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Media construction of national identities in Germany and Switzerland, 1946-1995

Kurzfassung: In einem gemeinsamen Forschungsprojekt untersuchten drei Universitäten die Konstruktion nationaler Identitäten durch Mainstream-Printmedien in historischer Perspektive. Die inhaltsanalytische Arbeit verfolgte das Ziel, herauszufinden, auf welche Weise die Medien das Konzept der Nationalität aufbauten, und die geschichtlichen Veränderungen ausfindig zu machen, denen dieses Konzept zwischen 1945 und 1995 unterworfen war. Der Aufsatz stellt die Resultate der deutschen und der schweizer Länderstudie vor.
In der deutschen Studie lag der Betrachtungsschwerpunkt auf den Veränderungsprozessen in der Konstruktion nationaler Identitäten, im Wechselspiel mit den massiven politischen und gesellschaftlichen Veränderungen in Deutschland nach dem 2. Weltkrieg. Mit den Jahren nach der Kapitulation des nationalsozialistischen Deutschland (1945), der Teilung Deutschlands in BRD und DDR (1949) bis hin zur Widervereinigung Deutschlands (1990) liegen im Untersuchungszeitraum mehrere politische und gesellschaftliche Ereignisse, die massive Auswirkungen auf die nationale Identität(en) vermuten lassen. Anhand der Berichterstattung über historische Aspekte sowie über die deutsch-deutschen Beziehungen werden speziell die Unterschiede zwischen der Berichterstattung in Ost- (DDR und Neue Bundesländer, NBL) und Westdeutschland (BRD und Alte Bundesländer, ABL) beleuchtet. Es zeigt sich dabei, dass die DDR-Presse deutlicher versuchte, eine neue nationale (DDR-) Identität zu etablieren. In massierterer Form wurden identitätsbildenden Themen dargestellt und verwendet. Die westdeutsche Presse griff dagegen eher auf subtilere Mechanismen zurück und stellte (bei Abgrenzung von der NS-Zeit - wie die ostdeutsche Berichterstattung auch) deutlich mehr Bezüge zur gemeinsamen deutschen Vergangenheit her.
Die Schweizer Studie unternahm eine quantitative Inhaltsanalyse der Identitätserzeugung durch vier Zeitungen der deutschsprachigen Schweiz vor dem Hintergrund relevanter Identitätsdimensionen und einer qualitativen Untersuchung der historischen und sozialen Veränderungen während des Untersuchungszeitraums. Einige der Ergebnisse bestätigten die vorausgehenden Erwartungen, beispielsweise in Bezug auf die durchgängige Westintegration der "neutralen" Schweiz. Im folgenden Beitrag werden jedoch die weniger offensichtlichen Aspekte der Modernisierung nationaler Identität und der zunehmenden Europaintegration besonders betont. Während sich die vier Zeitungen in ihren Berichterstattungsstilen nur vergleichsweise wenig unterschieden, konnten kontinuierliche zeitabhängige Veränderungen aufgezeigt werden, die die Modernisierung nationaler Identitäten insbesondere seit den 1970er Jahren widerspiegeln: Der unkritische Ausdruck von Nationalstolz nahm ab, traditionale Institutionen wie die Armee verloren teilweise ihren früheren Einfluss, und die Selbstdarstellung als „einzigartige" Nation wurde weniger gängig. Diese Entwicklung geht klar mit dem Prozess der zunehmenden Europaintegration der Schweiz einher.

Abstract: In a joint research project of three universities the construction of national identities by mainstream print media was analyzed in historical perspective. The goal of the content-analytical approach was to find out how the media constructed a concept of nationality and to detect the historical changes which took place between 1945 and 1995. The article presents the results of the German and Swiss country studies.
In the German study the focus was on processes of change in the construction of national identities in interaction with the enormous political and societal changes that have taken place in Germany since the Second World War. In the years since the capitulation of National Socialist Germany (1945), during which Germany was divided into the FRG and the GDR (1949) until reunification (1990), several political and societal events occurred which allow us to infer great effects on national identities. On the basis of the reporting of historical aspects and of German-German relationships, in particular differences between reporting in the East (GDR and new German states, [neue Bundesländer], NBL) and West Germany (FRG and old states [Alte Bundesländer], ABL) are illuminated. It was found that the GDR press clearly tried to establish a new national (GDR) identity. Identity-forming themes were presented and used in a distorted form. The West German press, to the contrary, employed more subtle mechanisms and made (in contrast to the NS period – as did East German reporting as well) more references to a common German past.
The Swiss study made a quantitative content analysis of identity production by four newspapers in German-speaking Switzerland against the background of the relevant identity dimensions and a qualitative investigation of historical and social transformations throughout the study period. Some of the results confirmed previous expectations, for example, the continuing Western integration of "neutral" Switzerland. However, in the following contribution the less obvious aspects of identity modernization and growing European integration will be particularly emphasized. Whereas differences in coverage among the four papers studied were of comparatively minor importance, a continuous time-dependent change could be demonstrated, reflecting the modernization of national identities, particularly since the 1970s: Uncritical expressions of national pride declined, traditional institutions like the army lost some of their previous influence, and self-presentation as a "unique" nation became less common. This coincides clearly with the country's growing European integration.

1. The national identities project

1.1 A European research project at the end of the 20th century

How do the mass media construct and reflect ideas of "nationality"? In what way has "nationalist" coverage undergone historical change, and what differences can be discerned within and between different types of newspaper? Questions like these were at the focus of a multidisciplinary research project on national identities begun as a joint undertaking by the Universities of Tampere (Finland), Konstanz (Germany) and Tartu (Estonia). With the title "Media construction of national identities in the changing state structures of post-war Europe – Nationalism and the press in Austria, Finland, Estonia, Germany and Switzerland, 1945 – 1995," this project examines the concepts and ideas of the own nation as developed by the press of the respective countries in a historical and constructivist perspective (cf. Luostarinen, 1998): A "nation" is understood as a type of community based on a variety of shared ideas and values which are built up by direct (social interaction) and indirect (mass media influence) discourse. At the end of the 20th century, the project was motivated by momentous recent events, making it even more important to understand the underlying mechanisms of this discourse:

- Integration process in the European Union, its consequences and counter-reactions.

- Demands for regional autonomy and independence.

- Reconstruction of national identities and formation of new nation states in former socialist Europe.

- Growth of ethnic and religious minorities in Europe.

- Growth of xenophobic and racist parties and movements in many European countries.

Among the various and sometimes vague connotations of "nationalism," the project analyzes the aspect of national identity construction, more specifically the print media's contribution to it throughout the post-war period in Europe. For this purpose, a content analytical framework has been developed and applied in the various countries. The present article deals with the context and the results of the German (Mattenschlager, 1997, 1998) and Swiss (Riedle, 1997, 1998) case studies.

1.2 The methodological approach

The project analyzed the construction of national identities by the mainstream press of several countries, among them Germany and Switzerland. In each country the selection of newspapers to be analyzed covered the complete political spectrum from left to right. At least one national, one regional and (if available) one tabloid paper were studied. In the German and Swiss case study, these were the papers listed in Table 1.

	national	regional	tabloid[1]
Germany	*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (FRG) *Neues Deutschland* (GDR/New Länder)	*Südkurier* (FRG) *Berliner Zeitung* (GDR/New Länder)	*Bild* (FRG)
Switzerland	*Neue Zürcher Zeitung* *Tagesanzeiger*[2]	*Thurgauer Zeitung* (*Tagesanzeiger*)	*Blick*

Table 1: Sample of newspapers in the German and Swiss case study

The study period covered the fifty years from 1945 to 1995, and in each year at least one day of national importance (e.g. the national holiday) was selected for the sample of articles to be analyzed. For these days national identity, perspective, history, etc. can be expected to play a major role in press coverage. The complete sample included all articles, editorials and political news referring to (in a broad sense) "national identities" which were published on these days. The articles were analyzed using content-analytical coding schemes which were standardized as far as possible for

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1 The tabloid papers do not cover the entire 1945 – 1995 study period. They were only published from 1953 (*Bild*) respectively 1959 (*Blick*) on.
2 The *Tagesanzeiger* was primarily considered to be a national paper. However, due to its focus on the Zurich region, it also has features of a regional paper.

the various case studies. From the resulting raw data, latent styles of identity construction were derived by means of Latent Class Analysis (LCA), a statistical method developed by Lazarsfeld (1950).

Using LCA, latent (hidden, not directly apparent from frequency tables) styles and argumentation structures can be identified. These styles are thereby described through the respective probabilities of appearance of the content-analytical variables. The occurrence of these styles can then be regarded in a second step in the context of defined criteria (e.g., passage of time, comparison of newspapers, East-West comparison) (cf. Kempf, 2002).

1.3 Variables and samples of the case studies

In the construction of the variables to be studied, an attempt was made to collect the greatest amount of comparable information in the individual sub-studies. Against the background of national peculiarities and approaches, there were also a range of specific groups of variables in the individual studies. The results presented in this article refer only to selected groups of variables from the original studies, however(cf. Table 2).[3] By year and newspaper, the reporting was analyzed on at least one day. This was respectively a day with particular national significance. While in the Swiss sub-study this was the same day over the entire research period, in the German sub-study – due to political changes – the day studied varied over the course of time (cf. Table 3).

Germany	German-German Relations Historical Aspects
Switzerland	"Patriotism" Militarism European Relations Neutrality

Table 2: Selected variable groups from the German and Swiss case studies.

Germany			
FRG	1946-1953	8 May	Anniversary of the end of the Second World War
	1949	23 May	Proclamation of the Basic law of the FRG (Grundgesetz)
		7 October	Founding of the GDR
	1954-1990	17 June	Anniversary of the workers' revolt in the GDR (national holiday)
	1990	3 October	German reunification
	1991-1995	3 October	Anniversary of German reunification (national holiday)
GDR & new states	1946-1949	8 May	Anniversary of the end of the Second World War
	1949	23 May	Proclamation of the Basic Law (Grundgesetz) of the FRG
		7 October	Founding of the GDR
	1950-1989	7 October	Anniversary of the founding of the GDR (national holiday)
	1990	3 October	German reunification
	1991-1995	3 October	Anniversary of German reunification (national holiday)
Switzerland			
	1946-1995	1 August	National holiday

Table 3: Selected study days

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3   Beyond this, relevant stylistic devices were collected in the articles studied: the use of illustrations, reference to national symbols, historical reference time points and national points of reference.

In all, the following sample sizes shown in Table 4 resulted for the two country studies:

		Number of articles
Germany[4]		
	Neues Deutschland (GDR / New Länder)	103
	Berliner Zeitung (GDR / New Länder)	108
	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FRG)	103
	Südkurier (FRG)	118
	Bild (tabloid, FRG)	142
	Total	**574**
Switzerland		
	Neue Zürcher Zeitung	139
	Thurgauer Zeitung	102
	Tagesanzeiger	114
	Blick (tabloid)	46
	Total	**401**

Table 4: The sample of analyzed articles

2. Germany: The division of a nation

2.1 The historical situation in Germany after World War II

From the perspective of nationalism, the unconditional surrender of Nazi Germany on 8 May 1945 marked the end of a very eventful and dramatic period in recent history. Starting with World War I (1914-18), nationalistic ideologies and sentiments had been manifest in all European countries and the first democratic state in Germany, the "Weimar Republic," lasting from 1919 to 1933, had failed to come to terms with economic challenges and the national humiliation of a lost war. All this had prepared the ground for the rise of National Socialism and ushered in the most ominous era in German history, characterized by genocide and the commencement of World War II.

A new era in German history then began with the end of the war and the division of German territory into four occupation zones by the victorious Allies. By introducing a currency reform in June 1948 within the boundaries of the three western occupation zones, the economic union (agreed upon at Potsdam) was abandoned, and the division of Germany into East and West took its course. With the passage of the "Basic Law" (serving as a constitution) in West Germany (23 May 1949) and the founding of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) on 7 October 1949, Germany was divided into two separate states. Although the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) was intended by its founders to be only temporary, tendencies to create a separate state can be observed during this period.

The working class revolt in East German cities on 17 June 1953 was regarded in the Federal Republic as a manifestation of the people's protest against a repressive regime in the GDR, and was, in consequence, declared a national public holiday for the purpose of keeping alive the ultimate goal of the re-unification of the two German states.

In the following years the polarization was exacerbated by both the FRG and the GDR, each integrated into the two opposing military alliances of NATO and the Warsaw Pact respectively, and by the erection of the Berlin Wall on August 13, 1961.

On 6 April 1968 the GDR introduced a "Socialist State of the German Nation," followed by enforced passport and visa requirements at its borders (also for citizens from the FRG traveling to Berlin, or crossing GDR territory). However, as early as the mid-1960s channels of communication began to be opened between the political leadership in both German states. One of the chief results of this was the "Treaty on the Foundations of Mutual Relations" (Grundlagenvertrag),

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4   In the below-discussed East-West comparisons the articles in the *Bild-Zeitung* are not considered, since no equivalent existed on the East German side.

signed by both partners on 21 December 1972. In consequence of this political agreement between two separate co-existing German states, both were admitted to membership in the United Nations (18 September 1973).

In the early 80's the rivalry, and with it the polarization, between East and West reached a peak, which also left a distinctive mark on the relations between the two German states, still separated by one of the most heavily fortified lines of demarcation between the world's big-power blocs.

Not until the mid-1980s did a policy of rapprochement between the political leaders of East and West Germany begin to take shape, encouraged by the Soviet Union's "Perestroika" policy. May 1989 marked the onset of a wave of GDR citizens crossing over to the West via Hungary. The activities of certain groups within the GDR opposed to the regime gained momentum and culminated in – and, in fact, brought about political changes there (September, 1989). November 9th of that year was the day the Berlin Wall fell, which – after almost 40 years – was seen as symbolizing the re-unification of Germany. It was officially celebrated the following year on 3 October 1990.

2.2 The national situation after World War II

Focusing on the developments and changes in national identity(-ies) in Germany after World War II certainly implies taking note of some important aspects of the German situation.

First of all, after 1949 people belonging to a single nation now lived in two distinct political systems within the framework of two opposing super-power military alliances. In consequence, post-war national identity(-ies) necessarily evolved along two diverging, and indeed contrary, lines over a longer period of time. A very interesting question is how, and to what extent, the media actually contributed to creating two new, distinctly different collective identities at the expense of the old, common national identity in post-war Germany.

The coverage given by the press to *the relationship between the now "two German states"* is, therefore, among others, an extremely relevant aspect.

One has to keep in mind, though, that the concept of "nationality" had been, in the more recent past, grossly abused by Hitler to legitimize his policy of brute force, violence and oppression. As a result, the attitudes of post-war generations in Germany towards the "national heritage" were clearly negative. An important factor contributing to the formation of a nation's collective identity is its national history. Yet, with respect to the two new German states, the most recent period in Germany's history did not lend itself to serving as a suitable basis to rebuild the former seriously-damaged national identity. Another interesting point in the study of post-war Germany is the way in which the media, under these auspices, handled these "*historical aspects*."

2.3 The forbidden past

Which facets contribute to a definition of the concept of "nationalism"? Although the answer to this question is still disputed, there appears to be a kind of consensus with regard to the relationship between national identity and commonly-shared, unifying memories – in other words: national history – as an important community-building factor among the members of a nation (Deutsch 1966, Koenen 1975, Alter 1985, Uffelmann 1994, Dann 1996).

In contrast to other criteria commonly used to characterize "national identity," e.g., territory, language, religion, etc., history is one such criterion defining "nationalism" which – because the writing of history cannot be totally objective – is subject to selective perception, interpretation, and perhaps even manipulation. The presentation of history in a national context, and particularly its evaluation, can be used to influence the evolution of "national identity" in a very direct manner, because it is presented to the public in an already "processed" version; e.g., some aspects of history are presented as "good," while others may be labeled "bad," i.e., as running counter to "national identity."

In the German context, therefore, the way one handles data on "national identity" is interesting to observe from two different viewpoints.

First, the coverage of the latest historical events that were commonly shared by all Germans, in particular the crimes against humanity of the Nazi-era and World War II.

Second, the process of coming to terms with an ambivalent situation: two evolving political entities, competing with each other, yet sharing the same historical background as a common basis of their new collective identities. How do the printed media, when referring to historical aspects, impress upon the public the polarization or solidarity between the now two German nations?

The answer to the first question is not really surprising: both German states certainly handled the hard facts of their most recent common history (i.e., the Nazi-past) in terms of a radical break with the past and a counter-identity. The

new German states were aware of the brutality and the resulting crimes of their recent past. The newly-evolving Germany(-ies), with their young generation(s), both in the present as well as in the future, were definite about what they were not going to be: fascist, brutal, intolerant. This logic was used to create an important common basis for the identity of the new states and their citizens. Certainly, this aspect of national identity did not evolve solely from within these new nations, it was in the first place strongly suggested and emphasized by the Allies.

In the press-coverage of both German political systems, this logic can be found in terms of negative historical points of reference, and as logical arguments within the LCA. Also, it is not surprising that the same observation could be made in the later socialist GDR, even more so than in the FRG.

A second question is how the printed media handled the problem that after 1949 people with the same historical background lived in two different state systems which, at least in a rudimentary way, tried to create two new, distinctive and separate national identities. Can one observe movements toward isolation or rapprochement in the media coverage of national celebrations and public holidays? One first indication could be seen in the use of historical points of reference in relevant articles. While reading the articles, I took brief notes on these references, and I came to some interesting conclusions: The papers in East Germany were more likely to cite the end of World War II (cf. above) and aspects of the passage of time of the already-divided Germany as positive historical points of reference (five times as often as in West German papers!). Historical aspects of a single German state as positive points of reference, as had been the case before 1933, and as occasionally referred to in the West German press, were practically ignored in the GDR-papers. These, probably, can be seen as indications that in East German papers there were stronger tendencies to emphasize a new, distinctly different and separate national identity. Connections and links to a common German history were not mentioned. The historiography of the GDR within the context of the construction of a collective identity beginning with National Socialism, as a negative reference, leads to the foundation of the German Democratic Republic and the development of socialism, which were viewed as positive achievements. The East German media seemed to emphasize a socialist identity as something new – beyond the then current German identity – but with a duty to debate the latest phase of German history; to make sure that recent history would not be repeated. This tendency can be also be observed in the LCA results below (style 3).

The West German media, on the other hand, attempt to build bridges and links to almost every era in German history, trying to put to use the historical experiences gained before the Nazi-era as the common backdrop for an all-German historical identity, therefore considering itself to be the legitimate successor to this German history (e.g., the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation" or the "Weimar Republic").

Including the LCA results makes the analysis more differentiated (cf. Figures 1-2).

What is shown here are four distinct types (styles) of press coverage with regard to historical argumentation in relevant articles. First, style 1 can be found more frequently than average when employed by national papers like the FAZ for the FRG, and *Neues Deutschland* for the GDR. Here, the theory of "two German states" is discussed as controversial, and at the same time, the international context is described in terms of complementation (it is the only style using this aspect!). This is the style that tries to come to terms with the National Socialist past in discussing the situation of a divided Germany. Interestingly – and here it is comparable to style 2 –, their usage does not show much difference between East and West German papers. Variations in the use of this style reflect different political situations. So, this style is very prevalent after the end of World War II, and also at the time of, and after, re-unification.

Style 2, as already mentioned, which is only slightly more frequent in East German media, is characterized by a negative assessment of the division of Germany and by a critical discussion of the eras of unified Germany. It must be stressed that this style becomes most prominent after re-unification.

So far, and surprisingly enough, the differences in the media-coverage of historical material between the FRG and GDR are very small.

The most frequent style – which is common to all of the analyzed papers – is style 4. This style does not in any way make use of historical arguments. Yet, this non-usage of historical arguments is clearly more frequent in West German papers.

By comparison, in the East German press another style is very typical. Style 3 (already mentioned above) only appears in *Neues Deutschland* and the *Berliner Zeitung* and can therefore be termed a typically East German way of handling the issue. In this style, historical aspects of divided Germany are assessed positively, a clean break with Nazi-Germany is demonstrated, and the international context is portrayed in terms of conflict. This type of argumentation, a specialty of the GDR press, becomes extremely prominent in the periods following the political agreements during the period of co-existence of the two separate state entities; for example 1969-1974: with the signing of the "Treaty on the Foundations of Mutual Relations" on Dec. 21,1972, and subsequently, the admission of the two Germanys as equal member states to the United Nations on Sept. 18, 1973. As far as the GDR was concerned, this turn of events was seen and can be

interpreted as a forceful attempt to establish its own history, independent of and distinct from the FRG and the former common history. In other words, the LCA here plausibly illustrates the effort to create a new GDR identity, or at least a new common history for East German citizens. Its main significance is that it starts with the end of World War II (and fascism as a counter-identity) and emphasizes the development and the advantages of Socialism achieved in the years following the foundation of the Republic.
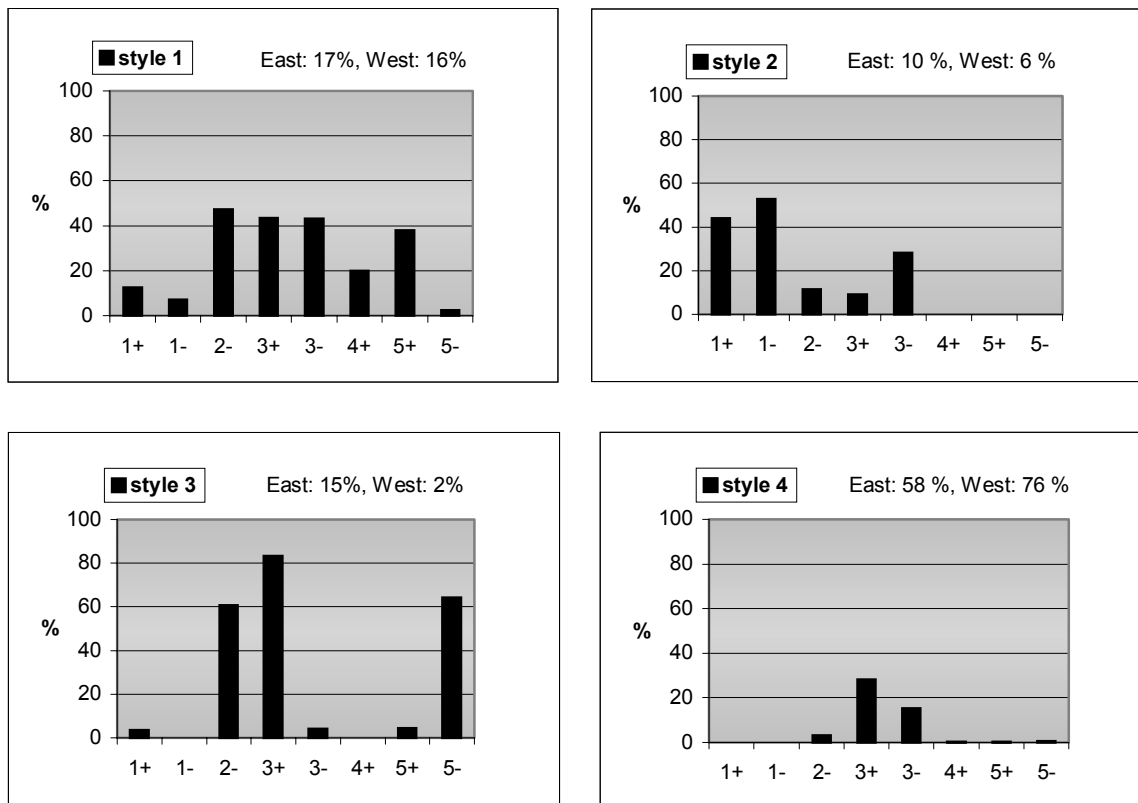

1+ Positive evaluation of aspects of shared German history (before 1933 0r after 1990). **1-** Negative evaluation of these aspects. **2-** Negative evaluation of aspects of German history during the Third Rich (1933-1945). **3+** Positive evaluation of aspects of divergent German history (1945-1990). **3-** Negative evaluation of these aspects. **4+** Emphasis on the cultural unity of East and West Germany / reference to the shared cultural past. **5+** International history: mention of periods of fruitful cooperation with other states and/or representation of unnecessary wars and conflicts with other states. **5-** International history: emphasis on conflicts and wars (as means to enforce rights) and/or definition and presentation of national enemies and/or demands for retribution and revenge.

Figure 1: Construction of historical aspects in the German Press

The main results with regard to the coverage of historical aspects can thus be summarized as follows:

1. Both German states demonstrate a clear and uncompromising break with National Socialism as a common basis for a new historical identity. This effort is more apparent in the publications of the East German press.

2. The attempts to build a new history found in the examined material appear to be more intensive in the East German sub-sample than in that of the FRG.

3. The West German print media try to create links and points of reference to nearly all eras of German history, while, in contrast, argumentation in the East starts in most cases as late as the end of World War II. The period before that is practically ignored by East German media when reflecting on GDR-history, thus creating a particular GDR-image. In other words, it can be observed that the GDR media try to break with the past common German history and build something new and different: a socialist identity. The style typical for this argumentation is most prominent during the period of the political co-existence of two German entities.
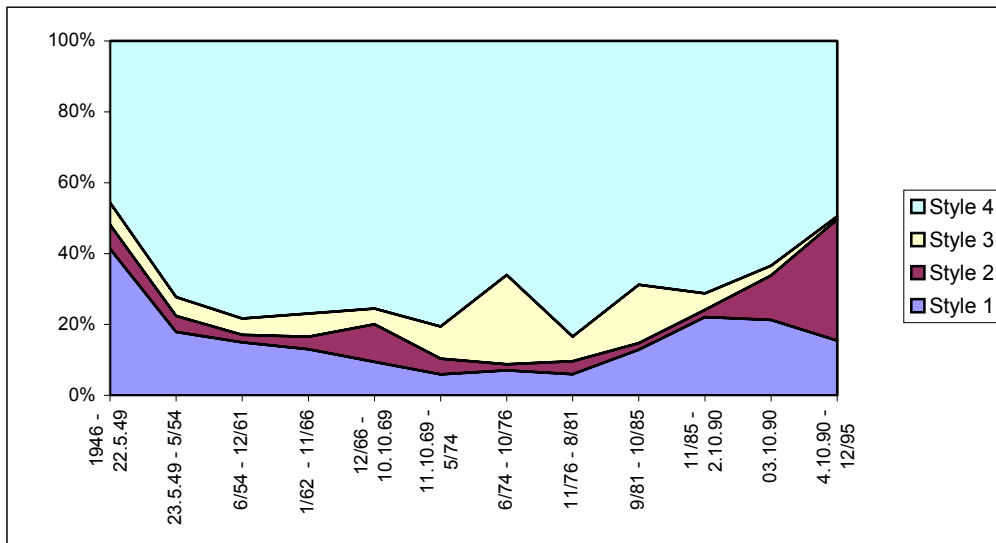
Style 1 (15,0%) is characterised by an argumentation in which the era of „two German states" is discussed in a controversial manner. **Style 2** (7,8%) is characterised by a negative assessment of the division of Germany. **Style 3** (6,5%) is characterised by a positive assessment of the division of Germany. In **Style 4** (70,6%) historical aspects are rarely mentioned.

Figure 2: Construction of historical aspects over the course of time

2.4 The image of the other German state

A rough chronology of the time-span in which Germany was divided into two parts was presented earlier in this chapter. Because of the peculiarity of this situation, it seems necessary to include some further results concerning the relationship between the two German states in this chapter.

After the division of Germany by the Allies at the end of the war there were mainly three aspects defining the relationship between the two German states within the context of national identities:

a)   the question of the re-unification of the state-systems, either 'yes' or 'no', as a political goal,

b)   the question of the legitimacy of either state-system, and

c)   the obvious and threatening rivalry and antagonism between East and West Germany.

Re-unification of the two German state-systems as a political goal? Hardly any other topic was as heatedly and provocatively discussed in the FRG between 1945 and 1989. The arguments and political statements on the matter differed greatly depending on diverging basic political views, often heated up by a very fluid national and international situation. For example: "German Unification through West-integration" could – with the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961 – no longer serve as a model, for which it was neither useful nor even credible. It was then replaced by the idea that (instead of a unification of two separate state-systems), the goal of national unity should be given a chance. One result was that by politically acknowledging each other as separate states – (a beginning was made in 1963 with the first signed agreement on passports for West-Berliners, enabling them to visit their relatives in East Berlin, and the "Eastern Treaties") – improvements on a humanitarian level between the two German states could be achieved.

Younger Germans, born after the division of Germany, perceived the "reality of two German states" as a rather normal situation. As a result, the sentiment of a commonly shared identity between the two groups of citizens grew weaker among younger Germans. However, the political discussion of re-unification, with its arguments for and against, was – on the intellectual, cognitive level – a significant point of reference, and it remains an important factor which has to be kept in mind when studying the evolution of national identity(-ies) in Germany.

Legitimacy of either state-system. Linked very closely with the discussion of re-unification is the question of the legitimacy of each respective German state. Concerns like international recognition and the opening of diplomatic relations, in line with international standards between two sovereign states, demarcate this problem.

It seems obvious that accepting the other state as sovereign certainly had repercussions for the core of one's own self-image (for example: was the FRG only a temporary institution for as long as re-unification had not, as yet, been achieved, or was it a sovereign state with its own vision of the future, i.e., independently of the GDR?).

Rivalry, antagonism between West- and East Germany. Studying the articles in the print media from 1949 to 1995 which are relevant to the empirical analysis gave an impression of the day-to-day usage of the mass-media: the other German state (i.e., from my view-point the GDR) is presented as a kind of gauge enabling me to calibrate and assess the FRG's potentials and achievements. A direct comparison with the "other" Germany is a frequently used argumentative figure in all examined papers, both East and West German. The economic and social situation, (as well as soccer and other sports, which unfortunately were not included in this analysis) in the "other Germany" is, according to this kind of logic, often used as a first point of reference for analysis and reports on one's own "superior" performance. This manner of drawing a comparison with, and at the same time dissociating oneself from, the "other" (in the sense of: "That is how they do things, but we are much better") is certainly a mechanism fostering the process of division, and diminishing sentiments like "we belong together."

Finally, it seems to be very important in all this not to lose sight of the overall international political context within which these German-German observations took place: after 1955, when the FRG became a member of NATO, and the GDR joined the Warsaw Pact, the dividing line between the two German states automatically became the frontier between the two formidable military alliances facing each other across the Iron Curtain. Along the inner-German border, this frontier was very real, something to be taken seriously, and therefore more threatening than other lines of demarcation around the world. During the years of the Cold War, international disagreements and mutual distrust left their marks on the respective image of the other German state, in this way deepening the dissolution of a formerly shared national identity.

It is interesting to observe these aspects in the context of the LCA-results (cf. Figure 3-4):

Re-unification of the two German state-systems as a political goal? The relevant items can be found most frequently in Style 3. This style appears in East and West German papers, but the focus of attention shifts somewhat over time. It is prominent at one very definite point in time (i.e., immediately after World War II), but it is most frequent after re-unification. However, it shifts to a critical discussion of the situation in the period after re-unification, replacing the earlier for or against argumentation.

Another style employs this aspect very often: style 6, a typically West German style, appears throughout the post-war period. A few critical statements on the topic are clearly out-weighed by twice as many positive arguments. This argument in favor of re-unification as a political goal is enforced by the favorable documentation of the Western political system and goes hand-in-hand with a denigration of the GDR. The justification for this claim lies, therefore, in the socio-political context. All other styles use arguments slightly in favor of re-unification, but not to a great extent. As long as Germany was divided, this topic appeared (to a noticeable degree) only in West German papers.

Legitimacy of a state system. As for the question of re-unification, this is also an aspect seriously discussed in only West German papers. There is only one style dealing with argumentation on this: style 7. This style treats the question as controversial. And here again, the argumentation is based on the assumed superiority of the West German socio-political system. It appears mainly in the FAZ and was very prominent from 1969 to 1976. This was the era when the Social Democrats entered into a coalition with the liberal Free Democrats to form a national government which openly favored – and, in fact, created avenues towards – peaceful co-existence with the GDR. However, compared with style 6, style 7 is less common. Style 6 appears to be a relatively predominant and enduring feature of the West German press. Style 7, on the other hand, seems to be used – mainly by the conservative FAZ – in the context of current political events, perhaps reflecting the critical voices and reactions of opposition parties.

Moreover, it may be worth mentioning that on the level of the spoken word the topic is at first glance discussed in balanced terms, however controversially. Yet, a clear answer to the question of "legitimacy" is given rather indirectly by implication: by implying that the GDR's political system is inferior to that of the FRG.

The rivalry and antagonism between West and East Germany. This aspect of the relationship between the two Germanys can be found in all papers.

The LCA-results regarding this topic indicate that different styles are, more or less exclusively, used by the East and West German print media. For either Germany one can identify a style focusing more on the economic system: style 2 for the West German press, and style 4 for the East German papers. In figure 3 it can be seen that East German style 4 is quite obviously more assertive, even bombastic, in its argumentation than style 2. In every article of style 4 the GDR economic and political system is assessed in a positive manner. Both aspects are slightly devaluated for the FRG. In contrast, West German style 2 focuses on economic aspects only. The positive evaluation of the Western system is complemented here by the devaluation of the GDR economic system. The argumentation in style 2 is not as suggestive as in style 4, and it does not appear to be as frequent.
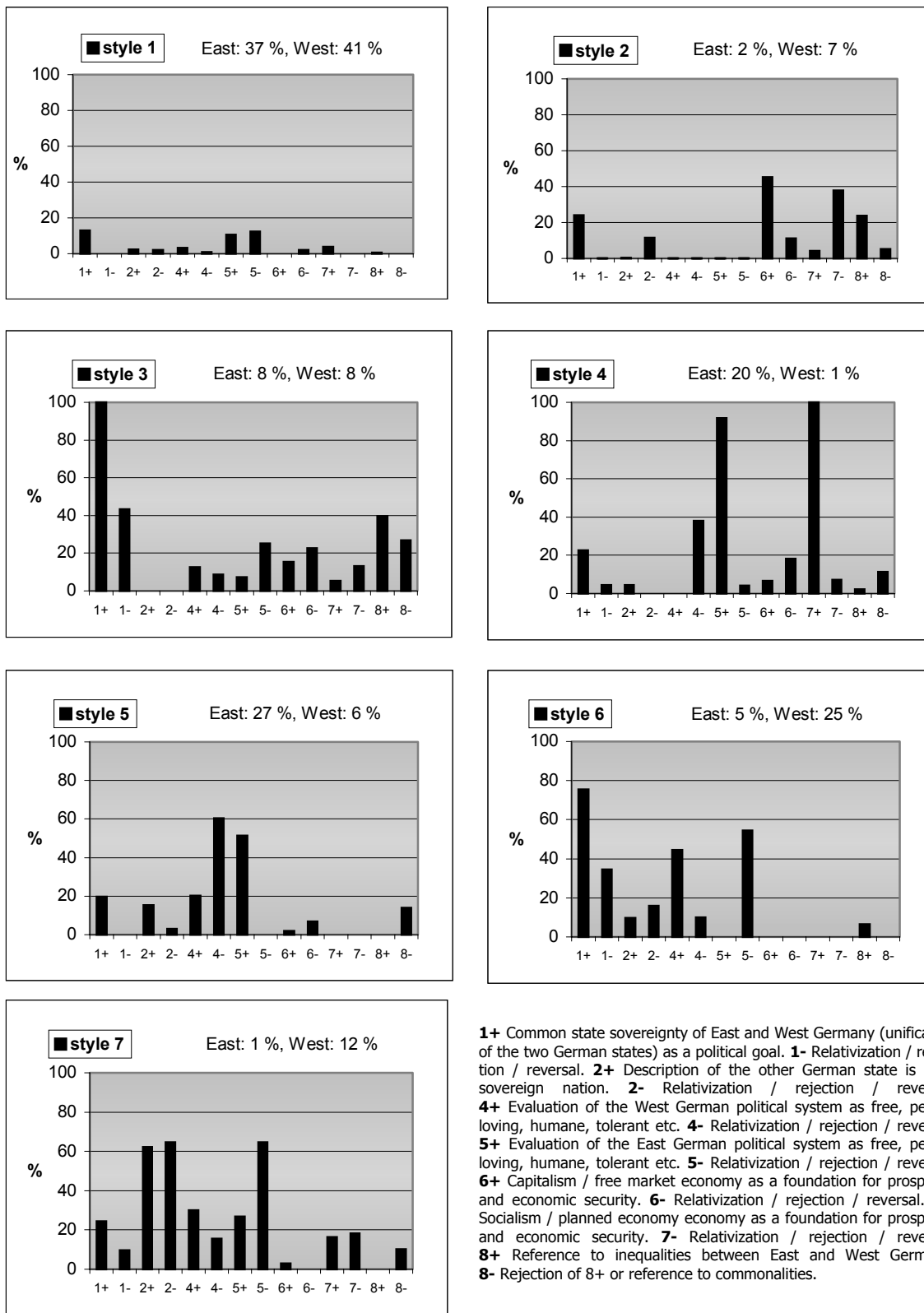
style 1 — East: 37 %, West: 41 %

style 2 — East: 2 %, West: 7 %

style 3 — East: 8 %, West: 8 %

style 4 — East: 20 %, West: 1 %

style 5 — East: 27 %, West: 6 %

style 6 — East: 5 %, West: 25 %

style 7 — East: 1 %, West: 12 %

1+ Common state sovereignty of East and West Germany (unification of the two German states) as a political goal. **1-** Relativization / rejection / reversal. **2+** Description of the other German state is as a sovereign nation. **2-** Relativization / rejection / reversal. **4+** Evaluation of the West German political system as free, peace-loving, humane, tolerant etc. **4-** Relativization / rejection / reversal. **5+** Evaluation of the East German political system as free, peace-loving, humane, tolerant etc. **5-** Relativization / rejection / reversal. **6+** Capitalism / free market economy as a foundation for prosperity and economic security. **6-** Relativization / rejection / reversal. **7+** Socialism / planned economy economy as a foundation for prosperity and economic security. **7-** Relativization / rejection / reversal. **8+** Reference to inequalities between East and West Germans. **8-** Rejection of 8+ or reference to commonalities.

*Figure 3*: Construction of German-German relations in the German press

Two other styles concentrate more on socio-political aspects. For the West German press, style 7, mentioned above (as found mainly in the FAZ), argues in this context chiefly against the socio-political system of the GDR, sometimes mentioning positive aspects of the West German system. Both argumentations are somewhat complemented by their opposites, which creates the impression of a more differentiated argumentation. Style 5, taking up this topic in the East German papers, appears to be more direct in its approach: characteristically this style discredits the FRG system (the most prominent aspect of this particular style) and comments favorably on the East German system. Again, it is more frequent than its West German equivalent.

Rivalry – in terms of comparison – appears to be very important in all papers. But the examined sample of the GDR-press seems to emphasize this aspect more heavily and in a more direct manner, as well as more frequently, than the comparable West German samples.

Other results on the relationship between the two German states:

The coverage in East and West German papers, once again, shows significant differences. Only style 3 (most prominent after re-unification) is used in both sub-sub-samples in a comparable way. The presses in the FRG and the GDR handle this topic in clearly different ways. The styles typical of the East German press disappear almost completely after 1990. They are replaced by the argumentation typical of the pre-unification FRG.

Another interesting aspect focuses on the comparison of the inter-personal relations of citizens in East and West Germany. The West German papers more often emphasize differences between people on the personal level in East and West Germany. Moreover, the discussion of differences between the people of either former state is very prominent after re-unification (style 3); this is a phenomenon which certainly contributes little, if anything at all, to the process of integration. It can probably be interpreted as a "documentation of stunned bewilderment" at the rifts that had developed over nearly 50 years between the two separate German entities.
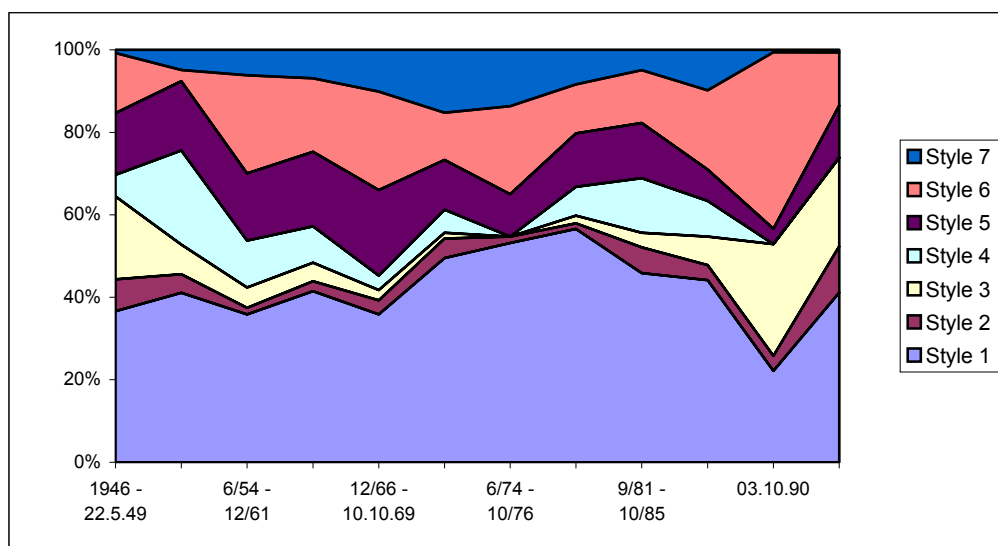
Style 1 (41,8%): little mentioning of the theme. **Style 2** (4,3%): comparison of the economic systems I (mainly east-german papers). **Style 3** (8,3%): clear agreement with (or demand for) reunification I (east- and west-german papers). **Style 4** (7,7%): comparison of the economic systems II (mainly west-german papers). **Style 5** (13,45 %): comparison of the political systems I (mainly east-german papers). **Style 6** (17,8%) clear agreement with (or demand for) reunification II (mainly west-german papers). **Style 7** (6,6 %): comparison of the political systems II (mainly west-german papers)

Figure 4: Construction of German-German relations over the course of time

The main results of this part, therefore, may briefly be summarized as follows:

1. The Coverage in the GDR press clearly shows the attempt to establish a new national identity. The legitimacy of the other state system and the goal of re-unification are ignored.

2. Rivalry (i.e., antagonism), which is a preoccupation in East and West German papers, appears to be more pronounced and suggestive in the GDR-media. This, in my view, can be interpreted as an attempt to allege and/or propagate one's own superiority and independence within the context of socio-economics as a basis for a new collective national identity.

3. Coverage in West German papers appears to be more subtle, yet at the same time it also displays a high degree of conflict, sending a somewhat different signal – the main message here would seem to be not: "Our new German state can exist as an independent and sovereign entity," but rather: "The GDR is on the wrong track."

    Following this line of argument, the claim to re-unification and the discussion of the legitimacy of the other state system (as proposed in the more conservative FAZ) can then be viewed as simply logical.

3.   Switzerland: From institutional isolation to growing European integration

3.1 The "multicultural" background of Swiss national identity

Remembering the goal of analyzing the media production of changing national identities in post-war Europe, one could ask whether the Swiss media are of any interest: Switzerland was not actively involved as a combatant in the two World Wars (so the notion of a post-war period could be doubted), has a long-established and consistently pursued policy of political and military neutrality and is a small non-EU country for which worldwide relations with trading and financial market partners outside Europe were a reality even at a time when hardly anybody used the term "globalization." Throughout the whole post-war period Switzerland enjoyed internal stability, and its relations with other countries were also very stable. However, a second glance at these characteristics indicates the usefulness of more profound analyses, for example, in order to find out whether the media have also produced stable national identities and what the consequences of internal social transformations and European integration are for the expression of journalists' viewpoints on the nation. These analyses were carried out in a historical perspective focusing on the daily newspapers of the country's German-speaking areas, where in fact the most influential media are located.

One of the most striking features of Swiss society is the great variety of life styles, cultural situations, socio-economic backgrounds, values and political attitudes to be found among its 7 million inhabitants. Unlike stereotypical images of Switzerland as typically a rural and mountainous country, the vast majority of the population lives in the Swiss midlands, which could be considered a single conurbation spread over the rather flat areas between the Alps and the Jura mountains, from the Northeast (Lake Constance) to the Southwest (Lake Geneva). In spite (or because?) of its small size, Switzerland is one of the most international and multicultural countries in Europe, not only due to its four official languages, but also to its long tradition of immigration, encouraged, on the one hand, by economic prosperity, social opportunities, and, on the other hand, by political and economic crises in immigrants' home countries. The percentage of foreigners is particularly high in centers of industry, trade and diplomacy like Geneva and Basel, where in some urban districts it exceeds 50%. At Zurich Technical University (ETH), more than 40% of the scientific staff come from abroad, contributing to an international atmosphere which is still unusual in other parts of Europe: In the words of its president (of German origin), the ETH is "a window on the world which has no equivalent in Germany." Similarly, some French-speaking regions of the *Romandie* (like Geneva, the second largest city) are "windows on the world," partly culturally oriented towards Paris and sometimes severely critical of the conservative mentalities and remaining cultural borders in the central and eastern parts of Switzerland.

If one looks at external relations, the traditional "global" orientation of Swiss foreign policy and economic policy was not limited to Western Europe, the focal point of most current efforts for political and economic integration. Some Swiss citizens regret that this orientation has given way to a more "European" or "internal" perspective: As former ambassador August R. Lindt, then 95 years old, once pointed out in an interview: "In my opinion the EU is simply too small. For me, internationally Switzerland is of global importance and not limited to the EU. Switzerland ought to play a global role again, mediating for example between the rich countries and the Third World. ... Switzerland should join the world instead of the EU." Should this position be considered simply an old man's exaggerated national self-esteem, or rather the basis of a kind of globalization which includes humanitarian responsibility and cultural openness going beyond economic "shareholder value"? (cf. *Tagesanzeiger* 1999).

The multiple overlap of linguistic, political, regional and religious loyalties has been considered one of the most important factors for the maintenance of stability (cf. Schwander 1977, Steiner & Obler 1977). The linguistic regions do not defend their interests as homogenous blocks, but have their internal micro-structures and act according to these various loyalties and the long federal tradition. The fact that there have been no attempts to abolish cultural differences by state pressure, but, on the contrary, there is official encouragement of diversity (provided it remains within the boundaries of the "consensual" framework) could explain the absence of violent ethnic conflicts since the 1848 Federal State's foundation. Whereas in most other "multicultural" states ethnic conflicts have expressed themselves in open violence, in Switzerland they could be dealt with by the well-established procedures of consensus-oriented bargaining and decision-making, leaving the Jura conflict the only example of a more complicated political situation. The well-known instruments of direct democracy, referendum and initiative have further contributed to the development of "consociational democracy" (a concept developed by political scientists, esp. in the Netherlands: cf. Daalder 1971, Steiner & Obler 1977): This term means the ongoing effort to find a political compromise before a decision is taken, in order to maintain

the consensus principle as society's essential basis. In their analysis, however, Steiner & Obler conclude that Swiss history and the present situation could only to some extent be described by the original concept of "consociationalism." They explained the rare expression of open ethnic hostilities with other factors, including the high general level of prosperity, leaving no group with a feeling of "relative deprivation," and the similar international status of the two major languages, German and French. In addition, they referred (as early as 1977) to the slow pace of innovation as a by-product of consensus-oriented systems. Indeed, disappointment with the political system has grown in recent years, especially since the official 700th anniversary celebrations held by Switzerland in 1991. Major events which contributed to this frustration were the rejection of the treaty on the European Economic Area (EEA) in the December 1992 referendum, the economic recession of the 1990s, the recent crises or even bankruptcy of businesses which were once sources of national pride (ABB, Credit Suisse, Swissair) and the discussion of Switzerland's role in the Second World War, highlighting its economic relations with Nazi Germany and restrictive refugee policy.

This short introduction to the "multicultural" background of Swiss national identity was included because the study which produced the following results is in fact limited to the content analysis of 400 news articles and editorials in the *German-speaking* Swiss press (*Neue Zürcher Zeitung, Tagesanzeiger,* the tabloid *Blick* and a regional paper, *Thurgauer Zeitung*), which appeared on national holidays (August 1) between 1946 and 1995. Voting results of federal referenda and initiatives indicate that the *Romandie* differs in the judgment of "delicate" political issues – like European integration, immigration policy, ecological and transport policy and military issues. Even though a difference among linguistic regions may also be discerned in media coverage, it is by no means the only one of relevance. For example, voting behavior also differs between the urban conurbations of German-speaking Switzerland (Zurich, Basel, Berne) and more rural/mountainous areas.

3.2 The institutional process of European integration

After a very slim majority of only 50.3% of voters had rejected Switzerland's Federal decision on joining the EEA on 6 December 1992, it took more than six years to find an alternative solution for Swiss participation in the process of European integration. The voters' "no" shocked large segments of the political élites which had prepared the treaty, but was in accordance with other votes against increased institutional integration, like the rejection of UN membership in 1986 (in another vote in 2002 Switzerland finally joined the UN), which have sometimes been explained by the fact that anonymous "big" bureaucracies are distrusted by people accustomed to basic democratic decision-making procedures. For the government (Federal Council), which had already applied for full EU membership before, the "EEA no" meant that bilateral negotiations with the EU were the only possible way to end institutional isolation, even if not in complete accordance with official EU philosophy, which only foresees "common policy" and an automatic transposition of internal market rules by *acquis communautaire*, but no individual paths for individual countries. The results of bilateral negotiations are a series of interrelated documents or *dossiers* on the most important political and economic issues of institutional integration, like free trade, technical harmonization, freedom of movement, land and air transport, agriculture, public procurement, research, internal security and participation in EU programs (e.g., media, statistics, environment). The first series of bilateral treaties came into force in summer 2002, almost ten years after the 1992 vote.

The slow process of political or institutional integration contrasts with Switzerland's traditionally intense process of economic and cultural integration. Due to its geographical position at the very center of Western Europe, cultural exchanges with all European (and also non-European) countries have always been important, as the high percentage of foreigners (nearly a fifth of the resident population) and the opportunities for multilingualism clearly demonstrate. In economic terms, Switzerland belongs to the group of "small open economies" which have high levels of export-oriented external trade, high status as financial and service centers and good preconditions for international economic activities, including political stability, liberalized financial markets, a central geographical position and an excellent transport and communication infrastructure (Kriesi 1998). However, since the end of the Cold War political neutrality is assessed differently in the international context and is no longer accepted as a sound principle of foreign policy. Kriesi (1998) postulates that new international challenges have split the Swiss population into two ideologically clearly different groups which can less and less be reconciled by the traditional procedures of consensus and compromise: "One group demands an even stronger retreat and conjures up the old myths, whereas the other favors self-criticism and an opening towards the international sphere. ... The split is particularly evident in referenda on issues which are central to the "myth of Switzerland": military, employment, immigrants and foreign policy. A cleft has opened between a rural Switzerland highly attached to traditions and a modern, urban Switzerland. Both groups are not primarily divided along the well-known political borders, but represent a conflict between two life styles: The one dominated by the traditional values of family, church, work and home region, the other by anti-authoritarian values and a striving for individual emancipation. The issue separates younger and older generations, geographically more and less flexible persons as well as men and women with higher educational levels and the rest of the population." Supporting this hypothesis are some recent results of parliamentary elections where ideological differences between the parties have sharpened and industrialist Christoph

Blocher's right-wing SVP party gained strength. Blocher is a clear adversary of institutional integration and claims that Swiss EU membership would mean higher taxes, more unemployment and more bureaucracy.

From the perspective of political science, one main question is whether the most efficient way of influencing decision-making on the European level is a high degree of formal/institutional integration, or rather "standing apart" and using informal instruments to exert influence. In one recent working paper, Kux (1998) analyzes this question for transport policy, an issue where the "communitarization" of decisions (the transfer of competences from member states to the European Commission) has made much progress in recent years. His results and conclusions may in part be transferred to other policy areas. According to Kux, the relative openness of EU institutions and procedures offers non-member states numerous options for participation. In the specific case of Switzerland's opportunities to influence EU transport policy, there are a range of other favorable conditions, like the transit function of Switzerland, the interdependence of different policy aspects and the innovative role of Swiss policy, providing a "first mover advantage" in the European context. Another opportunity is the growing influence of sub-state and non-governmental levels (intermediary organizations), which ease the articulation of interests, widen the basis of EU policy and partly compensate for the "democratic deficiencies" of the formal Community institutions. Intermediary organizations have the potential for influencing decision-making in changing "advocacy coalitions" beyond the traditional institutional focus of political procedures. On the other hand, there are clear-cut limits to non-membership, especially in areas going beyond the "conceptual phase": For decisions on "hard policy," like taxes or financing, European procedures are relatively closed to non-member states. Among "third states" the recent focus of the European Commission has increasingly been on the relation to Central and Eastern European Countries (CEEC). The accession of ten new members to the EU, most of them from the CEEC, plus Romania and Bulgaria later on, will probably further reduce Swiss influence.

To sum up, the question of institutional integration, being the central issue of foreign policy, ought to be considered a central theme in the analysis of the media production of national identities. How are the varying levels of integration assessed in the press? Do coverage styles differ from "public opinion," as expressed in referenda and initiatives? How do the described transformations of social structures and ideological loyalties, as discernible in media coverage, interact with the judgment of integration policy? Are there differences between a short-term and a long-term perspective? In the following section I will try to approach these questions using the content analysis results for four papers: *Neue Zürcher Zeitung, Tagesanzeiger, Blick* and *Thurgauer Zeitung* between 1946 and 1995 (Riedle 1997).

## 3.3 Major results on modernizing national identity and European integration

The two issues of modernizing national identity and European integration are interrelated in media coverage, but the results of our content analysis do not allow us to test in detail the hypothesis of Hanspeter Kriesi (1998) that Swiss society is gradually shifting away from a nation-wide consensus towards more polarized ideological positions. However, it is possible to verify some long-term tendencies in the evolution of both aspects. By "national identity modernization" I understand an increase in individualism, pluralism and self-critical judgment of one's national history. The analysis of French-speaking papers and possibly also an extension of the analysis to the period after 1995 would probably make it possible to check some hypotheses about a "more polarized present phase." One example is the coverage of a meeting in summer 1999 of Second World War veterans, who were celebrating the 60th anniversary of national defense by the Swiss army, and General Guisan. Whereas the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* responded to the event with a very favorable comment, mentioning that it was more important than the political demonstrations of "certain minorities," some French-speaking papers referred to the veterans as a "mob" still committed to militarism and xenophobic nationalism.

Among the variable groups analyzed, the following are selected to give an impression of national identity modernization and European integration: *"patriotism"* and the assessment of one's own state (cf. Figure 5), the *role of the army* (cf. Figure 6-7), *neutrality* (cf. Figure 8) and *European relations* (cf. Figure 9-10).

The "*patriotism*" variable group is a conglomerate of variables related to national pride, the achievements of the Swiss political system, statements on citizens' national identification, and also national self-criticism, crises of the political system and the opposites of these variables. The fact that a six-style solution has been selected as best suited for the data structure indicates that the issue might be more complicated than others (like the multiculturalism group). In the most common style, found in almost exactly half of all articles, neither of the variables is frequently referred to. Sometimes (in 23% of all articles with this style) national achievements are mentioned. However, they are not used to justify or favor national pride. Considering the fact that all the texts were published on the national holiday (or the preceding or following days), it is interesting to find that half of them are not related to patriotism, national ideologies or – on the other hand – national self-criticism. The second largest class, representing 26.7% of the texts, might be described as an openly nationalistic coverage style. In nearly all cases (90%) it is characterized by expressions of national pride and references to the achievements of one's own political system. Doubts about these statements occur only very rarely. In some cases (13%) the authors mentioned national crises, but most frequently only to describe them

as manageable or to say that in the past similar problems had been resolved by the nation. Another style, representing about 11% of all texts, is characterized by national self-criticism. National pride is considerably more often questioned (46%) than affirmed (22%), and in many cases (34%) even the importance of national achievements is doubted. All the articles of this group express national self-criticism, and frequently (35%) there are references to crises. In contrast to the second style, there are no references to the potentials of crisis management or problem-solving.

The remaining three styles represent only small percentages (between 3% and 6%) of the material. The differences in style usage between the four papers analyzed were not statistically significant. However, it is interesting to analyze the statistically-significant differences in coverage styles between the post-war periods: The "patriotic" style decreases continuously between the late 1940s (80% – but keep in mind that the articles appeared on the national holiday) and the 1970s and later stabilizes at a low level. The neutral or self-critical styles, on the other hand, display an opposite tendency: Whereas in the 1940s and 1950s they were rather marginal, they represent more than three-quarters of national holiday coverage in the 1980s. The direct expression of national self-criticism peaked in the 1970s, identifying this as a period of national modernization and critical debates where positions characteristic of earlier periods were reversed. In the 1980s and 1990s the consequences of this turning point persisted (as shown by the relatively small changes occurring then), but, on the other hand, there was again a modest movement toward the opposite, "patriotic" direction.
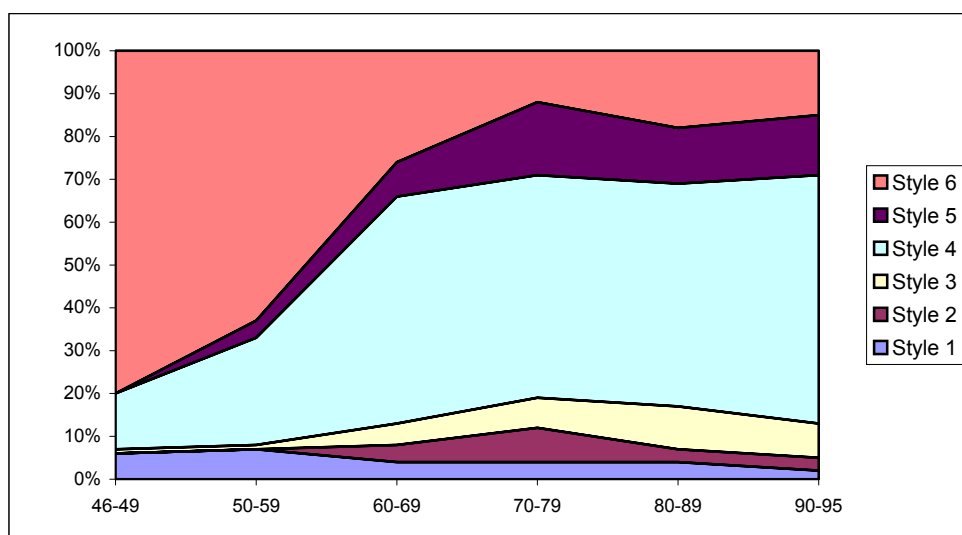
Style 1 (4,3%) often refers to pride and national achievements, but discusses controversially the question of national identification in Switzerland. **Style 2** (3,3%) is a more emphasized version of a "patriotic style", characterized by references to pride and national achievements. National self-criticism is always rejected. **Style 3** (5,8%) can be described as a more subtle version of a "self-critical" coverage. **Style 4** (49%) comprises none or few of the analysed variables and refers sometimes to national achievements. "Patriotic" issues do not play an important role here, and the own state is dealt with in a relativ unideological way. **Style 5** (10,9%) is an openly self-critical style which questions national pride and achievements. National crises are frequently mentioned, and there are many self-critical statements. **Style 6** (26,7%) can be described as an openly patriotic style, emphasizing national pride and achievements in nearly all cases. Self-critical expressions occur rarely, but sometimes crises are mentioned and described as manageable.

Figure 5: Construction of patriotism over the course of time

In the *"militarism"* variable group, it is possible to find another argument for Switzerland's strong Western political integration, which has already been confirmed by the descriptive variable "national reference points": the Cold War was also featured in the Swiss media. Among the four coverage styles identified by the quantitative content analysis, the second one describes a radicalized pro-military position, unanimously emphasizing military competence and the strength of the national army, legitimizing the army (defense of one's country, suspicion of criticism) and representing external dangers to national security while at the same time omitting criticism of a military-oriented security policy. This style could be found in 6.6% of the analyzed articles, whereby its frequency never exceeded 7% – with the exception of the 1950 – 1959 period, when the Cold War was at its peak, while style 2 was used in 22.5% of the articles. Style 1 is a rather moderate pro-military position which reached a frequency of almost 30% in the fifties and sixties, but decreased rapidly later on (only 6.5% of press articles in the 1990s were written in that style).
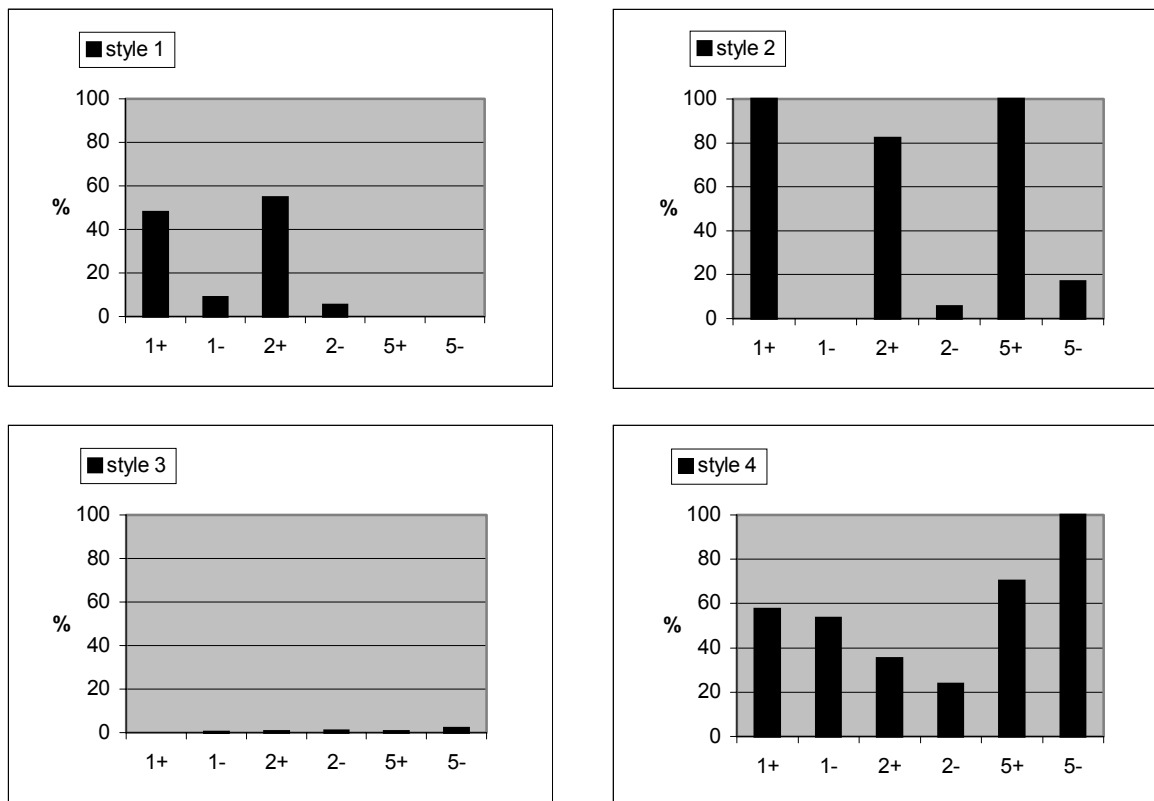
1+ Military competence and power of one's own army is emphasized and/or demands for disarmament are rejected. **1-** Doubt / denial / questioning. **2+** Internationalization of national security, emphasis on alliances (including those Switzerland does not belong to) and/or presentation o an external danger. **2-** Doubt / denial / questioning of external dangers. **5+** Legitimation of the military: It is said that the only task of the military is the defense of one's own country and/or doubt / denial / questioning of criticism of the army's role. **5-** Criticism of he army's role, its excessive importance in society or excessive military expenditures.

Figure 6: Construction of militarism in the Swiss press

The discussion of Swiss *"neutrality"* also reached its peak in the 1950s. Throughout the whole postwar period, about 10% of the articles treated neutrality themes, while in the 1950s 24% did this. When the press deals with neutrality, it usually (about two-thirds of all articles) supports it, but there are also controversial positions in about one-third of the relevant articles. So we can say that political and journalistic propaganda for the Cold War also existed in Switzerland, and Switzerland was a resolute supporter of the Western side. In the 1980s, which were marked by a second peak of the Cold War (e.g., the SDI program) and finally the breakdown of the East bloc system, neutrality was also discussed slightly more often than in the decades before. Whilst in the 1950s stronger Western integration could protect Switzerland against potential (East bloc) aggression, the disappearance of the East-West dualism gives Swiss foreign policy somewhat more flexibility, because the country is no longer at the center of international political tensions.

The *"militarism"* variable group gives – apart from the Cold War discussion – some impression of the role the army plays for Swiss national identity. Most of the texts (style 3, 71%) do not deal with themes relevant to the militarism variables. But already the second most frequent style (style 1, 18%) is characterized by a mostly positive view of the military. Military competence and power are often emphasized (48%), and demands for disarmament are rejected; the style also emphasizes the importance of international alliances and the danger of external enemies (internationalization of national security, 55%). Doubts about the importance of the military or general criticism are very rare or are not expressed at all. Style 2, which has already been presented, can be seen as a radicalized version of style 1. It has an overall frequency of 6.6%. The least frequent style (style 4, 3.7%) presents pro- as well as anti-military positions, with a specific emphasis on criticism of the army and military conflict management. The legitimation of military institutions is questioned in all the articles of this group. Nevertheless, this critical style is the rarest one in our sample. When Swiss media refer (on the national holiday) to the army, they do this in a largely supportive and legitimizing way. The Swiss press reflects the high social status of the militia army, seen in the regular military exercises participated in by almost all Swiss men, the omnipresence of military institutions (like barracks and military training areas) and a long tradition of discrimination

against conscientious objectors. Style differences between the four analyzed papers are not statistically significant; accordingly the rather positive view of armed defense seems to have a majority and rather consensual status.
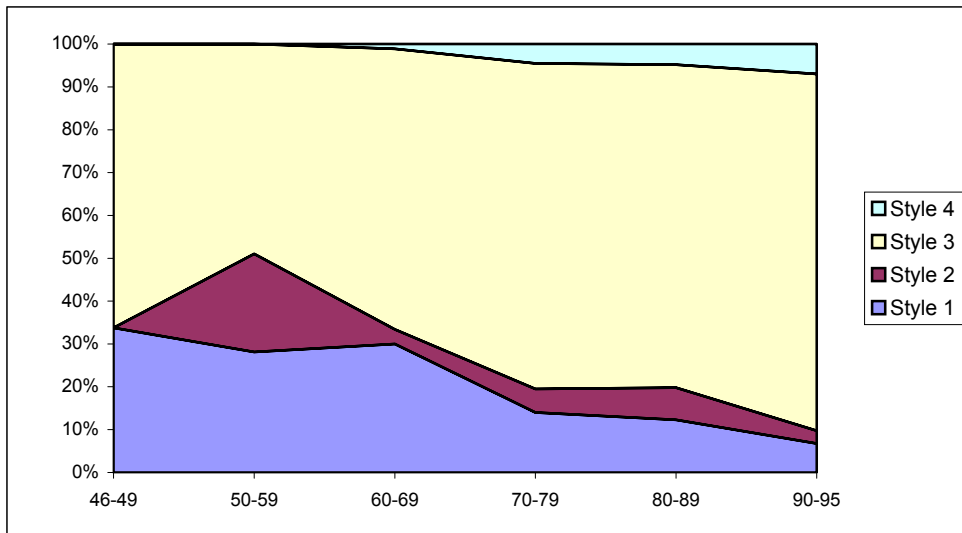
Style 1 (18,3%) is characterized by a mostly positive view of the military. Power and importance of the Swiss army are often emphasized and / or demands of disarmament are rejected. The style tends also to refer to external enemies and alliances. Doubts or general criticism of the military do not occur. **Style 2** (6,6%) is a more radical version of style 1. The army's power, a rejection of disarmament and legitimations of the military are mentioned in all articles of this group; often we also find references to external enemies. General criticism of the military is rather rare. **Style 3** (71,4%) doesn't mention arguments relevant for this variable group. **Style 4** (3,7%) presents balanced arguments for and against military defence with a stronger emphasis on anti-militaristic criticism. The army's legitimation is denied in all articles of this group.

*Figure 7*: Construction of militarism over the course of time
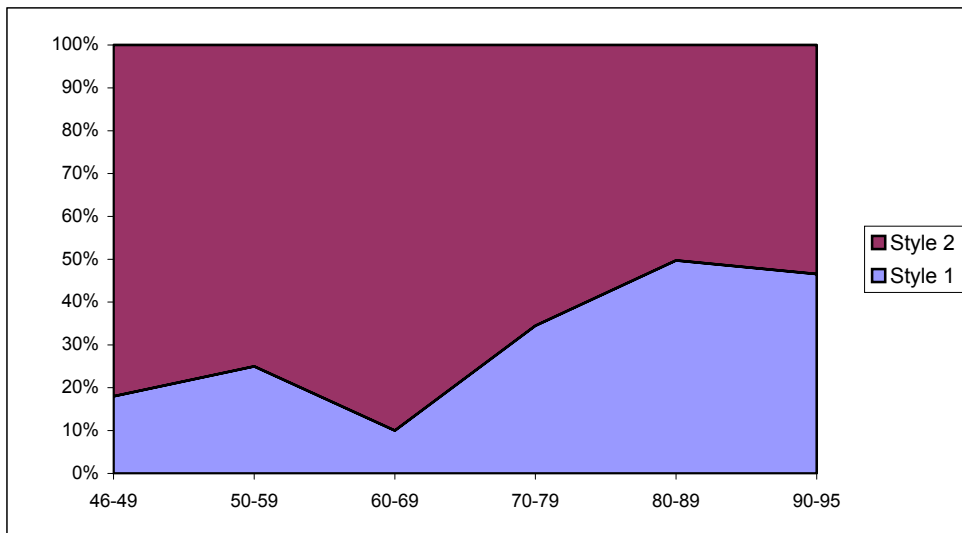
Style 1 (10,2%) discusses neutrality and mostly consents to it. However, at the same time neutrality is sometimes questioned, and there are many references to Switzerland's actual engagement in foreign policy or diplomacy. In **style 2** (89,8%) all neutrality related variables are rare, and only in few cases Switzerland's active foreign policy is mentioned.

Figure 8: Construction of neutrality over the course of time

The high social status of armed defense may not continue to be maintained in the future, however. As developments throughout the fifty postwar years show, pro-military styles are on the decline in favor of anti-military and neutral ones. The powerful time-dependent transformations are similar to those found in other variable groups – it is suggested that we describe these striking changes as the consequence of the modernization of national identity stimulated by different

life styles (e.g., urbanization), new social movements and a progressive tendency including "national self-criticism." The less radical pro-military style 1 was detected in about one-third of the articles between 1946 and 1969, but later it declined steadily. The more radical pro-military style 2 shows much more stability since the 1960s (always between 2 and 6%), but reached its above-mentioned peak in the Cold War fifties. Articles on non-military topics (neutral, style 3) became increasingly frequent. Today they dominate press coverage, with 83% of the material. Whilst among the rest pro-military positions are still stronger than their opposite, critical articles (style 4) are on the increase. Today, in the 1990s, they have a frequency of 6.7%, whereas they were almost non-existent in the years immediately after World War II.

The generally positive attitude towards the military could be partly explained by history or rather the social construction of history. Recent Swiss history includes almost no armed violence, no cruel dictatorships and no wars with neighboring states; so the army could maintain its reputation as a peaceful, purely defensive institution which is still strengthened by its social integration. In other states the army has been discredited more often by ongoing wars and war crimes, and it is not so closely linked to society. But nevertheless it cannot be concluded that Switzerland is or has been a predominantly militaristic state. There is a strong pacifist movement for a "Switzerland without an army" (Gruppe für eine Schweiz ohne Armee) which has found much support in several elections. In the press, anti-militaristic positions are on the increase, perhaps because some constructions of history have been altered. Should it be shown that the country was spared German invasion in World War Two for economic collaboration rather than for "defensive" reasons, if the negative social consequences of militarism is increasingly acknowledged and the Eastern "enemy image" disappears, then a more critical attitude may be stimulated.
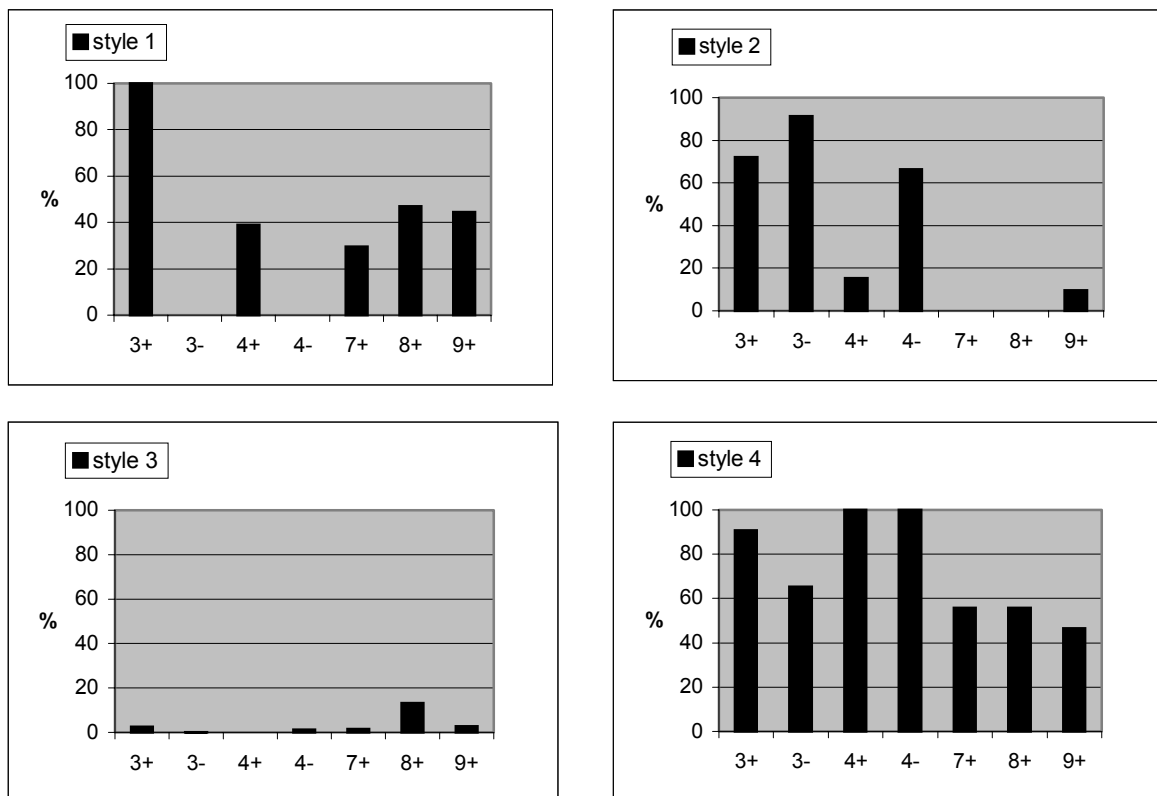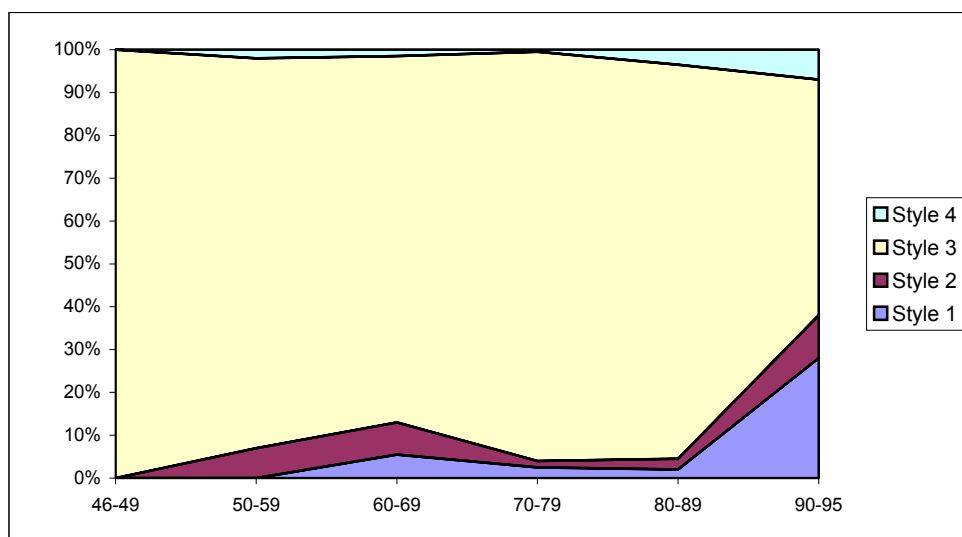

3+ Positive evaluation of certain aspects / the idea of Swiss integration into European structures. **3-** Negative evaluation of certain aspects / the idea of Swiss integration into European structures. **4+** Abandonment of certain aspects of national sovereignty (for instance border controls, legislation) is described as reasonable / desirable in the European context. **4-** Doubt / denial / questioning of the abandonment of certain aspects of national sovereignty. **7+** Notion that the European states should get to know each other better. **8+** Emphasis on own dependence on international (political, economic…) development. **9+** Critical evaluation of Switzerland's role: Isolationism, no responsibility taken.

Figure 9: Construction of European integration in the Swiss press

As the study period begins well before the European Union was founded, the general topic of interest is not primarily the question of Swiss-EU relations, but rather the Swiss *relationship to European integration* in general. In the most frequent class of the selected four-class solution, European integration is not discussed (style 3, 83.6%). Among the remaining

styles, quantitative content analysis distinguishes a pro-integration, a counter-integration and a comprehensive style presenting arguments for both positions. A total of 8.3% of the articles contain the pro-European style 1. This means that the majority of articles relevant to the European variables favors a strengthening of economic and political internationalism – a tendency which could also be discerned in the "national reference points," where coverage was rather favorable to European institutions. Style 1 always (in 100% of the texts) evaluates European integration in a positive way and never evaluates it in a negative way. Frequently (39% of style 1) the abandonment of certain aspects of national sovereignty is described as reasonable or desirable in the European context. Again, there are no statements opposing the abandonment of certain sovereignty aspects. Quite often we also find the notion that European nations should get to know each other better (29.5%), an emphasis on national dependence on international development (47%) and a critical evaluation of the present Swiss role (44%) as characterized by institutional isolation.

On the other hand, in style 2, which occurs in 5.4% of the sampled articles, negative evaluations (91%) of Swiss European integration are more important than positive ones (72%). Consequently, the authors are rather skeptical regarding an abandonment of sovereignty aspects in favor of European institutions (66% rejected). Variables reflecting a general internationalist attitude do not occur here. Finally, the rarest style of the sample (style 4; 2.7%) is a comprehensive one presenting balanced arguments for both positions. A potential abandonment of sovereignty aspects is at the same time both appreciated and criticized. Again we find variables reflecting a general internationalist attitude that European states should become better acquainted (56%) and a critical evaluation of the present, rather isolated Swiss role (46.5%). In spite of the balanced view, voices favoring European integration (91%) are more frequent than opposing ones (65%).

Style 1 (8,3%) describes a pro-European position. European integration of Switzerland is always evaluated in a positive way and never evaluated in a negative way. Often, the abandonment of certain sovereignty aspects is described as reasonable or desirable in the European context. There are also often general internationalist arguments like the emphasis of one's own dependence on international development. **Style 2** (5,4%) on the contrary presents a rather sceptical position towards European integration. Negative evaluations of the integration process are more frequent than positive ones, and most of these texts reject an abandonment of certain sovereignty aspects. General internationalist variables do not occur. **Style 3** (83,6%) doesn't mention arguments relevant for this variable group. **Style 4** (2,7%) presents at the same time arguments for and against further Swiss integration into European institutions. All variables of this variable group occur frequently, including general internationalist positions. In spite of the two-sided argumentation, pro-European positions predominate over their opposite.

Figure 10: Construction of European integration over the course of time

So Swiss European integration is mostly appreciated in the press, while at the same time the population was rather skeptical, for instance in their rejection of the EEA treaty with the EU in 1992 – it is possible to observe a discrepancy between media and public opinion similar to that found for the militarism themes. A more detailed description of press coverage is provided by the time-dependent development which has been analyzed throughout the postwar decades. The development differs remarkably from the rather steady, gradual changes observed in other variable groups, such as, e.g., militarism or the production of national identities. After long years of not mentioning European integration (the irrelevant style 3 always reached 90% or more), the topic suddenly receives more journalistic attention in the 1990s, when about 29% pro-European (style 1) and 10% Europe-skeptical (style 2) articles could be distinguished. The nineties were and are the decade of Europe-relevant referenda, of the 700th Swiss anniversary celebrations, of bilateral

negotiations between Switzerland and the EU, etc. ... The press prepares and reflects public discussions, but produces a general attitude different from public opinion. In the decades before 1990, there is only one other period with European coverage worth mentioning: the period between 1950 and 1969, including, for instance, the foundation of the EFTA and early European discussions in other states. In this period, Swiss print media were mainly skeptical of Europe; thirty years later the former majority media position has been reversed.

3.4 Some conclusions and hypotheses on the modernization of identity

It is possible to summarize many of the above findings and especially the time-dependent transformations of major coverage styles under the idea of social modernization, which has been developed by sociology and can also be applied to national identity. Writers like Deutsch (1966), Anderson (1983), Gellner (1983) and Alter (1985) have discussed the role that modernization – the fundamental social transformations and changed values brought about by industrial societies – played for the perception of nations as new "imagined communities" and for the founding of nationalistic ideologies. It is only recently (i.e., in the post-war decades) that other social transformations took place whose impacts were compared to those of industrialization. Social scientists' ideas of relatively static and well-defined group memberships had to give way to new approaches in contemporary "post-industrial," "communication," "postmodern" or "information" societies. As Luostarinen (1999) points out: "In contemporary social science the concept of collective (or social or cultural) identity has received a prominent role. In part, it has replaced concepts like class, strata, status, power position or interest group membership which are linked to the analysis of the political and economic structure of a given society. In mass media research this change reflects the shift towards approaches borrowed from cultural studies in which the active subject and his/her freedom to use mass communication for individual and often unforeseeable purposes have received more visibility. Identification refers more to active and subjective 'identity work' in which the individual has the opportunity to 'pick and choose' between various collective identities and to construct a combination and hierarchy of 'we-ness' which is changeable, flexible, concentric, situational, diversified and individual."

From this point of view, it is possible to discuss the hypothesis that national identity is not just a product of some "first wave" of modernization in the 19th century, but *in itself* subject to continuous modernization parallel to additional steps and waves of social transformation. The Swiss case seems to be an ideal one to confirm this hypothesis, because "identification" is more important here for citizenship than it is in "nations" which are defined by linguistic or cultural uniformity. Even if it has always been rather difficult to obtain citizenship, there are now a number of Swiss of Italian, Portuguese, other European or even African or Asian origin, who have decided in favor of the option to integrate. "Objective" post-war history in Switzerland seems to be characterized by economic and political continuity rather than by transformation. However, in the same period there were considerable social transformations, last but not least as consequences of the relatively late industrialization process. Most important are the processes of urbanization and suburbanization which have profoundly changed the country's originally rural structures. The forms of urban settlement in nearly all regions not situated in the mountains are just one aspect of this. Still more important is the second aspect of urbanization, concerning the transformation of life styles and economic activities, which are now similar in both conurbations and in the remaining rural areas (e.g., female employment, growth of the service sector, availability of infrastructure for transport and communication, increase in leisure time). Contrasting these partly accelerated developments, some other steps of social modernization (e.g., female suffrage) and "milestone" social events (1960s youth riots) happened later than in other countries.

The media construction of national identities during the post-war decades to a certain degree changed parallel to these gradual modifications of "objective" social realities. In most variable groups there were coverage styles which were "increasing" or "decreasing" in importance. The 1970s, and partly already the 1960s, often mark a turning point, as periods of modernization and of polarization between older generations (who did military service during the Second World War and who spent their youth in "a different" Switzerland) and younger ones. As mentioned, it was not politically incorrect, but rather self-evident in the post-war period to present oneself as "nationally conscious." Issues like the "military" or "national community" retained their moral integrity – in this Switzerland clearly differed from the nations actively involved in wartime military operations. The stable period of economic prosperity in the 1950s even permitted extending the feeling of national pride into the future. However, the following periods of urbanization, immigration, demystification of national history and the growth of intellectual opposition considerably transformed the country and consequently the relation between citizens and their state. "National self-criticism" became a common pattern of political and journalistic argumentation, but also the favorite "enemy image" of conservatives, who never lost their former influence completely. The tendencies observed in the media coverage of the 1980s and 1990s demonstrate that "progressive" and "constructive" concepts of national identity continued to be on the increase.

However, the long-term analysis interacts with everyday political events, and besides newspaper coverage there are various other forms of social communication which could influence citizens' attitudes and behavior. Some of the short-term tendencies in the political climate seem to contradict the notions of "an increase in progressive and more

constructive concepts of national identity" and of people's willingness to integrate beyond national borders. In 1999 foreign observers were shocked at right-wing parties winning national parliamentary elections in Austria and Switzerland, two relatively prosperous countries (which, by the way, shows that right-wing voting behavior need not be linked with serious economic problems). Even if Blocher's success was not a sign of the complete change of the political climate, some tended to claim (the SVP simply replaced some smaller right-wing parties, and the Swiss political system prevents them from gaining too much influence on government decisions), it might be one of several indications of the present ambivalence of the trends in social attitudes (in Europe, not only in Switzerland). Because the younger generation voted over-proportionally for Blocher (and, in Austria, for Haider), the weekly paper *Die Weltwoche* commissioned a market research firm to make a representative opinion survey of young Swiss (18 to 40 years), asking about their views on immigration policy, Switzerland's integration, their own values and their political self-perception (*Die Weltwoche*, 1999). In this survey, 56% of the sample responded positively to the question, "Does Switzerland have a problem with too many foreigners in the country," and a conservative value, "family," was by far the value that most of the persons surveyed (45%) judged to be "the most important" in their lives. Another remarkable result is that political self-perceptions and attitudes towards "key" policy issues no longer harmonize: Whereas most (40%) of the young Swiss perceived their political standpoint as "in the middle" (neither right-, nor left-wing), 64% of the "moderates" (and even 29% of those who rated themselves as left-wing) were convinced that Switzerland has "a problem with too many foreigners."

In an increasingly complex social world, the content analysis of newspapers (which are not likely to be the most influential type of media for the young people mentioned) provides various insights into reality, but does not allow us to reliably assess the developments of recent years, or even to provide a forecast: The consequences of profoundly changed international circumstances ("new world order" or "globalization") still remain to be studied in the future. In this, Switzerland does not differ much from other industrialized (or, rather, information society?) countries.

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