

## Controlling Juvenile Delinquents in the Crisis Years



“An unorganized and unsupervised youth is a problem that cannot be taken lightly.”<sup>1</sup> This sentiment appeared in *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung* in fall 1946. It captured attempts to defend the state, morality, and social order. The article also quoted a local U.S. official arguing in favor of institutionalization in schools, youth organizations, and the Youth Welfare Office as a way to deal with *the delinquent boy* and *the sexually deviant girl*. Both images embodied abnormal behaviors and had turned into discursive spaces and signifiers for wrongdoing. These constructs had their benefits<sup>2</sup> and now also became valuable tools of social control for those defending Munich’s recovery and future.

Moving forward against such youth during a complex transition period was a complicated endeavor; yet growing fears among the general public increasingly united authorities against juvenile delinquency and provided the leeway for contemporaries to draw on traditional means of control. Such an interpretation sustains claims regarding continuities in German history across 1945, especially widespread within *Alltagsgeschichte*. As the evidence suggests, the situation for the young changed little during the crisis years. Take the story of Albert O. and his sister. Born in 1928, Albert had spent time in juvenile detention during the Nazi period. Briefly liberated by U.S. troops from the concentration camp in Dachau, he was eventually penalized for a variety of minor property crimes. Authorities at Dachau prison sent his sixteen-year-old sister to juvenile detention for, according to the official language, “constantly changing sexual partners.”<sup>3</sup> These measures against Albert, his sister, and many other youngsters built on widespread public support, and were grounded in the constructed meaning of juvenile delinquency. Once faced with these perceived threats in a time of crisis, local authorities willingly and forcefully clamped down

on the young, starting with efforts to reinstitutionalize youth and later taking much more direct actions. According to authorities, reopening schools and youth organizations would get the young off the streets and would help the recovery of society; the Youth Welfare Office would deal with those unwilling to conform. By fall 1945 and early spring 1946, however, such measures appeared increasingly inadequate, as juvenile delinquency seemed rampant. Finding itself in a state of panic and hysteria, authorities in Munich began favoring a more thorough use of existing institutions; they also relied on new measures grounded in a widespread postwar consensus. Soon more intrusive policies and measures helped fight juvenile delinquency in order to save society and Munich's future. In October 1947 a large-scale raid swept through Munich and Bavaria for twenty-four hours, making it the climax of authoritative responses. It would ultimately take until the stabilization of the German economy following the currency reform in June 1948 before juvenile delinquency became detached from broader fears regarding Munich's recovery and future.

Authorities fighting against youth consisted of many diverse groups and displayed and acted upon a shared "restoration-of-order" attitude. Their outlook was based around the noble sacrifices of the "rubble women" and what was supposed to become a similar contribution of the "reconstruction generation." Forming, in some ways, an improbable and very practical coalition that came together for the sole purpose of defending recovery, many journalists, social commentators, experts, as well as a variety of public voices pushed for opposition against delinquency. Cardinal Michael von Faulhaber and conservative politician Alois Hundhammer, for instance, became important voices in favor of a faith-based education and corporal punishment as ways to fight juvenile deviancy. Since democratic processes developed from the ground up, the coalition fighting delinquency consisted also of the local military administration and the city government. In Munich, this alliance included the city council as well as mayors Karl Scharnagl and Thomas Wimmer. City Schools Inspector Anton Fingerle and the Director of the Youth Welfare Office Elisabeth Bamberger also played important roles. On the streets of Munich it was primarily the newly organized city police, led by Police Chief Franz-Xaver Pitzer, which initially dealt with youngsters. The overall excellent coordination between the U.S. Military Government and local German officials on this particular topic is striking given "two utterly different perspectives"<sup>4</sup> on education as such. This aspect only highlights the perceived common-sense reaction in line with German and American ideals once dealing with juvenile delinquency. That this unlikely coalition had initially helped construct

youth as a threat outlines inherent connections between constructed meanings and social control.

### Fighting an Uphill Battle

At the beginning of the crisis years, attempts to control youth were secondary. With the constant increase of daily bombings, a rise in the amount of refugees, and the growing lack of basic necessities, Nazi authorities and contemporaries had little time to discipline youth. Waning institutional structures like schools, the Hitler Youth, and the Youth Welfare Office tried to stay afloat as much as possible, pushing male youngsters, if anything, as a last stand against approaching enemy forces. Nazi authorities had formed the *Volkssturm* or people's army by fall 1944, consisting of every available male age sixteen to sixty. In Munich, "a couple of seventeen-year-old *Hitlerjungen* shot twice onto approaching Americans."<sup>5</sup> Elsewhere such fanatic attempts to prevent or at least participate in an ever-likely downfall swept many youngsters into horrific situations. Bernhard Wicki's movie *Die Brücke* (1959) paints a realistic picture of the futility of such circumstances. The late occupation of Munich shortly before the end of World War II, however, allowed most youngsters to do their best to avoid tragic situations, especially during the last weeks of the war.

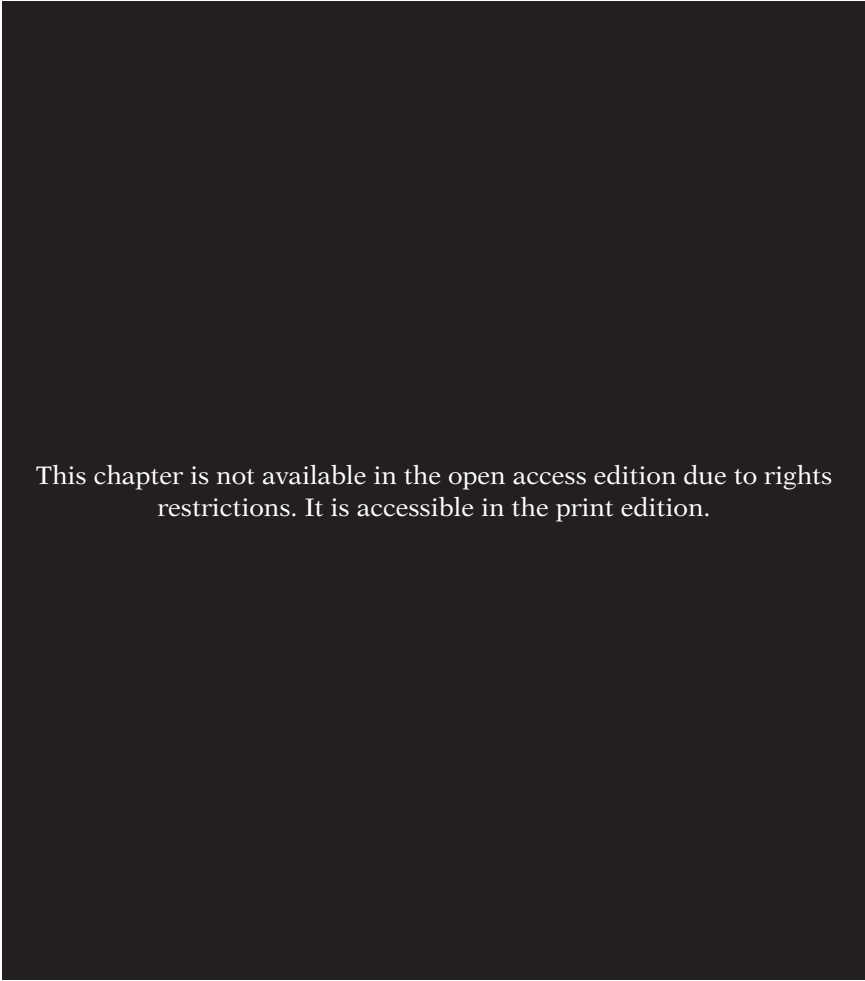
Shortly after U.S. arrival in Munich and in response to previous experiences and standardized policies, Americans strictly controlled daily life. Authorities proclaimed curfews, which initially prohibited locals to be away from their residence between 7 P.M. and 6 A.M. Yet those ended within a couple of weeks and officials simply monitored and patrolled certain city spaces. Train stations, bars, and other potentially deviant areas saw much supervision early on, namely to prevent a feared guerilla warfare by Nazi groups like the Werwolf (Werewolf). In Munich Werwolf activities did not materialize.<sup>6</sup> Instead, the allied victory was complete, making curfews and extensive controls of daily life for security reasons increasingly obsolete.<sup>7</sup>

Within a short amount of time, American and German authorities focused on sexual deviancy. Again grounded in previous experiences when liberating or occupying various locations,<sup>8</sup> U.S. officials set up warning signs aimed at their own men. One of such signs read, "V.D.—Big Army Problem";<sup>9</sup> another one stated, "You'd better be without VD."<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, as an official U.S. report put it, "All possible measures were taken to further an educational program on the prevention of venereal diseases."<sup>11</sup> This effort included lectures and movies for GIs

on sexual morality, even demonstrations with infected patients. With limited success, the emphasis shifted towards German girls. By summer 1945, American officials created so-called prophylactic stations to treat those carrying sexually transmitted diseases. Initially set up only for American soldiers and personnel, these facilities soon opened their doors to *the sexually deviant girl*. The city of Munich set up its own hospitals focusing primarily on venereal disease, and the U.S. Military Government provided penicillin, a drug until then not widely available in Germany. To its relief, *Der Münchner Stadtanzeiger* commented that the Military Government now “took this danger seriously and worked together with local German institutions to fight this pandemic. Directives requiring reports of the contraction of venereal disease are indicative of the realistic view which the Army has heretofore taken of this problem.”<sup>12</sup> By March 1946 there were ninety-eight special clinics for patients with venereal diseases and twenty-eight diagnostic centers throughout the U.S. Zone of Occupation.<sup>13</sup> In that sense, opposition to fraternization and fears regarding *Veronika Dankeschön* “created an unusual alliance between those reactionary Germans and the American military government,” as historian Petra Goedde has put it.<sup>14</sup> Gaining control over the female body thus does not only signify the overall power of U.S. and German officials but also highlights a rather straightforward coordination between authorities against supposed female misbehaviors [Figure 2.1].

Although penicillin brought quick relief to most patients, authorities remained concerned. Numerous patients returned various times after an initial treatment. Whereas this fact sustained claims regarding rampant sexual deviancy, local German officials felt they were losing more than just the fight against venereal diseases. Seeing sexually transmitted diseases as part of female immorality, they felt that the state was losing the war against immorality altogether. In times of recovery, loss of control was deemed extremely dangerous. It was consequently not surprising that the introduction of penicillin was not seen as a victory in the battle against societal ills.<sup>15</sup>

As local officials tried to step up their efforts they also began employing a variety of existing laws still in place from the Nazi period or from before. Apart from regulating areas around U.S. barracks, hoping to spot female deviants, the “Law for Combating Sexually Transmitted Diseases”<sup>16</sup> provided a valuable vantage point to actively control *the sexually deviant girl*. Enacted in 1927, it had remained in place after 1945. At the time, comments one historian, this law “did not simply hope to limit infections; it also utilized discussions of hygiene, welfare, and education” to fight venereal diseases.<sup>17</sup> Applicable to both sexes,



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**Figure 2.1** An American GI and German Fräuleins on the streets of Munich, 1948. Courtesy of Georg Fruhstorfer/Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München/Bildarchiv.

conceptions of loose female morals made this law an excellent tool in the fight against *the sexually deviant girl* in particular. According to paragraph four of this regulation, authorities could force those “who carry sexually-transmitted diseases or *are suspect of such* [emphasis added]” to be tested.<sup>18</sup> If authorities determined that a girl carried a venereal disease, then she faced various charges, including youth arrest. Apart from this measure, laws in place to limit prostitution offered another way to target female youngsters. Whereas prostitution was not illegal in Germany, the German criminal code prohibited prostitution

“publicly and in a conspicuous manner” or “in a manner offensive to individuals or the public;”<sup>19</sup> the law also specifically forbade prostitution near churches and all places frequented by the young, hence offering additional frames for supervision. Finally, paragraph 175, originally included in the German penal code in 1871, prohibited coitus-like behavior among men. Whereas homosexuality was not a prime concern of authorities in Munich, the broad application of this law could provide an avenue for criminalizing sexual deviancy among male youngsters, if desired. As outlined by historian Dagmar Herzog, “Supporters of the paragraph strongly emphasized the need to protect youth and repeatedly invoked the belief that male homosexuality was a contagious condition that would spread ineluctably unless forceful punitive action was taken.” According to her, some authorities believed young delinquents loitering around train stations to be “vulnerable to conversion via seduction ... [and these voices] explicitly named [that] as *the* reason for retaining Paragraph 175.”<sup>20</sup> Hence, shortly after the war contemporaries had little problems in finding the legal basis to control real and imagined sexual deviancy in Munich.

However, local authorities rarely had the capabilities to implement existing laws, especially without American assistance and support. These limitations are apparent in the context of the black market. As a threat to the food supply, and as the supposed habitat of *the delinquent boy*, black markets had been part of city life for several years. Located at the central train station, the German Museum, and certain streets throughout the city, several restaurants and bars also became places for such semilegal activities.<sup>21</sup> In an attempt to regain control, local authorities soon began observing these spaces more closely. Yet according to one police report from summer 1945, those trading in such spaces did not mind the police: “The threshold to participate in illegal activities is so high that some even set up little booths with umbrellas and all, laying out their products.”<sup>22</sup> Early raids helped little because black marketeers soon recognized policemen and warned other participants, dealers, or bystanders. Besides, raids were not always safe for law enforcement because some marketeers attacked a usually outnumbered and ill-equipped police force. In fact, during an early raid, forty-five policemen experienced exactly that as they tried to clamp down on a black market in downtown Munich:

Right at the arrival a mob ... jumped the police car, stopped it, and took it over. Officers were kicked off, surrounded, and attacked. Only with major difficulties were the police able to arrest fourteen and free the injured driver. Stones flew and the officers rushed away. ... The eight arrested individuals ultimately jumped off the car and escaped.<sup>23</sup>

In general, those caught rarely faced charges because it was difficult to prove their participation in illegal activities. As a result, the local police felt increasingly helpless in safeguarding recovery, as it had neither the capabilities nor the legal backing to step in against black marketeering youth.

Newly installed Police Chief Franz-Xaver Pitzer eventually spoke up about such inabilities. Like many before him, he utilized the misery of youth to give his call more authority. Based on the slogan “all decent individuals to the front in the fight against indecency,”<sup>24</sup> he called for stricter measures including the arming of the local police. The U.S. Military Government declined to supply weapons until October 1945;<sup>25</sup> it did, however, allow an increase in forces. This concession allowed Pitzer to set up a “special unit for combat against black-marketeering.”<sup>26</sup> It consisted of thirty-two officers and relied on the newly passed “Law for the Fight against the Black Market.”<sup>27</sup> Although this law remained only briefly on the books due to its inadequate legal grounding, the police arrested 650 black marketeers, some of them male youngsters.<sup>28</sup> At that point it became apparent that only a solid legal basis and powerful law enforcement could control youth.

### **Institutionalization: Schools, Youth Groups, and the Youth Welfare Office**

Given the chaotic situation shortly after the war, rebuilding traditional institutions for the young turned out to be a sensible starting point when fighting delinquency. Schools would house youngsters during the day, and teach them about their role as productive citizens. Afterwards, they would be under the supervision of their parents or other legal guardians. Those without such afternoon support could go to traditional youth groups, or would receive the help of the Youth Welfare Office. Authorities thus primarily rebuilt these three institutions to get youth off the streets and back into a supervised environment.

More and more throughout the crisis years, and certainly at the time of U.S. arrival, local schools lay in shambles, and little changed for the first months of occupation. War and postwar struggles had significantly disturbed schooling. After years of Nazi education, elementary schools had closed and many children had been sent to the countryside once the war intensified.<sup>29</sup> By early 1945, a lack of coal had briefly terminated instructing for those still in schools.<sup>30</sup> During the final weeks of the Nazi regime schooling and education had not been on the mind of local residents and faltering Nazi authorities. The U.S. arrival did

not change much. At first, schooling and education were not priorities for American authorities. Instead, U.S. officials confiscated buildings for their own use, including schools.<sup>31</sup> By summer 1945, some U.S. policies regarding schooling began to emerge although confusion remained for months to come.<sup>32</sup> Originally released in April 1945, Directive JCS 1067 to the Commander in Chief of U.S. forces in Germany then noted, "All educational institutions within your zone except those previously re-established by Allied authority will be closed." It inaugurated "a coordinated system of control over German education" in an attempt to completely eliminate Nazi and militaristic doctrines. This directive also permitted "the reopening of elementary, middle and vocational schools at the earliest possible date after Nazi personnel has been eliminated."<sup>33</sup> Another directive later on translated such abstract measures into precise administrative rules, stressing denazification and the necessity for military control at all levels.<sup>34</sup> By summer 1945, American officials started to implement JCS 1067. Part of a larger process, they began with the denazification of teachers. But replacing those deemed unsuitable, finding new textbooks, and dealing with a lack of facilities took time. For example, 21 percent of all school buildings had been destroyed, and the occupation force seized 255 facilities for its own purposes.<sup>35</sup>

Apart from such problems facing a youth crisis also increasingly changed priorities. Although U.S. authorities made an attempt to denazify schools, a quick reopening was soon deemed of higher importance. Compared to German officials, the Americans saw such quick steps as emergency measures, with more reform to follow later. For many Germans, on the other hand, quick denazification was not the beginning but the end of educational reform as a whole. Working together in order to reestablish some kind of "orderly schooling even if only getting the kids off the streets to prevent delinquency"<sup>36</sup> became a common ground, as one scholar rightfully noted later on; references to a supposed rise in juvenile delinquency turned into one way to justify the quick reorganization of schools. In August 1945, officials formed a committee for schools within the city council. There, local authorities connected "worries about the psychological and mental future of our people and our city ... to worries about education and schooling of our youth."<sup>37</sup> On 3 September, all between the ages of six to fourteen started to register for schools. Two weeks later, several elementary schools opened their doors. Middle schools and secondary schools followed, as the Munich school system took shape again.<sup>38</sup> By early 1946 growing fears of *the delinquent boy* and *the sexually deviant girl* had contributed significantly to the reopening of seventy-seven elementary



schools in Munich,<sup>39</sup> despite questions about their readiness to accept students.

This rapid reorganization brought problems. Most notably, the denazification demanded by JCS 1067 had limited the availability of teachers. In Munich's elementary schools 400 teachers taught 52,201 children making one teacher responsible for about 130 students.<sup>40</sup> Most educators were categorized as National Socialists, and those rehired often followed outdated teaching methods. City Schools Inspector Anton Fingerle called upon certified teachers to "adopt a new and tolerant attitude,"<sup>41</sup> advice that assumed such changes can simply happen overnight. Plus, his comments seemed of little use without the infrastructure to provide preparation and help. Books were either widely unavailable, soaked with National Socialist narratives and doctrines, or grounded in outdated nineteenth-century teaching ideas. Moreover, children had to bring their own paper to school. As late as the summer of 1946, 70 percent of students in Munich had no notebooks, and 90 percent did not own a jacket to keep them warm while in school.<sup>42</sup> Facilities were inadequate and most at least partially destroyed. Students were squeezed into large classes restricting the quality of learning. One student remembered how she attended a school that was in ruin with cardboard covering the windows. During the winter months a little round iron stove could not fully heat the room although most students brought coal. Without shoes or jackets she and her classmates were shivering and their ink froze.<sup>43</sup> Another individual remembered how the children "sat in school in their coats, and between classes they did a little sport, so that they did not get too cold."<sup>44</sup> Schools during the crisis years were hardly appropriate environments for learning.

Broader ignorance about these issues or the inability to deal with them due to a lack of funds could explain these shortcomings, yet neither was the case for Munich. Local officials, most notably City Schools Inspector Anton Fingerle, were well informed about the situation. They did little in response. For them, such problems were secondary given the looming threat of juvenile delinquency. Institutionalization, not learning, was a priority and deemed the basis for quick recovery. According to Munich's school office, "even the formal opening of a school ... had to be seen as progress."<sup>45</sup> The same office later deliberately stated that the main objective for schooling was first, to get the young "off the streets," and second, "to return them to a regulated and orderly mental and intellectual occupation."<sup>46</sup> Authorities hoped that once schools reopened children and youngsters would return to their assigned roles within society. Institutionalization as control—not

learning—was consequently the priority of schooling and the reason why authorities rushed towards reopening schools.

Officials could rely on the support of the public, which made these choices easier. Newspapers captured such sentiments when reporting on the problems with schools but emphasizing their necessity in times of crises. In late 1945, *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung* aligned the opening of schools with Munich's hopeful future and complete recovery.<sup>47</sup> Other public voices sustained such calls for society's return to order<sup>48</sup> while local church officials hoped to influence future educational models.<sup>49</sup> Such conversations took center stage particularly in Munich. Whereas the reintroduction of corporal punishment and numerous other disagreements resulted in conflicts between conservatives, liberals, social democrats, and the U.S. Military Government,<sup>50</sup> awareness regarding *the delinquent boy* and *the sexually deviant girl* brought even the latter onto the same page.<sup>51</sup> After all, rebuilding and reopening institutions of education was a way to get youth off the streets and as such signified Munich's recovery and success of occupation policies.

The re-creation of youth groups followed a similar mindset and pattern, initially spearheaded by American authorities. By October 1945, a report by the U.S. Military Government had outlined, "formal education, as such in the narrow sense of the term, will only partially solve the tremendous problem of what to do with defeated German youth, to give them hope, to form them into decent citizens, and, from a very practical point of view, to keep them 'out of mischief.'"<sup>52</sup> "The Report on the United States Education Mission to Germany" presented in 1946 made similar suggestions.<sup>53</sup> After all, the Hitler Youth had indicated the power of after-school programs, though such setups could not reemerge after denazification. As a result, no new youth group took shape in the first two months after U.S. arrival, leaving a "vacuum" in Munich, as one contemporary described it.<sup>54</sup> The first new youth organizations then reappeared in the summer—at the time mostly Catholic youth groups.<sup>55</sup> By fall 1945 and once aware of the increasing need for afternoon supervision, U.S. authorities made a more coordinated effort to reorganize youth organizations. Beginning in October 1945, the US Forces, European Theater (USFET) set up a synchronized process according to which each county had to create so-called youth committees. Organizations interested in reviving a former or creating a new youth group had to get official permission from these committees. The board of youth committees faced final approval by the local military governor.<sup>56</sup> Following this arrangement, numerous youth groups sprouted throughout Munich in the following months. The first was the Youth Club Munich-South for Girls, which was licensed in July

1946;<sup>57</sup> others like the Boy Scouts St. Georg, the Young Socialists, the Falcons, or the Free German Youth soon followed. Most important became local chapters of the Bavarian Youth Ring and the City Youth Ring Munich, both supported by Anton Fingerle, who made them a quasi-municipal organization and a semi-official arm of the city of Munich.<sup>58</sup>

The Youth Ring emerged in reaction to U.S. efforts, demonstrating the desire of German officials to control their young, especially once the Americans got involved more directly. Spreading from Northern Germany, the U.S. Army had long developed a program aimed at German youngsters. It had originated in the Enclave of Bremen in summer 1945, where a grassroots effort within the Seventh U.S. Army had resulted in open facilities for the young and certain youth groups. By September 1945, according to a contemporary publication, it “instituted the first broad program of German Youth activities” beyond Bremen.<sup>59</sup> Increasingly rooted in the desire to help the young and fight against delinquency as personified by *the delinquent boy* and *the sexually deviant girl*, the so-called German Youth Activities Program (GYA) spread throughout the U.S. Zone of Occupation, and eventually arrived in Munich.<sup>60</sup> There, as elsewhere, local German authorities needed U.S. help. According to U.S. officials, “social workers [in Munich] were aiding 13,000 children in the city. Over 3,000 orphan children were being cared for in homes maintained by the youth office funds and 10,000 others were being visited regularly by the organization’s nurses.”<sup>61</sup> Another report concluded, “The enormity of this problem ultimately foiled military government’s intention of retaining only a directive responsibility for youth activities and welfare.”<sup>62</sup> Soon U.S. authorities strengthened their efforts to help. Interested in controlling youth and re-educating the young, a directive from April 1946 outlined exact measures: “Getting the young off the streets” and into U.S. monitored formats was crucial to rebuilding German society.<sup>63</sup> Apart from limiting the possibilities of juvenile delinquency, it gave U.S. officials prime authority over German youth. Hoping to plant the seed of democracy in the young, youth work within the GYA became an important area for U.S. policies of re-education. Boys and girls would be off the streets and learn about democracy by playing sports, discussing various contemporary issues, or simply learning about the United States. As summarized by a U.S. official report, American policies were “motivated by the wish to use youth organizations as an additional means of re-education and control.”<sup>64</sup>

Whereas the U.S. military government spent sixty million Deutsche Marks on the GYA by 1950,<sup>65</sup> German city officials equally concerned

with *the delinquent boy* and *the sexually deviant girl* had mixed feelings about American involvement. Although they supported youth groups as a mechanism to deal with delinquency, they heavily criticized the setup of the GYA. Youngsters did not have a membership card but could show up whenever they wanted. U.S. groups were also more democratic, apparent in the fact that youngsters could lead groups themselves. Traditional youth workers “could simply not empathize with such setups and mindsets,” remarked one contemporary.<sup>66</sup> Furthermore, most U.S. youth groups were coeducational.<sup>67</sup> In Munich, division along lines of gender had been well established for decades. To allow both sexes to visit the same group was a slap in the face to those hoping to stabilize society, return boys and girls to their traditional roles, and recover quickly. Traditional fears of Americanization played a role as well<sup>68</sup> and became ways to question the subservient German part in such setups. It indicated that getting youth off the streets *and* under German control was what ultimately mattered most to local German authorities.

With schools and youth groups more and more in place, the reorganization of the Youth Welfare Office became the final puzzle piece regarding the institutionalization of youth. Traditionally the prime institution for controlling wayward youngsters, it had been embedded within a National Socialist system. To resurrect its power meant another step towards stability. The expanded function of the local Youth Welfare Office within a society fearing disruptions was clear: dealing with juvenile delinquency, youngsters unwilling to work, and numerous other groups threatening postwar recovery. Those in charge considered young refugees from the Soviet sector in the East as part of the homeless and thus delinquent youth, at least until their fate was exploited for propagandistic purposes in an emerging Cold War paradigm. Of course, the local Youth Welfare Office was also concerned with alarming numbers of *sexually deviant girls*. According to contemporaries, these girls were “morally weak, unsupervised, seduced [into deviancy] by bad company, and unscrupulous in their sexual activity, often for material benefits.”<sup>69</sup> Though initially targeted by the U.S. Military Government and treated in various hospitals, the Youth Welfare Office increasingly helped in such undertakings, making this institution, in many ways, the final stand in the fight against juvenile delinquency.

The complicated resurrection process of the Youth Welfare Office began in July 1945. According to a U.S. report, the first youth offices “were established by the military government and staffed by Germans to supervise and to provide care for orphaned, needy, and delinquent

German youth.”<sup>70</sup> American and German local officials again coordinated their efforts to accelerate the reorganization of this institution. But adequate facilities and personnel were rare: buildings had been destroyed or U.S. authorities had seized them, while properly trained personnel were in short supply. A strict denazification process further amplified these problems: most youth workers had been employed by the National Socialist People’s Welfare or other National Socialist organizations, which limited the pool of personnel. According to one local publication analyzing the reconstruction of this institution by the late 1940s, “the lack of personnel became a major problem in the attempt to combat juvenile vagabondage.”<sup>71</sup> The fact that the Youth Welfare Office did not play a major role during National Socialism exacerbated the situation. During Nazi rule, the National Socialist People’s Welfare had been responsible for welfare and youth. As a strictly hierarchical National Socialist organization, it had merely used the Youth Welfare Office as an executive body. This role had not only tarnished the legitimacy and credibility of the Youth Welfare Office after the war but had also forced it to undergo something like a rebirth after 1945. To gather documentation and set up its former administrative apparatus took time, and as late as the summer of 1946, the Bavarian Ministry of the Interior underlined that qualified workers were still in short supply.<sup>72</sup>

Legally speaking, the Youth Welfare Office relied on the Reich Youth Welfare Law (RJWG). Influenced by the devastating situation for the young after World War I, the RJWG had been passed in June 1922 to become the first attempt in Germany to coordinate regulations regarding youth. The law established youth welfare offices as separate institutions and provided administrative procedures once self-help, personal responsibility, and charity failed. During National Socialist rule the RJWG remained in place but the Youth Welfare Office lost its power. Instead, a law passed in February 1939 installed a strict hierarchical structure apparent in organizations like the National Socialist People’s Welfare and the Hitler Youth. The Youth Welfare Office was merely used for executing policies. After 1945, the RJWG remained in place. The U.S. Military Government only banned certain National Socialist elements and language from existing laws, leaving various restrictive measures in place or at least up to the interpretation of local officials.<sup>73</sup> These continuities led to questions and uncertainties regarding the application of laws but at the same time gave local officials a lot of authority concerning the implementation of measures.

By the end of 1945, the Youth Welfare Office slowly began to deal with juvenile delinquency. As organizational structures partially returned, youth offices began cooperating with a variety of other institu-

tions. The police were obliged to inform the youth office when picking up youngsters, and a variety of welfare institutions provided additional assistance. In fact, the local Youth Welfare Office in Munich worked closely with religious welfare organizations like the Caritas and the Innere Mission. Both groups helped significantly regarding financial assistance; they also increased the ability of the Youth Welfare Office to fulfill its duty towards urban youngsters.<sup>74</sup> The Youth Welfare Office had not established itself in all quarters of town and would lack personnel and financial means for quite a while, even with such assistance. Not surprisingly, in spring 1946, Director of the Youth Welfare Office Elisabeth Bamberger sent a letter to the mayor asking for additional measures in the fight against delinquency. In her correspondence she conveniently employed constructed images of youth as a way to give her argument more credibility, sway, and authority. Bamberger discussed, for instance, the need for additional measures by referencing dancing and fraternizing between GIs and young females.<sup>75</sup> With most inhabitants of Munich by now aware of the threat posed by juvenile delinquency, Bamberger could rely on a growing consensus and widespread support among authorities and the general public for new and more stringent policies, now increasingly reaching beyond institutionalization.

### **New Policies 1946–1947**

In response to Bamberger and others, the Bavarian Ministry of the Interior put forward specific policies to enforce conformity among youth. “The Plan about Taken and Proposed Measures Regarding the Youth Between the Age of Fifteen and Twenty-Two,” proposed on 1 April 1946, outlined the limits of existing policies and proposed a variety of additional measures. Such measures were aimed at “the wandering or wayward youth,” “delinquent women and girls older than eighteen,” “the male youngsters unwilling or not used to work,” and it repeated earlier policing suggestions. The plan also included three specific proposals aimed at *the delinquent boy* and *the sexually deviant girl*. The first ordinance referred to “the protection of homeless juveniles,” defined as youngsters under the age of eighteen, “who are without a permanent place of residence and who are not under the supervision of grown-up relatives.” Framed in the language of providing protection, youth welfare offices would now “comprise the task, to accustom juveniles again to a regular mode of life and to settle them down.” These measures included detainment “in order to investigate their personal

circumstances” as well as “support” and “care” for them. “All authorities” had “the duty to immediately report homeless juveniles.” A second ordinance specifically focused on bringing “demoralized women and girls into custody,” defined as females older than eighteen, “whose conduct is conducive to the spreading of venereal disease and who are thus a danger to public health, or who are otherwise demoralized.” This broad definition provided the basis for the institutionalization of females for up to two years, with room for even longer sentences. In cases of those married or under age, parents or husbands “will have to be informed of the resolution without delay.” While this measure undeniably criminalized virtually all girls and women suspected of abnormal behaviors, it was mostly aimed against fraternization and the spread of venereal diseases. Ordinance number three then referred to “education by work,” a euphemism to describe corrective actions against “Juveniles up to the age of 25, who as the result of the war have lost the habit of work” and needed “to reaccustom to a settled mode of living and regular work.” The ordinance goes on noting, “juveniles, who have been assigned to work by the Labor Office” but “who have repeatedly shirked their duty of work” were to “be committed to institutions for education by work.” Such prison or detention sentences would last at least three months and continue, “Until the objective has been attained.”<sup>76</sup> All proposals aimed at reintegrating male and female youth into the work force, in that way making them productive members of society, stabilizing postwar order, and securing their masculinity and femininity for Munich’s recovery.

The quick passage of the blueprint as ordinance no. 73, no. 74, and no. 75 on 5 April 1946 demonstrated a widespread postwar consensus.<sup>77</sup> Irritated by loitering, vagrant, fraternizing, and work-shy youngsters, the general public was happy to see authorities act. Newspapers had captured popular sentiments and opinions, and had repeatedly called for additional actions in the form of raids to clean up the city.<sup>78</sup> Besides, the measures had the support of the Office of the U.S. Military Government for Bavaria. Official correspondence documents that its local headquarters had “no objection to the enactment” of the ordinances aimed to deal with juvenile delinquency.<sup>79</sup> Less concerned in some regards, the Americans had only stepped in once local German officials had tried to limit their influence. This situation had emerged in the context of expanded censorship for movies regarding children and youngsters. Then the U.S. Military Government for Bavaria had opposed the proposal suggesting that forcing juveniles to be “accompanied by adults would seem a more practical solution than an attempt to place films in certain categories.”<sup>80</sup> As a result, however, widespread

fear of *the delinquent boy* and *the sexually deviant girl* gave authorities the leverage to move forward against supposed misbehaviors while facing little if any political resistance.

With all three measures in place, authorities had gained substantial prerogatives by early 1946. At first, officials posted announcements calling on those younger than twenty-five years of age to participate in the reconstruction effort; they also briefly expanded attempts to limit female access to U.S. facilities. An article in the news magazine *Der Spiegel* later recalled failed attempts to distribute special passes for young females to get access to U.S. bases.<sup>81</sup> With little success, authorities relied on ordinance no. 73, no. 74, and no. 75 to create a stringent system of control in line with pre-1945 measures. The police arrested young males seen near the black market or just on the streets at an “abnormal” time; female youngsters faced charges once spotted near U.S. facilities or simply caught with chocolate and candy. In this sense, all juveniles perceived as behaving inappropriately in public had to fear criminalization. Once arrested, the police handed supposed delinquents over to the Youth Welfare Office or to medical facilities set up to check young females for venereal diseases. Various institutions also housed those not picked up by parents or legal guardians. A lack of facilities initiated a brief discussion but seemed not to bother authorities too much. According to a local newspaper, officials sent “youngsters unwilling to work and off track” or simply “without adequate identification or work permit” to a former refugee site in the suburb of Munich-Pasing.<sup>82</sup> There, youngsters spent their time without actual opportunities for work or rehabilitation.<sup>83</sup>

The general public was by and large in favor of this crackdown against youth. As noted earlier, newspapers had repeatedly called for additional raids to clean up the city. According to one publication, the central train station was widely seen as “deviant and dirty and would not leave a welcoming impression of the city for newly arriving visitors. The restaurant at the station is the center for black marketeers and hookers.”<sup>84</sup> In an anonymous letter to *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, an unknown organization even threatened to take care of black marketeers “with iron and steel,” killing them if necessary.<sup>85</sup> In Munich, some institutions had also created lists of women with venereal diseases to help control *the sexually deviant girl*.<sup>86</sup> Signs and postings demonizing female fraternization indicated that, as noted by historian Perry Biddiscombe in a similar context, there “was certainly no shortage of jealous and quarrelsome young men willing to ‘police’ women.” He continues, “One thing the repatriates had counted on was returning to



a domestic order of stability and contentment, and some of them were willing to take steps to 'recreate' this condition, however much it may have always been a romantic fiction."<sup>87</sup>

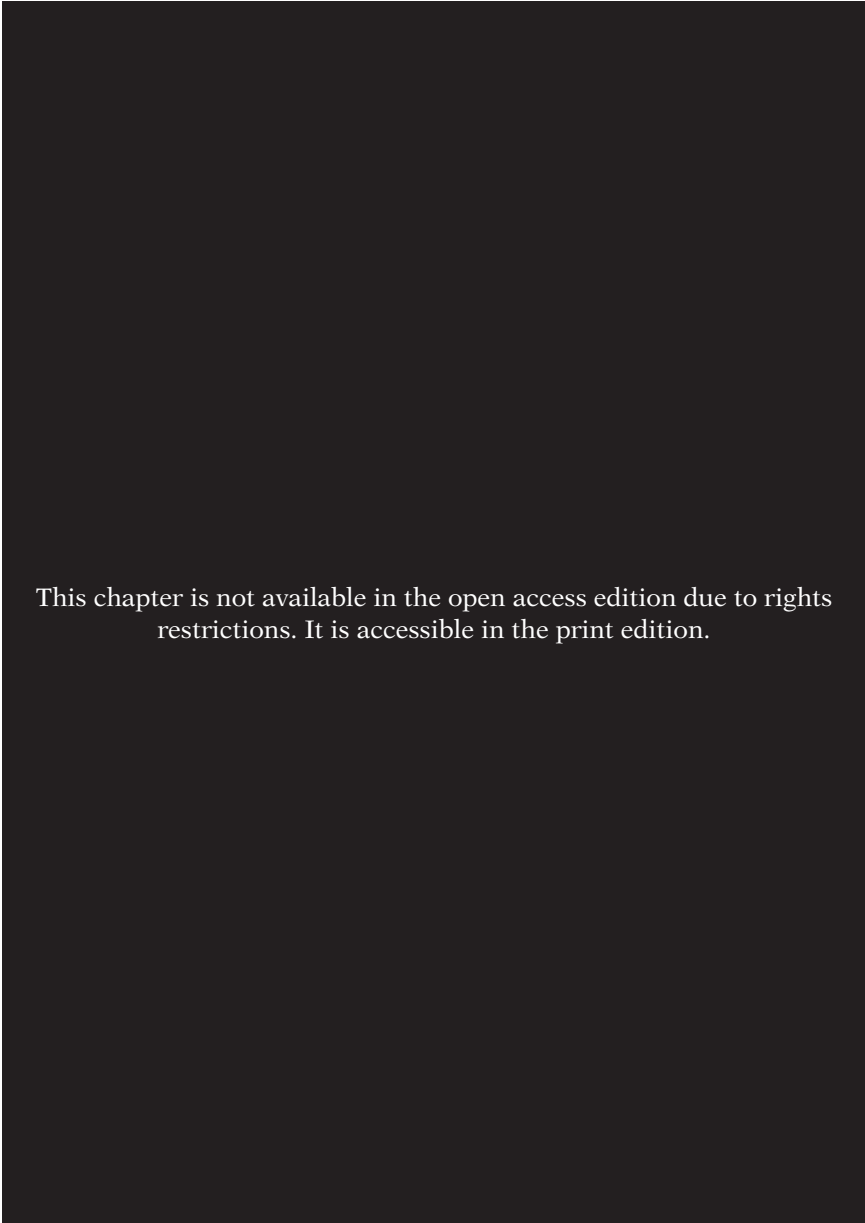
Although a general consensus is apparent, some opposition is worth mentioning. Local German authorities, for example, complained about the costs of additional forces;<sup>88</sup> other institutions wondered about privacy issues regarding record keeping.<sup>89</sup> Most important was the response of actual youngsters. With limited possibilities to fight back, many resisted by escaping once imprisoned. Whereas this behavior merely sustained ingrained constructions of juvenile delinquency, it at least helps dismantle the supposed passivity of youth. Take the example of Karl H., a twenty-one-year-old Munich native. Described as "typical in his appearance," he was supposedly unwilling to work. In his view, "There is no need for it, unless one gets to work for the Americans, they have always something going on." Whereas Karl did not feel that prison camps would help him, the director of the facility, a psychologist, believed in the betterment of the young. He admitted, however, that it would be difficult to teach the young how to find their role in society without adequate clothes and shoes.<sup>90</sup> It was thus not surprising that many youngsters like Karl avoided these facilities, well aware that they did not actually help them.

Even though youth camps and juvenile detention centers within the city filled up quickly, local Police Chief Franz-Xaver Pitzer was not pleased. In his view, the young remained a threat as long as the police had limited authority. By early 1947, he called for more "radical measures in the fight against crime."<sup>91</sup> In *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Pitzer demanded the reintroduction and passage of even stricter laws; he further insisted on measures that would allow authorities to keep young delinquents imprisoned for longer periods of time: "If barbed wire surrounding such objects is taken down, then most of the youngsters will run away. As the police chief I can only advise against that."<sup>92</sup> Pitzer noted that he was aware that Germany was now democratic. Nonetheless, he questioned whether Munich had to be a "Mecca for immoral and loitering youngsters."<sup>93</sup> Such sentiments fell on fertile ground. According to an internal correspondence dated 28 May 1947, the Bavarian minister wanted "to check up on possibilities" of tightening existing laws.<sup>94</sup> The U.S. military government similarly expressed alarm at the "apparent failure of German police agencies ... to successfully enforce" existing laws; it also seemed concerned about shortcomings in correctly handling "homeless, vagrant, and wandering youth."<sup>95</sup> The use of these broad terms underlined the harmony between the U.S. mili-

tary government and German authorities when it came to dealing with juvenile delinquency. By September 1947, local U.S. officials advised the city police “to determine to what extent such a problem exists” and ensure “that every possible means be used to correct conditions;” it also recommended the “control of public spaces of assembly, particularly railroad stations in the approximately twenty-five Stadtkreise [municipalities] of Bavaria.”<sup>96</sup> Calls for stricter retributions against “roamers, those unwilling to work, those black-marketeers without identification, prostitutes” and others now underscored the need for stricter actions<sup>97</sup> [Figure 2.2]. By early fall 1947 additional means of social control appeared to be in the making.

Yet the newly adopted Bavarian Constitution posed limits to existent and proposed policies. Enunciating civil liberties in a newly formed democracy, a Bavarian state representative was curious about the constitutionality of the existing ordinances.<sup>98</sup> Whereas ordinance no. 73 was grounded in article 126 (3) of the Bavarian Constitution,<sup>99</sup> skepticism regarding ordinance no. 74 and no. 75 remained. Both measures applied to those over the age of eighteen and hence included individuals not technically considered youngsters. In this sense, the Bavarian Constitution only legitimized and institutionalized the denial of civil liberties to those perceived as youth, meaning individuals under the age of eighteen. Soon the U.S. military government and the Bavarian State Parliament became concerned as well and formally joined the call for the revocation of these two ordinances. On 10 October 1947, the U.S. military government then stated that ordinance no. 74 and no. 75 “did not align with the Bavarian Constitution” because youngsters were not brought in front of a judge as outlined by Article 102 (2) of the state constitution.<sup>100</sup> The Bavarian government agreed.

Although this decision led to the annulment of ordinance no. 74 and no. 75, it did not mark the end of many existing restrictions, or even the end of measures against young people. U.S. military government and local officials had merely noticed a lack of constitutionality regarding age. They could still rely on ordinance no. 73, which targeted those perceived as youth. As has been pointed out by historian Daniela Zahner, “The extensive power of the youth welfare offices grounded in ordinance no. 73 led to an increased and almost mechanical referral of homeless and ‘astray’ youngsters into institutions for the protection of youth in 1946 and 1947.”<sup>101</sup> The use of this decree in combination with raids illustrated that city officials, the state, and the military government were still willing to persecute any deviation from the norm by the young.



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**Figure 2.2** Juvenile delinquency amongst male youth is supposedly easy to spot on the streets of post–World War II Munich, as apparent in this photo. The caption simply reads: “Delinquent, Roaming Youth.” Courtesy of Stadtarchiv München.

## Raids

Raids had long been the key strategy for targeting young delinquents. As described by numerous historians, the local authorities relied on raids to arrest black marketeers, to crack down on certain establishments, and to move forward against prostitution.<sup>102</sup> Within this context crackdowns explicitly aimed against supposed young delinquents had increased dramatically since their widespread appearance in spring 1946. On 9 September 1947, for instance, the local police held a raid against young people at the central train station. According to an article in *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, officials arrested “18 children and youngsters.” Six of them were “relapse roamers” and sent immediately to a “work education camp.”<sup>103</sup> Four days later, the same newspaper underlined how other raids throughout previous weeks made the central train station look more “tidy.”<sup>104</sup> Such attempts even made national news, as Police Chief Franz-Xaver Pitzer shared his delight regarding local attempts to remove the stain of Munich as a “Mecca of the underworld.”<sup>105</sup>

The most ambitious raid occurred on 28 October 1947. Then, the US military government, youth welfare offices, and the police conducted a twenty-four-hour coordinated and large-scale raid throughout Bavaria. According to a directive by the Bavarian Ministry of the Interior, all institutions were required to work together and to repeat their efforts within their assigned areas at various times throughout the day. The document noted, “In order to avoid the fragmentation of police forces, raids need to focus on specific spaces frequently occupied by the young.”<sup>106</sup> These spaces included the black market, certain restaurants and bars, movie theaters, and even institutions providing shelter for homeless youth at night. Authorities prepared and coordinated raids in Munich as well. As noted by the local military government, “in the cities, youth were picked up at the Bahnhofs [train stations], at the movies, in the streets, and in restaurants.”<sup>107</sup> Officials particularly linked the urban environment of Munich to juvenile delinquency, and the city not surprisingly experienced one of the most extensive raids. According to an article in *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, more than one thousand policemen and two hundred detectives participated in the raid in Munich, 95 percent of them undercover.<sup>108</sup> Prior to moving forward, authorities made preparations to deal with the expected prisoners. They would catalogue captured young men and women to later determine their status. For those deemed to be delinquent, however defined, or found to be without a legal guardian, a government camp in

the city of Augsburg and various local facilities had been prepared. As reported by the media, all major organizations concerned with the young, including Director of the Youth Welfare Office Elisabeth Bamberger, had supported the growing availability of such camps.<sup>109</sup>

Young individuals sent to prison camps had a terrible experience. Squeezed into inadequate facilities, these sites provided little help to youngsters.<sup>110</sup> Officials had faced a shortage of housing and consequently had to keep the young in rundown prisons. Many supposed delinquents resisted attempts by authorities to harness their movements within this appalling environment; others fled only to be picked up again and returned to the same or a different facility.<sup>111</sup> Whereas some officials seemed amazed about such constant recidivism, they do not appear to have considered why the young resisted. Adults often mistrusted youth in general, yet particularly at this point in time given widespread hysteria grounded in descriptions of juvenile delinquency. As a result, once caught, resilient behaviors amongst the young merely strengthened dominant understandings of juvenile delinquency. In addition, authorities saw the inability of camps to provide a closed environment as an indication that temptations were simply too high and fences too low, an understanding that illuminates continuities with Nazi regulations and behaviors; it also warrants a comparison to mechanisms in place in East Germany at the time. In any case, in the view of local officials in Munich, the recent annulment of ordinance no. 74 and 75 had restricted their ability to complete their work.

The twenty-four-hour raid occurring in October 1947 in Munich was a failure. According to *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, authorities captured about three hundred individuals, only fifty of them youngsters.<sup>112</sup> Many of them had to be released within a short amount of time. This included a thirteen-year-old boy who was on his way to bring his aunt some fruit. The *Munich City Chronicle* referred to 309 individuals caught in Munich with only fifty of them youngsters.<sup>113</sup> According to the numbers of the Bavarian State Ministry, police captured a total of 1,586 young people between twelve and eighteen throughout the whole state of Bavaria. Most of them came from Upper Bavaria. For Munich, the Bavarian government had comparatively higher numbers. It noted that officials had arrested 318 youngsters.<sup>114</sup> That authorities could not legally hold them but might still have counted them as arrests partially explains such divergences in numbers. Either way, authorities caught fewer youngsters than anticipated. Facing such meager results, officials pointed to each other's supposed inabilities. The U.S. military government blamed this failure on inadequate preparation and bad

timing. According to an American report that accused German officials, “the date of the raid was bad because a) the weather was bad, b) it was not on a weekend, when the most youth are to be seen in public, c) it did not include Wednesday night, a traditional ‘dance night’ in most areas, d) raids should be conducted more frequently and on unannounced dates.”<sup>115</sup> Yet subsequent raids did not bring different results. A lack of preparation was thus not the main reason for the disappointment.<sup>116</sup>

Given this study’s focus on discourses concerned with youth, the lack of actual delinquents is not surprising. Blown out of proportion and exaggerated as a postwar problem, juvenile delinquency was never about crime. Instead, it had become an almost mystical symbol embodying a variety of societal fears: disorder, disillusionment, immorality, and destitution. Male and female youth purportedly jeopardized recovery by destabilizing the creation of norms and questioning a postwar consensus. Whereas some youngsters fit in this framework, most did not. Once authorities specifically looked for *the delinquent boy* and *the sexually deviant girl*, reality ruined their illusions. Discussions about youth had led to the construction of a perceived and exaggerated threat that did simply not exist to the extent imagined.

As the German economy lurched towards recovery, a modicum of normalcy returned to the streets of Munich, and the threat of male and female delinquency faded from view. In June 1948, the Deutsche Mark replaced the virtually worthless Reichsmark, and economic conditions began to improve. With a stable currency, traditional businesses were able to fulfill the needs of the local population, and the black market slowly disappeared along with its supposed youthful facilitators. Whereas this economic shift marked only the beginning of recovery and unprecedented postwar progress, it was sufficient to push *the delinquent boy* and *the sexually deviant girl* as symbols of disorder out of the limelight by 1949. Like his supposed home, the black market located amongst ruins and rubble, he disappeared almost overnight;<sup>117</sup> she similarly vanished once American presence and authority dwindled in Munich and beyond.

Until that point local officials and U.S. authorities had widely employed fear over juvenile delinquency to control society. Deemed as a threat to recovery, officials hastened the rebuilding process of institutions, expanded measures to control society, and employed large-scale raids against numerous abnormal behaviors. The need to recover often became a pretense for broad actions and a constant justification to

move forward against those unable or unwilling to conform. In the end, such choices shaped Munich as it slowly came of age. While discussions about youth thus became a microcosm for broader debates, references to societal fears turned out to be valuable tools of social control. The connection between constructing and controlling played out during the crisis years and onto the backs of the young. Some adult contemporaries had clearly benefited from the existence of both images. As demonstrated in this section, the emerging postwar liberal state remained wedded to highly conservative notions of governance and wanted to control those who refused to conform. To achieve that it relied on a broad postwar consensus that portrayed a society in disorder. Pointing to *the delinquent boy* and *the sexually deviant girl* became one beneficial route to normalization because it justified intrusive, interventionist measures. This approach seemed successful given that postwar destitution left the actual young little room to contribute to discussions framing and defining youth.

On a broader level, the crisis years remain an almost mythical period in German history. Most historians describe these rubble years simply as an interlude or new beginning; popular conceptions embedded within Germany's collective memory frame a heroic story. The latter reading became apparent when the Federal Republic turned sixty in 2009. As portrayed by various popular magazines, West Germany's postwar history—unlike the history of East Germany—was a Cinderella story: rising out of the ashes, hard-working and disciplined Germans overcame many odds.<sup>118</sup> They cleared the rubble and rebuilt cities, thus setting the stage for unprecedented economic recovery in the 1950s. As outlined throughout part I, prominent symbols like the *Trümmerfrau* personified this storyline, and eventually trumped other recollections of the crisis years. *The delinquent boy* and *the sexually deviant girl* ultimately disappeared from Germany's memory.

A focus on social constructions of youth helps complicate these interpretations. In fact, it becomes apparent that the year 1945 was not a new beginning, especially for the young. Whereas new opportunities emerged due to the arrival of the Americans, young people were still not only picked up when misbehaving but also when actually or supposedly deviating from very traditional norms. Many were sent to camps, which were at least partially reminiscent of detention facilities during the Nazi period and the war; they were also similar to setups in East Germany, a fact that simply did not fit into understandings of a new, liberal, and democratic West Germany, defined by the adult image of the hard-working *Trümmerfrau*.

## Notes

1. "Bayerische Probleme: Jugend-Ernährung-Export," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 13 September 1946.
2. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 278.
3. Reithmeier, *Verwahrlosung und Kriminalität der Jugendlichen*, 21.
4. James F. Tent, *Mission on the Rhine: Reeducation and Denazification in American-Occupied Germany* (Chicago, 1982), 3.
5. Pfister, *Das Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs*, 167.
6. Local reports from Munich refer only to a couple of instances potentially involving Werwolf activities. *Ibid.*, 309. See also: Herbert Schott, "Gefahr für die Demokratie? Die Angst der Amerikaner vor Edelweisspiraten und Werwölfen in Bayern 1945/46," 595–607, in *Ingolstadt im Nationalsozialismus: Eine Studie*, ed. Stadtarchiv Ingolstadt (Ingolstadt, 1995).
7. Selig et al., eds., *Chronik der Stadt München*, 43.
8. For discussions in France see namely: Roberts, "The Price of Discretion."
9. Hillel, *Invasion der Be-freier*, 187.
10. Annette Timm, "'Think It Over!'—Soldiers, Veronikas and Venereal Diseases in Occupied Berlin," 50–56, here 53, in *Es begann mit einem Kuss: Deutsch-alliierte Beziehungen nach 1945*, ed. Florian Weiss (Berlin, 2005).
11. James Synder, *The Establishment and Operations of the United States Constabulary*, 3 (October 1945–June 1947). Historical Sub-Section—United States Constabulary, 1947, 168, quoted in Kleinschmidt, *Do Not Fraternize*, 194.
12. "Bekämpfung von Geschlechtskrankheiten," *Der Münchner Stadtanzeiger*, 16 January 1946.
13. The city of Munich set up the German hospital. It was located in the former Hansaheim. See: Selig et al., *Chronik der Stadt München*, 69.
14. Petra Goedde, "From Villains to Victims: Fraternization and the Feminization of Germany, 1945–1947," *Diplomatic History* 23, no. 1 (1999): 1–20, here 13.
15. On relapses (*Rückfälle*) due to an easy cure see: Zahner, *Jugendfürsorge in Bayern*, 57–58. See also Allan Brandt, *No Magic Bullet: A Social History of Venereal Disease in the United States since 1880* (Oxford, 1987), 161–82.
16. Gesetz zur Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten, Reichsgesetzblatt 1, 1927, 61.
17. Kurt Holm, *Die Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten in Hamburg: Erfahrungen seit dem Inkrafttreten des neuen Gesetzes am 1. Oktober 1927* (Berlin, 1933), 1. See also Michaela Freund-Widder, *Frauen unter Kontrolle: Prostitution und ihre staatliche Bekämpfung in Hamburg vom Ende des Kaiserreichs bis zu den Anfängen der Bundesrepublik* (Münster, 2003), 81–82.
18. Gesetz zur Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten, Reichsgesetzblatt 1, 1927, 61.
19. Schroer, *Recasting Race after WWII*, 98.
20. Herzog, *Sex After Fascism*, 93 and 94. See also: "Eine Million Delike," *Der Spiegel*, 29 November 1950; Wilhelm Ellinghaus, "Verfassungsmässigkeit des Paragraphen 175 RsTGB," *Kriminalistik* 8, no. 3 (1954): 61–63.



21. Such locations included, for instance, the German Museum (Deutsches Museum), the train station in Pasing (a quarter of Munich), streets like the Hirtenstraße, and the temporary facility for displaced persons in the Simmernschule school. Fuchs, "Zucker, wer hat? Öl, wer kauft?," 115.
22. Ibid., 113. See also: Rümelin, Hans, ed., *So lebten wir...ein Querschnitt durch 1947* (Stuttgart, 1997), 7. In one part of town black marketeers even set up their own bike patrol and warning system. See: Fuchs, "Zucker, wer hat? Öl, wer kauft?," 115.
23. StadtAM, BUR 1722, quoted in Fuchs, "Zucker, wer hat? Öl, wer kauft?," 116.
24. Hans Wacker, "Münchner Kommunalpolitik nach 1945: Nachlaßverwaltung oder demokratische Erneuerung?" 39–59, here 55, in *Trümmerzeit in München*.
25. Falter, *Chronik des Polizeipräsidiums München*, 98.
26. Selig, et al., *Chronik der Stadt München*, 92. See also: Obermaier and Maurerer, *Aus Trümmern wächst das neue Leben*, 73.
27. Gesetz zur Bekämpfung des Schwarzmarktes, Obermaier and Maurerer, *Aus Trümmern wächst das neue Leben*, 73.
28. Selig et al., *Chronik der Stadt München*, 92. The time period for these arrests was 1 September to 19 October.
29. Ibid., 31. See also: Dollinger, *München im 20. Jahrhundert*, 172–73.
30. Selig et al., *Chronik der Stadt München*, 23. See also: Winfried Müller, *Schulpolitik in Bayern im Spannungsfeld von Kultusbürokratie und Besatzungsmacht, 1945–1949* (Munich, 1995), 88–89; Karl-Ernst Bungenstab, *Umerziehung zur Demokratie! Re-education-Politik im Bildungswesen der US-Zone 1945–1949* (Düsseldorf, 1970); Max Liedtke, ed., *Handbuch der Geschichte des Bayerischen Bildungswesens, Volume 3: Geschichte der Schule in Bayern: Von 1918–1990* (Bad Heilbrunn, 1997).
31. Until 3 May 1947, U.S. officials seized 1,700 buildings within Munich's city limits. Beyond that point, an authorization from the headquarters in Frankfurt am Main was necessary. Selig et al., *Chronik der Stadt München*, 262. Attempts to avoid or protest against ongoing confiscations achieved little. See, for instance: StadtAM, Schulamt 8366.
32. Tent, *Mission on the Rhine*, 111.
33. Directive to Commander-in-Chief of United States Forces of Occupation Regarding the Military Government of Germany; April 1945 (JCS 1067), accessible at <http://usa.usembassy.de/etexts/ga3-450426.pdf>, [last accessed 27 February 2015]. See also: John Gimbel, *The American Occupation of Germany. Politics and Military 1945–1949* (Stanford, 1968), 2.
34. The USEFET directive was released on 7 August 1945. See: Leonhard Froese and Viktor von Blumenthal, *Bildungspolitik und Bildungsreform: Amtliche Texte und Dokumente zur Bildungspolitik im Deutschland der Besatzungszonen, der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik* (Munich, 1969), 75–83.
35. StadtAM, Schulamt 8005, quoted in Müller, *Schulpolitik in Bayern*, 57. See also: Jürgen Fleischer-Schumann, *Das Bildungs- und Erziehungswesen in München 1945–1976: Die Ära Anton Fingerle* (Munich, 1987), 9–15.
36. Müller, *Schulpolitik in Bayern*, 89.

37. StadtAM, Schulamt 8366.
38. On 3 September 1945 registration for school year 1945/46 began, including all between six and fourteen years of age. Selig et al, *Chronik der Stadt München*, 74. On 4 October 1945, all institutions like Oberschulen for girls resumed. *Ibid.*, 86. On 26 January 1946, there were seventy-seven *Volkschulen*, eight *Hilfsschulen*, and one *Schwerbehinderten Schule* in Munich; these broke down into 1,157 classes with a total of 54,290 students. See StadtAM, Schulamt 8353. See also: Fleischer-Schumann, *Das Bildungs- und Erziehungswesen in München*, 9–15.
39. StadtAM, Schulamt 8353.
40. BayHStAM, MK 61318, referenced in Müller, *Schulpolitik in Bayern*, 92.
41. StadtAM, Schulamt 8366. See also: Anton Fingerle, "Zur Schulreform in Deutschland," *Europa Archiv* 1 (1946): 303–7.
42. BayHStAM, MK 61318, referenced in Müller, *Schulpolitik in Bayern*, 92. See also: Landeshauptstadt München, ed., *Zur Geschichte der Erziehung in München: Lesebuch zur Geschichte des Münchner Alltags. Geschichtswettbewerb 1997/98* (Munich, 2001); Fleischer-Schumann, *Das Bildungs- und Erziehungswesen in München*.
43. Christine Pelkofer, "Rückkehr in die zerstörte Stadt," 160, in *Jugendbilder*. See also: Johannes Timmermann, "Schule und Jugend in der Trümmerzeit," 168–72, here 169, in *Trümmerzeit in München*.
44. Josefa Halbinger, *Josefa Halbinger, Jahrgang 1900: Lebensgeschichte eines Münchner Arbeiterkindes*, ed. Carlamaria Heim, 2 ed (Munich, 1990), 110.
45. StadtAM, Schulamt 8353. See also: StadtAM, Schulamt, 8366.
46. StadtAM, Schulamt 8353.
47. "Schule auf neuen Wegen," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 11 October 1945; "Tröstliche Jugend," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 9 November 1945.
48. See, for example: Wacker, "Münchner Kommunalpolitik nach 1945: Nachlaßverwaltung oder demokratische Erneuerung?, 39–59, in *Trümmerzeit in München*; Fleischer-Schumann, *Das Bildungs- und Erziehungswesen in München*; StadtAM, Schulamt 8353; StadtAM, Schulamt 8009; StadtAM, Schulamt 8604; StadtAM, Schulamt 8359.
49. See, for instance: Heinz Hürten, ed., *Akten Kardinal Michael von Faulhabers: III 1945–1952* (Paderborn, 2002).
50. Tent, *Mission on the Rhine*, 110–63.
51. "Fortschritt im Schulwesen," *Die Neue Zeitung*, 18 October 1945.
52. Referenced in Karl-Heinz Füssl, *Die Umerziehung der Deutschen: Jugend und Schule unter den Siegermächten des Zweiten Weltkriegs, 1945–1955* (Paderborn, 1994), 100.
53. George F. Zook (President of the American Council on Education) was the chairman of the Education Mission to Germany. George F. Zook, *Report of the United States Education Mission to Germany* (Washington, DC, 1946), 33. See also: Tent, *Mission on the Rhine*, 115–18.
54. Josef Hederer, interview by author, tape recording, Munich, 5 August 2009.
55. Erzbischöfliches Jugendamt München und Freising, ed., *Talente. Aufbruch. Leben: Das Erzbischöfliche Jugendamt München und Freising seit 1938* (Munich, 2005), 24.

56. United States Army, Europe, ed., *The U.S. Armed Forces German Youth Activities Program 1945–1955* (United States Army, Headquarters Europe, 1956), 6.
57. Andreas Dornheim, *Forever Young? Jugendarbeit im Kreisjugendring München-Stadt von 1945–2000* (Munich, 2004), 99. See also: StadtAM, Schulamt 6628.
58. Armin Ganser, ed., *Zwanzig Jahre Bayerischer Jugendring: Ideengeschichte und Dokumentation; ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Jugendarbeit nach 1945* (Munich, 1966); StadtAM Kreisjugendring; Arthur Bader, ed., *20 Jahre Kreisjugend München-Stadt 1946–1966* (Munich, 1966); Klaus Dittrich, ed., *I hob a Loch im Balkon! Geschichten vom Kreisjugendring München-Stadt, 1946–1986* (Munich, 1986).
59. United States Army, Europe, ed., *The U.S. Armed Forces German Youth Activities Program*, 4. See also: Institut für Zeitgeschichte Munich (IfZM), OMGUS 5/295–3/2–7; U.S. Military Army Institute, Carlisle, PA, MHI Catalogue, D802.A1 1945–46 G47 1947 (German Youth Activities, Occupation in Europe Series 1945–1946) and D802.A1 1946–47 G47 1948 (German Youth Activities of the U.S. Army 1 July 1946–30 June 1947); United States Army, ed., *German Youth Activities Army Assistance Program Guide* ([Unknown], 1948).
60. See namely the local newspaper publication *The Munich American*.
61. U.S. Military Army Institute, Carlisle, PA, MHI Catalogue, D802.A1 1945–46 G47 1947 (German Youth Activities, Occupation in Europe Series 1945–1946, 3).
62. United States Army, Europe, *The U.S. Armed Forces German Youth Activities Program*, 2.
63. Zahner, *Jugendfürsorge in Bayern*, 77. See also: Kleinschmidt, *Do Not Fraternize*, 206.
64. Kellermann, *The Present Status of German Youth*, 15. See also: *ibid.*, 17.
65. Glaser, *Rubble Years*, 158; Wagner, *Jugendliche Lebenswelten nach 1945*, 58.
66. Josef Hederer, interviews by author; tape recording, Munich, 5 August 2009, 12 August 2009, and 14 July 2010. Josef Hederer (\*1927) worked for the GYA in Munich shortly after the war. He experienced ongoing debates first hand. See also: Glaser, *Rubble Years*, 158.
67. “Die Jugend,” *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 12 November 1946; “Ausbau der Jugendorganisationen,” *Die Neue Zeitung*, 4 January 1946; “Haushaltsjahr für junge Mädchen,” *Die Neue Zeitung*, 11 January 1946; U.S. Military Army Institute, Carlisle, PA, MHI Catalogue, D802.A1 1946–47 G47 1948 (German Youth Activities of the U.S. Army 1 July 1946–30 June 1947, 96); Goedde, *GIs and Germans*, 153–56.
68. Alf Lüdtke, Inge Marssolek, and Adelheid von Saldern, eds., *Amerikanisierung: Traum und Alptraum im Deutschland des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1996), 11–13; Michael Ermarth, ed., *America and the Shaping of German Society, 1945–1955* (Oxford, 1993); Eberhard Schütz, “Nach dem Entkommen, vor dem Ankommen: Eine Einführung,” 1–139, here 119, in *Handbuch Nachkriegskultur*.
69. Landeshauptstadt München, *Ein Neuer Anfang im Wohlfahrts-, Jugend- und Gesundheitswesen*, 53. Karl-Heinz Füssl names three main problems

- for the Youth Welfare Office: (1) youth from the Soviet sector; (2) wandering youth; (3) youth over eighteen unwilling to work. Füssli, *Die Umerziehung der Deutschen*, 104. See also: Zahner, *Jugendfürsorge in Bayern*.
70. United States Army, Europe, *The U.S. Armed Forces German Youth Activities Program 1945–1955*, 2.
71. Landeshauptstadt München, *Ein Neuer Anfang im Wohlfahrts-, Jugend- und Gesundheitswesen*, 27.
72. Zahner, *Jugendfürsorge in Bayern*, 97. See also: Kenkmann, *Wilde Jugend*, 353–54.
73. The Bavarian Welfare Office Law (*Bayerische Jugendamtsgesetz*, BayJAG) influenced administrative structures as well but did not play a key role. The Reich Youth Welfare Law (*Reichswohlfahrtsgesetz*, RJWG) was passed on 14 June 1922, and became law on 1 April 1924. See, for example: Gerhard Potrykus, ed., *Jugendwohlfahrtsgesetz nebst Ausführungsgesetzen und Ausführungsvorschriften der deutschen Länder* (Munich, 1972), 1–3; Benno Hafener, *Jugendarbeit als Beruf: Geschichte einer Profession in Deutschland* (Opladen, 1992), 14; Robert Sauter, ed., *75 Jahre Reichswohlfahrtsgesetz. Jugendhilfe zwischen Ordnungsrecht und Sozialpädagogik* (Munich, 1999). For the situation in Munich see namely: BayHStAM, Staatskanzlei 13776; Landeshauptstadt München, *Ein Neuer Anfang im Wohlfahrts-, Jugend- und Gesundheitswesen*, 27; Zahner, *Jugendfürsorge in Bayern*, 24–29.
74. Zahner, *Jugendfürsorge in Bayern*, 98–110; Robert Havighurst, *Report on Germany* (New York, 1947), 84.
75. StadtAM, Bürgermeister & Rat 2551. See also: *Bericht des Stadtjugendamtes München über die 'Derzeitige Arbeitslage im Stadtjugendamt,'* quoted in Zahner, *Jugendfürsorge in Bayern*, 84.
76. *Plan über die ergriffenen und zu ergreifenden Maßnahmen zur Behandlung der Jugend zwischen 15 und 22 Jahren*, BayHStA Munich, Staatskanzlei 13776.
77. The content of the ordinances did not change: Ordinance no. 73 (homeless juveniles); Ordinance no. 74 (demoralized girls and women); Ordinance no. 75 (measures against youth up to the age of twenty-five).
78. Selig et al., *Chronik der Stadt München*, 286.
79. BayHStAM, Ministerium des Inneren 92075. The U.S. military government even called for the stricter application of these ordinances: Zahner, *Jugendfürsorge in Bayern*, 63–64.
80. BayHStAM, Ministerium des Inneren 92075.
81. “Salonfähige Mädchen: Pässe für girl-friends,” *Der Spiegel*, 15 February 1947.
82. “Junge Vagabunden werden erzogen,” *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 8 February 1947.
83. See, for example: “Eine Möglichkeit für junge Menschen,” *Münchener Zeitung*, 9 July 1946; “Dörfer für heimatlose Kinder,” *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 12 June 1946; “Ohne Schloss und Riegel,” *Der Pinguin*, no. 7 (1946).
84. Selig et al., *Chronik der Stadt München*, 286.
85. *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, quoted in *ibid.*, 287.
86. Zahner, *Jugendfürsorge in Bayern*, 58–59.
87. Biddiscombe, “Dangerous Liaisons,” 626 and 618–20.
88. Zahner, *Jugendfürsorge in Bayern*, 63–64 and 60.

89. OMGUS Public Health and Welfare Branch and Chief of Staff, "Control Fraternization: Memorandum for Record," 29 August 1946, in NA, RG 260 OMGUS 1945-46-15/1,2 of 3.), quoted in Kleinschmidt, *Do Not Fraternize*, 193.
90. "Junge Vagabunden werden erzogen," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 8 February 1947.
91. Wacker, "Münchner Kommunalpolitik nach 1945: Nachlaßverwaltung oder demokratische Erneuerung?" in Prinz, ed., *Trümmerzeit in München*, 39-59, here 56. Franz Pitzer repeatedly called for stricter reactions. See: StadtAM, Ratsitzungsprotokolle 719/1 Stadtrat-Plenum (26 March 1946), 181; StadtAM, Ratsitzungsprotokolle 702/2, Stadtrat-Plenum (9 September 1947), 1923ff; Franz Kotteder, ed., *Der Krieg ist aus: Erinnern in München nach 1945* (Munich, 2005), 122.
92. "Was ist zu tun?" *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 31 May 1947.
93. "Ordnung und Sicherheit in München: Ein Notschrei des Münchner Polizeipräsidenten," *Der Münchner Stadtanzeiger*, 21 May 1947.
94. BayHStAM, Staatskanzlei 13776.
95. *Ibid.*
96. *Ibid.*
97. StadtAM, Ratsitzungsprotokolle 720/2, Stadtrat-Plenum (9 September 1947), 1924f, quoted in Wacker, "Münchner Kommunalpolitik nach 1945: Nachlaßverwaltung oder demokratische Erneuerung?" in Prinz, ed., *Trümmerzeit in München*, 55.
98. The Bavarian state representative questioning the ordinances was liberal-democrat Fritz Linnert (FDP).
99. Paragraph 3 of the Bavarian constitution read: "The youth needs to be protected against exploitation as well as moral, mental, and physical delinquency with the help of state and municipal measures and institutions. Welfare education [*Fürsorgeerziehung*] is only allowed if grounded in a legal foundation." See: *Die Bayerische Verfassung*, December 1946.
100. BayHStAM, Staatskanzlei 113776.
101. Zahner, *Jugendfürsorge in Bayern*, 113.
102. Evans, *Life Among the Ruins*, 173. See also: Mörchen, "'Echte Kriminelle' und 'zeitbedingte Rechtsbrecher.'"
103. "Razzia auf Jugendliche," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 30 September 1947. See also: Zahner, *Jugendfürsorge in Bayern*, 111.
104. "Der 'gesäuberte' Hauptbahnhof," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 13 September 1947.
105. "Eine Frau für heute Abend: Mekka der Unterwelt," *Der Spiegel*, 20 September 1947.
106. StadtAM, RA (Polizeiakten) Nr. 77.673 (15 October 1947), quoted in Zahner, *Jugendfürsorge in Bayern*, 114. See also: Selig et al., *Chronik der Stadt München*, 310. Five large-scale raids and thirty-five smaller raids are noted in the police chronicle: Falter, *Chronik des Polizeipräsidiiums München*, 105.
107. BayHStAM, Office of the Military Government Bavaria (OMGB) 10/114-2/10 (November 10, 1947), quoted in Zahner, *Jugendfürsorge in Bayern*, 114.

108. "Große Jagd auf kleine Streuner," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 31 October 1947.
109. Ibid. See also: "Siedlung für heimatlose Jugendliche," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 10 October 1947.
110. "Gericht," *Der Pinguin*, no. 9. (1947).
111. Landeshauptstadt München, *Ein Neuer Anfang im Wohlfahrts-, Jugend- und Gesundheitswesen*, 27. Youngsters also repeatedly escaped from more rural institutions like the Herzogsmühle in Upper Bavaria. See: Zahner, *Jugendfürsorge in Bayern*, 116.
112. "Große Jagd auf kleine Streuner," *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 31 October 1947.
113. Selig et al., *Chronik der Stadt München*, 301.
114. BayHStAM, Staatskanzlei 13776. 529 individuals came from Upper Bavaria. BayHStAM, Staatskanzlei 13776. See also: BayHStAM, OMGB 10/114–2/10, quoted in Zahner, *Jugendfürsorge in Bayern*, 115. For the age group older than eighteen authorities arrested 180 males and 208 females in Upper Bavaria; for the age group under eighteen years of age they caught fifty-four males and ninety-two females. StAM, RA Nr. 77.673, quoted in *ibid.*, 114. For numbers on Munich see: StaAM, RA Nr. 77.673, quoted in *ibid.*, 117.
115. BayHStAM, OMG 10/114–2/10, quoted in *ibid.*
116. StaAM, Polizeipräsidium Oberbayern Nr. 63, quoted in *ibid.*
117. Maximilian Lanzinner, *Zwischen Sternenbanner und Bundesadler: Bayern im Wiederaufbau 1945–1958* (Regensburg, 1996), 179–80.
118. "Ein Deutsches Wunder: Sechzig Jahre Bundesrepublik," *Der Spiegel Geschichte*, no. 2 (2009); "60 Jahre Bundesrepublik: Eine opulente Zeitreise von 1949–2009," *Der Stern Extra*, no. 1 (2009). See also: the popular history shows on German television and in writing, most notably presented by Guido Knopp: Guido Knopp, prod., *Die großen Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts 1900–1999* (Grünwald, 2000); Guido Knopp, *Unser Jahrhundert: Deutsche Schicksalstage* (Munich, 2000).