Introduction

The combination of the words 'youth' and 'the sixties' suggests more than a specific decade and group of people. In a popular and so-called Western context, it sparks associations of a unique decade and generation; of social and cultural changes and expressive rebellions. It brings to mind images of the young men whose hair got longer and the young women whose skirts got shorter; all the while they questioned the established norms of society and rebelled against the older generation. Youth and the 1960s connects with new fashions, new music, new ideas and new opinions. Youth and the 1960s is also linked to certain, in particular urban, locations: to the Haight-Ashbury district in San Francisco during the Summer of Love in 1967; to Carnaby Street in London; or to the universities across North America and Europe, where young people rioted for influence and change.

In the first instance, we do not think of the young people studied in this book: the young people of both the Danish minority in the north of West Germany and the German minority in Southern Denmark, each living on their side of the border cutting through the rural, historical duchy of Schleswig. But a first glance at the sources upon which this book is based, suggests some similarities between minority youths in Schleswig and their Western peers. In the photo of the 1955 graduating class of Duborg-Skolen, the Danish-minority secondary school in Flensburg, for example, all the boys were dressed in white shirts and dark suits and they all had short hair; all the girls wore long white dresses and they all had their hair tied up. Similarly, in the photo of the graduating class of 1962 from Deutsches Gymnasium Nordschleswig, the German-minority secondary school in Aabenraa, all the shorthaired boys were dressed in suits and the girls wore long, light-coloured dresses. But by the early 1970s, the class photos looked different. In 1971 at Duborg-Skolen, only one boy out of eight had short hair, and four had their hair below the shoulders; none of the boys wore a tie; three out of four girls wore miniskirts and all had their

hair out. At Deutsches Gymnasium, all the girls wore short dresses, and three boys of eleven had long hair, one to below his shoulders.

Issues from different years of *Treklangen*, a Danish-minority magazine for youths, illustrate the same development. One cover of the magazine from 1955 features a print of the Christian missionary, St Ansgar (AD 801–865), sitting on a beach together with a group of boys. The print was titled 'St Ansgar talking to Danish boys'. Below the magazine's headline, the words 'Home, Homeland, Fatherland' were written in italics. The cover of a 1970 issue of *Treklangen*, on the other hand, looks very different. The typeface of the headline has been changed from a traditional cursive to a graphic font, similar to those seen on the covers of contemporaneous rock posters. The slogan 'Home Homeland Fatherland' has gone, and replacing the print of the missionary, the cover is decorated with a psychedelic collage of images and illustrations, including the peace symbol, a television set, LPs, a car and the famous silhouette drawing of Che Guevara.

Whereas this first look at the sources hints that Danish and German minority youths shared experiences with Western youths in general, young minorities faced a unique set of questions too. Minority youths also had to navigate belonging to a national minority group. They faced questions regarding their national identity, their relationships with the majority populations and with the home nations on the other

Figure 0.1 Graduates from Duborg-Skolen, 1955. Courtesy Duborg-Skolen.

side of the border, issues on which non-minority youths elsewhere did not have to take a stand. This book investigates such young minority experiences in the Danish–German borderlands in the 1960s, focusing in particular on perceptions of national belonging, on the sense of what belonging to a national minority implied, and on the ways in which perceptions of minority identities changed.

The book aims to offer a new perspective on two well-established historical scholarships: first, the scholarship on youth in the sixties, which – although it has moved considerably beyond the simplified, popular notions mentioned above – has largely remained focused on experiences of national majorities; second, the scholarship on minority experiences in the Danish–German border region, which has traditionally focused mainly on political developments, leaving transnational connections and contextualisation in the background. This book investigates the idea that young minority experiences did not exist and develop in isolation, and it sheds light on how young minority experiences changed continuously and were affected by influences coming both from within and outside the minority spheres.

Figure 0.2 Graduates from Duborg-Skolen, 1971. Courtesy Duborg-Skolen.

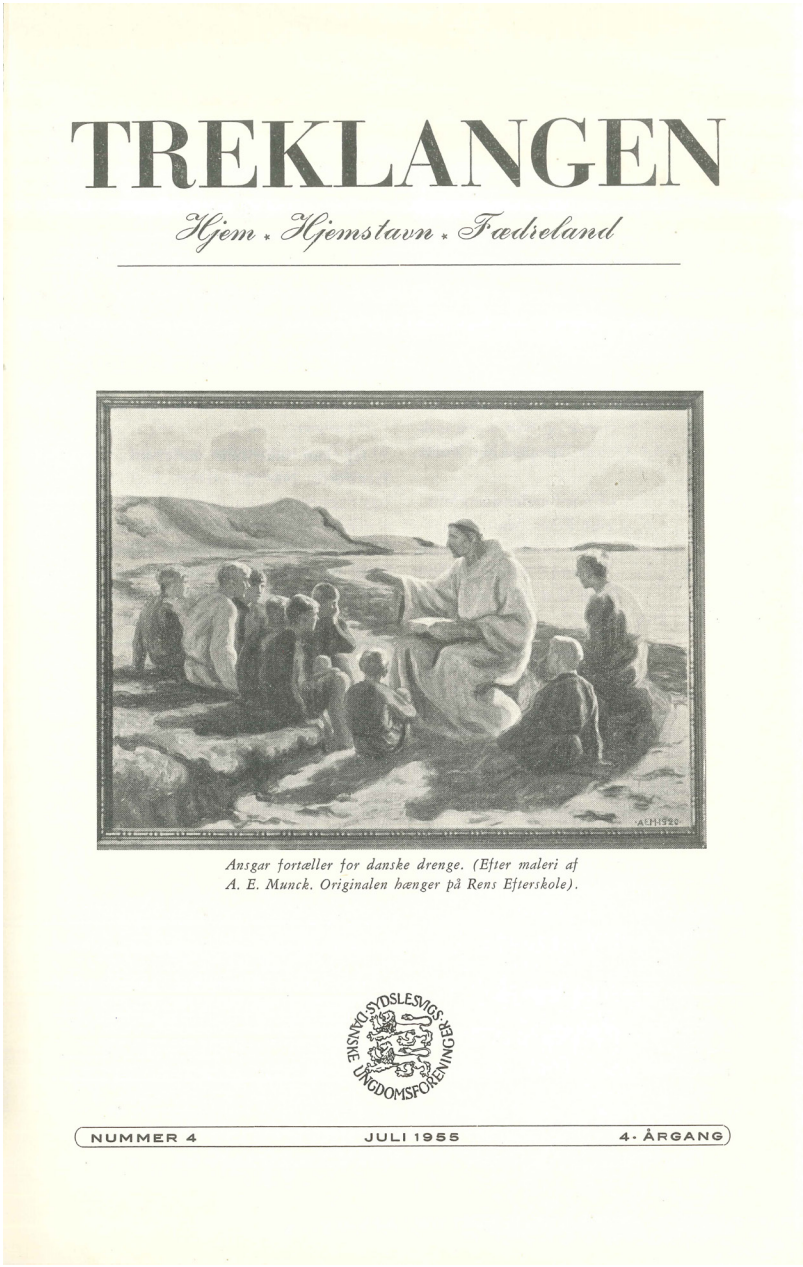

Figure 0.3 Cover of *Treklangen*, 1955. Courtesy Sydslesvigs danske Ungdomsforeninger (SdU).

Figure 0.4 Cover of *Treklangen,* 1970. Courtesy Sydslesvigs danske Ungdomsforeninger (SdU).

At the same time, the book brings to the fore an overlooked group of youths. Focusing on a borderland and on two national minorities adds new voices to the understanding of the period: it brings experiences of national minorities into the broader scholarship on youths in the 1960s, and it challenges the idea that national borders confine cultural, social and political changes. So far, only Andreas Fickers has, very recently, studied the German-speaking community in Belgium – through the prisms of youth and '1968'.[1] According to Fickers, 1968 in the German-speaking community, as well as in Belgium more broadly, was linked closely to language emancipation, and young people were more silent witnesses than actual agents of change themselves.[2]

Two studies of the Danish–German borderlands, however, suggest that Danish and German minority youth did not share the experience of German-speaking youth in Belgium. Historians Lars Henningsen and Frank Lubowitz have briefly touched upon the topic of minority youth in other contexts. In a study on political developments in South Schleswig, Henningsen refers to a Danish minority meeting in 1960, at which a group of young people distanced themselves from the Danish minority separatism and isolation from the German majority. The youths proclaimed in public that they did not accept 'being Danish in opposition to being German'.[3] In the same edited volume, Frank Lubowitz also argues that young people played a crucial role in improving relations between minority and majority. According to Lubowitz, 'to a larger extent than the older generations, minority youth in particular entered into a dialogue with the Danish majority and were influenced by the post-war period'.[4] Whereas Lubowitz and Henningsen both mention a pioneering role played by young people, neither have this as their primary foci, thus no background, connections or implications of these positions are explored.

This book attempts to focus equally on both the Danish and the German minorities. It seeks to compare, contrast and connect the experiences of the two groups in order to develop an understanding of similarities and differences as well as a sense of the ways in which similar ideas and events influenced the lives, ideas and practices on both sides of the Danish–German border. The book thus focuses on both young minority groups at the same time, investigating both groups' relationships with the same or similar issues, instead of dealing with the two minority experiences separately.

Departing from a common topic and investigating it in two contexts is a methodological advantage but also a potential weakness. Taking inspiration from a transnational approach to history, to trace ideas and practices across national boundaries instead of studying the past in

national isolation,[5] it becomes possible to follow connections between territories and gain awareness of interconnections between people and ideas. On the other hand, as Ann Curthoys warns, the transnational approach can lead to histories too distanced from the people they are about[6] and become overly constructed if they include local material only when it resonates with the international debates.[7] Similar concerns are raised by Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka, who stress that if histories are too focused on general structures and contexts, they risk losing focus on the perceptions of those people about whom they are written.[8]

These concerns are important and valid ones. They lead to the question about the representative-ness of histories, including this book. The aim here is to connect general ideas to their unfolding in different spaces without losing sight of characteristics of the idea in places where it is studied. As a consequence, the structure of the book emerges from three factors, the combination of which facilitates both a general and wider-resonating focus as well as attention to local developments. First, the book is concerned with themes emerging from the broader historical scholarship on young people and the 1960s as well as more theoretical discussions of youth as a category; second, it draws on insights from the scholarship on the Danish–German border region and national identities; third, it considers the primary sources (the school papers, magazines, letters, minutes and memoranda, as well as oral histories) that all shed light on the lives of young Danish and German minorities.

Youth and Young People in the 1960s

Whereas examining the 1960s through the lens of young minority experiences in a European borderland is unique to this book, youth and the 1960s as a general topic is both a well-established and dynamic one. The fact that the combination of the words carries with it certain meanings and associations is driven by an ever-growing scholarship on the 1960s – in particular 1968 – but also by memory, experience and perhaps imagination. This book takes neither youth nor the 1960s for granted and both require preliminary discussion.

Youth is understood here as being neither unambiguously nor universally defined. Youth is not a social constant in human societies, and it can have different meanings in different contexts. In other words, there is a difference between a physiological and social approach to age.[9] In *Centuries of Childhood*, a study of childhood in the Middle Ages,

Philippe Aries first presented the idea that age is understood differently in different places and time. Aries argues that age has only become an important category in human societies in modern and contemporary times.[10] In *A History of Youth*, Michael Mitterauer, another contributor to the development of a conceptual understanding of youth, argues that 'it is of greatest importance to see youth not only in its biological determinants, but also as socially conditioned and historically changeable'.[11] Mitterauer compares youth to other categories used by historians, for example, sexuality and male and female roles. He argues that 'if a study deals only with natural forces and data, the impression is given that the theme is static and unchanging'.[12]

More recently, historians Giovanni Levi and Jean-Claude Schmitt have also ruled out, in *A History of Young People in the West,* that youth can be defined by biological or legal criteria only.[13] Furthermore, they argue that a definition of youth always depends on the time and place studied.[14] They describe youth as 'a social and cultural construct' and 'an unstable social reality',[15] characterised by 'an initial phase of separation and a final phase of integration'.[16] They argue that society assigns roles, values and characters to youth.[17] Levi and Schmitt's insights bring us closer to an understanding of youth, which can structure this study: our understanding of youth thus needs to account for peculiarities of the period and the Danish–German border region. Furthermore, it is necessary to seek out what marked the entries and exits of individuals into youth, as well as investigate the values and expectations of society on youth.

Other scholars share similar views. The geographer Peter Hopkins argues that the 'experiences of young people depend upon how their age is perceived and implemented in different times and spaces'.[18] That point is also established by Mitterauer, who argues that youth is not a constant 'in the sense that it appears at all times in in all cultures in the same or even parallel forms'.[19] Mary Jane Kehily argues that, in Western societies, youth is the period between childhood and adulthood during which an individual becomes independent.[20] Youth, in the words of Levi and Schmitt, is associated with the period during which a person transitions from 'infantile dependency' to 'adult autonomy'.[21]

Scholars have also assigned specific values and spaces to youths. Mitterauer suggests that youth in the West can be associated with the certain stereotypes such as idealism, enthusiasm and questioning society.[22] Levi and Schmitt argue that, in modern times, a social solidarity of youth overstepped the boundaries of villages and districts.[23] They also argue that the attention to young people by established society is ambiguous and often composed of simultaneous expectation and

suspicion.[24] Luisa Passerini reaches similar conclusions and states in her study of youth in the 1950s and 1960s that adults saw youth as representing 'a danger to themselves and society'.[25] Overall, the wider society is important when studying youth. As Stephen Lovell argues, young people are under great influence from society through institutions such as the education system and the army.[26]

More scholars emphasise the importance of the individual's exit from the category of youth. Joanna Wyn and Rob White point out that 'youth is a relational concept because it exists and has meaning largely in relation to the concept of adulthood',[27] indicating the importance of adulthood as the destination, or point of completion of youth.[28] Sociologist Jean Charles Lagree, to whom the description of youth as a transitional phase is too vague, also stresses this threshold of adulthood. He rejects youth as a phase by arguing that 'at any given point in people's lives, they are in transition, somewhere along the life course'.[29] Instead, he describes youth as 'a status obtained in various social domains'.[30] These include leaving school and the family home, as well as entering the job market and forming a family.[31] Lagree's points are helpful in directing this study to focus on the topics and spheres of education and of choosing a profession as well as a partner and a place to live.

The broad conceptualisation of youth as a category is important for this study. It ensures that the selection of sources relevant for interpretation takes place not only on the basis of physical age. Even though Hopkins argues that 'all adult humans at some point have experienced youth',[32] it remains essential here that – depending on time and place – the experiences of youth were different in nature and duration. This means that if a 20-year-old, for example, had obtained full economic autonomy from their parents, and perhaps even become a parent themselves, they did not necessarily still belong to the category of youth. Conversely, a 30-year-old university student could still move within, as Lagree calls them, the social domains of youths.

In the Danish–German border region of the 1960s, some people only belonged to the category of youth for a short period of time, whereas others belonged for longer. Clear examples of this point can be drawn from the oral history interviews conducted for this study.[33] During an interview in 2013, a German-minority woman, who attended a vocational college after having completed her compulsory education, explained:

> I was twenty years old when I completed my education and started working in a Kindergarten … I was twenty-three when I had my first

> child. That was totally normal. A lot of people had children when they were in their early twenties.[34]

Assessing this woman's statement according to conceptual considerations of youth, she left the category of youth somewhere between the age of twenty and twenty-three. Many others shared that experience but not all. Another statement – in this case by a Danish-minority woman who attended secondary school and studied at university in Copenhagen – shows that certain people could also remain in the category for a longer period of time. In 2014, the Danish-minority woman, who had studied in Copenhagen when she was in her twenties, said about her experiences as a student in the Danish capital, away from South Schleswig:

> I would say that we felt a strong sense of moral responsibility … Our activity level shows that, otherwise we would have just forgot about it all. We created our own identity. We were a new generation and we had our own ideas about what a national minority should be.[35]

Although people like her may not have been the majority of people of this age group, they are important for this study. One of the arguments of this book is that these older youths were more likely to see themselves as a distinct group of minority youths and discuss their identities explicitly.

In summary, youth is seen and treated here as a social construct. It is an unstable category that relies on individual experiences. Youth is defined not only by young people themselves, but also by the societies in which they live. This study of youth therefore pays attention to both young people themselves, but also to the spheres within which young people moved, and to the expectations and ideals established by wider society.

In the same way that the boundaries of youth as a category are fuzzy, the 1960s is not seen here only as the actual decade. In *Age of Extremes, Eric Hobsbawm* defines the three-decade period of 1945–75 as 'The Golden Age'.[36] Hobsbawm argues that in Western societies during this period 'youth, as a self-conscious group stretching from puberty … to the middle twenties, now became an independent social agent'.[37] Hobsbawm points to the 'astonishing internationalism' of this youth culture that spread, he argues, through film, records, tapes, radio, images and fashion, reflecting the 'overwhelming cultural hegemony of the USA in popular culture and lifestyles' and taking the shape of 'a global youth culture'.[38]

Arthur Marwick makes similar points in his pioneering study *The Sixties*, for years a key work for historians working with Hobsbawm's

'Golden Age'.[39] In his own words, Marwick is interested in 'social and cultural developments, the growing power of young people, the particular behaviour and activities associated with them, the changing relationships [and] the new standards of sexual behaviour'.[40] Marwick suggests making 1958–59 the era's starting point, rather than adopting Hobsbawm's 1945.[41] Marwick points to the growing influence of youth on society during this period and he argues that even youth as a collective changed during it:

> The rise to positions of unprecedented influence of young people, with youth subculture having a steadily increasing impact on the rest of society, dictating taste in fashion, music, and popular culture generally. Youth subculture was not monolithic: in respect to some developments one is talking of teenagers, with respect to others it may be a question of everyone under 30 or so.[42]

In order to uncover the social and cultural changes, Marwick suggests focusing on three different forces and constraints: structural ones (geographical, demographic, economic and technological); ideological ones (what was believed and what was no longer being believed); and institutional ones (government, justice, police, education, organisations, family and more).[43] Furthermore, he calls for paying attention to events, specifically the Vietnam War, the Oil Crises, the Second World War and the Cold War and its nuclear stalemate.[44]

A final inspiration for a definition of the 1960s and a subsequent thematic focus is taken from Tony Judt's *Postwar*, a modern classic of Europe after the Second World War. In the chapter 'Prosperity and Its Discontents: 1953–1971', Judt, like Hobsbawm, defines a period covering the whole decade of the sixties and the latter half of the fifties.[45] Judt analyses and explains economic, political, social and cultural dimensions in Europe, the chapters 'The Age of Affluence' and 'The Spectre of Revolution' paying particular close attention to young people. Judt argues that 'the striking feature of Europe in the nineteen fifties and sixties … was the number of children and youths … [and that] it was not just that millions of children had been born after the war: an unprecedented number of them had survived'.[46] Judt emphasises the novelty and historical importance of the increased number of young people in Europe. He explains:

> Around 1957, for the first time in European history, young people started buying things themselves. Until this time young people had not even existed as a distinct group of consumers. Indeed 'young people' had not existed at all – In traditional families and communities, children remained children until they left school and went to work, at which point they were young adults. The intermediate category of 'teenager' in

> which a generation was defined not by its status but by its age – neither child nor adult – had no precedent.[47]

According to Judt, a common youth culture developed in the 1950s and 1960s; a culture that idealised America, because 'for young people the appeal of America was its aggressive contemporaneity'.[48] Judt explains that 'although each national culture had its distinctive icons and institutions, its exclusively local reference points, many of the popular cultural forms of the age flowed with unprecedented ease across national boundaries'.[49] This, according to Judt, made mass culture 'international as a matter of definition'.[50] Unlike Marwick, Judt includes experiences in West Germany and Denmark; however, his discussions take place on a common Western European level, and he discusses youth cultures within different national frameworks. His insight – that national cultures connected with an international one – motivates this investigation on the regional level, where the border did not demarcate complete separation between two homogenous and clearly distinct groups.

Focusing more narrowly on youth in European Societies, Axel Schildt and Detlef Siegfried's *Between Marx and Coca-Cola points out additional foci for this study.* Schildt and Siegfried argue, for example, that North and Western Europe, due to their high degrees of material wealth, became 'the major entry point of trans-Atlantic cultural transfers, sometimes labelled Americanisation'.[51] Schildt and Siegfried warn, however, that 'a uniform manifestation of changes should not be expected'.[52] They argue that 'there were regional differences and specific national traditions which had consequences on the concrete manifestations of youth culture' and that 'a distinctive picture emerged in each country regardless of their common features'.[53] The editors argue that 'many "global" and western phenomena developed in hybrid with national customs and traditions'[54] and the edited volume examines different aspects of youth culture. Detlef Siegfried, for example, analyses the rebellions of 1968, about which he argues that 'only a small number of youths actually took part'[55] and that 'within single states there were local and regional differences'.[56] Local and regional dimensions, however, are not subjected to further exploration.

Adding new voices to studies of the long 1960s has characterised the development of the scholarship of the past decade, and this book seeks to contribute to that shift. Anette Warring, whose research encompasses '1968' in Denmark as well as the Danish historiography of '1968' warns that 'until the late 1990s, the historiography was written primarily by activists powerfully influenced by their memories'.[57] Furthermore, she points to the fact that 'existing research on the Danish youth

rebellion in both research and public debate has been thematically quite restricted to social and political movements and political parties, and geographically to the capital Copenhagen'.[58] Warring also argues that that the generational question has not received enough attention, and that scholars need to question whether or not the experiences of rebellion that dominate the historiography are relevant to all'.[59]

Warring's point about the dominance of rebellion in the historiography has also been developed by James Hijiya. Although Hijiya focuses solely on the United States, he argues that history has largely ignored what he calls 'The Conservative 1960s'.[60] Hijiya argues that 'perhaps a reason why historians have not been as interested in investigating the new right in the 1960s is that 'creating a mailing list' (organisational work) was not as interesting as sitting in a segregated lunch canteen'.[61] According to Hijiya, this has caused the new left to win the history of the 1960s. Lawrence Black has argued along similar lines in his study of Young Conservatives in Britain in the 1960s.[62]

Recently, the historical scholarship on youth has developed in several directions. In the same way that the focus on the left has been challenged by Hijiya, other historians have directed their foci beyond the big western European countries, for example, Nikolaos Papadogiannis, whose work focuses mainly on Greece.[63] Papadogiannis has also studied Greek migrants in West Germany,[64] as well social tourism and West German youth hostel organisations.[65] Papadogiannis' research adds a different layer to the understanding of the period as one of cultural Americanisation. He argues, for example, that in the case of young Greek communists, cultural influences came more from French and Soviet cinema than from Hollywood.[66] Furthermore, he challenges the definition of the period the 'long 1960', pointing out that in the case of Greece, experiences which belong to this historiography cannot be constrained by Marwick's definition.[67]

The emergence of an international youth culture typically associated with the West has also now been explored in the former communist European countries. Radina Vucetic argues, for example, that Yugoslavia, too, experienced street riots and violence in connection with student demonstrations in the 1960s.[68] Anti-Vietnam-War sentiments, however, she argues must be understood in connection with Yugoslavia's complicated political balancing act between East and West.[69] Mark Fenemore has studied youth in Cold War East Germany, paying special attention to gender and sexuality as well as to official state positions on youth rebellions.[70] Finally, Filip Pospíšil studied how 'Western' pop culture penetrated the iron curtain in Czechoslovakia.[71]

Others again called for studying the period from a perspective that looks beyond youth. Maud Bracke argues that the strong focus on youth in the historiography on '1968' has been created by historians who were themselves young during that period.[72] According to Bracke, these historians were predominantly male and well-educated, enabling them to take ownership of the generation.[73] The result is a scholarship which focuses excessively on privileged student youth, and less so on other groups.[74] Bracke calls for attention to collective identities other than generation in a particular gender. This study takes inspiration from her ideas: although it still focuses on youth, it examines their lives in a rural border region and brings into the discussion the intersections between age and national identities.

The Danish–German Borderlands, Minority and National Identities

Scholars have studied the Danish–German borderlands for well over a century and a half, their foci and findings shifting through time depending on their motivations, origins, and academic disciplines. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the international scholarship perceived the borderlands as a case study of the consequences of the new ideas of nationalism in changing European societies; scholars of politics and international relations understood 'The Schleswig Holstein Question' as shorthand for the difficulties arising when medieval dynastic structures clashed with the ideas of national unity and popular representation.[75] In the early and mid twentieth century, Danish and German nationally motivated historians and others studied the border region and argued for and against its 'true' belonging to either the German or the Danish nations.[76]

Since then, the topic of national conflict between Danes and Germans, as well as conflict more broadly, has stood central in Danish–German borderland historiography: a large amount of studies focus on the two nineteenth-century Schleswig Wars, the change of the border after the Great War, and the national animosities that resurfaced after the Second World War.[77] Indeed conflict, in particular the Second World War, is an important topic in this book; the youths studied here were born just before, during, or just after it. Although they did not experience it as youths, society around them, and in particular that of the Danish–German borderlands, was marked by the experience of war for decades after its end.

By the late twentieth century, when relations between German and Danish groups in the border region had improved considerably, historians and social scientists returned to the idea of the border region as a case study. The improved relations, in particular between minorities and majorities on both sides of the border, led the borderlands to be seen as 'a model region' for peace and coexistence, suggesting that lessons from the Danish–German case could potentially be applicable in other contested European border regions as well.[78] The Bonn and Copenhagen Declarations of 1955, the two similar but unilateral declarations spelling out minority rights in the border region, are often interpreted as the framework facilitating peaceful coexistence between the national groups.[79]

Within the recent stream of studies that conceptualise the Danish–German borderlands as a model region, *En Europopæisk Model? Nationale mindretal i det dansk-tyske grænseland 1945–2000* is also a key volume on minority experiences in post-war Schleswig. It provides a historiographical overview and discusses in chapters by different contributors, various aspects of Danish and German minority history.[80] The study deals with aspects of the minority past that concern church, politics and organisational structure, all embedded in the overarching question of whether the case of the Danish–German border region can serve as inspiration for improving relations between national groups in other border regions.[81] The other large, recent survey of Danish and German minority issues, *København–Bonn Erklæringerne 1955–2005 – De dansk-tyske mindretals-erklæringers baggrund, tilblivelse og virkning*, deals more specifically with declarations of 1955, discusses their origins and nature.[82] In the third publication within this stream, *Minority Policy in Action: The Bonn-Copenhagen Declarations in a European Context 1955–2005*, edited by Jørgen Kühl and Marc Weller, the overall purpose is again to examine the feasibility of the Schleswig case as a model region for peaceful coexistence in other European border regions. This English-language edited volume contains additional chapters by Martin Klatt and Karen Margrethe Pedersen, which discuss cross-border cooperation, and minority language and identity in Schleswig respectably.[83]

The historian Peter Thaler has published another recent key study of the border region. *Of Mind and Matter: The Duality of National Identity in the Danish–German Borderlands* focuses on identity formation in the border region, and Thaler describes his own study as 'a macro-historical one which he hopes will inspire micro-historical studies'.[84] Thaler argues that in the Danish–German border region 'national self-identification rather than colour, creed or lifestyle … guided the

identification process'.[85] Furthermore, Thaler points to the problem that the scholarship of borders and border regions has tended to focus on conflicts.[86]

Large studies focusing exclusively on the minorities have been published as well, although they are of an earlier date and exist in Danish only. Johan Peter Noack has studied the Danish minority in the period 1920–55 in three different two-volume studies.[87] Noack's studies provide solid accounts of political developments and key figures of the Danish minority in South Schleswig. Henrik Becker-Christensen has studied the German minority, 1920–32, in an impressive two-volume account that also establishes key political figures, events and developments.[88] This book draws extensively on Noack's and Becker-Christensen's studies, as well as on the excellent local historical research that, in particular, Hans Schultz Hansen and Inge Adriansen have published over the last decades.

Studies of the borderlands that look beyond conflicts and political themes are not completely absent. Linguists and anthropologists, for example, have contributed research that focuses on other aspects of minority experiences.[89] Karen Margrethe Pedersen has studied the use of the Danish language in South Schleswig and reached the important conclusion that language does not necessarily correspond to national self-identification. Pedersen departs from the theoretical position that national identity is a social construction in which language is seen as a main component. Pedersen argues that majority populations are oftentimes not conscious about the fact that national identities are social constructions and therefore ignore the possibility that they exist in variation.[90] Pedersen also argues that the conventional perception of the correlation between national identity and language sometimes presents a challenge to some members of the minority as well.[91] Pedersen has studied the language and identity of the German minority too. She argues that the German minority in North Schleswig is a minority because it sees itself as one: their identity is a conscious act of self-ascription, and no external or physical factors separate the minority from the majority.[92]

In an anthropological study of the German minority in the 1980s, Michael Byram also studies the connections between – and questions of – language, education and identity. Byram argues that, even though the experiences of the two minorities are linked, it would be misleading to see the minorities on both sides of the border as 'mirror-images of each other'.[93] Byram also warns that the definition of the German minority is vague and the differences from the majority population subtle.[94] He attempts, however, to establish some characteristics of what it

means to be part of the minority, and he concludes that a definition could include: being able to speak the language of the nation that the minority affiliates itself with; having attended a minority school; being a member of one or more of the minority's associations; and reading the minority's newspaper.[95] Byram and Pedersen's insights about the minorities are valuable for this book because they do not take the minority category for granted but instead provide insights into what practices being part of the minorities actually include.

Understanding identities as practised, rather than naturally existing, is crucial here. Identities are often understood as something stable and permanent, as the resting essence of an individual's sense of self, but they can also be seen differently as dynamic. According to Steph Lawler, it is impossible to give a comprehensive definition of identity; instead, she suggests that 'identity hinges on an apparently paradoxical combination of sameness and difference'.[96] Lawler explains this by pointing out that people's identity depends on their recognition of similarities and differences in others; thus 'identity needs to be understood not as belonging 'within' the person but as produced between persons and within social relations'.[97] Richard Jenkins has also argued that identity is about 'the ways in which individuals and collectives are distinguished in their social relations with other individuals and collectivities'.[98] Identity thus relies on people's understanding of themselves and others and on their similarities and differences.[99]

According to John Hopkins, identities gain their persistence from repetitive articulation.[100] Such persistence can make identities appear as if they are static and exist on their own. But, as Hopkins explains, identities are constructed through social relations and everyday behaviour.[101] This means that, with the changing of such relations and behaviour over time, identity changes too. In order to study and grasp these changes of identities, social relations and everyday practices must be the focal points. Furthermore, Hopkins suggests that 'identity is about simultaneous creation, maintenance and protection of particular categories, and the rejection, renunciation and disavowal of other categories'.[102]

In other words, Hopkins suggests that identities can be uncovered by paying attention to how ideals, ideas and practices are shaped, maintained, modified and rejected over time. Hopkins also provides suggestions for where to search for identities: they can be communicated and represented through practices, text, hair, dress and body-language, and be recognised and interpreted by others. This creates a so-called negotiation process, during which identities can be

adopted or modified, contested, challenged or resisted.[103] This process should not be seen as a simple and straightforward one; rather, it is ongoing and may be contradictory. Hopkins maintains that 'various identities overlap and intersect in complex ways'.[104]

In the same way that identity is understood here as a social construction, so is the nation. In 1983, Benedict Anderson coined the term 'imagined communities', in order to describe the notion that the nation exists mainly because the members of it imagine (and believe) it does.[105] Ernest Gellner holds similar views saying that 'two men are of the same nation if, and only if, they recognise each other as belonging to the same nation … [and] if, and only if, they share the same culture, where culture in turn means a system of ideas, signs and associations, and ways of behaving and communicating'.[106] Eric Hobsbawm also sees nations as constructions which are neither primary nor unchanging.[107] In fact, he argues that national identities shift with time, and that they can do so quite quickly.[108] Overall, Hobsbawm argues that the nations and the terms deriving from it are socially and historically rooted, thus they are not 'free-floating philosophical discourses'.[109] Finally, Anthony D. Smith describes nations as characterised by the belief in a shared heritage and ancestry of the group; by the cultivation of shared symbols, values and traditions; by the belief that it belongs in a traditional homeland; and by the creation of a common public culture.[110]

The geographer Tim Edensor adds another useful layer to the understanding of national identities. Alongside focusing on the culture generated by the idea of a common ancestry, a shared history, language and customs, he suggests looking elsewhere too. According to Edensor, identifying national cultures needs to include popular cultural producers within, for example, music, sport and fashion, as well as cultural practices such as dancing, sport and other pastimes.[111] As this study focuses on national identifications of young people in a time when – as argued by Marwick, Siegfried, Judt and others – cultural producers and practices for young people changed, Edensor's ideas are particularly relevant.

Some specific observations regarding national minorities need to be brought to the fore too. In *An Ethnic History of Europe since 1945: Nations, States and Minorities*, Panikos Panayi argues that national minorities are created by the fact that not all members of a nation-state can fit the ideals created by its nationalism.[112] He stresses that national minorities, in particular, experience the conflict between the homogenous ideal and heterogenic reality.[113] But suggesting that minorities themselves are homogenous groups would be misleading too. In her study of national classifications in the French and Czechoslovak borderlands,

for example, Tara Zahra argues that neither language nor nationalities were straightforward facts.[114] Furthermore – in a study of German expellees from Poland – Annika Frieberg warns against seeing expellees as one group, stressing that 'the role of minorities can be multifaceted'.[115] Finally, Eeva-Kaisa Prokkola describes identities in borderlands as being synonymous with cultural diversity and hybridity,[116] and James E. Bjork asserts that nationality might not even be the main source of identification in borderlands.[117]

In summary, the conceptual insights, to which this study owes its foci, are not unequivocal. Identities, be they territorial or age related are not static phenomena; in order to grasp and discuss them, the book focuses on the ways in which they are discussed and the context and the spaces in which they existed. Similarly, the book treats neither the Danish and German minorities nor the long 1960s as easily graspable phenomena. Minority youths were not a homogenous group, nor were the long 1960s only characterised by international connections through culture. What is offered here, is a constructed account that attempts to relate some issues at play and discuss the implications.

Sources

Whereas the discussion above has contributed to defining the focus of this book, ultimately, its content has been determined by primary sources. Locating, evaluating, and interpreting primary source material remains the essence of a historical analysis and the practical nature of research that follows from abstract conceptual and theoretical considerations. One problem is that the primary material was not created in order to be subjected to historical analysis. Primary sources may have been removed from their context, or information of interest may have been omitted. From the beginning, this study faced two main challenges. First, Danish and German minority sources do not exist in parallel form. Second, identifying and establishing an overview of the potentially relevant material took time, in particular, because a historical study focusing specifically on young people has not been done before.

The Danish minority's library in Flensburg, Dansk centralbibliotek for Sydslesvig (DCBS), holds complete series of contemporaneous Danish minority publications for and by youths. These publications have been essential sources. They include *Treklangen*, the official youth magazine in South Schleswig, edited and published by Sydslesvigs danske ungdomsforeninger (SdU), the Danish minority's youth

association; and *Vulkanen*, the student paper at Duborg-Skolen in Flensburg, the Danish minority's only secondary school in South Schleswig. *Vulkanen* was written entirely by students, although the school censored it until the mid 1960s. Both *Treklangen* and *Vulkanen* were published throughout the entire period covered by this book.

Moreover, the library holds two publication series *Front og Bro* and *FSS-Nyt*, written and published by Foreningen af Sydslesvigske Studerende, the association for Danish minority university students. In addition, extensive use has been made of the Danish border periodical *Grænsen*. Although published in Copenhagen, *Grænsen* covered – and still does today – issues related to the Danish–German border region, in particular the Danish and German minorities. Finally, the online services of *Flensborg Avis*, the largest Danish-minority daily, have been consulted as well. The online archive contains scans of all issues of the newspaper.

The amount of archival material relevant for studies of Danish-minority youth is vast. In addition to holding these publications, DCBS has also collected and keeps documents related to young people's lives and experiences. The entire material – a mixture of personal and institutional archives – is indexed and searchable via the library's website. The blessing of such an extensive and well-organised archive, however, was a challenge at the same time. Even before the data collection for this book began, it became clear that consulting all of the material available was impossible. As a consequence of this, a focused research strategy was necessary, starting with in-depth analyses of *Treklangen* and *Vulkanen*. All issues of both publications have been studied thoroughly in order to identify the different themes which were since connected with relevant findings in the other publications and *Flensborg Avis*. Ultimately, the archival material was used to substantiate and contextualise the different ways in which young people discussed and perceived their national belonging, in relation to the changing society around them.

The research strategy has had strengths and weaknesses. By studying the topics that made it to be discussed by young people in public, it is assumed (but not guaranteed) that such topics were important. Furthermore, the different views and opinions on these topics may have caused young people to reflect upon them and develop new ideas and views. It has been assumed that articles in *Vulkanen* and *Treklangen* had a greater impact on – and were more representative of – the ideas that influenced young people's identities than, for example, minutes from a meeting in a youth association.[118] On the other hand, one serious shortcoming of this strategy has become the study's focus

on the segment of youth who attended Duborg-Skolen or studied at university. Second, the book pays a disproportional amount of attention to those who participated in the debates, whereas those who did not are underrepresented. It is crucial to stress that it was only a minority of Danish youth in South Schleswig who attended Duborg-Skolen and contributed actively to the debate. In consequence, the book has admittedly become too focused on the minority experiences of the privileged students mostly in Flensburg and Copenhagen. Unfortunately, this makes it guilty of perpetuating a limited focus, similar to the one of the historical scholarship on young people in the 1960s, criticised by, in particular, Maud Anne Bracke and also Anette Warring. Despite the fact that these groups of privileged students were indeed the most vocal ones in the debate studied here, studies of young people outside these spheres, as well as methodological ideas of how to study such groups can only be encouraged.

Primary sources shedding light on the lives of German-minority youth, are available as well, albeit in a considerably smaller volume than in the case of the Danish minority. The German minority's archive in Aabenraa holds collections from Deutsche Jugendverband für Nordschleswig, the minority's youth association, and Deutscher Schul- und Sprachverein Nordschleswig, the minority's school and language association. These collections consist mainly of letters, memoranda, minutes, lists of activities, etc. Both collections have been consulted and analysed in depth. Furthermore, the archive holds the complete series of *Die Brücke*, the youth association's official youth magazine published from 1964 until 1968. The magazine was the only one of its kind in North Schleswig as, unfortunately, the German secondary school in Aabenraa and the vocational college in Tinglev had no school papers, at least according to the institutions themselves. What is more, neither the secondary school nor the college has deposited any student-made archival material in Aabenraa. Both institutions have, however, published good accounts of their histories, which, of course, have been useful.[119]

In addition to the collections from the German minority's institutions, the archive holds a private collection from Kreis Junger Schleswiger, a youth forum established in Aabenraa in 1961. The collection has been deposited in the archive only recently by one of its founders, Siegfried Christiansen. Christiansen, born 1943 in North Schleswig, has furthermore given access to his own private archive, which contains letters and memoranda as well as an extraordinarily extensive collection of newspaper clips from *Flensborg Avis* and *Der Nordschleswiger*, the German minority's daily paper, published from

1946 onwards. Furthermore, his archive contains the semester reports from the entire decade of the 1960s of Verbindung Schleswiger Studenten (VSSt), the German minority's student association in Copenhagen. Access to Christiansen's collection has been invaluable for the preparation of this book. Another private archive has been consulted too, namely that of Günter Weitling, one of the first youths to actively participate in the debate about the place of German-minority youth in society.

Collections held by the Danish national archive's local branch in Aabenraa have also been consulted. The archive mainly holds material about the German minority before 1945, but the few post-war collections that do exist have been useful. The collections containing newspaper clips have been very useful, as the digitalisation of *Der Nordschleswiger* has not yet been completed. The digitalisation, however, is expected to be complete in the very near future, which is why references to the German-minority newspaper throughout this book are made directly to the paper and not to the archive folder where the clip was first seen. This not only ensures a standardised style of referencing for all published primary sources, but it also makes consulting the references easier once digitalisation is complete. Finally, extensive use has been made of the minority's annual publication *Deutscher Volkskalender Nordschleswig*. To an admittedly somewhat lesser extent, the German South Schleswig border periodical, similar to *Grænsen* in Denmark, *Grenzfriedenshefte*, has been consulted too. The initial concern about the lesser availability of German-minority than Danish-minority material has not resulted in a real problem for this book; at least not in the sense that too little material existed for making an analysis. The Danish and German source material available is in no way analytically exhausted by this study.

Although based mainly on written sources, oral history interviews were conducted as a part of the research process of this book and extracts from the interviews have been included and used in the analysis. During the period 2013–16, twelve interviews were conducted, with six individuals of the Danish minority and with six of the German one; within each group three interviewees were women and three were men. All interviewees were born between the late 1930s and the mid 1950s.[120] The interviews were all structured as open life-story accounts where the interviewees were asked to reflect on their childhood and youth, covering a range of topics. These topics included: school, family life at home, friendships, potential further education, personal interests, and reflections about being Danish or German minority as well as interactions with the majority populations.

The use of oral sources in history has been both encouraged and contested. *The Oral History Reader* points out that oral history has opened up history as a discipline to people who were not previously included in it, in particular women, minorities and disadvantaged groups.[121] It has been described as 'allowing the original multi-faceted nature of the past to resurface'.[122] Oral history has also, however, been connected to criticism of the traditional discipline of history, which Paul Thompson – one of the oral history pioneers – describes as 'inherently authoritarian'.[123] In return, oral histories have been seen by others as invalid sources for historians, the essence of the criticism against them being that memories are distorted over time.[124]

Lynn Abrams has discussed the problem of distortions of memory over time in relation to the use of oral sources in history. She argues that memory is not only about remembering facts.[125] Instead she suggests that oral historians pay attention to the interplay between what is remembered, how it is remembered, and why.[126] In addition to only using oral history as a supplement – or replacement – of written sources, she calls for awareness of the fact that oral history is also source creation; that historians should pay attention to their own role in the creation of an oral history.[127] Especially during the early phases of this research, the interviews were extremely helpful. First, they contributed to establishing an overall understanding of what a daily routine was like. Second, they indicated areas worthy of further explorations, pointing specifically towards activities and institutions that were important in young people's lives. Finally, the personal connections gave access to written material, which has been of great value to the analysis.

Structure

During the process of organising the material, several concerns had to be given attention. As the book explores a well-established time period in historical research in its own right, it was important to structure the chapters in a somewhat chronological order. Furthermore, the ambition to elucidate changes over time could only be fulfilled if chronology was respected. On the other hand, the analysis of the primary sources quickly established that different conversations and experiences took place simultaneously. However tempting it seems, it would be inaccurate to suggest that one development followed the other in a straightforward and logical way. Consequently, the chapters were drafted by paying attention to specific factors of influence on young people's lives, while attempting to respect chronology. This

has resulted in seven chapters discussing young people's experiences, each departing from their own foci.

Chapter 1 sets the scene for the study, focusing on young minorities in the period before 1955. It does so by discussing what characterised Danish- and German-minority identities during the period before and after 1945. The chapter discusses the contextual developments and institutions that influenced the lives of young people, and specific references to the positions of young people are highlighted where possible. Whereas the changes within each minority group were colossal, some overarching characteristics of minority identity in the border region remained the same. Even though, in some respects, the positions of the two minorities inversed, their loyalty to the kin-state remained strong and unquestioned. The legitimacy of the border was still challenged, and the sentiment of being arbitrarily separated from the nation on the other side of it continued.

Chapter 2 examines influences and consequences of wider political changes in the late 1950s and early 1960s on minority youth identities. It investigates Denmark and West Germany's partnership in NATO and the formulation of the Copenhagen and Bonn Declarations. The developments led to the reintroduction of military service in West Germany, and the right of the German minority in Denmark to re-establish a secondary school. In connection with both developments, young people began asserting that they no longer saw majority populations as their opponents, albeit the shift was neither unequivocal nor all encompassing. Overall, however, young people accepted more readily than the older generation what they perceived to be the new, political realities.

Chapter 3 traces the debates on Europe as communicated either by young people or in publications for young people. Positions of the German minority in general were presented in publications such as the *Volkskalender*, the *Grenzfriedenshefte* and *Der Nordschleswiger*. In South Schleswig, the topic of Europe could be found in *Vulkanen*, *Treklangen* and *Front og Bro*, as well as in *Flensborg Avis* and *Grænsen*. Special attention is paid to differences between the positions traceable in the different publications and to generational differences between the positions on Europe. The archive of the Federal Union of European Nationalities (FUEN) provides additional insight into one consequences of Europe for the Schleswig minorities: within the framework of the association for national minorities all over Europe, the conditions of the Danish and German minorities were placed in a new context.

Chapter 4 explores how young people reflected upon and remembered events in the Schleswig past. Moreover, the chapter

discusses how youths positioned themselves towards the ideas of the Danish and German establishments of the past. It draws out examples from an attempt by German-minority youths to come to terms with the past themselves by challenging Jugendverband's ban on political issues. Second, it examines how the past was presented to the Danish-minority youth and how young people reacted. Special attention is paid to the tradition of commemorations, in particular the Danish defeat in the 1864 war, commemorated in 1964.

Chapter 5 analyses the developments of the 1960s in the sphere of leisure and free-time activities. Leisure was typically nationalised, in the sense that in particular sport was played in clubs exclusively for Danes or Germans. With the emergence of new activities and interests for and of young people, such as jazz, pop music and generally socialising in new ways, young people challenged the idea of separation between Danes and Germans. The situation was overwhelmingly similar on both sides of the border, which is why experiences and developments in North and South Schleswig are discussed together.

Chapter 6 examines minority youth relationships with the kin-state on the other side of the border. It discusses how, on the one hand, Danish-minority youths were encouraged to study in Denmark but also, on the other hand, expected to return to South Schleswig in order to contribute to 'the Danish cause'. Alongside contesting the actual nature of that cause, young people also began challenging the hitherto undisputed idolisation of Denmark and discussing what belonging to a national minority actually meant. In North Schleswig, the German minority's relationship with its kin-state, West Germany, was different. Nevertheless, the German minority also attempted to encourage its young people to stay in the region. What is more, a similar discussion about what being a minority entailed took place.

Chapter 7 investigates some of the themes typically associated with the late 1960s. It attempts to establish how minority youth discussed new ideas and adopted new practices. In more detail, the chapter analyses how – and with what consequences – global ideas and causes as well as rebellious practices and rhetoric were adopted by young people. In the German minority, the established youth association, Verbindung Schleswiger Studenten (VSSt), attempted in 1969–70 to change the organisation's exclusively male composition. Where VSSt made the contemporary cause of women's rights their own, the way in which they did so was less controversial than the cause itself. In South Schleswig in 1969, young people were also influenced by the world around them and their publications now almost focused mainly on political questions unrelated to the border region. In addition,

one of the most established Danish minority youth organisations, Flensborg Ungdomsforening (FUF), became the scene of a rebellion that resembled other youth rebellions in Europe and beyond in 1968–69. Despite its very confrontational nature, the rebellion in FUF was not as controversial as a speech held at a commemoration in 1970.

Notes

1. Fickers, '"Generational Conflicts"'.
2. Ibid.
3. Henningsen, 'Det danske mindretal', 315.
4. Lubowitz, 'Det tyske mindretal', 273.
5. Iriye, 'Transnational History'; Curthoys and Lake, *Connected Worlds*, 5.
6. Curthoys and Lake, *Connected Worlds*, 14–15.
7. Ibid.
8. Haupt and Kocka, *Comparative and Transnational History*, 10.
9. See for example: Pain, 'Age, Genration and Lifecourse'.
10. Aries, *Centuries of Childhood*, 18.
11. Mitterauer and Dunphy, *A History of Youth*, 1–2.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid., 7.
14. Levi and Schmitt, *Young People in the West*, 1997.
15. Ibid., 2.
16. Ibid., 5.
17. Ibid., 6.
18. Hopkins, *Young People, Place and Identity*, 3.
19. Mitterauer and Dunphy, *A History of Youth*, 11.
20. Kehily, *Understanding Youth*, 3.
21. Levi and Schmitt, *Young People in the West*, 2.
22. Mitterauer and Dunphy, *A History of Youth*, 9.
23. Levi and Schmitt, *Young People in the West*, 10.
24. Ibid., 2.
25. Passerini, 'Youth as a Metaphor', 318.
26. Lovell, *Generations in Twentieth-Century Europe*, 5.
27. Wyn and White, *Rethinking Youth*, 11.
28. Ibid.
29. Lagree, 'Youth in Europe'.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid.
32. Hopkins, *Young People, Place and Identity*, 4.
33. See below for methodological considerations on the use of oral histories.
34. Oral History Interview by Tobias Haimin Wung-Sung [hereafter OHI: TWS] (8 August 2013): German-minority female born 1953.
35. OHI: TWS (18 September 2014): Danish-minority female born 1948
36. Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes*.

37. Ibid., 324.
38. Ibid., 327.
39. Already in 1999, Luisa Passerini described Marwick's study as 'a major one''. See: Passerini, 'Reviewed Work', 1,642–43. According to Google Scholar, Marwick's *The Sixties* has been cited 845 times, as of August 2016.
40. Marwick, *The Sixties*, 8.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid., 24.
44. Ibid.
45. 'Prosperity and Its Discontents: 1954–1971' is Part Two in Judt, *Postwar*.
46. Ibid., 331.
47. Ibid., 347.
48. Ibid., 351.
49. Ibid., 394.
50. Ibid.
51. Schildt and Siegfried, *Between Marx and Coca-Cola*, 5.
52. Ibid., 7.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid., 27.
55. Detlef Siegfried, 'Understanding 1968: Youth Rebellion, Generational Change and Postindustrial Society', in ibid., 59.
56. Ibid., 62.
57. Warring, 'Around 1968: Danish Historiography', 353.
58. Ibid., 360.
59. Ibid.
60. Hijiya, 'The Conservative 1960s'.
61. Ibid., 213.
62. Black, 'The Lost World of Young Conservatism'.
63. Latest publications on Greece include: Papadogiannis, 'Between Angelopoulos and *The Battleship Potemkin*'; Papadogiannis and Gehrig, '"The Personal is Political"'; and Papadogiannis, 'Red and Purple?'.
64. Papadogiannis, 'A (Trans) National Emotional Community?'.
65. Papadogiannis, '"Keeping with Contemporary Times"'.
66. Papadogiannis, 'Between Angelopoulos and *The Battleship Potemkin*'.
67. Ibid.
68. Vucetic, 'Violence against the Antiwar Demonstrations'.
69. Ibid.
70. Fenemore, *Sex, Thugs and Rock 'n' Roll*.
71. Pospíšil, 'Youth Cultures'.
72. Bracke, 'One-dimentional Conflict?'
73. Ibid.
74. Ibid.
75. See, for example: von Stein, *La Question du Schleswig-Holstein*; Solger, *Memorial on the Schleswig-Holstein Question*; von Wenckstern, *Ten Years of the Schleswig-Holstein Question*; Bernard, *The Schleswig-Holstein Question*; and Anonymous, *Schleswig-Holstein a Second Poland*. For a classic study of

'The Schleswig-Holstein Question' in English, see: Steefel, *The Schleswig-Holstein Question*.

76. The most influential Danish-biased study is Eskildsen, *Dansk grænselære*. The book was published for the first time just before the outbreak of the Second World War, and republished in 1945 and 1946, when the Danish minority in South Schleswig boomed. The German historian Kurt Jürgensen's publications in the 1960s represented a German-biased view. He argued, for example, that the establishment of the Bundesland Schleswig-Hostein was the realisation of the aspirations of 1848, (see: Jürgensen, *Die Gründung des Landes Schleswig-Holstein*, 20, 8) and that the Danish minority in South Schleswig was a threat to 'the century-long tradition of Schleswig-Holstein unity (see: ibid., 106–8).
76. For accounts in English of the two nineteenth-century Schleswig Wars see: Adriansen and Christensen, *The First Schleswig War*; Adriansen and Christensen, *The Second Schleswig War*; and Svendsen, *The First Schleswig-Holstein War*, 1848–50 (Solihull, England: Helion & Co., 2009). Recent studies in Danish also include: Adriansen and Frandsen, *Efter 1864*. For studies relating to the Great War and/or on the plebiscite and change of the border, see for example Adriansen and Doege, *Dansk eller tysk?: agitation ved folkesafstemningerne i Slesvig i 1920;* Becker-Christensen, *Dansk mindretalspolitik*. For studies of relating to the Second World War or immediate post-war experiences, see: Hansen Nielsen, *Tyske flygtninge*; Kristensen, *Straffelejren*; Heidrich, Hillenstedt and Gerdes, *Fremdes Zuhause*; Festersen, 'Dänemark und die deutsche Volksgruppe'; Berdichevsky, 'Danish Dilemmas'; Thomsen, *Danske sydslesvigske soldater*; Klatt, *Flygtningene og Sydslesvigs*; Wingender, *Modstand i Sydslesvig*; and Noack, *Det tyske mindretal*.
78. Most noably: Loxtermann, *Das deutsch–dänische Grenzgebiet*, 4; Center for Freds- og Konfliktforskning; Kühl and Weller, *Minority Policy in Action*; and Kühl, ed., *En europæisk model?*
79. Ibid. and Bohn, *Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins*, 113.
80. Kühl, *En europæisk model?*. In two different chapters, Frank Lubowitz discusses the German minority in Denmark, 1945–1955, and the organisations of the German minority: Lubowitz, 'Det tyske mindretal i Danmark 1945–1955'; and Lubowitz, 'Det tyske mindretals organisationer'. Gösta Toft provides a chapter about the German minority's political party, Slesvigsk Parti: Toft, 'Slesvigsk Parti, 1945–2000', 157–74; and Weitling writes about the German congregations in North Schleswig: Weitling, 'Kirke og identitet'. Martin Klatt writes about the Danish minority in the period 1945–55 (Klatt, 'Det danske mindretal 1945–1955'); and Lars Henningsen discusses the Danish congregations in South Schleswig (Henningsen, 'Kirkeliv og identitet', 265–80). Finally, the editor of the volume, Jørgen Kühl, contributes with a chapter about the Danish minority political party in South Schleswig and the organisations of the Danish minority: Kühl, 'Dansk mindretalspolitik i Tyskland'; and Kühl, 'Det danske mindretals organisationer'.
81. Kühl, *En europæisk model?*

82. Kühl, ed., *København-Bonn Erklæringerne 1955–2005*; Klatt, 'De nationale mindretal' i det grænseoverskridende samarbejde 1945–2005', in ibid.
83. For a discussion on the Danish–German Border Region as an example for integration in the European Context, see: Kühl and Weller, *Minority Policy in Action*; Pedersen, 'Languages and Identities'.
84. Thaler, *Of Mind and Matter*, 2.
85. Ibid.
86. Ibid., 14.
87. Noack, *Det danske mindretal i Sydslesvig 1920–1945*; Noack, *Det danske mindretal i Sydslesvig 1948–1955*; Noack, *Det sydslesvigske grænsespørgsmål 1945–1947*.
88. Becker-Christensen, *Det tyske mindretal i Nordslesvig*.
89. For example: Braunmuller, 'Current Linguistic Situation'; Pedersen, *Dansk sprog i Sydslesvig*'; Pedersen, 'A National Minority'; Pedersen, 'German Minority Children in the Danish Border Region'; Byram, *Minority Education*; and Byram, 'Minority Schools'.
90. Pedersen, *Dansk sprog i Sydslesvig*.
91. Ibid.
92. Pedersen, 'A National Minority'.
93. Byram, *Minority Education*, xi–xii.
94. Ibid., 2.
95. Ibid., 9.
96. Lawler, *Identity: Sociological Perspectives*, 2.
97. Ibid., 8.
98. Jenkins, *Social Identity*, 4.
99. Ibid. pp. 4–5
100. Hopkins, *Young People, Place and Identity*, 7.
101. Ibid.
102. Hopkins, *Young People, Place and Identity*, 7.
103. Ibid., 10.
104. Ibid., 9.
105. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.
106. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 7.
107. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 9–10.
108. Ibid., 11.
109. Ibid., 9.
110. Smith, 'Were There Nations in Antiquity?'.
111. Edensor, *National Identity*, 9.
112. Panayi, *An Ethnic History*, 8.
113. Ibid., 9.
114. Zahra, 'The "Minority Problem"'.
115. Frieberg, 'Transnational Spaces in National Places'.
116. Eeva-Kaisa Prokkola, 'Unfixing Borderland Identity', 8.
117. James E. Bjork, *Neither German nor Pole*, 6–9.
118. In Siegfried, 'Don't Look Back in Anger', 145, the author argues that the magazines and articles produced for and by young people both influenced and reflected young people's identities.

119. The publications about and by the German secondary school in Aabenraa used can be found here: Doege, ed., *50 Jahre Deutsches Gymnasium*; Doege, ed., *25 Jahre Deutsches Gymnasium*; Festersen, ed., *50 Jahre Deutsches Gymnasium*. For publications about the college in Tinglev, see: Heimatverbunden, *Festschrift*, and Lubowitz, 'Volkshochschule Tingleff'.
120. See bibliography for complete data for each interview.
121. Perks and Thomson, eds, *The Oral History Reader*, xiii.
122. Thompson, *The Voice of the Past*, 6.
123. Ibid., 23–24.
124. Perks and Thomson, 'Critical developments'; Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, 5.
125. Abrams, 79.
126. Ibid., 81.
127. Ibid., 16.

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