

# Contents

<i>List of tables and figures</i>	<i>page</i> vii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	viii
<i>List of abbreviations and key terms</i>	x
<b>Introduction: Honecker's Germany – a world of the past?</b>	<b>1</b>
Eastern identity in the wake of the GDR	3
Frameworks: defining the GDR in the 1980s	7
Growing up under Honecker	11
Researching young behaviours	15
<b>1 The parameters of patriotism</b>	<b>24</b>
Nation and state	25
Germany: problematic patriotisms	28
The GDR's patriotic programme	31
Conclusion	43
<b>2 Young people of the 1980s: a generation of loyal patriots?</b>	<b>50</b>
The foundations of identity: historical consciousness	51
'Peace must be armed!': protecting the fatherland	58
'Educating hatred': young people and the 'imperialist' West	68
Proletarian internationalism: the politics of solidarity	78
Rooted in the present? Pride in the achievements of the GDR	87
Conclusion	101
<b>3 October 1989–October 1990: the rise and fall of a GDR identity</b>	<b>117</b>
Reform and renewal: education and youth work during the <i>Wende</i>	120

Hope of a reformed socialism: 9 October–9 November 1989	124
From socialism to scepticism: 9 November 1989–18 March 1990	127
The GDR becomes history: 18 March–3 October 1990	138
Conclusion	141
<b>4 Civic loyalties in the wake of unification</b>	<b>147</b>
Societal change and education in the absence of the blue shirt	148
The double burden of overcoming the past: historical consciousness in united Germany	152
Military loyalties in the absence of the enemy	167
International allegiances in a new world order	176
United yet divided? Social, economic and political trends since the <i>Wende</i>	184
Conclusion	202
<b>5 Conclusion: death of the GDR – rebirth of an eastern identity?</b>	<b>220</b>
<i>Select bibliography</i>	234
<i>Index</i>	246

# List of tables and figures

## Tables

1	Pupils' views of other nationalities, 1968 and 1988	80
2	Young people's concerns in east and west, spring 1991	187
3	Voting patterns of 18–24 year olds in the 1998 <i>Bundestag</i> elections	200
4	The national identification of 14–18 year olds in Sachsen-Anhalt, 2000	203
5	Identification of 18–27 year olds in Sachsen-Anhalt, 1998	205

## Figures

1	Interest in Soviet history, 1987 and 1988	55
2	Attachment to the SED and FDJ amongst students, 1977–89	95
3	Identification with the GDR, 1983–89	100
4	Pupils' identity as 'Germans'/'GDR citizens', 1989–90	128
5	Unemployment rates in Germany and its <i>Länder</i> , Mar 2002	149
6	Attitudes towards foreigners amongst 14–15 year olds in Sachsen-Anhalt, 1993–2000	181
7	Percentage of foreigners living in Germany and its <i>Länder</i> , 31 Dec 2001	182
8	Gross hourly wages for manual workers in east and west Germany, 2002	188
9	East Germans as 'second-class citizens', Jan–Feb 2001	191
10	Percentage of east Germans in favour of keeping the <i>Jugendweihe</i> , Aug 1995	195