

PART I



DELINQUENCY IN  
THE CRISIS YEARS, 1942–1949

## **Constructing the Delinquent Boy and the Sexually Deviant Girl**



In the summer of 1947, the Munich Youth Exhibit welcomed its guests with a large banner reading, “The worst in Germany, worse than a lack of food, [and] overcrowding ... is the psychological state of youth.”<sup>1</sup> Upon entering the first tent of the exhibit, visitors saw “the misery of the young” depicted in various photographs. Numerous statistics and charts supported the notion that juvenile delinquency posed a major problem in Munich.<sup>2</sup> Visitors then learned about solutions: local youth organizations showed how to lure youth off the streets; state institutions including the Youth Welfare Office provided information on dealing with disruptors. Concerned contemporaries could leave the exhibit without worry: the misery and delinquency of youth was under control, and with that society on the right path towards recovery and stability.

The Youth Exhibit captured a widespread and highly moralized postwar discourse and functioned as a magnet for engaging with broader issues. Equating misery with deviancy, the exhibit exemplified an obsession with juvenile delinquency in the Bavarian capital during the so-called crisis years. According to popular sentiments, National Socialism, the war, and postwar destitution had led young people of both sexes towards a life of homelessness, black marketeering, and sexual deviancy. Like ruins and rubble, juvenile delinquency became a visual reminder of defeat, destruction, and disorder; its existence jeopardized social order and postwar recovery. Organizing the young within institutions, on the other hand, painted a positive picture of the current state of affairs and the city’s future. As a result, and even though authorities condemned the strict hierarchies of the Hitler Youth, the general public supported those willing to rebuild the young through

traditional institutionalization, watchful guidance, and rigorous law enforcement.

The construction of juvenile wrongdoing had benefits. Whereas it is apparent that some youngsters participated in illegal endeavors given postwar circumstances, local officials generally exaggerated the extent of deviancy to frame a broader consensus. Once exploring benefits of illegality,<sup>3</sup> to follow Michel Foucault, it becomes clear that the construction of delinquency offered a variety of traditional powers a way to reorganize society. Authorities from across the political spectrum were mainly interested in restoring security, stability, social order, and traditional morality. Actually, first post-1945 Bavarian President Fritz Schäffer from the conservative party called on Christian morals and the power of the Bavarian *Heimat* or homeland as the foundation for recovery.<sup>4</sup> His social democratic successor, Wilhelm Hoegner, noted in his 1946 inauguration speech, “A whole world is out of balance and must return to order.”<sup>5</sup> Authorities relied on pre-1914 sentiments when marking norms across party lines as law and order, recovery, and stability. They defined this return to a state of normality in a way that delegitimized the horrors of National Socialism and the instability of the Weimar years. Understood as the future, youth proved a powerful rhetorical space for such discussions.

As the Youth Exhibit demonstrates, it was fortunate that delinquency already had a solution: more intervention by adult authorities. Anxious to prove their ability to create order and ensure recovery, those responsible for controlling youth had an interest in spotting juvenile delinquency. Given such overlapping intentions, representations of youth increasingly became disconnected from reality. In fact, while there was a real youth crisis—as there might be in many societies at any given moment—it was consistently exaggerated for self-serving purposes. Instead of portraying youth as victims of war, authorities increasingly depicted young males in particular as work-shy vagabonds and disruptors. Females, on the other hand, were tied to sexual misbehaviors, especially after the U.S. arrival. This connection between postwar delinquencies defined as juvenile behavioral problems called for state action, thereby making youth a powerful tool and an excellent excuse for expanding mechanisms of social control.

The first part of *Coming of Age* focuses on the construction of male and female youth in the immediate postwar period, defined as the crisis years. It presents *the delinquent boy* (*der verwahrloste Junge*) and *the sexually deviant girl*, also known as *Veronika Dankeschön* or *Fräulein*, as a case in point for the rhetorical construction and normalization of masculinity, femininity, and authority. No strangers in German

history,<sup>6</sup> both images of youth emerged in the postwar period in new forms. After all, male adult-dominated societies discriminate against *the sexually deviant girl* because of her gender and sexuality.<sup>7</sup> To add on to such conversations by focusing also on age is in the center of the following discussion. Keeping the historical context of the crisis years in mind is important, as youngsters actually had reason to complain. Many had lost their families, homes, and youth to National Socialism and war. Yet supported by a broad consensus that there had to be a larger problem, a whole array of contemporaries scrambling for post-war power fostered the image of male and female deviancy as active delinquency to advance their own ends and agendas.

### **Creating the Delinquent Boy**

The crisis years beginning with the first aerial bombings in summer 1942 were devastating for many in Munich, including the young. The first heavy aerial bombing occurred in late August 1942 and marked, according to historian Hans-Günter Richardi, a shift for the situation in Munich.<sup>8</sup> Prior to 29 August citizens had visited a local exhibit to learn about potential bombings. With the massive attack that night, however, the situation changed and the Bavarian capital now became a regular target. Soon U.S. planes bombed during the day and the British at night. By the end of the war Munich had endured more than seventy bombings, destroying about 90 percent of the old city center.<sup>9</sup> The increasing and visible destruction of the cityscape brought the war more directly into the Bavarian capital and gradually destabilized society. In fact, residents began to pillage even if that could result in being shot by authorities.<sup>10</sup> Young people originally experienced these events as scary yet exciting since the cityscape increasingly became an unmonitored playground in which many began to collect shrapnel or wandered around in destroyed buildings.<sup>11</sup> Parents and authorities eventually sent some children to the countryside, away from the bombs, thus further disrupting a perceived normality and stability in Munich.

The months following Germany's defeat at Stalingrad increased instability in Munich.<sup>12</sup> Most notably, thousands poured into the city.<sup>13</sup> By late 1944, a young boy from Munich described the scene as he recalled seeing ragged soldiers dragging themselves home from the East: "They told us that the war was lost and asked for civilian clothes. Many of them were wounded, amputated, bandaged. After the soldiers came masses of refugees. They were frightening to us because they told sto-

ries about atrocities by Russians and Czechs. We did not know anything about the miseries of these refugees and were hesitant to believe them.”<sup>14</sup> In such disorder countless youngsters had been separated from their families or loved ones as well. Contemporary photographs by Heidi and Georg Fruhstorfer from 1945, for example, captured the ordeal as thousands of young refugees poured into the city from all directions.<sup>15</sup> Amongst them, according to some officials, “hundreds of thousands of such youngsters” just in Bavaria;<sup>16</sup> other sources stated that in the U.S. Zone of Occupation alone homeless youngsters living on streets ranged from ten thousand to eighty thousand.<sup>17</sup> Up to one hundred thousand wayward youngsters supposedly roamed around in the three western zones of occupation.<sup>18</sup> Whereas reliable data for this period remains difficult to obtain, it is undeniable that war, misery, and the loss of family had left the young in a visible state of destitution and trauma.

Given the lack of food and coal, the young had to play a key role in scavenging for resources. Apart from looking for loved ones in a ruined cityscape, they traveled long distances to the countryside alongside adults or by themselves hoping to find food. This sudden visibility of the young was striking and became a clear symbol of Germany’s larger decay: during Nazism and the early years of war, the young spent their days at school and in supervised youth organizations, like the Hitler Youth; beginning by 1942, and certainly by the end of the war, however, a lack of adequate facilities, ongoing processes of denazification, and missing parental and state supervision kept schools and youth groups closed. These restrictions left many youngsters on the streets and in other unsupervised city spaces. Local authorities and the public at large perceived and described this increased visibility of the young as abnormal. According to one local commentator, “The metropolis is playing the role of a dam against vagabonding youngsters, whose numbers have risen based on different economic and personal circumstances. Being at home nowhere has created emotional nomads.”<sup>19</sup> Such voices saw it as a sign of disorder or a rupture within normality because previously youth had been organized in specific institutions, and even along clear ranks, and the young certainly did not roam around without any adult supervision or guidance.

Reaching Munich on 30 April 1945, U.S. soldiers, on the other hand, recognized young Germans as victims of World War II. Although originally advised to see male youth in particular as potential fanatic Nazi fighters, American GIs witnessed the dire situation of youth and quickly changed their conceptions.<sup>20</sup> Soon nonfraternization measures excluded small children, however defined, and U.S. authorities allowed

soldiers to officially socialize with the young.<sup>21</sup> Most did so by giving out candy. With death around every ruined corner of this overcrowded city, narratives of victimization increasingly came to the forefront. In Munich and elsewhere, contemporaries already discussed the impact of bombings and the war. American understandings of an indoctrinated German youth fitted into such frameworks. For adult Germans at the time such descriptions were beneficial: many insinuated how a few Nazis had seduced an innocent, young nation, and these claims ultimately allowed more Germans to present and construct themselves as victims. Moreover, descriptions of youth as a metaphor for the future automatically shifted debates away from the past. As Germanist Jaimey Fisher explains, discussions about youth as victims served as a platform “onto which to displace and with which to distract from, the wider challenges of coming to terms with Germany’s burdensome past.”<sup>22</sup>

Within several months, however, increased stabilization of administrative structures shifted the way the public constructed male youngsters from victims to criminals. Some schools and youth groups reopened in fall 1945. Most importantly, local authorities needed workers of all ages to clear the rubble within the city, providing employment for youth. Aware of such opportunities, contemporaries increasingly saw living on the street as an active choice. Those young persons who were homeless or wandering around became known as unwilling, resistant, and deviant. Various prejudices and speculations regarding the motives for homelessness played a key role in constructing such behaviors as deviancy. Instead of portraying youth simply as passive victims of National Socialism and war, descriptions now included assumptions about why male youngsters choose to live on the streets. Anton Buckel’s description of Munich youth in his 1948 Ph.D. dissertation epitomizes how easily the marks of destitution became moralized into signs of deviancy:

This group of people mostly wears blackened U.S. uniforms, miserable footwear. Around the neck there is often a bright cloth. Even during the coldest winters there is in principle no hat, no jacket, no gloves, no underwear, and often not even a shirt. The young have distinctively over-long hair not to be found within other milieus, not even amongst other young people. Face and neck are mostly clean, like the hair, because the young spend their nights frequently in bunkers where they are deloused. Worth noting is the fact that a majority of their bodies shows scabs and rashes. The hands are disgustingly black from daily endeavors. The fingers are “decorated” by five to eight millimeter long scruffy nails. The gaze is restless and distrustful, always scenting danger, at times bold and presumptuous. The face is glaringly pale. The gait slow, sagging. The whole stature seems—even though young—senile.<sup>23</sup>

A variety of other contemporary voices painted a similar picture,<sup>24</sup> thereby increasingly setting the tone for criminalizing homelessness among the young.

Metropolitan spaces like Munich played a key role in sustaining and spreading such sentiments. In urban environments people mingled and saw the supposed state of society: homelessness, destitution, deviancy. Traditional antiurban sentiments so prevalent in Munich's conservative surroundings exacerbated this effect, characterizing urban public spaces and those spending their time there as delinquent. According to widespread interpretations outlined by historian Jennifer Evans, youngsters at home in dark alleys, train stations, or gloomy restaurants would necessarily mingle with a variety of criminals, foreigners, and other shady characters.<sup>25</sup> As Anton Buckel observed in Munich shortly after World War II, "The central train station is a major space for sin and delinquency. Any morally unwavering individual meets disgusting young deviants at 5:30 A.M. as they roam a snack bar to get their breakfast."<sup>26</sup> Others noted an increased appearance of "homeless, destitute individuals, vagabonds, pillagers, thieves" in the city's public spaces.<sup>27</sup> For those constructing youth, homelessness hence became an active choice amongst youth, not a state grounded in postwar destitution and destruction, and such misbehaviors were now also inherently tied to specific locations.

Yet unlike the Foucauldian heterotopic sites described by Jennifer Evans when discussing postwar Berlin,<sup>28</sup> discussions surrounding homosexuality took a backseat when framing male delinquency in Munich. Local scholars did mention fears in regard to sexual deviancy amongst males.<sup>29</sup> Anton Buckel describes such only briefly, noting, "masturbation among the young is threatening but not a hopeless cause. Unrestrained homosexuality, on the other hand, and even more terrible sexual perversions are truly threatening."<sup>30</sup> Some anecdotal evidence and random statistics repeatedly sustained his and similar views regarding alleged sexually abnormal behaviors. However, unlike in Berlin, such fears rarely influenced larger conversations. As a result, contemporaries did not tie delinquency in Munich to a homosexual subculture so widespread in 1920s Berlin. Instead, male sexual deviancy rarely came up in discussions. Those commentators, like Anton Buckel, who debated homosexuality linked it to vagrancy and a lack of resources. In this sense, the limited discussion of sexual deviancy amongst males apparent in Munich actually helped frame homelessness as willful vagrancy, even resistance to order.

Overall, shifts in the construction of youth soon appeared in the media. The newspaper *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, for example, introduced

twenty-one-year-old Fritz J. by noting how he “supposedly worked for several different farmers in the area of Ingolstadt.”<sup>31</sup> The paper implied that Fritz should have stayed there to fulfill his role for a society in need. Instead, he ran away to Munich. There, the police picked him up during a raid and sent him to prison for fourteen days. This odyssey, like other similar stories, was partially blamed on the dire situation after the war; yet the boy was also clearly held responsible for running away in order to sustain a questionable lifestyle. In fact, publications increasingly referred to vagabondage instead of homelessness, depicting life on the street as a lifestyle choice, not a necessity. Reminiscent of 1920s rhetoric, this interpretation more and more dismissed post-war circumstances. Instead, commentators even put vagabondage in the same category as theft and murder, characterizing all three behaviors as *jugendliche Verwahrlosung* or juvenile delinquency.<sup>32</sup>

Structured around traditionally gendered understandings of male youth as disciplined workers and future providers, contemporaries demonized those unwilling to participate in the reconstruction process by portraying them as individual pleasure-seekers. City officials in particular saw the youth as wasting time. Signs set up by the city of Munich reading “Youth! Help rebuild!” in April 1946<sup>33</sup> did not change the situation. *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung* noted that at this rate the rubble symbolizing destruction would not be cleared for the next six to eight years.<sup>34</sup> Then, in June 1946, the city ran out of money and could not pay its regular workers. In response to such scarcities Mayor Karl Scharnagl put forward a proclamation aimed specifically at male youth. He stated, “All our efforts are in vain if the whole population does not support these measures and if the young do not implement them the way we propose.”<sup>35</sup> *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung* picked up this call three days later arguing, “In this context there has been no effort [by the young] so far; but especially with regard to the youth who could inspire and serve the public good regarding reconstruction—where is it?”<sup>36</sup> Deputy Mayor Thomas Wimmer linked common perceptions regarding individualistic endeavors of the young with their unwillingness to work. In his view, “At this point it would be much desired if everyone would work together; this is better than seeing how every afternoon hundreds of youngsters spend their time at the Isar river, while others work; there is not much the youth does concerning clearing the rubble. Something has to be done so that at least over the summer the young help.”<sup>37</sup> This connection completed negative portrayals of male youth: they enjoyed themselves swimming instead of helping to rebuild the city, and with that kind of behavior endangered the reconstruction process, which jeopardized the overall recovery of Munich. Soon shortages of help-



ing hands became a morally charged discussion. Even though unemployment rates are difficult to assess, by 1947 the employment office indicated that there were forty-six thousand job openings in Munich.<sup>38</sup> Local companies frequently complained about a lack of workers, and at the outskirts of the Bavarian capital farmers desperately looked for helping hands. Where were the young when it came to bringing Munich back from abyss? An upset citizen noted with outrage that “young and strong boys” spend time at the movie theaters instead of working.<sup>39</sup> In contrast to the legendary *Trümmerfrau*, or woman of the rubble, attempts to frame *Trümmerjungen*, or rubble boys, seemed fruitless.

Black marketeering, supposedly sustained by male youngsters, deepened anxieties and seemingly explained male reluctance to work. In operation since the early 1940s, the existence of a black market signified Munich’s dire situation. Similar to circumstances in many other cities throughout Germany and beyond, food shortages had become visible during the war and often continued after the U.S. arrival.<sup>40</sup> In May 1945, food rations sank below one thousand calories per day per person.<sup>41</sup> Once authorities tried to stabilize the economic situation by bringing food into the city, the existence of a broad underground economy jeopardized their attempts. In September 1946, *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung* noted how more than a third of the food arriving at Munich’s central train station would never make it to local businesses. Instead, individuals and groups stole and hoarded massive amounts of valuables, at times robbing entire trains. The produce then reappeared on the black market, where law-abiding citizens had to pay outrageous prices to primarily young entrepreneurs.<sup>42</sup> Black marketeering tied to male youngsters increased widespread fears regarding economic stability, moral order, and recovery. Authorities felt that it showed how youngsters preferred to work for their own benefit, rather than helping rebuild the city.

By 1946, speculations about the work habits of the young not only framed delinquency but also defined the broader debates about Munich’s economic and moral future. Similar to circumstances in other major cities,<sup>43</sup> the black market in Munich subverted a recovering yet fragile economic system. The German currency, the Reichsmark, had long lost its purchasing power and value, making cigarettes, coffee, chocolate, and ration cards the main currencies. While the black market undercut attempts by local officials to provide food for reasonable prices, those who had access to scarce produce could make a fortune selling it informally. Certain groups began hoarding, organizing, and stealing.<sup>44</sup> As one Munich official noted, it was “only the willingness of

local farmers to fulfill requirements regarding food that guaranteed sufficient rations for the city.”<sup>45</sup>

There is indeed some evidence that mainly male youngsters became experts in trading, organizing, and black marketeering. Some roamed around hoping to find Camels, Lucky Strikes, and Chesterfields while others began collecting stumps of cigarettes. If an American GI emptied his ashtray he could be sure that he just made the day of several youngsters. Jacob C., for example, loitered in front of an American bar in downtown Munich before caught by the local police for picking up stumps of cigarettes.<sup>46</sup> Many older Germans saw the act of picking up stumps of cigarettes as a symbolic willingness of young Germans to bow down and surrender before an occupation force; *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung* noted how “youngsters solicit cigarettes out of the mouths of U.S. soldiers.”<sup>47</sup> That some GIs willingly gave youngsters valuables once approached did not matter. Instead, in a society run by the older generation, the young as the future of society were under scrutiny. Adults supposedly knew that illegal trade was only a temporary solution. Yet local authorities feared that youngsters growing up with no other moral referents would continue to actively subvert a slowly recovering and fragile economy.

Parents did not always help the situation. They faced devastating times, and many relied on the ingenuity of their children. According to one male youngster, “This was the time when I started stealing coal from a nearby train depot. There were steam engines, and magnificent hard coal. I filled my pockets and was not even yelled at for making my clothes dirty. Instead my mom sewed me a bag so that I could carry more.”<sup>48</sup> He recalled seeing a poster showing the well-known *Kohlenklau* or Coal Thief. This character became a warning sign displayed throughout this period and intended to keep people from stealing coal. The encouragement of his parents, however, seemed enough to dismiss any moral quandary for this youngster, keeping authorities wondering how individuals like him should ever learn right from wrong.

The participation of the young in illegal trades was also seen as devaluing the honest, hard work of adults. Whereas honorable adult citizens went to work for little money, young black marketeers benefited from an illegal environment. This binary appeared repeatedly by early 1946 as scholars and the media reported on youngsters who stopped working in regular jobs in order to make more money on the black market. According to this interpretation, such behaviors “underlined the tempting and dangerous downward-pulling effect the black market and illicit trade had on the young mind.”<sup>49</sup> Writing about the morale

in postwar society, a local newspaper juxtaposed hard work with black marketeering: “There are people who get up at 5 A.M. every morning, have a long commute to their work, only to toil for twenty-five Reichsmark. And then there are people who spent double of that amount at the black market for their daily need of cigarettes.”<sup>50</sup> Numerous anecdotes discussing youngsters’ unwillingness to work sustained these storylines. One paper, for instance, quoted a male youngster stating, “I do not want to go to [and work for] the farmer—why did I get an education? I’d rather work on the black market, then I can at least help out my mother.”<sup>51</sup> The conclusion, according to *Der Münchner Merkur*, was simple: “There is a direct path from black marketeering to stealing, all eventually ending in juvenile detention.”<sup>52</sup>

By early 1946, a widespread public consensus constructed work ethic dichotomies in which age proved definitive. Adults working regular jobs and helping clear the rubble became the norm; young people seeking individual pleasure, wandering around all day, and profiting from the black market defined an ill or problem of society. Such dynamics outline, to follow historian Stefan Mörchen, that the black market provided one basis for creating moral categories, as those associating with this deviant space became the abnormal Other.<sup>53</sup> In Munich, contemporary social commentator and journalist Werner Friedmann sketched out such newly forming moral paradigms in relation to youth. He concluded that we adults “have to exemplify a moral being to them [the young] through our own life.”<sup>54</sup> Youth, who attended the black market and participated in illegal actions, jeopardized this crucial role of adults as role models. Blaming the parents and society at large became a way to initiate discussions about broader issues. In this sense, demonizing youth helped officials to establish norms of hard work for parents and society at large.

In addition to such dynamics, authorities saw male youth not only as disciplined workers but also future political leaders. Shortly after the war women had little influence in politics. Reassigned to kitchen, children, and church, their role in clearing the rubble was enough of a deviation from traditional norms. *Die Neue Zeitung* captured contemporary sentiments, while hinting at *the sexually deviant girl*. It printed a letter stating, “Before women go political, they should measure their honor against their moral barometers. The number of those afflicted with venereal disease is climbing to pyramidal heights. Women are sacrificing their beauty and integrity to the material desire for consumer goods and food.”<sup>55</sup> Whereas a rebuttal occurred later on in the same newspaper,<sup>56</sup> this understanding was widespread and made male youth the prime targets for initiating new democratic processes.

Yet shortly after the end of National Socialism many male youngsters remained reserved in regard to traditional political structures. This supposed lack of political participation became another highly moralized discourse in early 1946. German and U.S. officials felt that local residents needed democratic experiences prior to casting their votes. Since Military Governor Lucius D. Clay had called for spring elections in fall 1945, numerous societal forces began encouraging participation in new democratic processes. Authorities saw male youth in particular as Germany's future leaders, and debates consequently focused on this demographic. In January 1946, *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung* speculated about the "lost vote" of the young.<sup>57</sup> Numerous discussions in the media followed similar storylines, even though it became clear that elections in several Bavarian counties and municipalities showed high turnout rates. Yet the media and the general public had noticed a lack of party membership amongst youngsters and simply equated this trend with a disinterest in politics and democracy overall. Some publications like the satirical magazine *Der Simpl* wondered about the political morals of the young altogether. In one issue *Der Simpl* showed an image of a male youngster from the front with a sign reading "democracy"; once he turned around, the sign showed the word "reactionism." Titled "German Democracy," the caption read, "A nice kid from the front but not from the back!"<sup>58</sup> The young did indeed come of age during the Nazi era, which partially explains such depictions. At the same time, these representations tell more about underlining adult fears regarding the democratic reorganization of the city. And, such depictions ultimately helped tie supposed apolitical or reactionist behaviors amongst male youth to delinquency.

The limits of such contemporary readings are apparent in a postwar surge in youth newspapers, giving some of the actual young a voice and room for an alternative interpretation. In Munich, it was mostly *Der Pinguin* and *Der Ruf*. Although generally run by adults, these platforms provided a rare venue for more nuanced discussions of young people's relation to politics. In fact, in March 1947 *Der Ruf* published a powerful "testimony of a young German."<sup>59</sup> The author discussed religious beliefs, antimilitary sentiments, and a deep distrust of nationalism; he also warned his readers about political intolerance and problematized the rightful detachment of the youth from traditional political processes. In his view, current elites were "old and used."<sup>60</sup> "One should get used to the fact that, once heard, the youth will put forward new words and independent thoughts,"<sup>61</sup> he warned and predicted. That surely had to sound threatening to adults and the emerging political system. According to historian Manfred Burschka, the youth

press “was—in clear rejection of an apolitical youth culture—political, but did not try to indoctrinate. As a counter piece to the National Socialist youth press it provided a political reorientation towards democracy.”<sup>62</sup> Burschka concludes, “The youth press refutes the thesis of a ‘silent generation.’”<sup>63</sup> Moreover, many youngsters took matters in their own hands. Shortly after the war, groups from Munich traveled to the French-German border promoting a European community. As one young participant recalled years later, “this idea of a unified Europe drew large crowds of youngsters.” For him, being political was “an emotional event”<sup>64</sup> disconnected from traditional party structures. The editor of the student newspaper *Das Steckenpferd*, Klaus Heller, even promoted international cooperation at International Youth Days, especially “once political parties fail.”<sup>65</sup> However, even though the International Youth Days were promoted as events about youth, such venues took place without the young. *Der Simpl* noted this paradox showing a room filled with adults playing with model trains, bikes, and games. The young looked through the cracked door, only to be told, “Children, get lost! Youngsters are not allowed in here!”<sup>66</sup> Such aspects underline that male youngsters hoped to participate, but on their own terms. Adult contemporaries interested in established formats saw party affiliation as participation in democratic processes; the young had a different view. One male youngster noted, “As long as the older generation does not take these [our] political attempts seriously, there is no ground for attacking the young for their disinterest, black marketeering, and such.”<sup>67</sup> For him political parties were stuck in old and non-democratic worldviews with hierarchies still dominated by old elites. To an emerging liberal German state rebuilding society on the basis of conservative values, this approach cast the young as a threat to political stability and represented a traditional party system as the norm for West German democracy.

By early 1946 *the delinquent boy*, a specific image of male juvenile deviancy, appeared more clearly within the media in Munich: he was vagrant by choice, worked on the black market, and cared little about politics. The media sustained these readings. Local newspapers featured articles that showed photographs of homeless youngsters standing under a sign warning against theft.<sup>68</sup> The satirical magazine *Der Simpl* featured three young males on its cover, two of them smoking, while one is holding a bottle of alcohol. In the background, adults are waiting in line for their rations. The caption reads, “Whatever Santa Claus. I paid five packs of Americans [cigarettes] for this”<sup>69</sup> [Figure 1.1]. Even the newspaper of the U.S. military government, *Die Neue Zeitung*, disseminated this new image of juvenile delinquency,<sup>70</sup> as did



**Figure 1.1** The satirical magazine *Der Simpl* portrays male youth in one of their supposed post–World War II habitats, the black market. The caption reads: “Whatever Santa Claus. I paid five packs of Americans [cigarettes] for this.” (*Der Simpl*, December 1947, no. 24). Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg.

the series “The Young” (*Die Jungen*) in *Der Münchner Merkur*.<sup>71</sup> Soon *the delinquent boy* was seemingly everywhere: there was “a sixteen-year old boy captured without identification at Munich’s central station,”<sup>72</sup> the police caught “a well-dressed” young man on the black market,<sup>73</sup> and various male youngsters were trying to break into buildings.<sup>74</sup> *The delinquent boy* personified societal ills: he lived on the street, did not contribute through work, and was unwilling to take a leadership role in postwar Munich.

This figure similarly suffused scholarly debate. Anton Buckel’s descriptions mentioned earlier did so in vivid ways;<sup>75</sup> others made similar claims. Edeltraut Lauter’s 1946 dissertation provided a status report that depicted postwar youth in Munich as a genuine threat to Germany’s social order, aligning homelessness and black marketeering with broader debates.<sup>76</sup> Gundelinde Reithmeier painted a similar picture of “astray and unwilling youngsters,”<sup>77</sup> further describing *the delinquent boy* and influencing scholarship up until today.

Statistics only outwardly sustained such understandings. Since the Youth Welfare Office responsible for surveying problem youth was partially destroyed and lacked personnel, the first official statistics published in Munich’s statistical yearbook did not resume until 1948. Historian Daniela Zahner suggests that statistics regarding juveniles remain questionable until at least 1950.<sup>78</sup> The scarce data available was based on verdicts. Homelessness and theft dominated these numbers. In 1945, for instance, there were 183 cases of theft, 169 of them by male youngsters; a year later there were 346 cases, with 306 of them committed by male youngsters. Whereas such crimes decreased slowly as early as 1947, homelessness increased in the same timeframe.<sup>79</sup> Definitions throughout such statistics remain vague suggesting that local institutions also simply linked vagrant youth to crime. The use of deviancy as a blanket term increased numbers by including absences from school, visits to the black market, or loitering on street corners. Broadly defined categories like “waywardness” (*Verwahrlosung*) and “wildness” (*Verwilderung*) consequently saw the highest increase during the crisis years. Sociologist Curt Bondy thus noted in 1945, “Never before in history have there been so many criminals, delinquents and neurotics. There will be still more after the war. The underlying psychic state of mind of many of them is waywardness.”<sup>80</sup> Cultural historian Hermann Glaser rightfully resists such interpretations and highlights how “broadly the concept of ‘degeneracy’ was understood. Very often, it referred only to a special form of the art of survival.”<sup>81</sup> Nonetheless, delinquency became the synonym for abnormal behavior, turning crime rates into moral statistics. In fact, authorities paid lots of attention to

youth, which also inflated numbers. The media, local authorities, and scholarly publications relied on this flawed data and broad definitions. Such circumstances then led to higher reported crime rates, marking what sociologist Stanley Cohen has titled “the interplay between deviation and reaction,”<sup>82</sup> and turning *the delinquent boy* into a folk devil challenging the creation of postwar norms.

### **Creating the Sexually Deviant Girl**

According to Anton Buckel, sharing what he saw in Munich in the immediate postwar period, “Apart from male delinquents there are also hordes of girls at our main train station and in shady restaurants. Behind many ruins some go about their business as prostitutes and the next morning such ‘ladies’ complete transactions at restaurant tables ... with adolescent youngsters.”<sup>83</sup> Similar to *the delinquent boy*, an image of female youth thus emerged in the crisis years: *the sexually deviant girl* (*sexuell verwahrloste Mädchen*), also known as *Veronika Dankeschön* or *Fräulein*. Like her male counterpart, she endangered efforts of recovery. Contemporaries blamed her for jeopardizing the crucial role of women during this period, as young females in particular needed to help clear the rubble, find a German husband, and reproduce for Germany’s future. Fraternizing with U.S. soldiers, enjoying an extravagant lifestyle, or simply being too sexual, on the other hand, ran against these higher purposes. Furthermore, interracial relationships challenged categories of race, and the spread of venereal diseases endangered the health of the nation. Constructed as abnormal, such females became known as sexually deviant, a characterization that ultimately helped in defining norms for the immediate postwar period.

The widely described “hour of the woman”<sup>84</sup> also began before 1945. Initially, females had had an assigned role within National Socialist doctrine: they were the “mothers of the state.”<sup>85</sup> The war, however, increasingly disrupted such responsibilities. More and more men left their families to fight in battle, a development that created labor shortages at the home front. While forced labor helped decrease such scarcities, high-ranking Nazi officials soon realized that this would not be enough. In summer 1943 it was clear, to follow scholarly discussions, that “girl or woman ... : everyone must participate.”<sup>86</sup> One young woman in Munich, for instance, recalled becoming a conductor on cable cars;<sup>87</sup> a child wrote in her diary how by summer 1943 “a young female teacher barely nineteen or twenty years old ... [had to] ... teach second and third grade. Each class has about seventy stu-



dents.”<sup>88</sup> The described individual was one among roughly 500,000 additional women that had been mobilized by the end of 1943.<sup>89</sup> By then high-ranking Nazi officials like Hermann Göring had acknowledged that women would not only be brood mares but also had to be workhorses.<sup>90</sup>

State authorities and contemporaries soon vilified those failing to comply. In Munich, as elsewhere, postings did not merely remind females of their obligations but also emphasized moral standards: “Every German woman has the duty towards those fighting on the front to keep her distance from foreigners. The German woman also needs to abstain from false appearances—for the sake of her honor.”<sup>91</sup> In addition, sexualized references increasingly degraded those women who behaved outside accepted norms: contemporaries described women seen with foreign workers as sexually immoral or saw those dressing or behaving provocatively, however defined, as prostitutes—an analysis in line with historian Annette Timm’s discussion of similar dynamics in Berlin.<sup>92</sup> According to historian Robert Gellately, “young women who went out alone or with different men, others who seemed to know many men, but had no regular work, all had to worry about accusations that they were secretly working as prostitutes.”<sup>93</sup> During the early crisis years Nazi authorities arrested women simply because they were homeless, without work, or perceived as sexual outsiders carrying venereal diseases.

Such perceptions of women only increased with the end of the war. Many men had been killed in action, were still imprisoned, or mentally and physically unable to take their traditional role in postwar society. *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung* noted, for example, that there were eighty men for one hundred women.<sup>94</sup> The population census for Bavaria from 1946 paints a similar picture. That year Munich counted 715,147 inhabitants: 341,538 males and 410,429 females.<sup>95</sup> This discrepancy pushed women into the center of the family, even though gender mores and morality had shifted little. Instead, men technically remained providers and protectors. After all, the hour of the woman marked a deviation from norms only because of the wartime emergency. Women needed to help overcome this disorder by working for the benefit of all, before eventually returning to their rightful place at the stove.

The arrival of U.S. troops introduced even more areas of contention because the presence of powerful foreign occupiers, some of them African Americans, brought disruptions of normality and historical anxieties increasingly to the forefront. Although fears of rape rarely materialized in Munich,<sup>96</sup> German honor was violated in a different way. Instead of being forcefully taken, contemporaries experiencing the

arrival of U.S. forces documented how young females gave themselves away willingly. According to a local priest describing the American arrival, “immoral girls and women welcomed U.S. troops with flowers, hugs, and kisses, and took them home at night;”<sup>97</sup> other sources speak about the “exultation specifically within womanhood who immorally pushed themselves towards the armored vehicle of the Americans.”<sup>98</sup> One seventeen-year-old boy described his moment of shock when he saw “our single women ... fall around the neck of the Americans.”<sup>99</sup> These observations underlined how in the immediate postwar period female behaviors—captured in discussions surrounding their bodies—became a microcosm for broader topics of contention. Many contemporary voices perceived German women as traitors, especially once they saw U.S.-German relations through the prism of material benefits and prostitution. Vivid descriptions further emphasized female behavior as an affront to German honor. According to a pastor from a Munich suburb, “since the arrival of the Americans, local women and girls mingle with U.S. soldiers and socialize within sight of children and youngsters even in between the graves [of a local cemetery] and on the grass.”<sup>100</sup> Whereas prostitution near religious sites or children was a crime, the location for such sexual deviancy underlined how German women desacralized male suffering. Such behavior painted a shameful picture of the German nation and honor. According to contemporary sentiments, “German soldiers fought for six years, the German women only for five minutes.”<sup>101</sup> Once U.S. soldiers arrived, bystanders believed that young women simply walked away from their important role in recovery, stabbed their countrymen in the back, and ran off with American GIs.

Discussions about fraternization between American soldiers and German girls continued long after American arrival. Such debates sustained previous U.S. fears regarding the treacherous character of young and unmarried German women or *Fräuleins*.<sup>102</sup> Actually, in September 1944 American authorities had proclaimed an antifraternization policy, which prohibited fraternization between Americans and Germans from shaking hands to spending time in their homes. During combat, problems with fraternization remained at a minimum. Once Germany surrendered, however, fraternization became a much more substantial concern. According to U.S. Military Governor General Lucius D. Clay, “the only fraternization that really interests the soldiers is going on with the pretty German girl, who is very much in evidence.” He continued, “Frankly, I do not know the answer to this problem as yet.”<sup>103</sup> One youngster noticed that—compared to male youth—girls had “better chances” to acquire valuables because they had “a secret.”<sup>104</sup> A girl

experiencing the arrival of U.S. troops in Munich underlined the downside of not fraternizing: “once the smell of coffee and other good stuff came from their room ... we were the ‘dumb ones,’ however, because we did not get anything.”<sup>105</sup> Fraternization had clear benefits, and measures to prevent U.S. soldiers and German girls from socializing could do little to foil such affiliations given widespread destitution in the crisis years.

As these interactions took center stage and female delinquency became increasingly tied to notions of sexual deviancy or prostitution, discussions centered on possible motives for such misbehaviors. The satirical magazine *Der Simpl* captured the perceived reasons for liaisons when showing the image of two lovers on its cover. The caption read, “‘Sylvia, do you feel my impulse and vehement romantic desires exhumed in me by nature?’ ‘Yes, Bobby, I have been hungry for a while too!’”<sup>106</sup> For contemporaries quickly judging such relationships it were material desires that undoubtedly jeopardized the cohesion of German families. Young and attractive females fraternized with U.S. soldiers to gain access to chocolate and other valuables rather than dating Germans and working for a living. The complicated nature of such relationships, on the other hand, and the fluid borderlines between love, prostitution, and even rape, did not matter. Instead, fraternization was equated with prostitution, making it, according to historian Timothy Gilfoyle, an “allegorical threat to the nation”<sup>107</sup> and, to follow Foucault, a useful public discourse.<sup>108</sup>

Yet a more concise analysis of causes illustrates the diversity of motivations for such relationships. In many ways overwhelmed by being abroad and preferred, young GIs showed a clear interest in local girls. One U.S. soldier was blunt when noting in 1946 how the “bulging, fat, overfed, [and] lonely” American soldier was “standing on a street corner in Germany” with three things on his mind: “(1) To find a German woman and sleep with her. (2) To buy and steal. ... (3) To go home.”<sup>109</sup> German girls, on the other hand, were often interested in the warmth and comfort of a male counterpart, especially given the ongoing devastation of the crisis years. One young woman commented on the appreciation Americans showed towards them: “They were generous, complimentary and thoughtful in such a casual way, which was a totally different behavior pattern than that of German men.”<sup>110</sup> That they always looked and smelled good certainly helped. A lack of German men had further limited marriage choices, especially given that those available for marriage dealt with the consequences of a horrific war. As historian Perry Biddiscombe summarizes, “The outlook was particularly bleak for girls just out of school, who complained that there were

‘no men [for them] to get.’”<sup>111</sup> The women’s magazine *Constanze* asked, “which woman, in view of such oppressive statistical surplus of female marriage partners can still ask, What is the man like? rather than simply, Where, where is the man?”<sup>112</sup> Of course, material gains brought additional advantages when dating an American. Those who had an American boyfriend or acquaintance had access to cigarettes, coffee, and chocolate. As one youngster observed about one such relationship, “She had quickly realized that humans don’t need morals to eat and that life is way better on the side of the winners. Being an ‘American whore’ was a little infamous, but filling.”<sup>113</sup> All of these motivations shifted and overlapped, reaching from purely sexual interests to desire for economic security, to romantic and real love.

At the same time, such circumstances emasculated German men. More physically and mentally healthy American soldiers could easily provide for German women while local men lacked such advantages, pushing them into the role of disgruntled bystanders. Their masculinity was under attack, a situation that made them question their overall position within postwar society as providers, protectors, and procreators. In their view, women had become more independent during war times, and now U.S. soldiers had fully replaced German men as providers and protectors. For contemporaries favoring traditional gender roles, these aspects had to be concerning. The study by contemporary anthropologist Hilde Thurnwald discusses the difficulties of families in the immediate postwar period. She focuses on the situation in Berlin, a space increasingly overshadowed by growing tensions given nearby Soviet presence. Nonetheless, Thurnwald provides some striking examples of male fears apparent in Munich as well. In her view, sacrifice, suffering, and domesticity remained vital in order to overcome current problems.<sup>114</sup> As historian Hermann Glaser rightfully noted, scholars like Thurnwald saw

The housewife as guardian of the home and loving, nurturing, healing center of the family [who] should undertake without gratification, the reproductive labor of giving birth to the new generation, socializing them into accepted morality. The man, however, ... as the head of the household ... , should receive compensation for all the authority that society had either taken away from him or denied him through industrialization, technology, destruction of property, power and influence, and, at that time also through Fascism, war, defeat, and the division of the German Reich.<sup>115</sup>

In this sense, the devaluation of German masculinity had begun long before the end of the war, yet increased due to the hour of woman. Not surprisingly, Thurnwald, among others, saw those fraternizing with

foreign soldiers, while abandoning their duties towards German men, in the context of previous challenges to more traditional family structures.<sup>116</sup> These interpretations made such trends symbols for abnormal times and a threat to family life and society.

Unable to compete with, let alone challenge American occupiers, local men became more and more disheartened, and some spoke up. In fact in early September 1946 handwritten posts demonizing German females willing to give up their honor for a couple of cigarettes and some chocolate appeared throughout Munich. Local authorities also confiscated a poem, laying out the situation according to returning German soldiers. It concluded, "We have neither cigarettes nor butter, yet the foreigner has coffee and sugar. And if he brings chocolate, then no one cares about skin color."<sup>117</sup> Some men even wanted to "beat them" and "cut the hair ... of these American whores."<sup>118</sup> In another instance a posting portrayed a suffering German soldier captioned, "All this to allow women to be whores?"<sup>119</sup> Even the faraway *New York Times* reported on such instances on the streets of Munich. In an article titled "SS Remnants Warn German Women," it described how locals complained about females ignoring the sacrifices of so many. "Oh God, if it would be up to us, you would pay for it,"<sup>120</sup> one posting stated at the Max-Weber Platz square. A young male caught for hanging up such posters explained the larger motivations behind his action: "We were angry about the fact that the girls of fourteen or so, who always used to talk to us, refuse to have anything to do with us now."<sup>121</sup> Sexual and material envy plus the inability to compete with U.S. materialism, vigor, and masculinity upset contemporaries and fueled the anger against young women.

As apparent in some of these postings, attempts to recast racial categories also played a role within discussions about female youth. With the arrival of U.S. soldiers, many locals in Munich saw individuals with a distinctly different skin color often for the first time. Of course previous discourses had ingrained racial stereotypes in Germany's collective memory, making these parts of a larger identity. Germany's imperial doings in Africa had left marks in publications at home; during the Weimar years, conservative authorities had demonized jazz for its black roots, an idea they shared with National Socialist ideology later on. Throughout Nazi rule such discrimination resulted in the sterilization of numerous so-called occupation children. Most of them had been born during the occupation of the Rhineland by African-French soldiers following World War I, an event widely understood as yet another humiliation and insult by the French. National Socialist propaganda also specifically demonized African American soldiers. The

newspaper *Münchner Neuste Nachrichten*, for instance, reported that the U.S. Air Force employed African American pilots and encouraged them to unleash their “congenital hatred for the white race and its cultural achievements.”<sup>122</sup> According to the subsequent article, such motivations clearly betrayed a “level of moral degeneration that must fill every true European with disgust.”<sup>123</sup> These plus other stereotypes linked a fear of black men to sexuality and created what historian Lutz Niethammer has called an “expectation of rape.”<sup>124</sup>

African American soldiers stationed in Munich, on the other hand, enjoyed themselves, and in that way worried contemporary adults all the more. Often experiencing a nonsegregated environment for the first time, they could move around and go in almost every store without problems. Children came up to them “intrigued by and curious about their otherness,” as recalled by one youngster.<sup>125</sup> To them, African Americans were exceptionally friendly, and were more likely to give chocolate and candy. Adult bystanders became concerned when they witnessed such casual engagements, especially when seeing young girls and African American GIs interact in a friendly and seemingly carefree manner. Fearing for gender mores and morality, while also desiring clear racial categories, local German authorities and many contemporaries tried to find ways to limit encounters. But to openly condemn relations between German women and African American soldiers was difficult, especially given power structures and Germany’s recent past. Based on this, a more nuanced and subversive criticism emerged. Instead of employing deliberately racist statements, contemporaries referred to immorality and deviancy as characteristics to construct and frame females in particular as a threat to moral and social order. One way to do so was connected to the role of women within society. After World War II, women remained guardians of family and nation. Their position as mothers, homemakers, and wives gave them special roles and responsibilities in society. But when women crossed national boundaries in sexual relations, it became acceptable to critique them as sexually immoral. According to historian Timothy Schroer, “women who engaged in sexual relations across the color line were by definition immoral and could even run the risk of somehow ceasing to be fully white.”<sup>126</sup> This understanding made interracial liaisons a space for recasting racial categories. As Schroer continues, African American GIs worked “as a foil to Germans’ self-definition as white.”<sup>127</sup> Racially mixed children or “Other Germans” broke such categories visibly, as apparent, for example, in *Der Simpl*. This satirical magazine portrayed a young woman following her African American husband with their child. The depiction of the father and the child did

not hide racial stereotypes and a perceived Otherness. The suggested notion that she would follow him to Africa played with preconceived and widespread readings of race: the image shows the father sitting in the jungle, almost completely naked while smoking a cigarette, as his formerly German family arrives.<sup>128</sup> The youth magazine *Der Pinguin* asked more directly, “what will happen to the children of the Fräuleins?”<sup>129</sup> In this sense, to again build on Schroer, accusations about “immorality often served as a euphemism” employed to describe interracial relations between German women and African American GIs;<sup>130</sup> it also indicated how such relations not only jeopardized German families but also traditional categories of race.

Demonizing German girls became a more direct and common way to deal with the situation. Many contemporaries called females fraternizing with GIs “chocolate girls” or “chocolate whores.”<sup>131</sup> Such characteristics underlined their desires for candy and other material goods while insinuating prostitution; references to chocolate also carried blatant racist characteristics. Terms like “chocolate prostitution”<sup>132</sup> captured such aspects openly and illustrated a focus on interracial liaisons. In Munich, expressions like *Ami-Flitscherl* encapsulated similar aspects and gave deviant behaviors local meanings.<sup>133</sup> It seemed as if public opinion sustained these emerging encounters or constructs. Whereas contemporary polls paint a complicated picture, the “sponsorship affect” of existing surveys leaves additional room for doubt.<sup>134</sup> Moreover, comments by various institutions left little uncertainty regarding the creation of evidence. In fact, the Bavarian Ministry of the Interior blatantly stated “that girls are more prone to immorality than boys. They also seem to feel constraints regarding local men while many are tempted by the adventure of spending time with foreign soldiers.”<sup>135</sup> According to Biddiscombe, “fraternization was only the latest in a long line of sins to which women are supposedly prone.”<sup>136</sup> As a result, young unmarried women in particular had little power to resist these stereotypes. They faced discrimination based on their age, gender, and sexuality, allowing for little room to even discuss, let alone question, the morals and norms of a male-dominated German society. Poems like,

How did you do it when you were away?  
Did you not have girls and women by night and by day?  
So shut up and be quite still  
Every girl can do what she will<sup>137</sup>

seemed misplaced and had little use to most young girls, who had never even been married to a German soldier.

The term *Veronika Dankeschön* became another way to define and characterize sexual deviancy while referring to a growing concern: a rise in venereal diseases. *Veronika Dankeschön* made her first appearance in a cartoon published in the American Army newspaper *Stars and Stripes*.<sup>138</sup> Embodying female delinquency, her initials V and D stood for venereal disease. Her last name *Dankeschön* or Thank You signaled gratitude.<sup>139</sup> According to contemporary sentiments such appreciation worked both ways: American GIs were thankful for the company of German females and sexual relations, and German girls were grateful for chocolate, coffee, cigarettes, and other valuables. For U.S. and German authorities, on the other hand, the spread of venereal diseases was a nightmare. Whereas the U.S. Army had to deal with these issues prior to its arrival in Germany,<sup>140</sup> local Munich officials panicked, especially since *Veronika Dankeschön* not only endangered herself—in the immediate postwar period she also threatened social order and stability, as German authorities saw the health and reproduction of the nation endangered.<sup>141</sup> In this sense, discussions about venereal disease were connected to the individual but also became a showcase for broader debates about the health and reproductive qualities of a newly forming German society.

*Veronika Dankeschön* was not the first personification of female sexual deviancy. The German abbreviation *hwG* (*häufig wechselnde Geschlechtspartner*), a label for those with constantly changing sexual partners, had been present well before *Veronika's* arrival. As outlined by historian Robert Gellately when discussing the early crisis years, authorities simply arrested some women because they were homeless after a divorce; others were seen as outsiders or even as asocials because they supposedly or actually suffered from a venereal disease.<sup>142</sup> Inconsistencies and contradictions within Nazi morality had exhumed such fears. Since it was the duty of women to bear children, Nazi ideology favored what has been described a “state-organized sexual promiscuity.”<sup>143</sup> Ideally children would be born within an ‘Aryan’ marriage. However, the collapse of traditional social structures as well as a growing deficit of males increasingly limited such possibilities, especially during the crisis years. This fact contested contemporary ideologies on various levels. According to Nazi sentiments,

We must hope that these women, who lost their husbands in the war and/or have no future marriage prospects, will have something like a marital relationship with preferably one man, thereby producing and raising as many children as possible.... For the sake of our future we must promote a veritable cult of motherhood.... In special circumstances, a man



should be allowed to enter into a permanent married relationship with a woman other than his spouse.<sup>144</sup>

However, as historian Michael Kater points out, by 1944, “park benches and adjoining lawns” at the outskirts of Munich had become “notoriously occupied by soldiers and their teenage consorts” and “every spot was littered with condoms.”<sup>145</sup> Such incidents underlined the dissolution of morals during the early crisis years and resulted in “illegal pregnancies” and “venereal diseases,”<sup>146</sup> a discourse that ultimately continued across 1945.

Again, a variety of observations suggested a surge in venereal disease shortly after the war. In August 1945, the official Munich city chronicles revealed a severe increase in sexually transmitted diseases.<sup>147</sup> Two years later a conservative state representative simply noted, “Today, each group arriving in Munich or Bavaria brings a multitude of youngsters along... Ninety percent of them that are picked up at raids are people, not born here, non-Bavarian vagabonds and roaming youngsters, and fifty percent of females have sexually transmitted diseases.”<sup>148</sup> After six months of occupation and about three months of limited or tolerated fraternization, a survey asked U.S. soldiers about a wide array of issues, including how much time they actually spent with Germans in the course of a week. Such socializing included broad categories like “talking” and contacts “other than those of purely conversational nature.”<sup>149</sup> Not surprisingly, the survey report concluded that few associated with older Germans or men of their own age; however, 56 percent had spent time with German girls, 25 percent more than ten hours a week.<sup>150</sup> A different U.S. Army report from November 1947 simply played around with numbers only to state that 2.5 million Germans knew at least one American very well.<sup>151</sup> Again, no indication was made what “knowing” an American exactly meant. Yet for contemporaries such results were sufficient evidence to indicate that most U.S. soldiers had sexual relations with German girls. Soon such broad definitions of sexual deviancy helped produce high numbers, as pollsters carelessly applied terms like “roaming” to young girls in particular. In 1946, the Munich police registered 2,576 “roaming girls.”<sup>152</sup> “What is roaming?” asked one state representative several years later. He explained, “If the military police observes a girl that is clearly waiting, then such actions can be defined as roaming, but not if a woman or a girl is, for instance, coming home from work.”<sup>153</sup> Moreover, insinuations or broad references to valuables like chocolate or cigarettes linked certain behaviors to prostitution and provided even local Munich scholars with avenues to extend a problem. According to Gunde-

line Reithmeier, for example, “a noticeable rise in moral delinquency within girls” was apparent, but “crime rates do not capture such facts though because they are not criminal actions.”<sup>154</sup> Such evidence highlights how broad definitions artificially increased numbers and helped manufacture juvenile delinquency.

This reading and analysis does not deny the existence of relations between young German females and American GIs. As apparent in the historical record, a fair number fraternized with U.S. soldiers. However, not everyone seen with an American GI was having sexual relations or carried a venereal disease. Yet at the height of a growing panic gripping Munich and its conservative and Catholic surroundings such generalizations became ubiquitous, especially because—unlike in Cold War frontline Berlin—conflict and instability were supposed to have ended in the Bavarian capital by 1945. Soon authorities replaced probable cause as the main reasoning for arresting suspected girls with references to or suspicions of inappropriate behaviors. Take the story of Elisabeth: captured and searched, the seventeen-year-old girl had various amounts of valuables in her pockets, namely coffee, chocolate, cigarettes. Though she claimed in court that she worked for the U.S. Military Government in Munich, the judge and the journalist writing the article did not believe her. Instead, the mere fact that she possessed American products was sufficient evidence for sentencing her to one year of probation.<sup>155</sup>

Publications and commentators soon linked such supposed misbehaviors with presumed appearance. Newspapers described *the sexually deviant girl* as wearing “make-up”<sup>156</sup> or having a “badly rouged” face.<sup>157</sup> Various symbols like nylon stockings or a line painted on the back of legs to mimic such valued legwear hinted at Americanization and thereby further connected girls to sexual promiscuity and prostitution. Soon contemporaries did not hold back:

The *Mädchen*: “girls,” red lips, red nails, red toe nails, American shoes, high heels, ... bright sweaters, red coats, bright colored headscarves, ... gifts from half a dozen hands, all from Joe, Jimmy, Charles and Joe again, and George, sent with cigarettes and gum, Chanel no. 5 and care-packets, each week a special delivery, with hopes for marriage and chances to marry.<sup>158</sup>

After a while, newspapers did not merely catch up with emerging fears but increasingly spearheaded conversations. In January 1946, *Der Münchner Stadtanzeiger* referred to the rise of sexually transmitted diseases as a “pandemic.”<sup>159</sup> By August, *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung* already asked, “Who is ‘Veronika Dankeschön?’”<sup>160</sup> Explaining the roots

of this term, the article stated that in the first half of 1945 a total of 566 girls out of 1,173 suspects were diagnosed with sexually transmitted diseases. The fact that half of those girls were under twenty underscored the danger. Apart from the expenses to help such individuals, the article also underlined an inherent promiscuity supposedly present in all young girls.<sup>161</sup> In spring 1946, the media were full of similar stories discussing sexual deviancy. One American newspaper described how hitchhikers raised rates of venereal diseases and how U.S. soldiers are innocent prey: “Typical autobahn girl technique is to stand along the highway a few miles outside of a large city and solicit rides. She generally carries a small, almost empty suitcase. She lets the soldier know, usually through innuendo, that she is not a prude and then begins her request for food, cigarettes and candy.”<sup>162</sup> Soon references to the current situation of the young generally included wayward girls with venereal diseases, captured near the central train station, within sight of U.S. barracks, or close to food depositories. Loitering, unwillingness to work, a lack of identification papers, or the simple suspicion of carrying sexually transmitted diseases thus became sufficient to justify arrests.

Specific stories often gave sexual immorality—seen as a deviation from accepted norms—face and context. Nineteen-year-old Margarete M., for instance, was one of those supposedly sexually deviant girls. In October 1946, authorities “hauled [her] out of a room” that was located in the American barracks as she spent time with a “colored soldier.” After spending fourteen days in prison for “trespassing,” she “again became acquainted with a colored soldier and was picked up within the barracks” thereafter. Instead of complying with her sentence and working in the Youth Labor Camp Dachau, she left Munich for a little while only to return a couple months later. Next, she was seen “in suspicious company and ambiguous circumstances” around Christmas. Again sentenced to fourteen days in prison, Margarete then “trespassed” onto U.S. property and was caught in “an infamous restaurant.” “This time, she did not get off so easily but was sentenced to a four-month prison term.”<sup>163</sup>

As the image or portrait of *the sexually deviant girl* took shape, the media also employed another widespread construct: the *Trümmerfrau*. This well-known image showed women clearing the rubble after the war.<sup>164</sup> Although women of all ages did so, images predominately showed older women. Age consequently became a defining category and a way to exclude young females. Moreover, contemporaries constructed the *Trümmerfrau* as a “de-sexualized, family-oriented, and hard-working”<sup>165</sup> mother. These characteristics made her the complete opposite of fraternizing and sexually deviant girls. A binary evolved,

and it underscored how sexual relations with GIs were considered abnormal. Young females enjoying themselves instead of helping out were not simply the “wayward sister of the *Trümmerfrau*”<sup>166</sup> but a deviant and threatening Other that jeopardized postwar recovery. She faced excessive demonization while the *Trümmerfrau* became an almost mythical embodiment of Germany’s postwar struggle from rubble to renewal, to riches.

Scholars sustained these increasingly looming fears. Although primarily focusing on male youth, Anton Buckel referred to “fallen girls” when talking about “vagabonds, beggars, thieves, and forgers.” He also stated that the morals of women and girls have declined “due to materialism and sexualism.”<sup>167</sup> For Buckel the situation was clear: prostitution happened in certain city spaces and youngsters were part of it. Other scholars agreed with such sentiments and equally linked girls and soldiers to deviant spaces like coffee shops and movie theatres. Elisabeth Lauter added how the current situation “primarily enhances sexual errors of girls.”<sup>168</sup> Only her references to the domestic role of girls and women illustrated that girls were less threatening than boys. Medical studies also demonized females by projecting “an extraordinary danger for youth.”<sup>169</sup> An early postwar dissertation on sexually transmitted diseases indicated continuities regarding social constructions of female deviancy while underlining that a fight against prostitution would not be sufficient to deal with venereal diseases.<sup>170</sup> Overall, most agreed with Anton Buckel who claimed, “Sexual deviancy was only the beginning for a variety of immoral and criminal behaviors.”<sup>171</sup>

Anecdotes again exemplified sexual deviancy by following similar narratives and familiar patterns. A study discussing the reorganization of various welfare offices laid out its broad features when noting,

We encounter an alarming number of girls, whose weakness in character, a lack of control, and bad company have led them to unrestrained sexual devotion—more often than not for material gains and sometimes even employed by their parents to make money. They repeatedly come to the hospital once infected with sexual diseases. Exceedingly worrisome is that some are of elementary-school age.<sup>172</sup>

“That was the future of Germany!” noted well-known author and social commentator Hans Magnus Enzensberger in this context: “A drunk, pimpled American soldier and a German girl walking the streets.”<sup>173</sup> One contemporary publication summarized the story of any female youngster in several photos. In the first image an innocent-looking girl is sitting on the steps outside of an office building. The image underlines her destitution, loss, and potential unemployment in the crisis years. The next photo of this sequence shows her sleeping on a bench,



**Figure 1.2** The 1948 publication *Ein Neuer Anfang* (A New Beginning) tells the story of juvenile delinquency in Munich. The caption reads: “Welfare: The Fate of a Young Person.” Courtesy of Stadtarchiv München.

identifying that she was homeless. She is then portrayed talking to men, smoking a cigarette, and drinking beer—her moral decline. Such a deviant lifestyle eventually led her into the arms of two policemen. Her story and this morality tale ended in prison<sup>174</sup> [Figure 1.2]. For contemporary readers, authorities, and a concerned overall adult public interested in law and order, traditional morals, and recovery, the message and course of action was clear.

## Notes

Parts of this section have appeared under the title “‘The Youth is Is a Threat!’ Controlling the Delinquent Boy in Post-WWII Munich,” in the *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* in 2013. It is reprinted here with the permission of the publisher.

1. “Not und Hoffnung in Bildern,” *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 5 August 1947.
2. “Ausstellung über Jugendnot,” *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 19 July 1947.

3. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 278.
4. Peter Jacob Kock, ed., *Der Bayerische Landtag 1946–1986. Band I. Chronik* (Bamberg, 1986), 23.
5. Peter Jacob Kock, ed., *Der Bayerische Landtag 1946–1986. Band II. Protokolle* (Bamberg, 1986), 11.
6. Detlev Peukert, *Grenzen der Sozialdisziplinierung: Aufstieg und Krise der deutschen Jugendfürsorge von 1878 bis 1932* (Cologne, 1986). See also: Michael Mitterauer, *A History of Youth*, trans. Graeme Dunphy (Oxford, 1992). Lutz Roth indicates that after 1945 the “concept of youth” has returned with all its negative connotations. Lutz Roth, *Die Erfindung des Jugendlichen* (Munich, 1983), 138.
7. On broader discussions see, for example: Cesare Lombroso and Guglielmo Ferrero, *Das Weib als Verbrecherin und Prostitutierte: Anthropologische Studien* (Hamburg, 1894); Sybille Krafft, *Zucht und Unzucht: Prostitution und Sittenpolizei im München der Jahrhundertwende* (Munich, 1996); Annette F. Timm, *The Politics of Fertility in Twentieth-Century Berlin* (Cambridge, 2010).
8. Richardi, *Bomber über München*, 79.
9. *Ibid.*, 97.
10. Eva Berthold and Norbert Matern, *München im Bombenkrieg* (Düsseldorf, 1983), 34.
11. *Ibid.*, 50–51. See also: Angelika Baumann, ed. *Verdunkeltes München: Die Nationalsozialistische Gewaltherrschaft, ihr Ende und ihre Folgen. Geschichtswettbewerb 1985/1986* (Munich, 1995).
12. Josef Falter, *Chronik des Polizeipräsidiums München*, 2n ed (Munich, 1995), 78; Ian Kershaw, *The ‘Hitler Myth’: Image and Reality in the Third Reich* (Oxford, 1987), 195. See also: Broszat, Henke, and Woller, eds., *Von Stalingrad zur Währungsreform*, Introduction.
13. Angela Fox, “Flüchtlinge und Vertriebene nach 1945 in München,” *Xenopolis* (2005): 307–15; Josef Nussbaumer, “Wirtschaftliche und soziale Entwicklung der Stadt München, 1945–1990,” *Münchener Wirtschaftschronik* (1994): I/223–I/224.
14. Daniel Beckh, “Mohren, Zigaretten und Kinderspiele,” in *Münchener Nachkriegsjahre. 1945–1946–1947–1948–1949–1950. Lesebuch zur Geschichte des Münchener Alltags: Geschichtswettbewerb 1995/96*, ed. Angelika Baumann (Munich, 1997), 57–63, here 57.
15. Heidi und Georg Fruhstorfer, *Hurra, wir leben noch! München nach 1945* (Munich, 2003). A large collection of these photos are at the BayStaBiM, accessible online at <https://www.bsb-muenchen.de/literatursuche/spezial/bestaende/bilder>, [last accessed 11 March 2015].
16. BayHStAM, Minn 807039, quoted in Daniela Zahner, *Jugendfürsorge in Bayern im Nachkriegsjahrzehnt 1945–1955/56* (Munich, 2006), 51. See also: BayHStAM, Staatskanzlei 113776.
17. Zahner, *Jugendfürsorge in Bayern*, 51.
18. Benno Hafener, *Alle Arbeit für Deutschland: Arbeit, Jugendarbeit und Erziehung in der Weimarer Republik, unter dem Nationalsozialismus und in der Nachkriegszeit* (Cologne, 1988), 178. Beate Wagner speaks of 1,555,000

- homeless youngsters (between fourteen and twenty-four years of age) living in West Germany by 1949. Beate Wagner, *Jugendliche Lebenswelten nach 1945: Sozialistische Jugendarbeit zwischen Selbstdeutung und Reeducation* (Opladen, 1995), 52. See also: Ulrich Chaussy, "Jugend," in *Die Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Gesellschaft*, ed. Wolfgang Benz (Frankfurt am Main, 1989), 207–42, here 207.
19. Gundelinde Reithmeier, *Verwahrlosung und Kriminalität der Jugendlichen in München in den Nachkriegsjahren 1945–1947* (Munich, 1948), 30.
  20. Discussions in the United States regarding the future of German youth were widespread. See, for instance: Herbert Lewin, "Problems of Re-Educating Fascist Youth," *Journal of Educational Sociology* 19, no. 7 (1946): 452–58.
  21. Earl Frederick Ziemke, *The U.S. Army in the Occupation of Germany 1944–1946* (Washington, DC, 1975), 323. At this point surveys had indicated that nonfraternization rules were "fairly well observed except in the case of small children." *Ibid.*
  22. Fisher, *Disciplining Germany*, 2.
  23. Anton Buckel, "Der verwahrloste Großstadtjugendliche und seine Erziehung in der Arbeitserziehungsanstalt" (Ph.D. diss., Ludwig-Maximilians University Munich, 1948), 9–10.
  24. Edeltraut Lauter, "Krieg und Jugendkriminalität der Stadt München 1939–1946" (Ph.D. diss., Ludwig-Maximilians University Munich, 1947); Reithmeier, *Verwahrlosung und Kriminalität der Jugendlichen*.
  25. Evans, *Life Among the Ruins*, 103.
  26. Buckel, "Der verwahrloste Großstadtjugendliche," 36.
  27. Franz Obermaier and Josef Mauerer, *Aus Trümmern wächst das neue Leben: Eine Chronik für Stadt und Land* (Munich, 1949), 41.
  28. Evans, *Life Among the Ruins*, 103–4.
  29. Lauter, "Krieg und Jugendkriminalität," 69; Reithmeier, *Verwahrlosung und Kriminalität der Jugendlichen*, 51.
  30. Buckel, "Der verwahrloste Großstadtjugendliche," 110.
  31. "Junge Vagabunden werden erzogen," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 8 February 1947.
  32. Contemporary commentators sustained such interpretations. See, for instance: Reithmeier, *Verwahrlosung und Kriminalität der Jugendlichen*, 27; Buckel, "Der verwahrloste Großstadtjugendliche," 25–27.
  33. "Appell an die Münchner Schuljugend, bei der Schutträumung mitzuhelfen," 11 April 1946, quoted in Bauer, *Ruinen-Jahre*, 33. See also: "Schutttaktion geht weiter!" *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 10 September 1946.
  34. "Wie lange dauert die Schutträumung?" *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 7 May 1946.
  35. SozipädAM, Karl Scharnagl, "Jugend!" (15 June 1946).
  36. "Ein Kubikmeter Schutt kostet zwölf Mark," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 18 June 1946.
  37. "Finanzierung der Schutträumung," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 25 June 1946.
  38. Nussbaumer, "Wirtschaftliche und soziale Entwicklung der Stadt München," 1/228.

39. "Hier spricht der Leser," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 16 April 1946. See also: "Die Jungen: Zwei von vielen," *Der Münchner Merkur*, 6 December 1946; "Lehrlinge gesucht!" *Der Münchner Merkur*, 31 January 1947.
40. Obermaier and Mauerer, *Aus Trümmern wächst das neue Leben*, 46. See also: Hans Dollinger, ed., *München im 20. Jahrhundert: Eine Chronik der Stadt von 1900 bis 2000*. 2nd ed. (Munich, 2001), 174.
41. See, for example: Friedrich Prinz, ed., *Trümmerzeit in München: Kultur und Gesellschaft einer deutschen Großstadt im Aufbruch 1945–1949* (Munich, 1984).
42. "Kaloriengebiete sind bevorzugt," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 10 September 1946; "Der Bauch der Großstadt," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 25 June 1946.
43. See namely: Stefan Mörchen, "'Echte Kriminelle' und 'zeitbedingte Rechtsbrecher': Schwarzer Markt und Konstruktion des Kriminellen in der Nachkriegszeit," *Werkstatt Geschichte* (2006): 57–76; Paul Steege, *Black Market, Cold War: Everyday Life in Berlin, 1946–1949* (Cambridge, 2007); Malte Zierenberg, *Stadt der Schieber: Der Berliner Schwarzmarkt 1939–1950* (Göttingen, 2008).
44. Margot Fuchs, "'Zucker, wer hat? Öl, wer kauft?'" Ernährungslage und Schwarzmarkt in München 1945–1948," in Prinz, ed., *Trümmerzeit in München*, 312–19.
45. Obermaier and Mauerer, *Aus Trümmern wächst das neue Leben*, 73.
46. Reithmeier, *Verwahrlosung und Kriminalität*, 19.
47. "In München fällt auf," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 9 November 1945. See also: "Kippenaufkleber," *Der Simpl*, no. 5 (1946); Fuchs, "'Zucker, wer hat? Öl, wer kauft?'" 318.
48. Beckh, "'Mohren, Zigarren und Kinderspiele,'" 60.
49. Reithmeier, *Verwahrlosung und Kriminalität der Jugendlichen*, 29.
50. "Über den Anstand," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 10 May 1946.
51. "Jugend will nicht arbeiten," *Der Münchner Merkur*, 28 February 1947. See also: "Chancen für alle, die arbeiten wollen," *Der Pinguin*, no. 10 (1946).
52. "Jugend will nicht arbeiten," *Der Münchner Merkur*, 28 February 1947.
53. Mörchen, "'Echte Kriminelle' und 'zeitbedingte Rechtsbrecher,'" 70.
54. "Über den Anstand," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 10 May 1946.
55. *Die Neue Zeitung*, 10 December 1945, quoted in Perry Biddiscombe, "Dangerous Liaisons: The Anti-Fraternization Movement in U.S. Occupation Zones in Germany and Austria, 1945–1949," *Journal of Social History* 34, no. 3 (2001): 611–47, here 614. See also: "Women and Politics," *Die Neue Zeitung* (10 December 1945–1 March 1946).
56. *Die Neue Zeitung*, 18 January 1946, quoted in Biddiscombe, "Dangerous Liaisons," 614.
57. "Verlorene Stimme," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 29 January 1946. See also: "Wir Jungen und die Wahlen," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 1 February 1946; "Gebrannte Kinder: Die Scheu der Jugend vor dem Parteibuch," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 3 May 1946; "Jugend und Wahlen," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 24 May 1946; "Gefährlich Logik," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 30 November 1946.
58. "Deutsche Demokratie," *Der Simpl*, no. 6 (1946).



59. "Bekanntnis eines deutschen Studenten," *Der Ruf*, 15 March 1947. See also: "Warum schweigt die Jugend?" *Der Ruf*, 1 September 1946.
60. "Bekanntnis eines deutschen Studenten," *Der Ruf*, 15 March 1947.
61. *Ibid.*
62. Manfred Burschka, "Re-education und Jugendöffentlichkeit: Orientierung und Selbstverständnis deutscher Nachkriegsjugend in der Jugendpresse, 1945–1948: Ein Beitrag zur politischen Kultur der Nachkriegszeit" (Ph.D. diss., Georg-August-University Göttingen, 1987), 235.
63. *Ibid.*, 237.
64. Josef Hederer (\*1927), interview by author, tape recording, Munich, 5 August 2009. Widespread participation in the local youth parliament fostered by the U.S. military government also underlines the involvement of youth. "Das Stadtparlament der Jugend," *Der Münchner Merkur*, 27 December 1946; Staatsarchiv Munich (StAM), Bürgermeister & Rat, Nr. 2552.
65. "Fünf Punkte zur Diskussion," *Das Steckenpferd*, (July 1947). See also: "Das Steckenpferd. Münchner Schülerzeitschrift," *Der Pinguin*, no. 4 (1947); "Antworten," *Der Pinguin*, no. 8 (1947); Evan Torner, "'Das Steckenpferd' und die Jugendzeitschriften der fünfziger Jahre," in *Handbuch Nachkriegskultur*, 652–55.
66. "Zweites Internationales Jugendtreffen in den Augen der Jugend," *Der Simpl*, no. 11 (1948).
67. "Die Jungen: Gleicher Lohn für gleiche Leistung!" *Der Münchner Merkur*, 24 January 1947. See also: "Worte und Taten. Eine Stimme der Jugend," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 28 December 1946; "Fordert die Zeit alte oder junge Politiker?" *Der Münchner Merkur*, 2 January 1948; "Jugend gegen Parteien," *Der Münchner Merkur*, 2 January 1948.
68. "Fünfzehnjährige um Mitternacht," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 23 August 1946.
69. *Der Simpl*, [cover page], no. 24 (Dec. 1947).
70. "Junge Menschen über ihre Not," *Die Neue Zeitung*, 1 April 1946. See also: Henry J. Kellermann, *The Present Status of German Youth* (Washington, DC, 1946).
71. *Der Münchner Merkur*, 1 October 1946; 15 November 1946; 29 November 1946.
72. "Verwahrloste Großstadtjugend: Ein Problem unserer Zeit," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 31 May 1947. See also: "Fünfzehnjährige um Mitternacht," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 23 August 1946; "Streunende Jugend: Eine bedrohliche Nachkriegserscheinung," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 10 September 1946.
73. "Verwahrloste Großstadtjugend: Ein Problem unserer Zeit," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 31 May 1947.
74. *Ibid.*
75. Buckel, "Der verwahrloste Großstadtjugendliche," 9–10.
76. Lauter, "Krieg und Jugendkriminalität," 8.
77. Reithmeier, *Verwahrlosung und Kriminalität der Jugendlichen*, 73.
78. Zahner, *Jugendfürsorge in Bayern*, 21.
79. *Ibid.*, 53 and 51–52. On other statistics surfacing during this period see

- BayHStAM, Staatskanzlei 13776; BayHStAM, Ministerium des Inneren 92087. Early data relied on cases from various courts in Munich. See: Lauter, "Krieg und Jugendkriminalität," 13; Reithmeier, *Verwahrlosung und Kriminalität der Jugendlichen*, 7–17, passim. See also: MonM, 4° Mon 3831: Kurt Seelmann, "Das Halbstarcken-Problem in München" (1957).
80. Curt Bondy, "A Psychological Interpretation of Waywardness," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 36, no. 1 (1945): 3–10, here 3. Bondy later also proposed measures to deal with waywardness. See: Curt Bondy, "The Youth Village: A Plan for the Reeducation of the Uprooted," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 37, no. 1 (1946): 49.
  81. Hermann Glaser, *Rubble Years: The Cultural Roots of Postwar Germany 1945–1948* (New York, 1986), 154.
  82. Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*, 25. See also: Stuart Hall, Chas Critcher, Tony Jefferson, John Clarke, and Brian Roberts, *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order* (New York, 1978).
  83. Buckel, "Der verwahrloste Großstadtjugendliche," 28.
  84. Heineman, "The Hour of the Woman."
  85. Ute Benz, ed., *Frauen im Nationalsozialismus: Dokumente und Zeugnisse* (Munich, 1993). See also: Elaine Martin, *Gender, Patriarchy, and Fascism in the Third Reich: The Response of Women Writers* (Detroit, 1993); Matthew Stibbe, *Women in the Third Reich* (Oxford, 2003).
  86. Klaus-Jörg Ruhl, *Unsere verlorenen Jahre: Frauenalltag in Kriegs- und Nachkriegszeit 1939–1949 in Berichten, Dokumenten und Bildern* (Neuwied/Darmstadt, 1985), 61.
  87. Christel Letzke, "Die Familie gab uns immer wieder Kraft," in *Jugendbilder: Kindheit und Jugend in München. Geschichtswettbewerb 1987*, ed. Landeshauptstadt München (Munich, 1995), 108–15, here 114.
  88. Diary of Helene Marschler, quoted in Berthold and Matern, *München im Bombenkrieg*, 44.
  89. Michael Burleigh and Wolfgang Wippermann, *The Racial State: Germany 1933–1945* (Cambridge, 1991), 264. See also: Marita A. Panzer, "'Volksmütter,'" in *Frauenleben in Bayern von der Jahrhundertwende bis zur Trümmerzeit*, ed. Sybille Krafft (Munich, 1993) 234–319, here 281–82.
  90. Hermann Göring, in *ibid.*, 266.
  91. Ruhl, *Unsere verlorenen Jahre*, 81.
  92. Annette Timm, "The Ambivalent Outsider: Prostitution, Promiscuity and VD Control in Nazi Berlin," in *Social Outsiders in the Third Reich*, eds. Robert Gellately and Nathan Stoltzfus (Princeton, 2001); Timm, "Sex with a Purpose," here namely 225. See also: Timm, *The Politics of Fertility in Twentieth-Century Berlin*, 2–3.
  93. Robert Gellately, *Backing Hitler: Consent and Coercion in Nazi Germany* (Oxford, 2001), 112.
  94. "Auf 80 Männer 100 Frauen," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 14 December 1945. Other sources reference that there were only 100 men for 269 women (twenty-five- to thirty-year-olds). Karin Sommer, "'Überleben im Chaos.' Frauen in der Trümmerzeit 1945–1948," in Krafft, ed., *Frauenleben in Bayern*, 320–62, here 341.

95. Statistisches Amt der Stadt München, ed., *Statistisches Handbuch der Stadt München* (1954), quoted in Krauss, "... es geschahen Dinge, die Wunder ersetzten," in Prinz, ed., *Trümmerzeit in München*, 282 and 420.
96. Arrival reports by church officials include a couple of references to rape in Munich. Peter Pfister, ed., *Das Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs im Erzbistum München und Freising: Die Kriegs- und Einmarschberichte im Archiv des Erzbistums München und Freising* (Regensburg, 2005), 353, 244, and 241–42. Defining rape can be difficult in such circumstances. Some sources do, for example, discuss "molestation." *Ibid.*, 535.
97. *Ibid.*, 239.
98. *Ibid.*, 79. See also: *ibid.*, 287.
99. Institut für Bayerische Geschichte, Universität München, Sammlung "Trümmerbriefe," Brief Nr. 37, quoted in Johannes Kleinschmidt, *Do Not Fraternize: Die schwierigen Anfänge deutsch-amerikanischer Freundschaft, 1944–1949* (Trier, 1997), 154.
100. Pfister, ed., *Das Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs*, 242.
101. Biddiscombe, "Dangerous Liaisons," 615. See also: Christoph Boyer and Hans Woller, "Hat die deutsche Frau versagt? Die neue Freiheit der deutschen Frau in der Trümmerzeit 1945," *Journal für Geschichte* 2 (1983): 32–36, here, 36.
102. Susanne zur Nieden, "Geschichten vom 'Fräulein,'" *Feministische Studien* 13, no. 2 (1995): 25–33.
103. Lucius D. Clay made these comments on 29 June 1945, towards John J. McCloy. See: Lucius D. Clay, *The Papers of General Clay*, vol. 1, ed. Jean Smith (Bloomington, 1974), 42.
104. Rudolf Woerl, "Die Teestunde," 24–25, here 24, in *Münchner Nachkriegsgeschichte*.
105. Yiengst, "Frauenhaushalt," 146, in *Jugendbilder*.
106. *Der Simpl*, [coverpage], no. 11 (1948).
107. Timothy Gilfoyle, "Prostitutes in History: From Parables of Pornography to Metaphors of Modernity," *American Historical Review* 104, no. 1 (1999): 117–41, here 122.
108. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 25.
109. "Conquering a Conquering Complex," *Newsweek*, 6 May 1946.
110. Elfrieda Shukert and Barbara Scibetta, *War Brides of World War II* (Novato, 1988), 129.
111. Biddiscombe, "Dangerous Liaisons," 613. See also: Hilde Thurnwald, *Gegenwartsprobleme Berliner Familien: Eine soziologische Untersuchung an 498 Familien* (Berlin, 1948), 139.
112. "Zwei Frauen? Mir Reicht's!," *Constanze*, no. 20 (1948), quoted in Dagmar Herzog, *Sex after Fascism: Memory and Morality in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Princeton, 2005), 68. See also: "Ein Königreich für einen Mann," *Constanze*, no. 7 (1948); Angela Delille and Andrea Grohn, eds, *Perlonzzeit: Wie die Frauen ihr Wirtschaftswunder erlebten* (Berlin, 1985).
113. Beckh, "'Mohren,' Zigarren und Kinderspiele," 58.
114. Thurnwald, *Gegenwartsprobleme Berliner Familien*.
115. Glaser, *Rubble Years*, 52.

116. Thurnwald, *Gegenwartsproblem Berliner Familien*, 211. Hilde Thurnwald speaks about the “irreplaceability” (*Unersetzlichkeit*) of the traditional family as a societal institution. *Ibid.*, 227.
117. *Beschlagnahmter Anschlag gegen ‘Amibräute’* (1945), quoted in Bauer, *Ruinen-Jahre*, 29.
118. Wolfram Selig, et al., eds., *Chronik der Stadt München 1945–1948* (Munich, 1980), 78. See also: Julian Bach, *America’s Germany: An Account of the Occupation* (New York, 1946), 82; Sonja Hosseinzadeh, ed., *Nur Trümmerfrauen und Amilibechen? Stuttgarterinnen in der Nachkriegszeit: Ein geschichtliches Lesebuch* (Tübingen, 1998), 93–104.
119. *Konfiziertes Plakat* (1946), quoted in Bauer, *Ruinen-Jahre*, 30. See also: Sommer, “‘Überleben im Chaos,’ 343, in *Frauenleben in Bayern*.
120. “SS Remnants Warn German Women; Bavaria Underground Placards Threaten Reprisals for Any Fraternizing With Yanks,” *New York Times*, 30 September 1945. See also: Petra Goedde, *GIs and Germans: Culture, Gender, and Foreign Relations, 1945–1949* (New Haven, 2003), 113.
121. Bach, *America’s Germany*, 80.
122. *Münchener Neuste Nachrichten*, quoted in David Clay Large, “Capital of the Anti-Movement? Munich and the End of World War II,” Paper presented at the conference Germany and Versailles: Seventy-Five Years After, Berkeley, CA, 28 April 28–1 May 1995, 8. See also: Kurt Preis, *München unterm Hakenkreuz: Die Hauptstadt der Bewegung: Zwischen Pracht und Trümmern* (Munich, 1980).
123. *Münchener Neuste Nachrichten*, quoted in Large, “Capital of the Anti-Movement?”
124. Lutz Niethammer, “Privat-Wirtschaft. Erinnerungsfragmente einer anderen Umerziehung,” in “*Hinterher merkt man, dass es richtig war, dass es schiefgegangen ist*”: *Nachkriegserfahrungen im Ruhrgebiet*, ed. Lutz Niethammer (Berlin, 1983), 17–105, here 22 and 28.
125. Beckh, “‘Mohren,’ Zigarren und Kinderspiele,” 58.
126. Timothy L. Schroer, *Recasting Race after WWII: Germans and African Americans in American-Occupied Germany* (Boulder, 2007), 84.
127. *Ibid.*, 41.
128. “Hausangestellte im Aulsand dringend gesucht,” *Der Simpl*, no. 13 (1948). See also: Tina Campt, *Other Germans: Black Germans and the Politics of Race, Gender, and Memory in the Third Reich* (Ann Arbor, 2004).
129. “Was wird aus den Kinder der Fräuleins?” *Der Pinguin*, no. 8 (1949).
130. Schroer, *Recasting Race after World War II*, 96. See also: Maria Höhn, *GIs and Fräuleins: The German-American Encounter in 1950s West Germany* (Chapel Hill, 2002).
131. Doris Foitzik, “Sittlich verwahrlost! Disziplinierung und Diskriminierung geschlechtskranker Mädchen in der Nachkriegszeit am Beispiel Hamburg,” 1999. *Zeitschrift für Sozialgeschichte des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts* no. 1 (1997): 68–82, here 68. Other derogatory terms included, for instance, *Ami-Hure* (American whore) or *Amilibechen* (American lover/darling).
132. Karin Sommer, “In der ‘Raubtierwelt’ der Trümmerzeit: Jugendliche im Zonendeutschland,” in *‘Schön ist die Jugendzeit...?’ Das Leben junger*

- Leute in Bayern 1899–2001*, ed. Harald Parigger, Bernhard Schoßig, and Evamaria Brockhoff (Augsburg, 1994), 63–65, here 64.
133. Annegret Braun and Norbert Göttler, eds., *Nach der 'Stunde Null' II: Historische Nahaufnahmen aus den Gemeinden des Landkreises Dachau 1945 bis 1949* (Munich, 2013), 40; Heinz Staudinger, *Weilheimer Schulgeschichten, 1939–1952, Band 1* (Norderstedt, 2010), 107.
  134. Leo Crespi, "The Influence of Military Government Sponsorship in German Opinion Polling," *International Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research* 4 (1950): 151–78, here 172; Kleinschmidt, *Do Not fraternize*, 158; Biddiscombe, "Dangerous Liaisons," 626–27. See also: Ute Frevert, *Women in German History: From Bourgeois Emancipation to Sexual Liberation* (Oxford, 1988).
  135. BayHStAM, Ministerium des Inneren 79902, quoted in Zahner, *Jugendfürsorge in Bayern*, 60.
  136. Biddiscombe, "Dangerous Liaisons," 633.
  137. Klaus-Dietmar Henke, "Fraternization," in *Die amerikanische Besetzung Deutschlands*, ed. Klaus-Dietmar Henke (Munich, 1995), 185–204, here 199. See also: Luise Drasdo, "Kein Dank für Veronika Dankeschön," *Sozial Extra. Zeitschrift für soziale Arbeit* 10, no. 4 (1986): 34–38, here 38.
  138. Goedde, *GIs and Germans*, 93–94. See also: "Drifting Frauleins Pose Problems," *Stars and Stripes*, 20 July 1946.
  139. Drasdo, "Kein Dank für Veronika Dankeschön." Tamara Domentat calls *Veronika Dankeschön* a "derogatory term" (*Schmähbegriff*). Tamara Domentat, "*Hallo Fräulein!*" *Deutsche Frauen und amerikanische Soldaten* (Berlin, 1998), 155.
  140. Mary Louise Roberts, "The Price of Discretion: Prostitution, Venereal Disease, and the American Military in France, 1944–1946," *American Historical Review* 115, no. 4 (Oct. 2010): 1002–30.
  141. Timm, *The Politics of Fertility in Twentieth Century Berlin*.
  142. Gellately, *Backing Hitler*, 111–16, namely 112.
  143. Marc Hillel, *Die Invasion der Be-Freier: Die GIs in Europa 1942–1947* (Hamburg, 1983), 176. Although partly questionable in regard to his overall approach, Marc Hillel provides some valuable insights.
  144. Martin Bormann has documented these sentiments after a talk with Adolf Hitler on 29 January 1944. See: Hans Adolf Jacobsen and Werner Jochmann, *Ausgewählte Dokumente zur Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus 1933–1945* (Bielefeld, 1961). See also: Glaser, *Rubble Years*, 48.
  145. Michael Kater, *Hitler Youth* (Cambridge, 2004), 111. These encounters took place in Dachau, near Munich.
  146. Panzer, "'Volksmütter,'" 250, in *Frauenleben in Bayern*.
  147. Selig et al., *Chronik der Stadt München*, 69.
  148. Conservative State Representative Maria Deku (CSU), (30 October 1947), ABL, StBBd, II/1, no. 31, 116, quoted in Zahner, *Jugendfürsorge in Bayern*, 55–56.
  149. Quoted in Samuel Andrew Stouffer, *The American Soldier*, vol. 2 (Princeton, 1949), 569. A survey from August 1945 noted: 57 percent state that almost all fraternize; 51 percent of those longer in Germany say they had contact with German girls. *Ibid.*

150. Ibid.
151. Ziemke, *The U.S. Army in the Occupation of Germany*, 327. See also: Kleinschmidt, *Do Not fraternize*, 145 and 146.
152. Sommer, "In der 'Raubtierwelt' der Trümmerzeit," 64.
153. Conservative State Representative Franz Michel (CSU), (10 June 1948), ABL, StBBd, II/2, no. 5, 1568, quoted in Zahner, *Jugendfürsorge in Bayern*, 56.
154. Reithmeier, *Verwahrlosung und Kriminalität der Jugendlichen*, 44.
155. "Vor dem Richter," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 22 February 1946.
156. "Die Jungen—Nur ein Mädchen," *Der Münchner Merkur*, 21 March 1946. See also: "Geschlechtsmoral im Abstieg," *Die Neue Zeitung*, 8 November 1945; "Das Mädchen Elisabeth," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 22 February 1946; "Girls in der Retorte," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 30 May 1946.
157. "Fünfzehnjährige um Mitternacht," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 23 August 1946.
158. Hans Rühmelin, "Fischer, Kurt J., US-Zone, 1947, *So lebten wir... ein Querschnitt durch 1947* (1947): 3–27, here 4.
159. "Bekämpfung von Geschlechtskrankheiten," *Der Münchner Stadtanzeiger*, 16 January 1946.
160. "Wer ist 'Veronika Dankeschön?,'" *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 13 August 1946. There were only a couple of rare voices underlining how broad generalizations demonized young girls. According to one article, "the lipstick that so greatly offends the elderly is often merely a symptom for a feeling of deceit." "Die Jungen: Nur ein Mädchen," *Der Münchner Merkur*, 21 March 1946.
161. "Wer ist 'Veronika Dankeschön?,'" *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 13 August 1946.
162. "Autobahn-Girl Hitch Hikers Threaten to Raise VD Rate," *Stars and Stripes*, 12 July 1946.
163. "Jugendverwahrlosung: Ein Problem unserer Zeit," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 31 May 1947.
164. Hosseinzadeh, *Nur Trümmerfrauen und Amiliebchen?* 93–104; Maria Höhn, "Frau im Haus und Girl im Spiegel: Discourse on Women in the Interregnum Period of 1945–1949 and the Question of German Identity," *Central European History* 26, no. 1 (1993): 57–90, here 64.
165. Annette Brauerhoch, *'Fräulein' und GIs: Geschichte und Filmgeschichte* (Frankfurt am Main/ Basel, 2006), 11.
166. Raingard Esser, "'Language No Obstacle': War Brides in the German Press, 1945–49," *Women's History Review* 12, no. 4 (Jan., 2003): 577–606, here 577. See also: Hosseinzadeh, ed., *Nur Trümmerfrauen und Amiliebchen*; Trude Unruh, ed., *Trümmerfrauen: Biografien einer betrogenen Generation* (Essen, 1987).
167. Buckel, "Der verwahrloste Großstadtjugendliche," 25 and 27.
168. Lauter, "Krieg und Jugendkriminalität," 37 and 41. See also: Reithmeier, *Verwahrlosung und Kriminalität der Jugendlichen*, 33 and 38.
169. Erich Langer and Wilhelm Brandt, *Geschlechts-Krankheiten bei Kinder und Jugendlichen* (Berlin, 1948), 7.

170. Josef Schmid, "Kann eine wirksame Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten auf die Dauer ohne Meldepflicht erfolgen?" (Ph.D. diss., Ludwig-Maximilians University Munich, 1945), 16.
171. Buckel, "Der verwahrloste Großstadtjugendliche," 29.
172. Landeshauptstadt München, ed., *Ein Neuer Anfang im Wohlfahrts-, Jugend- und Gesundheitswesen* (Munich, 1948), 53. See also: Thurnwald, *Gegenwartsproblem Berliner Familien*, 146.
173. Hans Magnus Enzensberger, *Europa in Ruinen: Augenzeugenberichte aus den Jahren 1944–1948* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990), 208.
174. Landeshauptstadt München, ed. *Ein Neuer Anfang*, [no page number].