets like the newspaper *Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* reporting on attempts to invite gang leaders in the Bavarian capital early on,⁶⁰ local papers soon followed. *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung* wondered, "Off the streets, but where to?"⁶¹ Even the sensationalist tabloid *Die Abendzeitung* ultimately revised its approach. Originally responsible for the fake headlines about the gang of skulls, it had warned authorities of *the Halbstarke* until late August; it then changed its tone after the public forum at the Hofbräuhauskeller restaurant, not without one more final story: only a week after the initial meeting, *Die Abendzeitung* invited the young to its agency, underlining the newspaper's attempt to profit from these shifts. The paper extensively covered every step of how *the Halbstarke* showed up at its office in Munich. In a climactic description it then debunked the storyline noting that these male youngsters were not any different from other boys.⁶² Indeed, *Die Abendzeitung* from thereon forward actively helped defuse the situation. For example, it forwarded a report to the police including the youngsters' "complaints about the behaviors of the police. The debate was factual and serious, and it became obvious that an open conversation between these youngsters and the police was crucial in order to deal with tensions."⁶³ The tabloid initially condemning and

actively constructing *the Halbstarke* now tried to mediate on behalf of the young, and in that way still spoke for them. Still married to the idea of publishing on *the Halbstarke* in some way—and possibly realizing the potential within youth as future readers—*Die Abendzeitung* also proposed to set up a rock 'n' roll concert in Munich. This concert took place at the Deutsche Museum and marked a striking success. As the “first major youth party” in Munich,⁶⁴ it included local stars like “the German Bill Haley” Paul Würges, and Max Greger.⁶⁵ In addition, it was among the first appearance of rising new teenage idol Peter Kraus. He described the situation, noting, “I see excited faces, girls and boys pounding along with the rhythm. Unbelievable!”⁶⁶ A contemporary commentator followed up on this statement, writing,

The hall with 2,500 [available] seats was packed. The young people did not show up—as expected—in their “Halbstarke clothes,” but in their “Sunday dress”.... There was one uncomfortable situation, when they could have released their energy by destroying the seating. The jazz orchestra leader, however, calmed down the excited crowd with a couple of humorous and fine statements, and the event continued without any problems.⁶⁷

Die Abendzeitung proudly noted the applause for the concert and the success of such rock 'n' roll events. But at the same time, subsequent conversations about the need for spaces for youth also outlined underlying adult strategies: to get the young off the streets. Authorities interested in the well-being of the young and those hoping to have such delinquents in sight understood the power of music as a way to lure youngsters into a controlled space. The concert at the Deutsche Museum did exactly that. According to one adult contemporary, promoting the construction of additional open youth facilities can provide “order and morals needed so desperately.”⁶⁸

Overall, efforts to involve *the Halbstarke* and bring them off the streets continued beyond these events. Kurt Seelmann became the driving force behind this new method. Director of the Youth Welfare Office since 1955, he approached the topic in a more practical manner. Seelmann regularly invited local youngsters for discussions into his office and tried to build lasting relationships with young people throughout his tenure. Seelmann also made a specific attempt to rebuild the relationship between the police and the young. Those youngsters interested in a local event sponsored by the city of Munich had to go to the local police station to get tickets. This setup helped decrease animosities between both groups and further defused a tense environment. Soon described by the media as “the father of the Halbstarke,”⁶⁹ Seel-

mann set up various programs for the young, thus taking discussions about “bored rioters” seriously.⁷⁰ Additional funding made such initiatives possible. In this sense, the city listened to youth and offered what they hoped for; but it also meant that youth again found itself within organized formats and under official adult supervision.⁷¹

Controlling the Teenager

The tolerance for *teenage* misbehaviors was lower compared to that for *the Halbstarke*, thus falling in line with previous discussions of youth in the crisis years. Whereas male youngsters faced retribution for their rebellious behaviors aimed directly at authorities, female youngsters feared stringent measures due to age, gender, and sexuality. In addition, a growing infiltration and invasion of female spaces by American products increasingly worried authorities.⁷² Besides, adults perceived those out dancing as challenging morality within a sexually repressive 1950s society, describing such misbehaviors as provocations “against the norms of female grace and male chivalry.”⁷³ As a result, they often replied with harsh retributions in response to seemingly minor incidents.

Parents, neighbors, and even strangers helped control female youth. The role of parents as a first line of defense became even more important than before given American influences. Historically less visible in a repressive society, adult authorities generally confined female youth to the domestic sphere. Especially after puberty parents rarely allowed their daughters to leave the house for leisurely activities. The possibility of meeting male youngsters was a risk far too high for many. Sexual repression, pushed by a nervous and partially paranoid society, influenced these sentiments and limited the possibilities of *the teenager* to even get into trouble. Young girls faced strict rules because middle-class families in particular were concerned about religious morality embedded within conservative values and would not jeopardize their social and moral status. At times, such struggles took place over seemingly benign objects. As one young female recalled, “My dad hated make-up. First I put on slightly colored lipstick and some black eyeliner. He went wild. He also did not like when I had bangs [hair]. The forehead had to be visible.”⁷⁴ Furthermore, the so-called “pimping paragraph” was still in place, punishing everyone who encouraged or merely provided an apartment for unmarried relationships. Actually, in May 1953 local law enforcement shut down a space within a building in Munich deemed deviant; the owner was sent to prison based on the accusation that she

encouraged relations between unmarried couples.⁷⁵ This public scrutiny of sexuality combined with historic stereotypes exposed *the teenager* in particular to the public gaze and repression.

Some recent scholarship provides additional insights into such dynamics, notably the work of historian Peter Wensierski. He notes regarding female deviancy:

Sexual danger lurked everywhere, especially in music from the United States. In her room Gisela drew a small image of Elvis on the wall. Her mother had forbidden her to hang up photos or posters from movies. Once her mother saw the painting she yelled, "of all, it has to be that Elvis! With his ... pelvis shaking!" There was a major fight and Gisela had to remove Elvis. If her idol Elvis was actually on the radio for once, she turned it on louder and enjoyed his music at the window. She had to pay for this brief moment of joy. "The neighbors called the local Youth Welfare Office, because they felt that the music was too loud. The next day a welfare worker came."⁷⁶

The local official was a frequent and unannounced guest because a single mother raised Gisela. Statements like "That does not suit a girl!"⁷⁷ became the standard warning voiced by the official. However,

most dangerous remained the neighbors because they seemed to spend their whole day watching the street from behind the curtains. The girl [Gisela] thus met up with friends outside the neighborhood. She liked the bold youngsters on their mopeds. If she ever rode with one of them she made sure to get off a couple blocks down the street and walked home, passing by the spies behind their curtains.⁷⁸

Females dancing to rock 'n' roll music were also a prime concern of adult contemporaries. Whereas Youth Protection Laws and discussions regarding *the Halbstärke* provided some leverage to keep *the teenager* away from dance floors, authorities could not restrict jukeboxes available in countless milk bars or cafés. By 1957, there were already 12,000 jukeboxes throughout West Germany; three years later there were 50,000.⁷⁹ Youngsters could now meet at ice cream parlors or restaurants during the day to listen and dance to rock 'n' roll music. As one youngster remembered, "We met whenever we could at ice-cream parlors. ... There, we drank milkshakes and danced."⁸⁰ Authorities soon wondered about these immoral spaces, asking "How about youth protection regarding these jukeboxes?"⁸¹ Yet in most instances it was well-placed guilt and shame that was supposed to keep *the teenager* away from these deviant spaces. The youngster cited above followed her statement by saying, "This was not acceptable, this was not right."⁸² Female sexuality also played a key role as contemporaries

hoped to strengthen traditional values. If seen within certain environments, then *the teenager* risked besmirching her good reputation and purity, and potentially that of her family. Broad definitions of what that meant became tools to control young girls. For example, female purity was juxtaposed with being a prostitute, and simply spending time in an ice-cream parlor while rock 'n' roll music was playing could be constructed as being immoral. Even if young girls cared little about such pressures, their parents wanted to avoid public shame. Teenage pregnancy was the worst-case scenario, and demonizing sexual relations instead of discussing possible dangers remained the norm.

Those young females who defied societal pressures generally faced institutionalization. Scholar Annette Lützke wrote about female deviants in the Rhineland and noted,

contrary to male youth, criminal behaviors did not play a major role regarding young girls. Seemingly normal behaviors like “running away,” “staying out late at night,” and “bad manners,” on the other hand, became deemed as “sexual deviancy.” Until well into the early 1970s “roaming around,” going to dance clubs, smoking and putting on make-up were seen as “sexual deficits” and “dangerous passions.”⁸³

Lützke also argues that authorities institutionalized girls based on their cultural interests. Adult officials deemed listening to rock 'n' roll music, idolizing Elvis, and mimicking certain behaviors as abnormal, and reason enough for juvenile detention;⁸⁴ other scholars agree with such interpretations.⁸⁵ As outlined by Wensierski, “those [female youngsters] ending up in a foster home rarely arrived there because they were foster children or criminals.”⁸⁶ Instead, throughout the 1950s girls ended up in disciplinary institutions based on minor incidents and bagatelles. In fact, the girl Gisela introduced earlier used cacao and water to fabricate her own make-up. While in front of the mirror she was trying to mimic the pout and other facial expressions of Brigitte Bardot. For her mother, neighbors, and the local youth welfare officer such behaviors were a sign of sexual and moral deviancy. This construal brought Gisela into a religious institution for young girls.⁸⁷ Of course, authorities could not take children away without parental consent. However, legal guardians like Gisela's mother regularly saw a stay in a disciplinary institution as a way to straighten out their children. In a time when Family Minister Wuermeling, among others, preached purity, restraint, and self-denial, rigid reactions in response to even the most minor misbehaviors seemed more than justifiable.

Once committed to such institutions, life for young females was hard. In the state of Bavaria, church officials generally supervised and

ran such youth detention. Youngsters had to follow strict regulations, which meant a life of abstinence similar to a monastery. As outlined by Wensierski when discussing these issues more broadly, beatings or cold water became regular tools to bring *the teenager* back from the abyss towards deviance.⁸⁸ To be locked away, to constantly feel guilty, and to endure a variety of other harsh treatments affected those experiencing such retributions for the rest of their lives. The limited scholarship on girls sent to such institutions paints a dismal picture. According to a recent study, in 1952, authorities institutionalized 79.2 percent of those girls in such facilities due to their supposed “sexual deviancy”; in 1959, roaming around was the main reason for being admitted to an institution.⁸⁹ Most girls had a lower-class background, although a slight shift is apparent by the mid-1950s.⁹⁰ Throughout their time in these institutions, young women learned how to take their role within society: they were trained how to cook, iron, and wash, and they also learned how to be obedient. As one scholar points out, “preparation for marriage” was the prime objective.⁹¹ Patriarchy called for self-sacrificing wives and mothers, characteristics *the teenager* lacked. As a result, young women became aligned with their role in society, while young men if sent to similar homes had to work in the fields.⁹² Historian Maria Fischer-Kowalski is thus right when hinting at continuities and concluding, “there probably never was any other young generations—before or after them—that had so large a proportion ending up in penitentiaries and jails (despite the considerable changes in judicial policies).”⁹³

Conforming, Commercializing, and Re-Creating Youth

Apart from such direct retributions, adult contemporaries also found ways to deal with teenager clubs. Authorities employed similar tactics as these put forward against *the Halbstarke* and his street-corner societies. In Munich, local officials had made specific attempts to get *the teenager* into supervised spaces early on. To bring her to concerts like the one at the German Museum was one way to approach this problem. But more measures seemed necessary to prevent unmonitored activities among female youngsters within teenager clubs more specifically. Since direct control was impossible within the private sphere, the Youth Welfare Office in Munich pursued a different route. Rooted in the intention to help, authorities created public forums and spaces for *the teenager* to mingle with others. Whereas such offers gave local clubs potentially more opportunities for various activities, it also

lured *the teenager* out of unsupervised private spaces. In Munich, for instance, the Youth Welfare Office not only sponsored a teenager newspaper but also provided access to facilities in local youth centers and schools. Soon youth workers had access and could monitor club activities given that they were the ones providing funding and facilities.⁹⁴ Moreover, increased direct funding allowed traditional and largely supervised youth organizations like the City Youth Ring to expand its programs. Clubs like the Karo-Rot-Club, on the other hand, received much less support. With such setups authorities increasingly pulled *the teenager* out of a less-controlled private sphere and back into traditionally supervised formats.⁹⁵ In little time clubs had been either fully absorbed or at least partially conformed. As one adult commentator noted in this context, it was quite “pleasant” how quiet it had become regarding free youth clubs.⁹⁶

Apart from local institutions, numerous marketing organizations equally began trying to influence teenager clubs. Increasingly aware of the purchasing power of youth, various businesses saw teenager clubs and their parties as useful access points into a growing youth culture and potential markets. Soon, the teenager club in the Munich suburb of Harlaching had some product placement in an article about “Blue Jeans—The Blue Miracle” in its first newsletter.⁹⁷ This article discussed the history of Levi Jeans while showing a conveniently placed Levi Jeans commercial on its back cover.⁹⁸ Similar examples of such early advertisement appeared elsewhere, including an article about the Teenager Club 17 and its “visit of the teenager-café Nestlé.”⁹⁹ Nestlé became the corporate sponsor of Munich’s Teenager Club 17, and even opened up a little café for teenagers. The reaction to such growing influence was mixed. One young contributor to a teenage magazine noted, “It would be nice if businesses would give their ‘surplus funds’ to youth clubs, youth organizations, and other institutions;”¹⁰⁰ other youngsters felt mocked. Wondering when “commercial success became equal with quality,”¹⁰¹ they questioned increasingly conformist narratives. Some even wondered why everyone, and all of a sudden, claimed to speak for them. One young voice nicely summarized such sentiments in a letter to a Munich teenager magazine *Harlach-Pinguin* in 1959. Titled “Teenager—Fair Game for Business Men,”¹⁰² the author described how a whole industry literally attacks the young:

But neither the word Halbstarke nor the word Teenager is from them. Picked-up, mocked, and used! Something has to be done for the young, they argued with an alarmed voice. ... Yet there was no help to be expected from adults. That is why I call on the young: keep your eyes and ears open, check everything offered to you! Don’t let those use you who

only care about your money, and nothing else. Resist against such attempts and respond by showing off your own powers.¹⁰³

The gradual commercialization of youth marked a much larger paradigm shift, especially with the rise of a “newly developing teenager-consumption industry.”¹⁰⁴ According to historian Jürgen Zinnecker, up until the mid-1950s the “young were organized, activated, and steered ... by state, political, and pedagogical institutions.”¹⁰⁵ Though granting youth limited agency with this analysis, Zinnecker is right when he notices that after that time another force came into play: the commercial sector. This power became very visible given the availability of products like movies and music specifically created for the young; yet the commercial sector also increasingly played an important role as “secret co-educators”¹⁰⁶ of youth because it helped frame, construct, and eventually control youth and society.

That the commercial sector specifically targeted *the teenager* and *the Halbstarke* was not surprising. According to a study by the Society for Market Research in 1959, West German youngsters had an average of forty Deutsche Marks available each month, adding up to a total spending capacity of roughly 2.6 billion Deutsche Marks a year in West Germany.¹⁰⁷ Whereas such numbers underlined the growing purchasing power of the young, success stories regarding this new market from the United States painted a promising picture for corporations.¹⁰⁸ After all, as some noticed quickly, “the teenager ... was not only an actual and potential consumer ... but also the consumer of the future. In addition, youngsters greatly influenced the consumer choices of their parents.”¹⁰⁹ Soon different groups sought out ways to target the youth, and tap into “the money in blue jeans,”¹¹⁰ resulting in savvy marketing approaches in place by the late 1950s.

In order to make male and female youth profitable, however, it had to be reinvented. Although *the Halbstarke* and *the teenager* were purchasing certain products, additional commercialization seemed difficult: rebellious youngsters from a working-class background were a limited market too closely associated with juvenile delinquency and trouble; overly sexual females could not be promoted in a sexually repressive society. These limitations resulted in a major rebranding effort. The youth magazine *Bravo* was on its forefront. Soon to become a “guide to normality,”¹¹¹ it was among the first to see the real potential of marketing youth. It had followed the less successful magazine *Die Rasselbande* to become the supposed mouthpiece of youth by the end of the decade.¹¹² For fifty pennies, this *Magazin für Film und Fernsehen* discussed the life of TV and movie stars as well as popular music and

culture. It ran stories on Marilyn Monroe, rowdies, and James Dean. Brigitte Bardot was on the cover of *Bravo* nine times and stories about James Dean dominated early editions.¹¹³ As a perfect platform to utilize, frame, and eventually conform images of youth, *Bravo* openly dismissed the rebellious behaviors of *the Halbstarke*. It employed various approaches and questioned the existence of *the Halbstarke* altogether. In September 1956 an article read, "*Bravo* Demands: An End with This! There is not a Halbstarke generation and no Halbstarke danger! There are a couple of rowdies, those have always been around."¹¹⁴ It proposed a more open-minded solution similar to the one in Munich. In this case, the city of West Berlin had approached *the Halbstarke*, and *Bravo* happily reported on it: "The mayor provided a space for the young and paid for an excellent jazz-band. A happy end because a mayor for once used his brain and not the baton stick!"¹¹⁵ At the same time, however, *Bravo* actively used the term *Halbstarke* to distinguish its own concept of youth: a newly defined teenager. The magazine followed gangsters and juvenile delinquents in various publications and frequently referenced the term *Halbstarke*. These were, according to the magazine, not the majority of youngsters; the magazine also used the term *Halbstarke* to describe the rough life of new teenage star and actor Horst Buchholz, who, of course, had overcome his difficult past to become the new teenager.¹¹⁶

The popularity of Elvis provided another excellent platform and stage to reframe juvenile deviancy, embodied by *the Halbstarke* and *the teenager*. The rise of Elvis had created an outrage. He was, after all, moving around his pelvis and seducing German youth to challenge sexual repression; his music made the young go wild while his haircut was just shocking. *Bravo* had closely followed his rise, always ready to show the appropriate outrage. Yet again and again, *Bravo* also defused rumors by clearing up simple misunderstandings, primarily about Elvis. In one *Bravo* story the magazine explained the "scandal" around the second bed in Elvis's bedroom: it was meant for his parents, to tell him a goodnight story, and keep him company so he could fall asleep.¹¹⁷ Anecdotes like this one made him a more acceptable star. By 1958, Elvis was then drafted into the U.S. Army, an event that provided an even better platform to reframe this rebellious star. *Bravo* followed his introduction into the military as part of a transition from overly sexual rebel to clean-cut gentleman stationed in West Germany. First, the U.S. Army cut his hair, and he lost his sideburns. *Bravo* skillfully used this change in appearance to outline that the well-known ducktail, displayed by many youngsters, was not fashionable anymore. Moreover, Elvis now wore a uniform. Whereas *Bravo* generally remained rather

critical towards West German militarization, the look of a uniform—as seen on the cover of *Bravo* in fall 1958—visibly underscored that Elvis had conformed to societal norms¹¹⁸ [Figure 4.1]. John Lennon noted in this context later on that Elvis died when he joined the army,¹¹⁹ thus more directly describing what one scholar has portrayed as being nor-

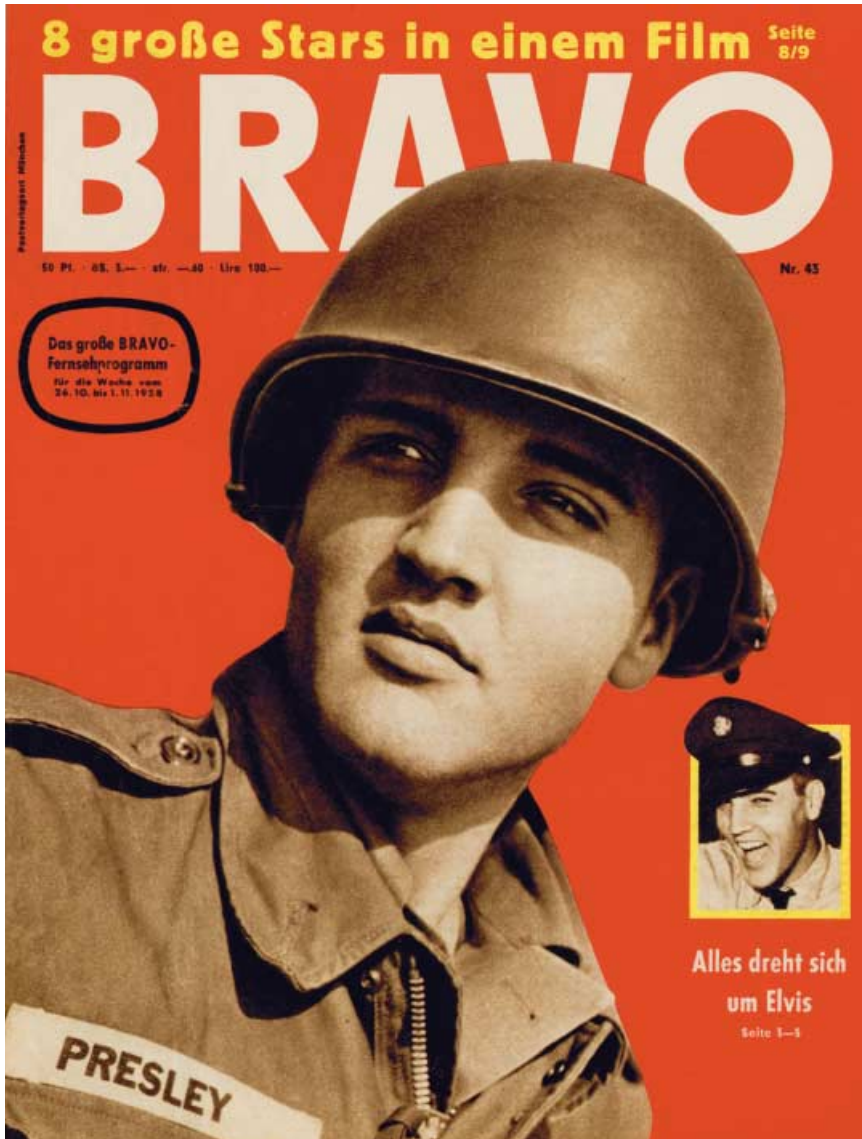


Figure 4.1 Elvis and the army: cover of the youth magazine *BRAVO*, no. 43, 1958. Courtesy of *BRAVO*.

malized through military service.¹²⁰ Once Elvis sang the German folk song “Muss i denn zum Städtele hinaus” (Wooden Heart) with a puppet in 1960,¹²¹ he had silenced widespread concerns amongst adults, paved the way for remaining delinquents to normalize, and helped stabilize traditional norms.¹²²

While there now was an avenue for leaving delinquency behind, *Bravo* also provided the perfect alternative idol for the new male-teenager: Munich native Peter Kraus. Ever since one of his first major shows at the concert in the Deutsche Museum in the Bavarian capital *Bravo* had vigorously promoted him. The magazine put Kraus on numerous covers and made him the first male “puzzle of stars.” A series titled “When Teenagers Dream—The Peter Kraus Story” had also provided the adequate narrative for the rise of Kraus.¹²³ According to one educator, this should be “tolerated. ... Better to have Peter Kraus as an idol than none at all. He merely tries to seduce youngsters to yodel, not to become criminals.”¹²⁴ Kraus was thus a produced-teenage star without any rebellious characteristics; he was also an excellent marketing product. Soon the new male teenager could buy numerous records and, of course, the official Peter Kraus pullover.¹²⁵ Again, not all youngsters liked this transition. Those interested in harsher tunes saw him as a fluffy rip-off. In fact, during the event Record Hop in Munich’s Löwenbräukeller restaurant in February 1960 local youngsters showed their distaste. When the disk jockey tried to play Peter Kraus’s song “Tiger,” he found himself against an angry crowd.¹²⁶ Savvy marketing strategists reacted to such incidents, hoping to profit from these dissatisfied groups as well. As a result, they created the more rebellious Ted Herold, the star of “tough guys.”¹²⁷ His success remained limited, as he could never enthuse real rock ‘n’ roll fans. But his appearance did outline how advanced business models meant to target youth had developed in a short amount of time.

Bravo also pushed female stars, most notably Cornelia “Conny” Froboess.¹²⁸ She had been a star since she sang about bringing bathing trunks to the beach as a child. With her short haircut and bubbly attitude she was nowhere near a sexually deviant female youngster. According to social commentator Jean Améry, she was harmless and would certainly not seduce anyone: “With her the youth is in good hands, like in a monastery. No smell of whisky, no smoke of cigarettes, no new crap: best prewar goods in sterile plastic postwar wrapping. The conformism of conny-formism is everything worried parents and educators ever dreamed of.”¹²⁹ Youth was indeed in safe hands, and by the early 1960s, Conny and Peter—the “teenage-couple made in heaven”¹³⁰—dominated popular youth culture and made youth profit-

able [Figure 4.2]. They played in movies like *Wenn die Conny mit dem Peter* (1958) or *Conny und Peter machen Musik* (1960). These romantic comedies followed traditional slapstick formats, often with a didactic ending. As a fusion of youth culture and escapist *Heimatfilm*, main



Figure 4.2 Teenage stars Conny and Peter: cover of the youth magazine *BRAVO*, no. 52, 1958. Courtesy of *BRAVO*.

characters questioned authority in a controlled manner. Soon this version of youth became a platform for sharing a simplistic and conservative morality. Love, friendship, family, and other traditional values were in the center of the plot. The movie *Wenn die Conny mit dem Peter*, for instance, evolved around life at school, love, and music. Instead of oversexualized dancing and deadly dares, Conny and Peter worked together to make money for an upcoming music festival. That they snuck out school to fulfill this fantasy was their worst crime. According to Améry, “these movies were not teenager films but fairy tales for children.”¹³¹ Commercialization had helped tame and calm the rebellious nature of *the teenager* and *the Halbstarke*, and made them into a fun, conformist, and apolitical marketing product for male and female youth between thirteen and nineteen.

Soon an appropriate and fitting teenage idol seemed available for everyone, especially for young females. Initially constructed as a sexually deviant girl endangering gender roles, reproduction, and the family, *the teenager* increasingly shed all of these characteristics. *Bravo* again provided the requisite narrative. As outlined by journalist Wiebke Nieland, *Bravo* featured certain types or images of femininity. First, there was “the successful businesswoman,”¹³² embodied by triumphant stars like Caterina Valente. In this context *Bravo* underscored the hard work it took to make it in a male-dominated world. Caterina was emancipated. After all, she could get a cab in New York City by herself. Nonetheless, she still relied on a caring husband. According to *Bravo*, “The hungry Caterina loves to be fed by Eric,” her husband and provider.¹³³ The second image featured in *Bravo* was “the sex symbol.”¹³⁴ Most notably embodied by Brigitte Bardot, the youth magazine made sure to demonize her scandalous behaviors more and more. *Bravo* described her as “a girl like Satan,”¹³⁵ and frequently illustrated how “she is playing a brutal game: today she kisses him, tomorrow she is pushing him away.”¹³⁶ The third image was the cute teenager. This was Romy Schneider, the “ideal teenager.”¹³⁷ Working closely with her mother, Romy was nowhere near erotica, sex, or other deviancies. Instead, she always had a smile on her face and was truly innocent. In 1960, social commentator Jean Améry noted, “Romy and blue jeans, Romy and rock ‘n’ roll, Romy and ‘Bonjour Tristesse,’ Romy and ‘necking’ in the car—no, that does not go together; that does not make sense, that does not work.”¹³⁸ According to Nieland, “These three types of women are juxtaposed with the image of a caring mother. In the life of a young woman this societal model marked the prime purpose and objective of her path through life.”¹³⁹ *Bravo* illustrated this setup in numerous publications. Apart from aligning stars like Caterina Valente with the role of the

obedient wife and mother, *Bravo* also openly dismissed questionable behaviors. In fact, the youth magazine publically shamed Hungarian actress Eva Bartok because five different men could supposedly be the father of her child. At the same time, *Bravo* promoted the image of actress Ruth Leuwerik as “the mother of the nation.”¹⁴⁰ It was thus not surprising that Ruth Leuwerik as well as Romy Schneider remained among the top three for the fan prize OTTO in the late 1950s. By then, being a teenager was an accepted pre-stage towards adulthood and part of the road towards becoming a caring mother and obedient wife within a patriarchal and still rather conservative society.

Apart from utilizing the rich and famous to reframe *the teenager*, *Bravo* also created its own image of female youth: Steffi. In August 1958, she first appeared in *Bravo*.¹⁴¹ In numerous editions thereafter, she defended the young against adults. In the first episode of her weekly diary-like column, Steffi wrote that all adults “think youngsters are stupid.”¹⁴² She noted, “Of course we Teenagers (and twenty-year-olds) are upset about the lack of understanding from ‘adults.’ It is especially distressing to hear how upset they are about us... Even discussions about the ‘Halbstarke’ are upsetting—especially since no one can tell me, what a ‘Halbstarke’ even is.”¹⁴³ That she stood up for youth made her a more credible figure and a supposed representative of the young. Yet the fictional persona Steffi was only slightly reminiscent of *the teenager*. Not rebellious or overly sexual, she defined what it meant to be normal. In fact, her persona was a productive fiction. Instead of a young girl writing her column, it had been a retired male schoolteacher all along.¹⁴⁴ Thus domesticated, normalized, and commercialized by a dominant male structure interested in profit, Steffi became the prototype of a new marketing product. *Bravo* knew that overly rebellious characteristics could hinder profit. Hence, in her column, Steffi walked a fine line between conservative values and some challenges to rigid societal structures. Steffi proudly wore blue jeans and would not mind being called deviant for doing so; she also enjoyed the music of Peter Kraus. Being young was, after all, fun.¹⁴⁵ But Steffi also respected her parents, especially her father.¹⁴⁶ Steffi as the new teenager was modern when it came to youth culture but still traditional regarding her moral values, ideals, and lifestyle choices. She stated, for example, that it is something “wonderful to be a girl because one does not have to initiate conversation.”¹⁴⁷ In a patriarchic society, men carried conversations. Steffi also did not shy away from more difficult topics. She dealt with teenage pregnancy when one of her friends got pregnant. Whereas she did not judge her friend directly, she still raised concerns when wondering if that girl could be happy now that she was missing school and

getting married.¹⁴⁸ Thus siding with traditional norms, Steffi helped sustain conservative sexual morals, making sure to demonize early sexual relations along the way. She also reasserted the idea that politics remained a male domain. Indeed, she admitted, “I do not understand anything about politics,”¹⁴⁹ illustrating that *Bravo* was not neutral but quite conservative when it came to societal norms and gender roles. If she ever made a political comment, she was sure to frame it kindly to avoid offending anyone. To speak out against racial discrimination in the United States in one of her diary entries, for instance, was safe.¹⁵⁰ Too much political discussion, however, namely around more divisive issues, could harm business, and *Bravo* thus avoided it altogether—a trend most notable in the 1960s. In this sense, Steffi was herself a true marketing product, and she hence fit in with “the international standardization of a youth generation.”¹⁵¹

In order to further sustain this new image of youth, the division between adults and youngsters was crucial. Arguably, *Bravo* came up with various ways to construct and strengthen generational differences. Apart from Steffi’s frequent references to adults, it was the series “Wir & Ihr,” or “Us & You,”¹⁵² that most clearly exemplifies such attempts. Two teenagers and two adults discussed a topic of concern, like, “Should a young girl be allowed to go to London?”¹⁵³ Of course, discussions also touched on natalist ideas, noting, for instance, that having a child is a blessing for any relationship. Whereas opinions were not always divided based on age, the discussion format as such sustained categories of us vs. them, with the Other being an adult. As a result, this forum became a way to construct, highlight, and sustain generational differences in the context of what youngsters should and should not do; it also created a community of youth as conceived by *Bravo*.

Overall, such approaches helped align teenagers with the newspaper and made sure that *Bravo* kept its preferable and profitable audience; it also sustained the arrival of youth as an interlude before becoming domesticated within the traditional family.¹⁵⁴ Throughout this process, *Bravo* never hid its attempts to frame and thereby partially control images of youth. According to the magazine, “We steer, but you [the young] decide where the journey will take us.”¹⁵⁵ Whereas it would not steer the magazine into troubling and thus unprofitable waters, the magazine gave the young a voice. Youth was not simply a vessel to be filled, exploited, and used. Instead, *Bravo* remained connected to its readers and broader audience on numerous levels. Such aspects allowed it to pick up trends early and ensured its success as a trendsetter. As a result, commercialization was not equal to victimization. Instead, some of the young actively participated in creating this new image

of youth. When discussions about sexuality became more open and profitable, then *Bravo* was on the forefront regarding these issues and at that point made sure, as one scholar put it, to help in “stabilizing the heterosexual matrix in West Germany’s youth culture.”¹⁵⁶ Surveys were thus important. Yet the most imperative feedback remained circulation numbers,¹⁵⁷ as profit was rarely equated with quality. It was thus not surprising that *Bravo* did not take any risks regarding political discussions, and even neglected engaging with or even acknowledging the student movement of the 1960s. After all, protesting youngsters and politics were potentially dangerous for profit.

In 1958, West Germany experienced so-called rock ‘n’ roll riots. In West Berlin, Hamburg, Essen, and Stuttgart numerous youngsters went wild during concerts of Bill Haley, and destroyed the interior of various venues. Local authorities in Munich followed Haley’s tour and news stories with great alarm. One official sent a concerned letter to the Minister of the Interior underlining how “these Halbstarke and their hysterical female entourage” go wild at such concerts.¹⁵⁸ *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung* illustrated that a simple spark could make the young go crazy.¹⁵⁹ The more conservative newspaper *Die Bayerische Staatszeitung* later summarized the events by describing Haley’s performance as “loud noise (this is in no way singing)” that provided the background for rioting.¹⁶⁰ For that newspaper such discussions set the stage for outlining the need to clamp down on popular youth culture right away. As news from rock ‘n’ roll riots poured into Munich, the paper attracted support. Local educators, social commentators, and numerous groups argued and petitioned for the termination of a scheduled Haley concert in Munich. According to one petition, attempts to let the American rock ‘n’ roll star play in the Bavarian capital “would exacerbate primitive instincts within the young” and “mock all previous attempts to deal with the problems of youth.”¹⁶¹ However, neither city nor state officials had the authority to prevent the event. Trouble seemed to return to Munich.

Haley’s gig in Munich did not end in a riot. The renter of the concert venue and several others involved in the production made sure to impose a high insurance rate as a way to protect themselves. Financial liabilities were thus employed to target any potential provocations by the band that could spark riots. But this was not the only reason youth did not go wild. After all, youngsters knew little about higher liabilities for stars. Still, no aggressive *Halbstarke* or sexually open *teenager* started a riot. Munich, compared to other cities, seemed to have its youngsters under control. With juvenile delinquency never the problem it was made out to be in the first place, the dialogue between city officials

and the young had also helped defuse some situations. In addition, *the Halbstarke* and *the teenager* had been conformed since their original arrival or reappearance in the early 1950s. Deemed less rebellious and provocative, youngsters in their teens were now teenagers. Once some youngsters went wild at Bill Haley concerts elsewhere then the new teenager was ready to dismiss this deviation from the teenage norm.¹⁶² In fact, Steffi, Conny Froboess, and Peter Kraus publicly shunned and slandered rioters, and *Bravo* provided the forum for such comments.¹⁶³ Hence, the new teenager internalized mechanisms of control and took the role of officials and authorities. This development was a sign for the growing power of youth within society; but it was also an indication that stringent mechanisms of control remained in place.

At the same time the appearance of *the teenager* and *the Halbstarke* had changed the role of youth. Female youth now had more options when growing up. Whereas various limitations remained in place, the rhetoric regarding *the teenager* had created certain niches. By the end of the decade, for example, it was socially accepted to listen to partially normalized rock 'n' roll tunes, as long as the future role as a mother remained untouched. Americanized youth culture and British pop music thus continued to dominate Munich's history in subsequent periods as artists like The Beatles, The Rolling Stones, or Jimi Hendrix increasingly defined a whole generation. Moreover, male youngsters had employed the image of *the Halbstarke* to demand changes regarding youth policies. Although this social group remained under surveillance at the Auer Dult and other events in the upcoming years,¹⁶⁴ actual youngsters now had a say regarding facilities for youth. According to city officials Anton Fingerle and Kurt Seelmann in a newspaper interview in March 1959, the young had numerous open youth groups, parties, and other events to go to; they were also engaged in a dialogue with the police. Besides, Seelmann was in contact with ten *Blas'n*. Although this newspaper article pointed out that there were still not enough open youth facilities, authorities quoted in the article highlighted that riots had ended.¹⁶⁵ One commentator even spoke to the benefits of the panic, stating, "The public had become aware of the problems certain age groups face through its panicked reaction to the misdeeds of so-called 'Halbstarke.'"¹⁶⁶ In this sense, a perceived threat creating a public outrage had led to promising debates and at least some positive changes for the young.

Attempts to consolidate and protect normality throughout the miracle years are easily traceable when discussing youth. As illustrated in this section, embodiments of delinquency became ways to recapture supposed threats to productivity, stability, and moral order; controlling

and—at times—reframing these images meant also controlling society, and ensured continuity of traditional values and beliefs. According to adults, youth should be working hard all week and use their leisure in a productive way; it also meant settling down and having a family, especially for young girls. Even though 1950s Munich remained a very traditional place,¹⁶⁷ change was visible. As some youngsters increasingly left their assigned role in the shadow of social constructs, they felt that youth was a force in history. Supported by commercial interests, they saw how authorities, as one scholar put it, feared the new “power of the teenagers.”¹⁶⁸ Soon they found allies willing to support them, either because they truly wanted to help or because they hoped to make a profit or advance their careers. Hence, the agency of youth began to increase as the grip of adult authorities within an increasingly democratic structure slowly shrank. This reading captures underlining tensions and illustrates that the miracle years were only static on the surface, and that continuities *and* changes are visible as Munich slowly came of age.

Notes

1. Becker, “Rock’n Roll: Symbol der Auflehnung,” 27.
2. “Die Reiz-Überflutung,” *Der Spiegel*, 11 July 1956. See also: Jürgen Kniep, “Keine Jugendfreigabe!” *Filmzensur in Westdeutschland 1949–1990* (Göttingen, 2010), 360–61.
3. Discussions focusing on smut and filth (*Schmutz und Schund*) in the post–World War II period illustrate a rich history of trying to censor Americanization and foreign influences, often by employing youth as the underlining reasoning. See: Kniep, “Keine Jugendfreigabe!” For the situation in Munich in particular see, for instance: BayHStAM, Ministerium des Inneren 92084; BayHStAM, Ministerium des Inneren 92083.
4. Heinrich Junker (CSU) was a member of the Bavarian parliament (1950–1970). He eventually became Bavarian Minister of the Interior in 1962. See: Kock, ed., *Der Bayerische Landtag*, 437. August Geislhöringer was member of the Bavarian parliament (1950–1958) and Minister of the Interior between 1954 and 1957. See: *ibid.*, 421. Debates circling around how to respond to the *Halbstarke* emerged throughout West Germany. See: Kurme, *Halbstarke*, 244.
5. Franz-Josef Wuermeling, *Ehe und Familie Heute*; Wuermeling, *Familie: Gabe und Aufgabe* (Cologne, 1958). See also: Schenda, “Die Familie als Bollwerk gegen den Kommunismus,” 90–98, in *Vom Trümmerkind zum Teenager*; Herzog, *Sex after Fascism*, 73, 98, and 119.
6. Cox, “Girls in Trouble,” 192–205, in *Secret Gardens, Satanic Mills*. See also: Angela Delille and Andrea Grohn, “Fräulein Grünschnabel: Backfische, Teenager, Frühreife,” 42–55, in *Perlonzeit*.

7. Münster, *Geld in Nietenhosen*, 39. See also: Helmut Lamprecht, *Teenager und Manager* (Munich, 1965); Schildt, *Moderne Zeiten*, 161–62; Siegfried, *Time Is on My Side*.
8. See endnote 3.
9. StadtAM, Polizeidirektion München 922. See also: Kurme, *Halbstarke*, 196.
10. StadtAM, Polizeidirektion München 922.
11. BayHStAM, Ministerium des Inneren 92087.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. BayHStAM, Ministerium des Inneren 81082. See also: “Mit voller Kraft gegen Halbstarke,” *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 4 June 1956.
15. BayHStAM, Ministerium des Inneren 81082.
16. Ibid.
17. Geschichtswerkstatt Neuhausen, *Vom Rio zum Kolobri*.
18. BayHStAM, Ministerium des Inneren 81082.
19. BayHStAM, Ministerium des Inneren 92087.
20. *Zentralblatt für Jugendrecht und Jugendwohlfahrt* 46, no. 6/7 (1956), here 151, quoted in Zahner, *Jugendfürsorge in Bayern*, 183.
21. *Das Motorrad*, no. 24 (1958), quoted in Mrozek, prod., *Bürger, Antibürger, Intellektuelle* (2), 5. See also: Mrozek. “Halbstark!” 630.
22. *Allgemeine Deutsche Lehrerzeitung* 8, no. 17 (1956), here 329, quoted in Kurme, *Halbstarke*, 186.
23. “Scharfes Durchgreifen gegen Halbstarke,” *Der Münchner Merkur*, 2–3 June 1956. See also: BayHStAM, Ministerium des Inneren 81082.
24. Geschichtswerkstatt Neuhausen, *Vom Rio zum Kolobri*, 19.
25. Ibid.
26. Kock, *Der Bayerische Landtag*, 117.
27. Mrozek, prod., *Bürger, Antibürger, Intellektuelle* (2). See also: Geschichtswerkstatt Neuhausen, *Vom Rio zum Kolobri*, 19–20; Kock, *Der Bayerische Landtag*, 116.
28. Mrozek, prod., *Bürger, Antibürger, Intellektuelle* (2).
29. Zahner, *Jugendfürsorge in Bayern*, 177–78.
30. “Geislhöringer wurde gestoppt,” *Die Welt*, 17 August 1956.
31. Ibid.
32. “Zuerst der Gummiknüppel,” *Der Münchner Merkur*, 22 August 1956. See also: *Mittelbayerische Zeitung*, 17 August 1956, quoted in BayHStAM, Ministerium des Inneren 81082.
33. “‘Halbstarke’ werden immer stärker,” *Der Münchner Merkur*, 17 August 1956.
34. “Staatsaktion gegen die Halbstarke,” *8-Uhr Blatt*, 17 August 1956.
35. “An Redaktion SZ,” *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 17 August 1956.
36. BayHStAM, Ministerium des Inneren 81082. See also: “Zuerst der Gummiknüppel,” *Der Münchner Merkur*, 22 August 1956; “Unter der Lupe,” *8 Uhr-Blatt*, 25 August 1956; “Die Autorität der Polizei muss unter allen Umständen gewahrt bleiben,” *Mittelbayerische Zeitung*, August 1956.
37. *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 22 January 1954, quoted in Gerhard Fürmetz, “Polizei, Massenprotest und öffentliche Ordnung: Großeinsätze der Münchner Polizei in den frühen fünfziger Jahren,” in *Öffentliche Ordnung in der*

- Nachkriegszeit*, ed. Christian Groh (Ubstadt-Weiher, 2002), 78–106, here 86. See also: Michael Sturm, “Zwischen Schwabing und Fürstenfeldbruck: Die Stadtpolizei München in der Reformzeit der Bundesrepublik,” in *Die Geschichte des Erfolgsmodells BRD im internationalen Vergleich*, ed. Jörg Calließ (Rehburg-Loccum, 2006), 147–72.
38. StadtAM, Stadtchronik (1956).
 39. “Geiselhöriger wurde gestoppt,” *Die Welt*, 17 August 1956.
 40. “Keine Banden in München sagt Hieber,” *Die Abendzeitung*, 18–19 August 1956
 41. “Halbwüchsige gefährden die Straßen der Stadt,” *Die Abendzeitung*, 22 August 1956.
 42. Ibid.
 43. “Drastische Maßnahmen gegen Halbstarke,” *Die Welt*, 19 September 1956.
 44. BayHStAM, Ministerium des Inneren 81082.
 45. “Die Erfindung der Halbstarke,” *Die Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 7 September 1956.
 46. “Wildwest in München: Halbstarker und Ganzstarker,” *Main-Echo*, 31 August 1956.
 47. StadtAM, Ratsitzungsprotokolle, Sitzungsprotokoll 729/1–4 (1956).
 48. BayHStAM, Ministerium des Inneren 92087 (Denkschrift zur Problematik der Halbwüchsigen). The state report appeared on 2 October 1956. Juvenile crime rose by 35% between 1947 and 1955. See also: BayHStAM, Ministerium des Inneren 92089; “Zwischen Lausbubenstreich und Gewalttat,” *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 30 November 1956.
 49. StadtAM, Kreisjugendring no. 10. See also: StadtAM, Schulamt 8271; BayHStAM Ministerium des Inneren 92087.
 50. StaAM, Plakatsammlung 1848–2008, 1073 (1956); “Die ‘Blasen’ nehmen kein Blatt vor den Mund: Diskussion vor dem Jugendforum,” *Der Münchner Merkur*, 17 September 1956; Geschichtswerkstatt Neuhausen, *Vom Rio zum Kolobri*, 164.
 51. “Die ‘Blasen’ nehmen kein Blatt vor den Mund: Diskussion vor dem Jugendforum,” *Der Münchner Merkur*, 17 September 1956.
 52. “Wir sind keine ‘Halbstarke,’” *8-Uhr Blatt*, 7 September 1956
 53. “Jugendliche setzen sich gegen ‘Halbstarke’ zur Wehr,” *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 8 September 1956. See also: Bondy, *Jugendliche stören die Ordnung*, 23–24.
 54. Mrozek, prod., *Bürger, Antibürger, Intellektuelle* (2).
 55. Rainer Dorner, “Halbstark, Rock’n Roll Existenzialismus,” in *Bikini: Die Fünfziger Jahre: Kalter Krieg und Capri-Sonne: Fotos, Texte, Comics, Analysen*, ed. Eckhard Siepmann (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1983), 164–69, here 166.
 56. StadtAM, Schulamt 8271.
 57. Ibid.
 58. Ibid.
 59. “Die Raben von Rio sagen uns ihre Meinung,” *Quick*, 29 September 1956.
 60. “Die Bandenführer bitte melden: München lädt jugendliche ‘Blasen’ zum offenen Gespräch ein,” *Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 17 September 1956. See also: BayHStAM, Ministerium des Inneren 81082.

61. "Weg von der Straße, aber wohin?" *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 17 September 1956; "Jugendliche setzen sich gegen 'Halbstarke' zur Wehr," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 8 September 1956. See also: *Mittelbayerische Zeitung*, 24 October 1956, quoted in Zahner, *Jugendfürsorge in Bayern*, 183.
62. "Halbwüchsige gefährden die Straßen der Stadt," *Die Abendzeitung*, 22 August 1956.
63. StAM, Polizeidirektion München Nr. 11011, quoted in Zahner *Jugendfürsorge in Bayern*, 181. See also: *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 20 September 1956, quoted in *ibid.*, 184.
64. Geschichtswerkstatt Neuhausen, *Vom Rio zum Kolobri*, 69.
65. Florian Fricke, *München rockt: Die wilde Zeit an der Isar* (Munich, 2007), 8.
66. Peter Kraus, *Wop-baba-lu-ba: Mein ver-rocktes Leben* (Wien, 1990), quoted in Geschichtswerkstatt Neuhausen, *Vom Rio zum Kolobri*, 69.
67. Bondy, *Jugendliche stören die Ordnung*, 109–10. See also: "Beifallstürme bei Jazzkonzert für Münchner Jugend," *Die Abendzeitung*, 20 November 1956; Geschichtswerkstatt Neuhausen, *Vom Rio zum Kolobri*, 40.
68. Hans Heigert and Werner Wirsing, *Stätten der Jugend* (Munich, 1958), 11. See also: MonM, 4^o Mon 3831: Seelmann, "Das Halbstarcken-Problem in München" (1957), 28–46, *passim*.
69. Gerhard Fürmetz, "Anwalt der Jugend," in *'Schwabinger Krawalle: Protest, Polizei und Öffentlichkeit zu Beginn der 60er Jahre*, ed. Gerhard Fürmetz (Essen, 2006), 141–50, here 141.
70. "Aufstand gegen die Langeweile," *Bild am Sonntag*, 27 January 1957. See also: "Über die Behandlung von Blasen: Der neue Leiter des Jugendamtes stellt sich vor," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 20 September 1956.
71. Munich's city report surfaced piece by piece. StadtAM, Schulamt 6244; StadtAM, Schulamt 8271. See also: "Modewort 'Halbstarke' ist irreführend," *Der Münchner Merkur*, 27 November 1956; "Fingerle hält seine Hand über die Jugend: 'Sofortprogramm' des Stadtschulrats," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 30 October 1956; "Zuschuss für Jugendheim," *Die Abendzeitung*, 13 December 1956.
72. See, for example: Waltraut Küppers, *Mädchentagebücher der Nachkriegszeit: Ein kritischer Beitrag zum sogenannten Wandel der Jugend* (Stuttgart, 1963); Kuhnert and Ackermann, "Jenseits von Lust und Liebe?" 43–83, here 75/76, in *'Die Elvis-Tolle, die hatte ich mir unauffällig wachsen lassen'*; Bartam and Krüger, "Vom Backfisch zum Teenager," 84–102, in *ibid.* Heide Funk, "Mädchenalltag: Freiraum nach geleisteter Pflicht," 37–46, in *Immer diese Jugend*; Erika Dichtl, "'Nylon's, Tanzen, Märchenprinz: Ein Neuhauser Teenager in der Halbstarckenzeit," 78–81, in *Vom Rio zum Kolobri*.
73. Krüger, "Vom Punk zum Emo," 16, in *inter-cool 3.0*.
74. Jutta Scheerbarth (*1943), quoted in Rüdiger Bloemke, *Roll Over Beethoven: Wie der Rock 'n' Roll nach Deutschland kam* (St. Andrä-Wörden, 1996), 119.
75. *Der Münchner Merkur*, 5 May 1953, quoted in Geschichtswerkstatt Neuhausen, *Vom Rio zum Kolobri*, 44–45.
76. Peter Wensierski, *Schläge im Namen des Herren: Die verdrängte Geschichte der Heimkinder in der Bundesrepublik* (Munich, 2006), 17.

77. Ibid.
78. Ibid., 19. See also: Lieselotte Pongratz and Hans Odo Hübner, *Lebensbe-währung nach öffentlicher Erziehung* (Neuwied/Darmstadt, 1959); Annette Lützke, "Öffentliche Erziehung und Heimerziehung für Mädchen 1954 bis 1975: Bilder 'sittlich verwahrloster' Mädchen und junger Frauen" (Ph.D. diss., University-Gesamthochschule Essen, 2002).
79. Maase, *Bravo Amerika*, 78. See also: Lindner, *Jugendprotest seit den fünfzi-ger Jahren*, 42.
80. Susanne Ostermann (*1943), quoted in Bloemke, *Roll Over Beethoven*, 120.
81. B., "Musik dröhnt aus Automaten," *Ruf ins Volk* (1957): 76, here 76. See also: Franz Metzger, "Die Musikbox als aktuelles Freizeitangebot der Jug-endpflege?" *Deutsche Jugend* 8 (1960): 124–28.
82. Ostermann, quoted in Bloemke, *Roll Over Beethoven*, 120.
83. Lützke, "Öffentliche Erziehung und Heimerziehung für Mädchen 1945 bis 1975," 281.
84. Ibid., 246 and 282.
85. Sabine Pankofer, *Freiheit hinter Mauern: Mädchen in geschlossenen Hei-men* (Weinheim, 1997); 241–50; Sabine Hering, "Verwahrloste Mädchen' als Zielgruppe öffentlicher Erziehung: Ein Rückblick auf die Jahre 1945–1965," in *Sozialpädagogik: Vom Therapeutikum zur Weltgesellschaft. Systematischen und historische Beiträge*, ed. Diana Franke (Baltmannsweihler, 2005), 135–50; Eva Gehltomholt and Sabine Hering, *Das verwahrloste Mädchen: Diagnostik und Fürsorge in der Jugendhilfe zwischen Kriegsende und Reform (1945–1965)* (Opladen, 2006).
86. Wensierski, *Schläge im Namen des Herren*, 9.
87. Ibid., 19.
88. Ibid., 51.
89. Gehltomholt and Hering, *Das verwahrloste Mädchen*, 76.
90. Ibid., 86–87.
91. Ibid., 91.
92. Wensierski, *Schläge im Namen des Herren*, 49 and 64. See also: Pankofer, *Freiheit hinter Mauern*; Hering, "Verwahrloste Mädchen' als Zielgruppe öffentlicher Erziehung."
93. Fischer-Kowalski, *1958-Hooligans, 1968-Students*, 6. See also: Gehltom-holt and Hering, *Das verwahrloste Mädchen*, 85–86.
94. StadtAM, Kreisjugendring no. 11; Fingerle, *München*, 132–36; Landes-hauptstadt München, *Zur Geschichte der Erziehung in München*; Josef Hederer, interview by author, tape recordings, Munich, summer 2009 and summer 2010.
95. Zahner, *Jugendfürsorge in Bayern*, 181; Geschichtswerkstatt Neuhausen, *Vom Rio zum Kolobri*, 153. See also: Heigert and Wirsing, *Stätten der Ju-gend*; Lothar Böhnisch, "Historische Skizzen zur offenen Jugendarbeit," (I), (II), *Deutsche Jugend* 32 (1984): 460–70 and 514–20; Lindner, *Jugend-protest seit den fünfziger Jahren*, 75–78; Bondy, *Jugendliche stören die Ord-nung*, 114.
96. Dolezol, "Die Spontanen und ihre Organisatoren," 474.
97. BayStaBiM, *Teenager. Zeitschrift für die Jugend* (Harlaching-Pinguin), no. 1 (1958).

98. BayStaBiM, *Teenager. Zeitschrift für die Jugend*, no. 7 (1959).
99. BayStaBiM, *Teenager. Zeitschrift für die Jugend*, Sonderheft (1959).
100. Ibid. See also: StadtAM, Kreisjugendring no. 11.
101. Maase, *Bravo Amerika*, 148.
102. StadtAM, Schulamt 8271, "Unsere Leser schreiben!" *Harlachung-Pinguin*, no. 7 (1959).
103. Ibid.
104. Krüger, "Vom Punk zum Emo," 16, in *inter-cool 3.0*.
105. Zinnecker, "Halbstarke': Die andere Seite der 68er-Generation," in *Protestierende Jugend*, 461–85, here 475–76.
106. Ulrich Beer, *Geheime Miterzieher der Jugend: Macht und Wirkung der Massenmedien* (Düsseldorf, 1961). See also: Grotum, *Die Halbstarcken*, 219.
107. Münster, *Geld in Nietenhosen*, 47. See also: Lindner, *Jugendproteste seit den fünfziger Jahren*, 44. Siegfried, *Time Is On My Side*.
108. Münster, *Geld in Nietenhosen*, 7.
109. Ibid.
110. Ibid.
111. Winfried Krüger, "Jugendzeitschrift 'Bravo': Anleitung zur Normalität," in Deutsches Jugendinstitut, ed., *Immer diese Jugend!*, 363–74. See also: Eisfeld, *Als Teenager träumten*, 51 and 70.
112. Schildt, *Moderne Zeiten*, 169; Nina Lammers, "Bravo und die Mediennutzung von Jugendlichen," 265–271, here 271, in *50 Jahre Bravo*, ed. Archiv der Jugendkulturen e.V. (Berlin, 2006). *Bravo* started with roughly 64,000 (63,981) issues. Deutsches Jugendinstitut, ed., *Immer diese Jugend!*, 364; Klaus Farin, "50 Jahre Bravo: Ein Projekt des Archiv der Jugendkulturen e.V.," 9–23, here 9, in *50 Jahre Bravo*. See also: Manfred Berger, "Bravo: 50 Jahre Pubertätserotik und Teenie-Pop," *Unsere Jugend* 58 (2006): 341–44, here 341; Martin Hussong, "Jugendzeitschriften von 1945–1960: Phasen, Typen, Tendenzen," in Doderer, ed., *Zwischen Trümmern und Wohlstand*, 521–85.
113. "Ich war Jimmys Freund," *Bravo*, no. 9 (1957). See also: "James Dean rettete ein Mädchen," no. 9 (1957); "Sensationelle Bilder: James Dean wie ihn keiner kennt," *Bravo*, no. 3 (1957).
114. "Halbstarke und Polizisten Herhören," *Bravo*, no. 4 (1956). See also: "Angeklagt: Die POLIZEI!" *Bravo*, no. 9 (1957).
115. "Halbstarke und Polizisten Herhören," *Bravo*, no. 4 (1956).
116. "Weil Mutter Hunger hatte," *Bravo*, no. 19 (1956); "Halbstarker! König! Hochstapler!" *Bravo*, no. 30 (1957); "Halbstarker! König! Hochstapler!" no. 36 (1957).
117. "Die Elvis-Presley-Story," *Bravo*, no. 15 (1957). See also: "Die Elvis-Presley-Story," *Bravo*, no. 8 (1957); "Die Elvis-Presley-Story," *Bravo*, no. 9 (1957); "Die Elvis-Presley-Story," *Bravo*, no. 14 (1957); "Elvis nach Deutschland," *Bravo*, no. 28 (1958).
118. "Alles dreht sich um Elvis," *Bravo*, no. 43 (1958).
119. Sheila Whiteley, *Too Much Too Young: Popular Music Age and Gender* (New York, 2003), 170.
120. Katja Scherl, "Zeig Deine Orden, Elvis! Banal Militarism als Normalisierungsstrategie," in *Banal Militarism: Zur Veralltäglicung des Militäri-*

- schen im Zivilen*, ed. Tanja Thomas and Fabian Virchow (Bielefeld, 2006), 307–32.
121. Bloemke, *Roll Over Beethoven*, 100.
 122. Maase, *BRAVO Amerika*, 126.
 123. “Neuer Name: Peter Kraus,” *Bravo*, no. 5 (1957). See also: Bloemke, *Roll Over Beethoven*, 126; Kraus, “Entenschwanz & Ponyfransen,” 100–13. The series “When Teenagers Dream: The Peter Kraus Story” was first announced in November 1958. See, for instance: “Wenn Teenager träumen—Die Peter-Kraus Story,” *Bravo*, no. 47 (1958), no. 48 (1958), no. 49 (1958). See also: Geschichtswerkstatt Neuhausen, *Vom Rio zum Kolobri*, 69.
 124. Améry, *Teenager-Stars*, 97. See also: Kraus, *40 Jahre Rock 'n' Roll*; Kraus, *I Love Rock 'n' Roll*.
 125. Hoesch, ed. *Bravo 1956–2006*, 452–57, here 454. Freddy Quinn and Roy Black played similar roles.
 126. Geschichtswerkstatt Neuhausen, *Vom Rio zum Kolobri*, 70.
 127. *Ibid.*
 128. *Der Spiegel*, “Cornelia (Conny) Froboess,” August 26, 1959.
 129. Améry, *Teenager-Stars*, 97/98. See also: Veronika Ratzenböck, “‘Steig ein in das Traumboot der Liebe:’ Deutsche Schlager der 50er Jahre,” 177–181, in *Perlsonzeit*; Poiger, “Rock’n’Roll, Female Sexuality, and the Cold War Battle over German Identities,” 610.
 130. Geschichtswerkstatt Neuhausen, ed., *Vom Rio zum Kolobri*, 70. See also: “Conny & Peter,” *Der Spiegel*, November 12, 1958; *Bravo*, [cover], no. 44 (1958); Wrage, “Neue Jugend: Einleitung,” 650, in *Handbuch Nachkriegskultur*.
 131. Améry, *Teenager-Stars*, 115. A variety of movies fit into this framework, including those with Roy Black and Uschi Glas.
 132. Nieland, “Frauenbilder in *Bravo*,” in *Bravo 1956–2006*, 80–99, here 82.
 133. *Ibid.*, 82.
 134. *Ibid.*
 135. *Ibid.*, 92.
 136. *Ibid.*
 137. *Ibid.*, 88. See also: Baumann and Krüger, “Vom Backfisch zum Teenager,” 88, in *Die Elvis-Tolle, die hatte ich mir heimlich wachsen lassen*, 88.
 138. Améry, *Teenager-Stars*, 55.
 139. Nieland, “Frauenbilder in *Bravo*,” in *Bravo 1956–2006*, 82.
 140. *Ibid.*, 98
 141. “Steffi,” *Bravo*, no. 32 (1958).
 142. *Ibid.*
 143. “Steffi,” *Bravo*, no. 41 (1958).
 144. See, for instance: Kaspar Maase, “Auf dem Weg zum zivilen Habitus: Rock ‘n’ Roll, Teenager, BRAVO und die US- Populärkultur in der zweiten Hälfte der 50er Jahre,” 7-38, here 8, in *Amerikanisierung der Alltagskultur? Zur Rezeption US-amerikanischer Populärkultur in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und in den Niederlanden*, eds. Kaspar Maase, Gerd Hallenberger, and Mel van Elteren (Hamburg, 1999).
 145. “Steffi,” *Bravo*, no. 39 (1958); “Steffi,” *Bravo*, no. 41 (1958); “Steffi,” *Bravo*, no. 33 (1958); “Steffi,” *Bravo*, no. 34 (1958).

146. "Steffi," *Bravo*, no. 32 (1958); "Steffi," *Bravo*, no. 45 (1958); "Steffi," *Bravo*, no. 50 (1958).
147. "Steffi," *Bravo*, no. 35 (1958).
148. "Steffi," *Bravo*, no. 41 (1958).
149. "Steffi," *Bravo*, no. 33 (1958).
150. "Steffi," *Bravo*, no. 44 (1958).
151. Ingrid Volkmer, "Teenager: Ausgangspunkt medialer und ästhetischer Kommerzialisierung der Jugendphase," 142–152, here 151, in *Jugend 1900–1970: Zwischen Selbstverfügung und Deutung*, ed. Dieter Baacke, Heinrich Lienker, Ralf Schmölders, and Ingrid Volkmer (Opladen, 1991).
152. The series "Us & Them" (*Wir & Ihr*) began in January 1962. "Wir & Ihr," *Bravo*, no 1. (1962).
153. "Wir & Ihr," *Bravo*, no. 9 (1962).
154. "Wir & Ihr," *Bravo*, no. 30 (1962); "Wir & Ihr," *Bravo*, no. 32 (1960); "Plötzlich war alles anders! Mit dem Kind kam die große Wende," *Bravo*, no. 34 (1962); "Durch Opfer rettete ich meine Ehe," *Bravo*, no. 36 (1962).
155. *Bravo* no. 45 (1957), quoted in Maase, *Bravo Amerika*, 109.
156. Lutz Sauersteig, "Die Herstellung des sexuellen und erotischen Körpers in der westdeutschen Jugendzeitschrift BRAVO in den 1960er und 1970er Jahren," *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 42 (2007): 142–79, here 142.
157. Run of 30,000 at start, 200,000 within the first twelve months, and 523,000 by mid-1959. By spring 1960 a survey spoke of 1.66 million readers of *Bravo* (FRG/ West Berlin). Maase, *BRAVO Amerika*, 104.
158. BayHStAM, Ministerium des Inneren 92090.
159. "Streiflicht," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 30 October 1958.
160. "Verdienen an einer skeptischen Generation: Die Bilanz der Bill-Haley-Gastspiele," *Bayerische Staatszeitung*, 21 November 1958.
161. BayHStAM, Ministerium des Inneren 92090. See also: "Saat der Gewalt," *Der Spiegel*, 5 November 1958.
162. "Streiflicht," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 10 October 1958; "Billy Haley heizt in Stuttgart ein," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 1–2 November 1958; "Saat der Gewalt," *Der Spiegel*, 5 November 1958; "Verdienen an einer skeptischen Generation: Die Bilanz der Bill-Haley-Gastspiele," *Bayerische Staatszeitung*, 21 November 1958; Dollinger, ed., *München im 20. Jahrhundert*, 247.
163. See, for instance: "Steffi," *Bravo*, 14 November 1958; "Wenn Teenager träumen," *Bravo*, 21 November 1958.
164. StadtAM, Polizeidirektion München 11083.
165. "Was wurde aus dem Programm für Münchner Halbwüchsige," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 31 March 1959.
166. *Die Innere Mission* 46, no. 11 (1956): 339, quoted in Zahner, *Jugendfürsorge in Bayern*, 184.
167. Scholars refer to a "revival" of old norms, at least when referencing teenagers. See: Bartam and Krüger, "Vom Backfisch zum Teenager," in *Die Elvis-Tolle, die hatte ich mir unauffällig wachsen lassen*, 101.
168. Grace Hechinger and Fred M. Hechinger, *Die Herrschaft der Teenager* (Gütersloh, 1965). See also: Schildt, *Moderne Zeiten*, 177.