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There's No Riot Going on – Social Changes from Inside Out. Discourses Surrounding Pop Culture, Authenticity, and Forms of Life in the School Context in the German-speaking Part of Switzerland around 1968

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Abstract This article shows that social change at the end of the 1960s cannot be understood only in terms of large protest movements, but also on a small scale, as in the case studies analysed here, where the mostly unspoken “moral force of the ideal of authenticity” (Taylor, 1991, p. 17) is expressed by a wide variety of actors. Using two case studies from the school context and with pop culture references, the paper examines how the rebellious practices often described as typical of teenagers around 1968 were present not only

among adolescents, but also among young adults – and among young teachers. The boundaries and transitions between young and old, between rejection and acceptance of different practices and forms of life (Jaeggi, 2014) seem to be fluid. Practices in the school context and the forms of life of young people are not always clearly distinguishable from the forms of life of young adults. Forms of life and everyday practices – based on insignia from music, from the world of comics, from fashion – were just as influential for the individual as loud protest movements against the “establishment”.

Keywords 1968 movement, pop music, comics, school discourses, cultural practices, authenticity, forms of life, trashy literature, intergenerational relationship

1. Introduction

The year 1968 has already been described as a “myth, cipher and caesura” (Kraushaar, 2000), the 1968 movement as a “chimera” (Tanner, 1998, p. 207). More than any other in recent history, the year is considered as a social and generational culmination, even if not the cause, of political and socio-cultural processes (Scharloth, 2011, p. 46). There were student riots or protests against the Vietnam War, but also the flower power movement and related pop cultural phenomena, new sexual, spiritual and substance-related experiences. In this broad keyword dropping, two particularities are easily lost from sight.

On the one hand, the historical view of the macro level could somewhat obscure the view of the micro level: How did social changes manifest themselves on a small scale, in everyday life, in everyday practices? On the other hand, the 1968 movements are often equated with youth movements, with youth and youthfulness, without determining more precisely who is classified as a “youthful” actor.

This article takes a historical look at schools, students and teachers in the period around 1968, referring to pop cultural phenomena such as beat music or comic reading, as discussed in magazines and newspapers. Especially in connection with concrete practices, such as music listening or reading, young adults or young teachers are little researched. It is interesting, for example, to focus – like in this article – on discourses in certain journals or learning materials.

We will first look at some concepts such as authenticity or youthfulness as part of Late modernity. Based on this, the research question and the research method are presented. Thirdly, two case studies will be used to show how this period can be analysed discursively in the Swiss-German school context and in relation to pop cultural phenomena. A conclusion and further thoughts will finalise the text.

2. “1968” Embedded within the Swiss-German School Context in the Mirror of Pop Culture and Youth Movements – Question and Research Method

The 1968s in local Switzerland cannot be understood without a contextualised global view. Protests against the Vietnam War and against other wars, against the establishment, were also brought to the streets in Switzerland by mainly young people. Subcultural scenes and a counterculture of music, literature and art were widespread in the country (Skenderovic & Späti, 2021, pp. 5–10):

“‘1968’, however, was a much broader phenomenon, often perceived by the public through small, localised events, but manifesting itself much more in everyday cultural phenomena, social manners or simply in new sounds from the transistor radio or more colourful fashion” (ibid., p. 5).

Especially in the period examined here with the well-known global events, the historical examination of everyday practices is interesting (cf. Haasis & Rieske, 2015; Hoffmann-Ocon, De Vincenti & Grube, 2020), because “social change can no longer be found only in macrostructures [...], but also in the ‘soft’ area of cultural practices” (Geisthövel, 2014, p. 179).

In the 1960s, it can be observed among young people that due to the economic boom and social upheavals, a new kind of enjoyment of life and consumer culture was favoured, mixed with an interest in social problems and politics (Siegfried, 2022, p. 9; Scharloth, 2011, p. 46). The change in expressive forms, which can be seen for example in leisure time, fashion and musical taste, could be understood as a “change in the cultural habitus in everyday dealings with popular arts” (Maase, 2003, p. 11). Angelika Linke, germanist at the University of Zurich, has shown in terms of spatial and body theory that expressive forms manifest themselves over time in different social groups through specific “body programmatic”. For example, among the 1968s, a new kind of sitting (“sit-ins”) or a kind of “active lying down” (e.g., as disruptive

actions at anti-nuclear demonstrations) marked distance from the bourgeois understanding of the body. Towards the end of the 18th century, the bourgeois middle class, in turn, distanced itself through self-defined serious, self-controlled, natural, authentic body codes against those of the aristocracy, which were seen as superficial, affected, theatrical appearances (cf. Linke, 2017).

Besides the historical perspective, the embedding of the 1968s in the intellectual history of modernity is helpful. With the Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor, one could say that despite the secularisation in modernity the search for a moral horizon, for a culture of self-fulfilment and for authenticity, comes not only from rebellious teenagers, young people or a left-alternative scene. The question of the “real”, “natural” life, of being true to oneself, questions of inner engagement as a longing for authenticity as a central malaise in modernity, comes from both young people and adults.¹ The expressive image of one self is closely linked to the question of one’s own identity. The desire for authenticity was not only expressed by the bourgeoisie or a certain generation, but seems to have endured as an insignia of modernity across generations and ideological world views. Thus, in the 1960s, “the ideal of authenticity helped inspire consumer society” (Reichardt, 2014, p. 64). According to Taylor, the worry about individuality intensified in the 1960s, but as described above, he sees the origin of this worry not in the 1960s, but rather in the Enlightenment and Romanticism at the end of the 18th century.² Together with the historical view of the 1968s,

1 Taylor identifies three malaises for modernity: The first source of worry is individualism (“People no longer have a sense of a higher purpose“ [Taylor, 1991, p. 4]). The second concern is what he calls the instrumental reason (It “makes us believe that we should seek technological solutions even when something very different is called for” [ibid., p. 6]). The third worry relates to the loss of freedom (“What is threatened here is our dignity as citizens. [...] the loss of political liberty would mean that even the choices left would no longer be made by ourselves as citizens, but by irresponsible tutelary power” [ibid.]).

2 “Only now the source we have to connect with is deep in us. This is part of the massive subjective turn of modern culture, a new form of inwardness, in which we come to think of ourselves as beings with inner depths” (ibid., 26).

Taylor's philosophical-historical perspective helps to put an argumentative and categorical order within the social practices.³

The considerations made so far fit the subject of this article: pop-cultural buzz in the context of schools, pupils and teachers at the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s. The handling with everyday objects and the practices that emerged – especially with a focus on pop cultural practices and insignia around music, clothing, magazines, codes of language and manners – were just as formative for life as large-scale and loud protest movements against the “system” or the “establishment”. The worries about a modern self, the anti-attitude towards the establishment and the will to oppose is seen as formative for “the self-understanding of the rebellious generation“ (Tanner, 1998, p. 207) as the well known 1968 movements.⁴ It seems that with the empowerment

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- 3 Paraphrasing the sociologist Eva Illouz, who in her analysis refers primarily to psychoanalysis, one could say that the idea of authenticity is one of “the most successful ideas” of our time (Illouz, 2008, p. 20). In this process, they have to fulfil three conditions: “They must ‘somehow’ fit social structure, that is, make sense of actors’ social experience [...]; they must provide guidance about uncertain or conflict-ridden areas of social conduct [...]; and they must be institutionalized and circulated in social networks” (ibid.). This in turn fits with the widespread idea of authenticity described by Taylor, according to which the conviction that one must follow one’s own voice is widespread in Modernity (cf. also Reichenbach, 2018, p. 70).
- 4 The macro-sociological, categorical perspective is noticeable in the description of youth and youth cultures (“youth” as a separate phase of the search for identity; as rebellion against the adult world or authorities; in the wake of Americanisation; influenced by changes in leisure behaviour, demographics, and economics [Baacke, 2007; 2009; Hurrelmann, 2020]). When past social groups are described, one is used to think of them in terms of generations. In Germany, for example, they are frequently divided into the “war youth generation, ‘45, ‘68, ‘89” (Seegers, 2014, p. 81), or one thinks of the hippies and thinks of the Woodstock festival, which by its sheer size and charisma in the late summer of 1967 burned itself into the collective memory as a socio-political, but also as a central cultural event that somehow seems to be linked to the ‘68 generation (Williams, 1998). In this context, it is remarkable that the generational category is historiographically thought of as a political category overall. When the sociologist Ueli Mäder publishes a book entitled *68 – was bleibt?* [68 – what will remain?] (Mäder, 2018), the social protests described therein are designed as a movement of ‘68 that appears homogeneous

of humanistic psychology, authenticity and naturalness become more important in teacher education or teacher further training in Switzerland, too (cf. Bascio, 2022).

Before saying anything about the two cases and the research method, I would like to make two clarifications.

First, when we speak of youth rebellion, or student riots, it seems clear that young people are meant behind these keywords. But whom does “youth” include? Historian Rahel Bühler describes the term “youth” as polymorphic because it can be understood legally (“age of majority”), physiologically (“sexual maturity”) or “as a projection surface for certain cultural phenomena or cultural styles” (Bühler, 2019, p. 15). The media transformation to mass media (television, magazines, music) has not only influenced youth practices, but the perception of what can be seen as youth, too. In his study on the consumption and politics of West German youth culture in the 1960s, historian Detlef Siegfried includes 14–25 year-olds among his research subjects and reminds us that the German magazine *Twen* (1959–1971), for example, was a “print medium for better educated and a little older youth” (Siegfried, 2022, p. 11). The subcultural, creative “tribal magazine” (“Sippenzeitschrift”) *Hotcha!*, published by the writer, performance artist and editor Urban Gwerder in Zurich, also addressed the over 20s (upwards: no age limit).⁵

Secondly, it is not only the amorphous and heterogeneous understanding of youth that is important but also the understanding of pop culture or pop cultural practices and topics within the context of school.

in the collective perception even though the author himself writes that the movement had “a prehistory” and was “heterogeneous” (ibid., p. 15).

- 5 Before Gwerder founded the magazine and became known in the German-speaking part of Switzerland through his performances and poetry publications, he wanted to become a primary school teacher in Zurich. When he published his first poetry collection at the age of 17, he was studying at a teacher training seminar and had already become father, which is why he was expelled from school by the director “on moral reasons” (Nigg, 2008, p. 401). Thanks to its connection to the subcultural network *Underground Press Syndicate* (UPS), *Hotcha!* could exchange articles free of charge and Zurich became the first “benchmark for the American subculture” (Wecker, 2020, p. 235).

“Pop” could be viewed from the perspective of a critique of culture, consumption, and capitalism (“Kulturindustrie”), as in the *Frankfurter Schule* (cf. Adorno, 1973), or from the “vantage point of European educational music” (Büttner, 1997, p. 467). According to the Italian semiologist Umberto Eco, the pop phenomenon brings to light paradoxical and ambiguous circumstances: cultural critics are indignant about vulgar trends in culture and at the same time “socialize” their thoughts by using cultural industrial methods adapted to the masses to sell their paperback book. On the other hand, the “masses” have

“elaborated cultural proposals from below. [...] With mass culture a unique situation has arisen whereby members of the working class consume bourgeois cultural models believing them to be the independent expression of their own class” (Eco, 1994, p. 29).

This wide, even paradoxical, comprehension of pop and pop culture can also be applied not only to culture and texts in general (novels, comics) but also to music. Pop (music) is understood as a “collective term for aesthetic phenomena with mass distribution and the greatest possible interpretative openness” (Mrozek, 2019, p. 21), or “as a complex constellation of sounds, images, actors, media, spatial and temporal regimes whose elements are neither arbitrarily nor deterministically connected with each other” (Mrozek & Geithövel, 2014, p. 19). In this context, pop is not understood as an analytical category, but rather as a source term (cf. Mrozek, 2019, p. 22).

Possible changes around 1968 are to be considered with a critical distance by making journal analyses of contemporary commentaries (cf. Linke, 2017, p. 201) and by reflecting on them in terms of the philosophy of education. In this article the focus is on how pop-cultural and music-specific issues were discussed in the German-speaking part of Switzerland in relation to schools, teachers and pupils by analysing discourses in magazines as historical sources. They do not simply represent realities, but bring out realities at all by regulating what can be said, thought and done (Landwehr, 2009, p. 21). The sources analysed here address, in the broadest sense, musical and pop-cultural themes

of adolescents and young adults from the 1960s to the 1980s, with a focus around 1968, whereby the contexts relate to school. To construct the case studies they are mostly taken from published texts in teacher journals, or from archival material in the field of teacher education. This means that the authors were often teachers themselves or academics.⁶

This article asks how the rebellious positions and anti-attitudes often paraphrased as typical of youth culture (especially in connection with beat or hippie culture) were not only widespread among pupils or adolescents, but also among young teachers or among young adults at all. At the end of the 1960s, some young teachers and young adults were themselves still recipients and consumers of musical cultural goods and considered themselves part of the social group labelled as youth. The boundaries and transitions between young and old, between rejection and acceptance were more fluid than clear-cut. As an important interface of everyday and public life, the school was and is an exciting place of contingent and sometimes conflictual encounters and exchanges for both students and teachers, a place which can be interpreted simultaneously as a “polis idyll” and a “forced establishment” (“Zwangsanstalt”) (Reichenbach, 1998; 2018), where “forms of life” (Jaeggi, 2014) meet in a set of practices. According to German philosopher Rahel Jaeggi, forms of life should be understood as an ensemble of social, normative practices. These are permanent, have a certain “depth”, are shared by many and not just by individuals, and are thus collective entities (cf. *ibid.*, 2014, pp. 77–80).

Everybody has to struggle with adequate answers to different questions, not only to political, social or existential (meaning) questions,

6 On the one hand, issues of different Swiss German journals and teachers' magazines between 1967 and 1970 were analysed. On the other hand, sources from the *Schweizerisches Sozialarchiv* ([SSA] – Swiss Social Archive) between 1960 and 1980 on school politics, school culture and teacher-related issues and sources from the *Archiv Wymann* (Wymann Archive), on a projected music education program from the 1970s to the 1980s were examined. The Wymann Archive is an archive collection within the *Forschungsbibliothek Pestalozzianum* (Pestalozzianum Research Library). Both archives are in Zurich.

but also to “pragmatic questions” concerning everyday life at school or in private:

“Finally, in the wake of the universalisation of cultural modernisation processes, it is assumed that the older generation is also increasingly characterised by modernised orientations, educational attitudes and generational understandings [...] so that sharp conflicts [...] become more and more unnecessary” (Helsper, Kramer, Hummrich & Busse, 2009, p. 31).

The intergenerational overlaps point to the micro changes mentioned above. In the following, the question of how far the handling with everyday objects and the practices that emerged – especially with a focus on pop cultural practices and insignia around music, clothing, magazines, codes of language and manners – were just as formative for life as large-scale and loud protest movements against the “system” or the “establishment”. This will be the subject of the following case studies. After their presentation and analysis, the article ends with a conclusion and further thoughts.

3. Case Studies

3.1 The Young Teacher as a “Beatle” – “Beatle” as a Four-letter-Word, “Young Lifestyle” as a Provocation

Basically, it can be said that surprisingly few of the analysed articles deal with the youth protests, new music developments or possible intergenerational problems in the teachers’ magazines around 1970.

In 1968, the teachers’ journal *Schweizer Schule* (Swiss School), which was widely distributed in the more Catholic-conservative regions of Switzerland, published an article of the about 60-year-old elementary school teacher Max Gross (cf. Oesch, 2012) on the apparently widespread potential for conflict observed between parents and young teachers. He takes the side of the young teachers – which is somewhat surprising in the context of a conservative magazine – by saying that they had not yet found inner peace and thus often changed jobs as teachers. This is regrettable, he writes, but:

“The parents’ displeasure at the young people’s disloyalty tends to overlook the deeper causes and is expressed in certain external appearances: in the seemingly casual or outlandish way they dress, in their beards and long hair, in the way they stand and walk, sit and drive” (Gross, 1968, p. 45).

Gross sees the change in outward form and dress as a positive sign; he explicitly welcomes the disappearance of the darkly dressed “dignified Mr Teacher” (ibid., p. 45), as he says, who keeps the children at a distance. And he underlines that the young teacher’s “individual dress [is] a good sign for the greater emphasis on individual achievement” (ibid., p. 46). He does, however, point out:

“[That parents] fear that unconstrained dress codes and casual attitudes could have an unfavourable influence on the school [...]. Schooling has changed, but generally not to the disadvantage of training, education, and instruction (“Bildung”). When one enters the classroom of a young teacher today, one is usually struck by the pleasant, natural sound of the school” (ibid., p. 46).

Not only does Max Gross use the metaphor of the “natural” here to describe the pleasant “sound” or atmosphere, but the next quote also uses a garden metaphor to argue for the activities of the young generation of teachers:

“Recently I was asked to visit the school of a teacher who was rejected by the village as a Beatle. He was indeed wearing long hair, jeans and a long, loosely hanging pullover. But the young man is a good teacher [...] and over the summer he planted a big garden with the children” (ibid.).

The big garden, the natural sound of the school: An important aspect comes to the foreground here, unspokenly, which especially in the 1960s and 1970s, with the empowerment of humanistic psychology, also gains importance in teacher training: authenticity and naturalness

also in the classroom. We talked about this in the previous chapter and will come back to it in the end.

Ernst Probst, a psychology professor at the University of Basel, also noted in the liberal *Schweizerische Lehrerzeitung* (Swiss Teacher's Magazine) in 1967 that the conversational sound between parents and children had changed. Efforts were being made to better understand the characteristics of young people and to respond to their concerns. But adults, Probst regrets, have begun "to take the clothing and appearance of the young as a role model [and are] proud of it when one attests to their youthful appearance" (Probst, 1967, p. 451) Therefore "a full companionship as it is possible between peers" (ibid., p. 452) cannot develop. Interestingly, Probst also uses the name of the Beatles as a code for the popular music of the time. The change in the tastes of young people could best be shown by the Beatles. The aversion to the establishment, however, was only shown in the wild hairstyles and the "casually worn clothes" (ibid.), says Probst. But there is "nothing revolutionary new [in the music of the Beatles] and nothing ambiguous" (ibid.); on the contrary, he sees "a lot of despondency and a lot of self-pity. Those who are calmer feel that this cult of *Weltschmerz* ('world pain') is sentimentality" (ibid.). From a rather paternalistic point of view, Probst states that it is always better for young people to be carried away by enthusiasm than to show no emotion at all. As an adult you can laugh about it, he reflects.

As we have seen in the examples, "Beatle" or "the Beatles" is used not only as a code for a musical style, but also for the change of young people. The term "young people" in this case both means over 20-year-old teachers and adolescents. The code "Beatle" is used at different times in different magazines, here are some other examples:

With ironic undertone in the liberal teachers' magazine *Schweizerische Lehrerzeitung* in relation to a planned twelve-date US tour of the Beatles for which a sum of several million dollars was offered by an American concert booking company: "Record sum offered for Beatles' USA tour [...]. Calculate how much you should get for your effort and expertise! After all: the Beatles have renounced" ([upi], 1970, p. 26).

As a linguistic didactic example of stylistically bad German language, in the same magazine: “‘My brother told me before I left that I should take a record by the Beatles.’ Better: ‘My brother told me before I left to take a record by the Beatles’” (Gut, 1970, p. 1503).

Again ironically, in the rather conservative *Schweizer Schule*: “I think that it is enough if we know the name [of the Beatles] and that ‘Beatles’ is not a brand of cheese” (Coray-Monn, 1970, p. 246).

Mostly, however, young people are understood as adolescents, which is well expressed, for example, in a special summer issue of the *Schweizer Schule* on “Rebellion der Jugend” [“Rebellious youth”] (Schweizer Schule, 1970). It contains articles by the famous historian Jean Rudolf von Salis and the Rhaeto-Romanic writer Imelda Coray-Monn, among others. The problems of the rebellious youth – in the aftermath of the so-called *Globuskrawalle* [Globus riots] in Zurich in the summer of 1968 – are seen by the Munich professor of pedagogy Erich Wasem, for example, in a “general crisis of values and authority” (Wasem, 1970, p. 239). Ludwig Räber, professor of education in Fribourg and president of the *Gymnasiallehrerverband* (Swiss Advanced Secondary School Teachers’ Association), takes the same line. The young people’s protest is directed against their parents, who no longer listen to the young people, and against institutions such as the school, the church, the military and tax offices. They are seen as representatives of the establishment (Räber, 1970, pp. 241–242). The historian von Salis, however, sees a double contradiction: on the one hand, the young showed “a much more moderate attitude” (Von Salis, 1970, p. 236) compared to student protests abroad, even for the *Globuskrawalle* he shows a certain understanding. On the other hand, a large part of the population showed itself unwilling to deal with young people. The Council of States member Clau Vincenz (from the centre party CVP) warns against “unjustified generalisations” (Vincenz, 1970, p. 247) and against a pessimistic image of youth. It is remarkable that the illustrations across most of the articles resemble the Platonic two-world theory, even if – as in the case of the authors Coray-Monn, von Salis and Vincenz – the interrelationship of the young with the adults is discussed as central and the insecurity of certain adults is underlined.

Very often the facts are discussed on a simple, dualistic level: The world of young people on the one hand, the world of adults on the other.

Interestingly, however, concerns for teenagers also extend to young teachers, and so concerns for teenagers turn out to be concerns for young people in the broadest sense, bringing to light an intergenerational discourse. This must not only be seen as an observed or evoked gap between the generations, but also – and this aspect is interesting at this point – between the generations within the teaching community. In other words, this discourse can be read as a modern concern for the right and good life, reflected not only between young people and adults, but also as an interprofessional discourse between young and established teachers.

The following text extracts can serve as examples of such a larger conflictual, sometimes antinomic discourse between young and older teachers. Once a young teacher writes: “I am a stranger in this school building” ([PEM], 1969, p. 815). And an older teacher responds in a later issue: “In this school building [the young teacher] will remain a stranger” ([EM], 1969, p. 952). Whereupon, in an even later issue, some other young teacher responds to the older colleague, referring to the novice teacher already mentioned: “Why did you not seek a conversation with the younger colleague?” ([MF], 1969, p. 1074).

In addition to these examples in the teachers’ journals, there are many examples in the *Schweizerisches Sozialarchiv* [Swiss Social Archive] of conflicts between young teachers and the school authorities or the municipalities. The source material contains several examples of teachers who had to quit their jobs for various reasons. Some teachers had problems because of their appearance, others were suspended for publicly criticising their school, because they were politically active in their community or because they hung up self-created fantasy pictures in the classroom of a 5th primary school class – based on the children’s fantasy world – and treated avant-garde lyrics by Austrian poet Ernst Jandl in class. The last example was the case of Klaus Lutz, 33 years old at the time, which was the topic of various newspapers in 1973. Although most pupils and parents were enthusiastic about the teacher, the school administration complained about his “intolerable” teaching

style and the Education Department opened disciplinary proceedings against him⁷. Ironically, from 1973 onwards, Lutz began a career as a freelance artist and filmmaker and was known precisely for his self-fabricated creatures – as he already made as a teacher: His “universe was a dense mindscape, full of imaginary creatures and objects, some of them realistically rendered, others more diagrammatic, fantastical, or stylized” (Bartelik, 2012; [Estate of Klaus Lutz]).⁸

3.2 The Danger of Trashy Literature, the Passivity of Record Listening

When reading the sources, it is obvious that therein the supposedly adult world is opposed to the world of the adolescents and the young. But – and this is interesting – the overlap between the generations seems to exist, even if it is rarely discussed. We have already mentioned the magazines *Twen* and *Hotcha!* which were directed at young adults. The journalist and literary critic Willi Winkler emphasises that *Twen* was meant to reach the twenty-year-olds, “all those for whom *Bravo* was too limp and *Der Spiegel* too grown-up” (Winkler, 2019).⁹ *Hotcha!* published illustrated stories or cover pictures by the most famous underground comic artist, Robert Crumb.¹⁰ Independent musicians like Frank Zappa or The Fugs, but also widely recognised and well-known artists like Bob Dylan were regularly featured (cf. [Hotcha!]). In this underground magazine, comic language is mostly used ironically, in an excessive, provocative, aesthetic way, too. From the point of view of

7 Cf. SSA, Ar 49.30.1/49.30.2; ZA 15.6.

8 And so this case is somewhat similar to the Urban Gwerder case mentioned above (cf. footnote 5).

9 *Bravo* is the most popular German teenage magazine (published from the 1950s till today). *Der Spiegel* is a very widespread news magazine from Hamburg, founded two years after the World War II.

10 In 1968, Crumb introduced *Zap Comix*, the first underground comic. Educationalist and comic expert Sylvia Kesper-Biermann reminds us that underground artists like Crumb, with their individual style and identifiable content, “explicitly underlined the subjectivity and authenticity of the single artist” (Kesper-Biermann, 2018, p. 21).

writing and active teachers, it is rather the problematic side that was underlined. Listening to records, reading music magazines or comics was considered by many as an expression of passivity and laziness.

In the German-speaking part of Switzerland, such problems were already discussed in the middle of the 1960s. Some teachers took up the issue to protect children and young people from so-called trashy literature [Schundliteratur] as a cultural struggle and brought it to the public's attention through articles and media campaigns. In 1965, there were two different campaigns of book-burning in Switzerland: the first in Romanshorn (Canton St. Gallen), the second in Brugg (Canton Aargau). They were initiated at different times by two teachers, independently of each other: Max Tobler in Romanshorn and Hans Keller in Brugg (cf. Fischer, 2005; Kreis, 2021). Keller had attracted attention a year earlier in the *Schweizer Lehrerzeitung* with gloomy descriptions of the trashy literature, i.e. of the "shallow romance novels", "horror and terror comics" and youth magazines consumed by young people. He takes an extremely culturally pessimistic view of the whole society as "a victim of this modern plague" and calls on readers to provide ideas to fight "against a powerful enemy" (Keller, 1964, p. 553). Maybe the idea of book burning was inspired through the exchange of ideas with readers. Because of the obvious symbolic parallel to the National Socialist book burnings in the 1930s and because of the media orchestration and the dubious methods of motivating young people to collect books and magazines to burn them, the book burnings were strongly criticised from various parties in 1965 (cf. Kreis 2012, p. 8).

Some years before, a problem is seen in "overstimulation", as Konrad Widmer, later Professor for Pedagogy and Psychology in Zurich, points out:

"Our children and young people get so many acoustic and optical stimuli imposed on them every day that it is impossible for them to handle them all internally, to assimilate them mentally. [...] Film, traffic, commercials, television, magazines, comics and trashy literature flood the child [...]. Concentration disorders, nervousness, shifts in values, decay of language and of writing

are the one consequence; apathy, rejection, luxury neglect are the other” (Widmer, 1961, p. 84).

In the review of the almanac *Das Buch, dein Freund* (The Book, Your Friend), which contains various excerpts from children’s books, it is pointed out that in these stories “one is always confronted with real life, which awakens inner participation” (Brunner, 1965, p. 779), at the same time it is supposed to give children power “to resist the temptations of superficial comics and trashy magazines” (ibid.).

Some people give the responsibility to the teachers and schools. With regard to music the *Schweizerische Lehrerzeitung* states that it is the teacher’s job,

“to lead the young person out of the passivity of the record, radio and television activities, but also to lead him to active musical exercises that has a far more stimulating and enriching effect on his inner life” (Tacchella, 1968, p. 1153).

In a different issue of the same magazine, another author looks at media behaviour in relation to reading:

“The reader becomes more and more superficial. He retreats to the role of the observer. We live in the age of the spectator. People want to be present everywhere as much as possible. At the same time, they want to sit in an armchair and make experiences. For us, being present means being a spectator” (Mathys, 1968, p. 1644).

The concerns of the elderly are not only related to cultural practices, as seen in the quotations, but also to the new technological devices, and assume clear anthropological, ethical dimensions. This shows a citation from the annual report of the Zurich School Synod 1969:

“We should use technology in teaching where it makes sense, where it serves us better than humans. [...] The human being as teacher and educator will maintain his place next to the teaching equipment. Otherwise, our pupils are surrounded by enough technology, often miss human contact and they don’t come into contact with living things” ([Schulsynode des Kantons Zürich], 1969, p. 1456).

In a review of a music guidebook, the author and teacher Roland Fink writes that music is only consumed “from morning to night on the radio [and is perceived by the listener like a] background noise or acoustic drug” (Fink, 1970, p. 481). What is remarkable is the call for parents to make music with their children themselves because music-making begins like all educational work at home, so the author. It is also noticeable that here, too, canned music – radio, tapes, records – is seen as a consumer good and therefore negatively valued. The judgement on reading comics argues in the same direction:

“Evaluation of these ‘comics’? [The comics are] rather harmless [...]. [The] phantasy becomes wasted, [the reader] only passively takes part in the stories. He does not need to engage himself internally, does not need to immerse himself [...]. Possible consequences: a mental spoiling, which can turn into a kind of mental neglect” (Mundwiler, 1970, p. 1349).

The pedagogue Hans Wymann came up with the idea to launch a further training course for teachers or a teaching aid on music education for the secondary school level, in 1972¹¹.¹² A group around Wymann

11 Cf. Archiv Wymann, 137/138.

12 Wymann was the director of the *Pestalozzianum*, an independent institute between university, teacher training and educational administration. “According to its foundation charter, the Pestalozzianum is committed to the promotion of schooling and education as well as Pestalozzi research” (Wymann, 1987, p. 11; on Wymann’s life cf. Horlacher, 2009, p. 229; [PHZH], 2014).

wanted to lead adolescents to music education via blues, jazz, but also with pop and rock music. This was not followed up until 1975, when the author Peter Rusterholz planned publications of teaching materials together with Wymann's institute *Pestalozzianum*. His teaching aids were designed as textbooks with an attractive cover with musicals like *Hair* among others (Rusterholz, 1982a, 1982b). But in the entire exercise book on musical theatre there is no trace of *Hair's* flower power. The teenagers seem to have been misled.

Another teaching material entitled *Musik erleben* [Experiencing Music] (Rusterholz, 1984), shows a teenage girl, in comic style, lying on the floor between two jukeboxes, listening to music. It is assumed that young people listen to music primarily emotionally, e.g. out of anger or because of disappointments. A few pages later, one sees a boy sitting on the floor, leaning against a TV with his eyes closed. He has his headphones plugged into a Walkman on, and there are posters on the wall and music magazines lying around. Above it is an explanation of what a music "fan" is. It argues that a judgement about what someone likes "is not made on the basis of the music, of the listening impression, but externalities play an equally important role in the judgement of music" (ibid., p. 17). Appearances, superficialities – such as clothes, posters, magazines, television – determine musical taste, and not an assumed "musical deepness" that can be gained in classical music. Again the teenager is drawn in a passive and lazy way.

4. Conclusion

Finally, some moments from the sources, that brought unexpected and interesting things to light, should be discussed again, in connection with the theoretical considerations made at the beginning on authenticity or youthfulness as part of Late modernity and with the case studies.

In modernity, not only the economic boom, the social upheavals, the consumer culture with accompanying leisure activities were crucial in the 1960s, but the search for a moral horizon, for a culture of self-fulfilment and for authenticity were furthermore important intergenerationally (according to Charles Taylor), and this corresponds to the case studies analysed here. This is reflected in everyday practices such as

listening to music or reading comics, but also in everyday situations of teachers as discursively described in the analysed journals.

How can these philosophical reflections on late modernity be understood precisely with the specific examples? In the 1968s, in secularised western societies with simultaneous fading of moral horizons, there were not only intergenerational conflicts, but also something like a pursuit of meaningful horizons, in which the generations were not always in opposition, but often in mutual intergenerational interaction. In a paraphrased interview the underground poet and *Hotcha!*-publisher Urban Gwerder says for example that “the generation conflict, as it was thematised in the late sixties, wasn’t something I knew. Older people were always important to me even if my experiences with them were not always positive” (Nigg, 2008, p. 400). Gwerder as part of the anti-establishment movement around 1970 with its unconventional art productions, as presented in chapter 2, was no longer a teenager then. And one of his most important cultural reference persons, the musician Frank Zappa, expressed himself in a similar way regarding the youth riots, by stressing the importance of the inner self (what matches the subject “authenticity”):

“But it makes no sense to go out on the streets with throwing objects and things and proclaiming revolution. You can’t fight the status quo with violence. You must have a subversive impact from the inside” (Zappa in [POP], 1971, p. 5).

Gwerder’s statement corresponds to the perception from today’s educational science, where it is assumed that “former forms of youth cultural expression have become symbols of the youthful lifestyle of adults, [that] generational conflicts have levelled out” (Wiezorek & Eulenbach, 2020, p. 320). Or, ten years earlier, that the generational conflict had “at least defused” (Ferchhoff, 2011, p. 383), given “the softening of fixed questions of norms and values and the questioning of the normative power of educational practice” (ibid.). At first glance, it seems that the same thing is being said as in Gwerder’s quotation. But what is striking about such analyses is, first, the idea that generational conflicts are

easy to define and, second, that older and younger people are somehow mutually exclusive (cf. footnote 4).

The softening of norms and values is explained from a historical-philosophical point of view with the Age of Enlightenment (Taylor), while the questioning of educational issues is associated with the 1968 movement. As we have seen in the theoretical considerations and the case examples, large-scale observations run the risk of not seeing the practices at the micro-level, the “forms of life” (Jaeggi). Talking and writing about appearances and superficialities, complaining about the passivity of listening to music or reading comics has more to do both with an comprehension of forms of life than with a clearly definable, separable generational gap, and an understanding of authenticity. Both listening to newer music or read comics or music magazines on the one hand and reacting to these practices with didactic tools on the other hand are different forms of life to react to social facts and various understandings of authenticity.

In the 1960s and the 1970s there was not always or simply a generational conflict between adults and young people, but also between older and younger teachers (or parents, directors and so on), as we have seen in the case studies. It might be true that younger adults respectively young teachers were interested in youth cultural insignia (pop and rock music, clothing, etc.), but they could get into trouble over this or – which wasn’t uncommon – they tabooed themselves to appear respectable as teachers and not get into difficulties: in the school community, with older teacher colleagues, with parents. Sometimes young people were seen by adults as “pioneers in the jungle of consumer society” (Seegers, 2014, p. 95).

It looks impossible to define certain practices (listening to music, fashionable appearance, social behaviour) as generation specific. Rather, the practices described in the case studies would have to be understood as intergenerational, or – in the words of Charles Taylor – as an expression of Late Modernity.

It was already shown in the first case study (chapter 3.1) that metaphors were used in explaining an assumed generational problem. With

“the big garden” and the “natural sound of the school”, an authenticity is targeted that is addressed across all case studies – in very different ways.

The paradoxical late-modern understanding of authenticity in the examined cases is interesting – like the paradoxical understanding of pop and pop culture according to Umberto Eco.

The paradox is not that music or reading is seen as something different by various people, but that there is no homogeneous, generation-specific, or status-based idea of authenticity. Authenticity is considered important, and some groups claim authenticity for themselves or believe they know what good music or good reading consists of. Actors – independently of age, independently of social position – observe something like authenticity, even if it is not explicitly named this way. As we have seen from the examples, many teachers don’t see the individual, stylish appearance of young people or young teachers as problematic. The natural is seen as something authentic and good. However, some teachers have problems simply due to the observed youthful appearance.

Even though there was often a common or similar understanding of authenticity between older and younger actors, there were always differences in the moral orientation towards an ideal of authenticity. But not only between younger and older ones, in the case of the examined magazine cases especially among the older ones themselves. “Do it yourself”, “experience it yourself”, individualism is seen as central to both younger and older people, but often in different ways: The question of authenticity is very often linked to individual lifestyles that seek autonomy. On the one hand, it is about the question of being able to work as a teacher with one’s own style of dress, of not letting one’s individual taste in music and lifestyle be a professional exclusion criterion as a young teacher. For some, reading comics or listening to records is considered as an individual, authentic expression of one’s own being, while others judge the same as individual life-shaping issues. But at the same time, different understandings of authenticity clash, and this is where the different understandings of authenticity are mixed with the different forms of life, wherein the paradox appears

again: Some say that reading can also be superficial – and not authentic, embedded in a form of life of its own. Listening to music within one’s own four walls can lead to passivity – and thus not to an authentic musical experience and be an expression of its own, different form of life. This could be produced, for example, by playing an instrument or studying classical music, from the point of view of certain persons, as seen in chapter 3.2. And if young people listen to music “passively”, then they should at least be didactically accompanied in this, from the perspective of educators, as we have seen in the case study on music teaching material, so that they ultimately arrive at an understanding of “authentic music”. The achievement of authenticity is universally aimed: some see it in the different experience of pop culture or subculture, others in the accompaniment of young people into established culture. Interestingly, everyone is operating with an idea of authenticity: The real, the natural, the authentic is simply interpreted differently. Taylor does not refer to young people but to all human beings at the end of the 20th century when he states that “the individualism of self-fulfilment, which is widespread in our times and has grown particularly strong in Western societies since the 1960s” (ibid., p. 25). “Individualism of self-fulfilment” has not only been seen by younger people as identity-forming and necessary for life, but across generations, the orientation towards authenticity of whatever kind seems to be important.

In the examples of music listening, of learning materials or in statements about reading comics or “trashy literature”, some clichés are taken – not by everyone, but especially by some adult: Cultural practices are judged to be, optionally, pathological, superficial, or dangerous, often far from listening to or reading good cultural works with inner, authentic participation.

On the other hand, young people or young adults claim some practices for themselves as right or authentic and distinguish themselves from the adult world: Listening to new music in one’s own individual way, working in schools dressed in a way that suits and feels right, reading classic or underground comics or producing them themselves and distributing them in self-made magazines.

In the case studies, authenticity played a discursive role between adolescents, young adults, and adults in the teaching profession, in listening to and consuming music, reading comics, in specific teaching materials. For adolescents and young adults, the authenticity was evident in everyday practices of music and clothing tastes, in practices of comic or music consumption. One could also say: in specific forms of life (Jaeggi). The boundaries and transitions between young and old, between rejection and acceptance of different practices and forms of life seem to be fluid. For adults, the authenticity is expressed in practices respectively forms of life which they morally judge, but – even if not lived out in the same way – quite with an advocatory perspective with a lot of understanding for the youthful search for their own expression – in music, in clothing, in reading, in short: in the youthful forms of life.

The forms of life of adults in late modernity are *prima facie* different from those of the young ones. At the same time, this does not mean that some adults are not also in exchange with young people or understand or at least try to understand their forms of life. Not only children, adolescents, young adults, or marginalised groups in late modernity get caught up by the unspoken “moral force of the authenticity” (Taylor, 1991, p. 17), but *all* people. As we said in the beginning, the search for a moral horizon, for a culture of self-fulfilment and for authenticity, comes not only from teenagers or young people, but from both young people and adults.

The interesting and perhaps surprising conclusion that can be drawn from the cases is the following: While many adult teachers, for example, protect younger colleagues or take young people’s needs seriously and try to understand them, younger artists – as shown in other cases – are fighting against a society and the establishment with their art and magazines, but they are *not* fighting against *all* adults or against the *whole* established society.

In pedagogical settings, the question of the relationship between sovereignty and authenticity is an exciting one. In this context, the question of “staged authenticity, the established and more or less conscious social-strategic application” (Reichenbach, 2018, p. 75) of

authenticity is interesting. The rational, “competent”, appropriate control of one’s own form of self-expression seems to be in contradiction with an “authentic expression”. Building on Taylor’s thesis of the secularisation of late modernity, the philosopher of education Roland Reichenbach therefore speaks of the “non-sovereignty” (“Nicht-Souveränität”) of the educators. Children and young people would learn,

“that the knowledge and skills of adults are limited, that the world between people is imperfect and that their own presence makes others vulnerable. They learn that in an imperfect world, ‘negotiation’ is necessary, i.e. that things and relationships between people are not as clear-cut as might be assumed or hoped” (Reichenbach, 2018, p. 48).

Social change at the end of the 1960s cannot be understood exclusively through large protest movements, but rather through forms of life, in the face of the pursuit of a moral horizon, in the search for authenticity. In what and how the authenticity shows itself, to what extent certain practices can be determined as clearly definable forms of life, would have to be examined more closely at a later date, especially in connection with the often non-sovereign educators or adults in educational situations.

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