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MAKING SUNDAY WHAT IT ACTUALLY SHOULD BE: SUNDAY RADIO PROGRAMMING AND THE RE-INVENTION OF TRADITION IN OCCUPIED GERMANY 1945–1949

Alexander Badenoch

Germany at the end of the Second World War was not only a shattered place, but also a shattered time.[1] The physical scattering of populations through the mass movements of war and the atomisation of individuals through the oppressive Nazi regime, followed by occupation and the division of Germany into four occupation zones, left Germans with very few collective 'events' into which they could place their individual experiences. Oral history and other histories of everyday life consistently reveal that the major milestones of political history, the start of the war in 1939, its end on 8 May 1945, and the founding of the two German states in 1949, did not represent biographical milestones for most of those who lived through the period. Instead, they more frequently remember the war's interruption of their 'normal' everyday lives and the markers of the onset of normality at some point in the years that followed. In the place of the war's beginning on 30 September 1939 stand memories of the defeat of the German army at Stalingrad, the first major Allied bombing raid, or the news that a loved one at the front had died. In memory, the first sight of Allied troops or the return home, sometimes years later, of a captive soldier stand in place of the war's official end on 8 May 1945, and (in the West) the currency reform, the first real butter, the first real coffee, the first banana stand in the place of the founding of the two German states.[2]

Correspondence: Alexander Badenoch, Subsection History of Technology, Eindhoven University of Technology, IPO 2.01, PO Box 513, 5600MB Eindhoven, The Netherlands. E-mail: a.w.badenoch@tm.tue.nl

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But while public political events did not form the most significant rallying points in the everyday experience of many Germans, the continuing presence of the radio, broadcasting from the same stations and received in the (relatively) familiar space of the home, did provide an opportunity for collective 'private' experience, both during and after the war. It was not until the final months of the war that the German radio stations began to experience serious disruptions, and even before the four occupation zones were established in Germany in early July 1945, almost all existing radio stations had resumed operation under the control of the respective Allied occupation armies.[3] Monthly radio license fees were collected continuously by the post office without interruption by the collapse of the state and the establishment of occupation.[4] In the American zone, radio stations in Frankfurt, Stuttgart and Munich operated roughly independently of each other, while in the British and French zones, centralised broadcasting institutions had been set up which broadcast a more or less uniform programme from all of the stations in the area. In the British Zone, the *Nordwestdeutscher Rundfunk*, or NWDR, had its main centre in the northern city of Hamburg, and a secondary base in the western city of Cologne, as well as, a short time later, a third centre in the British sector of Berlin. In the French Zone, where there had been no major radio stations before the end of the war, a new network of stations, the *Südwestfunk*, or SWF, was established with its centre in Baden-Baden, site of the French occupation headquarters, connected to a number of former relay stations in the territory.[5] In the Soviet Zone, the station at Berlin became the central station, with a secondary hub in Leipzig. On one level, this division of radio broadcasting among the Allied powers and their zones was a further mark of the defeat and division of Germany. On another level, however, the new radio order also represented in many ways a return to the decentralised broadcasting system that had been established in the Weimar Republic and slowly centralised by the Nazi state in the years leading up to the war. In addition, while they were controlled by Allied officers, many of whom were returned exiles from Germany, the bulk of the station staff were Germans who had lived in Germany during the Nazi era and had experience—at least as listeners—with the radio programming of that time.[6] Particularly at a time when print media were plagued by paper shortages, radio had unprecedented dominance among the mass media. At once the most widely available source of news and one of the cheapest sources of entertainment, Germany's domestic radio stations served audiences that were large, constant, and by and large loyal to their home station.[7]

The dominance of the radio during this period is widely acknowledged, and it is with some justification that it is one of the better-researched periods both in terms of institutions and programmes.[8] Nevertheless, much of this attention has been focused around specific genres of broadcasting, especially radio drama, as well as issues of denazification and re-education.[9] It is only recently that scholarship has begun to look at more popular aspects in the programme and the continuities in the programme from previous eras.[10] While providing valuable insights into the development of the programme, however, most of the available research on the period has been focussed around the presence and qualities of specific genres of show, and as such has talked past what is most remarkable about the radio as a medium. The aspects of the radio highlighted by the British broadcast historian Paddy Scannell, specifically its ability to create and maintain temporal routines, mark certain times as special

or exceptional, and refer to common spaces routinely are precisely the aspects that are perhaps most important to consider when studying its role during a time when the physical, political and symbolic spaces of Germany were being restructured.[11]

In this article, I will explore some of these aspects through an analysis of the Sunday programmes of the occupied stations. Within all of the routines of radio scheduling, Sunday has long occupied a unique position. On the one hand, it is a site of tradition: in many ways, it can be seen as the most regularly occurring holiday, and indeed it is the site of some of the longest-running broadcast 'traditions' in Germany.[12] In addition to its status as 'tradition', Sunday is also when, until the 1950s, people have had the most free time, as the 2-day weekend did not become standard in the Germany until the 1950s. Until the late 1950s the radio was recognisably the 'dominator of domestic free-time' in most households.[13] As surveys from the 1930s through the 1950s consistently reveal, the 'valleys' in the curve of radio listening percentages on Sundays were often on a level with some of the 'peaks' of weekday use.[14] The position of Sunday as both individual free time and collective traditional time goes hand in hand with a number of both concrete and imagined spaces that range from individual homes to the entire nation. These various visions work through and across a number of different genres, and indeed are integral to understanding them.

Although the popularity of Sunday programming has been widely recognised, both in the use-statistics from the stations and in the lives and memories of the listeners,[15] the Sunday programme, as a concept and category unto itself, has been largely overlooked as a topic of academic discussion in German broadcasting history.[16] Some work has focused on individual Sunday shows, to be sure, but the study of how these shows worked together, and how these practices were maintained over time has yet to be conducted for even a short period of time.[17] By pointing to conventions of the Sunday programmes that were adopted in relatively uniform fashion by the various radio stations shortly after the war, this article will look at how these programmes functioned during a particular period of time, as well as highlight a fruitful realm for further historical study.

My primary purpose here is to call historical attention to a series of programmes and genres that have gone largely unnoticed, and argue for their importance, particularly during this critical period of time in Germany's history. In particular, I will show how the Sunday programmes of the Occupation era helped to shape visions of the space of Germany and, as such, played a vital role in legitimating the new radio stations to their audiences. In order to do this, I will first explore in further depth the historical interconnections between the radio, the spatial and temporal ideas of *Heimat*, and practices surrounding Sunday in Germany. I will then go on to explore the development of Sunday programmes in the occupation era and show how such visions were integrated into them. For the most part, this account is primarily of the stations in the western occupation zones, which would go on to become the Federal Republic of Germany in 1949. This is due mostly to the greater availability of appropriate primary material from the era. As becomes clear through comparing schedules, however, the Soviet-controlled zone followed most of the broadcasting conventions laid out here. Indeed, in many cases there were far greater programming continuities there before and after 1945 than in the western zones.[18] The consistency of such programmes through time and between zones point at once

to their not being considered detrimental to the re-education effort by the occupation authorities, as well as to a level of general popularity among radio audiences.

Between space and time: radio, *Heimat* and Sunday

From the time broadcasting began in 1923 until many years after the Second World War, the radio has been caught up in the peculiar spatial tension of Germany between the regions and the nation as a whole that was an ongoing problem of Germany's late unification. Since the 19th century, the idea of *Heimat*, a vision of the nation based around provincial spaces as evidence of a common German past, has been mobilised in Germany to reconcile Germany's scattered geographical and cultural past with the idea of the nation-state of Germany.[19] By the time of the First World War, *Heimat* had become a widespread, everyday understanding of the nation, one that has been taken up in various forms and for varying agendas in every state that has called itself Germany since. While the *Heimat* phenomenon has been repeatedly explored with regard to literature, film and television, the latter in particular surrounding Edgar Reitz's 1984 series *Heimat*, the historical role of the radio in constructing and maintaining such ideas has been largely absent from the broader discussion.[20]

From the outset of broadcasting in Germany, the *Heimat* idea has played a vital role in the radio's awareness of itself and its relationship to the people and nation it served. The creation of nine regional broadcasting monopolies in the Weimar republic was often touted as a 'natural' reflection of the notion put forth by 19th-century scholars that 'Germany' consisted of nine different but related tribes (*Stämme*), an idea that had become common-sense enough by 1919 to be written into the Weimar constitution.[21] Because the radio stations, with very few exceptions, served territories that crossed the various administrative boundaries of Germany, such appeals to 'natural' territories became very important as the radio stations began to establish themselves over the course of the mid-1920s. One of the most important functions of the developing programmes of the stations was to reflect the *Eigenart*, or unique cultural character, of the regions they served.[22] As a verbal medium, the radio was able to address listeners in the unique voice of regional dialect, soon giving rise to radio's designation as the 'voice of the *Heimat*'.[23]

The National Socialists, once they took over power in 1933, wholeheartedly embraced the *Heimat* idea in their policies, but in their own particular version of it that leaned very heavily on their ideas of race.[24] 'Blut und Boden' ('Blood and Soil') became the primary designation for the *Heimat* idea, with the connotations that those without the 'blood tie' to the land should be forcibly removed and/or murdered. Even whilst starkly centralising the production of the radio programme, the Nazis were also keen to emphasise the regional uniqueness of each station and region. Increasingly, however, the production of the local *Heimat* became part of national productions, in which several regions were presented at once, each in a stylised form that would be intelligible to listeners from other regions.[25] When the war began in September, 1939, all of the stations in Germany began to broadcast the same programme. This final centralisation of radio production went hand in hand with the overall centralisation of the idea of *Heimat* into the *Heimatfront*. The production of *Heimat* no longer focused on the specific places of Germany, but rather on producing

an image of Germany as a whole as a cosy, intimate place in contrast to the foreign world where the soldiers were fighting. During the war, representations of locality were first erased from the radio stations and then from the radio programmes themselves, due to the practical considerations of producing a programme for the entire nation and the increased ideological focus on the centralised Nazi state as the sole symbol of the German nation.

After the war, *Heimat*, with its focus on provincial and regional spaces, became once more a powerful focus of identity in Germany. The mostly failed attempt by the Nazis to conflate *Heimat* with the National Socialist state and its central apparatus in Berlin helped allow the idea of *Heimat*, particularly in its aspect of regional representation, to be 'pulled out of the rubble of the Nazi Reich as a victim, not a perpetrator'.[26] The identification with the region was further compounded by the country's political division as well as the scattering of its population. Between those who had been bombed out of their homes and those who had been expelled from the East, over 20% of the population of Germany was no longer where they 'belonged' on the map of Germany.[27] *Heimat* came to stand at once for the smaller regional spaces into which Germany had been divided, as well as the familiar homes and surrounding from which so many had been displaced.[28]

The heightened consciousness of *Heimat* in public discourse went hand in hand with its production in popular culture. This was particularly the case in cinema, where the well-established genre of the *Heimatfilm* accounted for one in five German films made between 1947 and 1960.[29] Set against the backdrop of rural places such as the Bavarian Alps or the Lüneburg Heath, these films portrayed a cosy local world where tensions between foreign and familiar, past and present could be safely negotiated. *Heimat* imagery (and *Heimat* films) also became an important part in advertising the growing tourism industry, where tourists were invited see both the reconstruction of Germany to modern standards while also seeing local customs and festivals.[30] In examining the appeal of *Heimat* symbolism to post-war audiences, it is important to remember that as much as it emphasises the particular characteristics of specific regions, *Heimat* is also, as the historian Alon Confino has argued, primarily a *national* idea. Its purpose was always to provide a mechanism by which the markers of local and regional identity become intelligible to 'natives' and 'outsiders' alike as evidence of membership in a larger German whole.[31] As a space that is at once viewed from 'outside', and yet at the same time an intimate, 'internal' space where the (German) visitor can feel 'at home', *Heimat* always makes reference to a larger entity than the local space it portrays.[32] A complex of national symbols that could thus offer a vision of an authentic Germanness without explicitly referring to the boundaries of Germany, or even necessarily Germany itself, resonated strongly at a time when the definition of Germany was still uncertain.

Heimat's integration of geographically and culturally distinct places is achieved through the creation of a sense of a common past that makes an integrated present seem natural. As such, *Heimat* symbolism is fundamentally about reconciling the 'authentic' local past with the modernised present 'to overcome the inherent strangeness' between them.[33] *Heimat* appears as a vision of the past that shines through on the modern present. If there is any persistent feature, or indeed meaning, of *Heimat*, then it is this 'simultaneity of the unsimultaneous'.[34] This understanding of *Heimat* as a representation of space that does not deny, but rather embraces,

modernity lies at the heart of recent re-evaluations of the long-standing interpretation of *Heimat* as a deeply anti-modern nostalgia for a pre-modern past. From the *Heimat* images of the 19th century, that frequently included modern factories amid the 'traditional' townscapes,[35] to 1950s *Heimat* films and tourism brochures, where rural spaces are filled with cars and other trappings of modernity,[36] the idea of *Heimat* has been to portray a modernity that does not stand at odds with tradition. Within the context of post-war reconstruction, this dual aspect of *Heimat*, its simultaneous embrace of both modernity and its apparent opposite, acquired particular importance. With the destruction of Germany, modernisation meant not only bringing Germany technically back 'up-to-date' with the rest of the world, it also meant moving symbolically *beyond* the recent Nazi past.

Thus, *Heimat* is ultimately a vision of normality. This is perhaps its greatest affinity with the radio, a medium that in maintaining a regular, predictable and cyclical output becomes the keeper of collective normality.[37] It is no surprise, then, that *Heimat* was one of the terms most often connected with the radio immediately after the war. In common parlance, *Heimatsender* was used to refer one's 'local' station, or else to the station to which one paid the license fee. The term 'voice of the *Heimat*' was once more unproblematically invoked in connection with the post-war radio stations.[38] The meaning of this phrase, however, was as flexible as most other uses of the concept. In the regular broadcasts for the German soldiers still in captivity, the '*Heimat*' invoked was Germany; in the struggles for an independent station for Cologne or Koblenz, the '*Heimat*' was primarily a 'unique' cultural region that required a 'voice' in the air that would reflect its 'authentic' character; in programmes that addressed the refugees from Silesia, Pomerania and the other lands in the East, the voice of the *Heimat* was stood in place of a land that was lost, collectively, forever.

A narrative exists, casually referred to, but seldom explored in German broadcasting history, that expressions of regional culture did not play any significant part in the programmes of the Occupation period, largely due to Allied suspicion of their 'blood and soil' connotations from the Nazi era. These conclusions have usually been drawn in studies that have focused on specific departments within the institutions for regional culture, such as dialect and folk music, or specific genres of regional programming, such as local news or plays in dialect.[39] In practice, however, it seems far more to have been indifference on the part of Allied authorities, and indeed they were quite content to allow such programming when it could be shown to them that it was in their interests to promote regional identities.[40] It is nevertheless true that regional departments and programming became more substantial parts of broadcasting in Germany after the radio stations were officially handed back into German control. Understanding *Heimat* as a vocabulary of symbols that work in and through a number of textual genres in everyday life suggests taking a broader look at the way that the idea was interwoven in German broadcasting. This becomes readily apparent when examining the Sunday schedule.

There are multiple connections between Sundays and the time and space of *Heimat*.[41] Both Sunday and *Heimat*, in spite of their appearance as being ages old, are modern creations. The day free of work that gave Sunday its modern meaning was only made law in Germany in 1919.[42] Nevertheless, as a day set aside by Christian

tradition, Sunday always looks backward in time. Even though it is defined by the modern working week, and it recurs with great regularity, Sunday is seen as the antithesis to everyday routine, a space of non-modernity woven into the timed pace of modernity. Besides the time of *Heimat*, Sunday also suggests the multiple places of *Heimat* symbolism. As the day free of work, Sunday is the time when working men can be with their families, in the space of the home. Furthermore, it is leisure time when families are free to go out into the countryside.[43] Besides these family-oriented activities, Sunday also suggested a trip to church, where, in the local spaces longed for in *Heimat* imagery, the entire community gathered. The affinity of Sunday with *Heimat* lies also in the fact that their integrative nature derives from a basic emptiness that allows them to be filled with multiple meanings. Just as *Heimat* stands interchangeably for the town, region or nation, Sunday stands interchangeably for free time, private time and community time. This emptiness highlights a further connection between Sunday and *Heimat*: an uncertain position between time and space. Much of what defines the time of Sunday are tropes of space (homes, churches, towns), while what defines the place of *Heimat* are tropes of time (the past, holidays, Sundays).

However recent the 'old' traditions of Sunday may have actually been, the importance of Sundays in maintaining a sense of continuity and normality for Germans in the post-war era would be difficult to dispute. Even in times of the greatest economic scarcity after the war, demographic research shows that special foods and activities were reserved for Sundays in the vast majority of households in West Germany.[44] In addition to their meaning in private lives, the rituals and routines of Sunday also have also had a very powerful public aspect as well. They are at once 'component of subjective lifestyles and life habits on the one hand, as well as a component of the collective (memory-) culture on the other'.[45] In art, film and song, the rituals of Sunday have now become iconic public symbols of the 'private' world of the 1950s. The trip to church, the Sunday walk in the local park or the countryside, the large family meal, dressing up and visiting relatives all form part of a structure that at once calls forth many specific individual experiences, and yet is recognisable and communicable as a common experience.

The Sunday radio programme: bringing everyone home together

From the very first years of broadcasting in Germany, the Sunday radio schedule was set apart from the rest of the week in a number of ways, not least of which was its overall greater length, and greater emphasis on lighter entertainment.[46] When the Nazi regime took over power—and full control of the radio—in 1933, it did little to change the overall structure of the programme, but frequently interrupted the schedules for political announcements and generally charged the schedules politically. The free days of Sundays especially were filled with reports of political rallies and other exceptional events, designed to make listeners feel they were taking place in exceptional times. Within a short time, it became apparent that much of the audience was turning away from such programmes, and so in 1935, a new set of programme goals and guidelines was instituted, designed specifically around the vision of a nuclear

family, and timed to the imagined comings and goings of the working father. As Monika Pater has argued:

> With the conjuring-up of the family as the guarantor of stability and normality, it became the safe, private space apart from daily demands. At the same time, this was connected to a duality of inside and outside, of public and private, that obscured the function of these private niches for the stabilisation of the system.[47]

With their emphasis both on the idea of the home as refuge from the outside world, as well as the need to bring the entire nation together, the Nazis considered the content of the Sunday programme of utmost importance. Perhaps the best illustration of these goals at work is what was perhaps the best-known broadcast from the Nazi era: the Sunday afternoon *Wunschkonzert für die Wehrmacht* ('Request show for the armed forces'). Begun initially as a show to benefit the Winter Relief Fund in 1936, the show came into its own after the outbreak of war. For the price of a small donation to the war effort, listeners could write in to request a song for a loved one or to commemorate a special occasion. Because the show reached the front line as well as the domestic lands in Germany, it was constructed as means of linking the soldiers with their loved ones at home. The show created a national family in the airwaves, as births, engagements and other personal moments were announced. Individual experience (well-vetted so as not to deviate from Nazi ideals) thus became part of a nationally consumable biography in an atmosphere of domesticity. While it did not ignore the war, it made it seem a passing phase in the ongoing biography of the national family.[48] At its height, the *Wunschkonzert* stretched over the whole of the afternoon, with pauses for news bulletins, maintaining an appearance of a normal, national 'home' during time of war.

The Sunday programme was the one part, of all segments of the broadcast week, that the Nazi programmers felt to be one of their bigger successes. As a report from the Security Service noted in 1941:

> In general the format of the Sunday broadcast programme is best suited to satisfy all listener groups alternately. The ones of higher taste with the *Schatzkästlein* and the Mozart cycle, also with the afternoon concert and the 'musical academy' at 18:00, those of the lowest taste with the 'variety' programmes from 16–18:00, and with the German national concert pretty much everyone.[49]

The assumptions of the Security Service appear to have some merit. In her study of women's memories of the war, Margarete Dörr discovered that, of all parts of the radio programme, it was staples of the Sunday broadcast schedules, the *Wunschkonzert* and the *Schatzkästlein* ('Little Box of Treasure', which will be discussed in greater detail below) which remained—with almost universally positive associations—in memory.[50] It was precisely the sense of 'everybody' coming together in a familial, non-political setting that these women cited as the positive experience of the programme.

From their very first days back on the air, Sunday schedules at all of the Allied-controlled stations after the war were set aside from the weekdays by a number of different conventions, many of which were reminiscent of, if not directly carried

over from, programming practices of previous years. Because they expected listeners to be home during the entire day, the broadcast pauses in the late morning and afternoon that were a feature of weekday programming were largely absent.[51] Furthermore, Sundays as a general rule featured much longer broadcasts on average than the rest of the week, particularly during the morning and afternoon. The home space suggested by Sunday programming was largely the 'inner' world of the nuclear family. Children's programmes were one of the most fixed points of Sunday afternoon schedules. Anyone with a strong enough radio on a Sunday afternoon in 1947, for example, would have had a choice between three different children's programmes at 2 p.m. (Frankfurt, Stuttgart and SWF), two more at 2:30 from the NWDR and Radio Munich, and finally the Soviet Zone's children's show, *die Sonntagskinder* ('The Sunday Children'), followed at 3 p.m. On the other hand, there were very few, if any, shows at any station that addressed women in any other capacity other than as mothers on Sundays.

Sunday schedules in the post-war era followed a general pattern that only seldom changed, timed largely to the 'traditional' activities of a Sunday. The early Sunday morning was not a great deal different from weekdays at most stations, apart from occasionally being more 'serious' in tone, or, in the case of the NWDR, distinctly regional with either the *Hafenkonzert* ('Harbour Concert') from Hamburg or the *Bergmannskonzert* ('Miner's Concert') from Cologne. The mid- to late morning then changed to a more reflective tone, largely devoted to church programming, either church services, 'morning celebrations' (*Morgenfeier*) or religious music. After a long midday concert, Sunday afternoon saw programmes that addressed the 'family' of listeners as gathered together. The early afternoon was normally devoted to children, followed either by long afternoon variety programmes or by large symphony concerts. This gathering of 'everyone' was also the occasion for shows where listener letters were read on the air, such as *Der Hörer hat das Wort* ('The listeners have their say') at the NWDR, and its equivalent at other stations. Especially in the summer months, sport broadcasts were also a vital part of the Sunday programme. The evening programme was then normally the main event of the week, such as the week's radio play at Radio Munich or the *Volkstümliches Konzert* ('Popular Concert'—a musical show not dissimilar to the 'German national concert' mentioned above) at the NWDR, which were aimed at entertaining as much of the entire audience as possible.

In general, the more the Sunday programme stayed focused around these private spaces, the greater resonance it had with its audience. It is no surprise that the audience for *Heimat* programmes (discussed in greater detail below) was some of the most vocal in this regard. As one listener in the British zone wrote in to complain to the programme journal *Hör Zu*:

> For several weeks now there have been power cuts on Saturday and Sunday. Unfortunately that is the time in Hamburg and also in other regions for the popular show 'Old Love'. As this is the only show in Low German (and why is that?) it is painful for us to go without it. I don't know if these power cuts are justified on Sunday when the whole family is finally together.[52]

The connection of Sunday with both regional space (where Low German is spoken) and family space appears here as natural. The writer, in referring to 'the whole family'

being together, is envisioning not just one family, but *every* family, gathered together in private space across the entire region. A listener to Radio Stuttgart's regular broadcast *Aus unserer schwäbischen Heimat* ('From our Swabian homeland') expressed similar sentiments in a letter to the station:

> My dear Stuttgart station!
>
> I have the urgent need to thank you yourself and all of those who work on the show 'From the Swabian homeland'. The goldenly humorous as well as the deep sentimental content of these shows make them an experience for me every time. The inner peace that is lost in the haste and hurry of the weekdays returns through your broadcast every Sunday afternoon, and reminds one that there are still people who have not lost their sense of the humour and of the seriousness of life, and who give some of this to their fellow humans. I am steadfastly convinced that your shows mean great inner recovery not just for me, but for many of our fellow people, and are what make Sunday afternoon what into what it actually should be.[53]

This letter expresses a number of expectations, not just of what a *Heimat* programme should be, but of the nature of Sunday. Both Sunday and *Heimat* appear above all as an 'inner' refuge from the 'haste and hurry' of the rest of the week. The writer's emphasis on the simultaneous 'sense of the humour and the seriousness of life' also points to the catch-all nature of Sunday/*Heimat* symbolism. Whatever the actual content of the sentiment involved, its vital element is the sense of distance from the modern world 'outside' which allows 'internal' sentiments to recover. This 'inner world' is not the realm just of the single writer, but is one shared by 'many of our fellow people' (*viele unserer Mitmenschen*), a place where a whole community can be imagined.

The bells of home: church services

One of the main features of Sunday broadcasting, and one that normally suggested 'community' coming together, was the weekly church service. Within their first weeks on the air, all of the radio stations in Germany began broadcasting regular religious services, marking the end of a six-year long exclusion of the churches from radio programme production in Germany.[54] Like the churches themselves, church programmes had led an often ambiguous existence in Germany after 1933.[55] Tolerated at first as part of both social and radio tradition, church programmes were slowly pushed out of the radio schedules in the years leading up to the war, ending in their final removal in April of 1939. The Nazis sought to replace Christian services with their own pseudo-religious celebrations for the Hitler Youth, which they placed deliberately into the time spot that had been the place for Christian services.[56] The popularity of these programmes was limited, however, and after a time they faded from use. For the new Allied-run stations, providing these programmes once more represented a way of reconnecting to established broadcasting traditions, as well as to the universal Christian values implied by the churches.

Church programmes, besides their association with the universal entity of the church, also carried strong associations with local space. As with other 'service' programmes, some of this association was structural. In the two centralised institutions in the Western zones, NWDR and the SWF, church programmes were the remit of the various regional studios.[57] In the American Zones, church services were one of the first programmes to be produced locally when most of the programme was being supplied from Allied Army's production facilities at Radio Luxembourg. Later, when the three stations had developed a somewhat expansive programme-sharing network, church programmes were among the programmes that were never shared between stations. In the interests of plurality, the church services at all radio stations alternated each week between Catholic and Protestant services, even in those areas that were predominantly one or the other, such as in the predominantly Catholic South. Where possible, however, the regional element of the service was maintained. As soon as the station in Cologne was up and running at the NWDR, for example, it seemed 'natural' that Cologne in the mostly Catholic West would take over the production of the Catholic services, while Hamburg would remain responsible for the Protestant services in the mostly Protestant North.[58]

The actual purpose of such broadcasts had long been a subject of argument in Germany.[59] The Catholic Church especially, with its emphasis in weekly services on the physical act of communion, was adamant that a broadcast church service could not replace the physical attendance in church.[60] Furthermore, there was concern from both churches that listeners, especially in pubs, might not listen with the proper attendance or reverence. Decades after church services had become routine occurrences in the radio schedules, listeners were warned that 'simple listening, perhaps even alongside another activity, is an unworthy profaning' of the service.[61] The radio services, it was decided, were primarily intended for those who were prevented from physically attending. In post-war Germany, this meant above all those who were still in prisoner-of-war camps or in hospitals, which were not insignificant numbers.[62] Particularly for those listening in prisoner-of-war camps, these services were genuinely the sound of the homeland in addition to being the sound of the church. It is worth noting, however, that there was little or nothing in the presentation of these services that addressed them directly to such groups.

The services on the radio brought listeners together in a specific place, and the church within it came to stand not for the small community surrounding it, but rather the whole of the range of the radio as well. This effect was achieved in particular with the ringing of the church bells, which traditionally would call mass-goers in the local area to church. The sound of church bells, just like the church tower at the centre of the townscape, was an important feature of *Heimat* imagery.[63] Broadcast over the radio, the sound of church bells extends this 'local' call out to the entire mass of listeners. Before the church service broadcast from Berlin in 1930, for example, the bells from the Garrison church in Potsdam summoned listeners, connecting not only to the church traditions, but also the Prussian military traditions as well.[64] By 1942, the desire to dissociate themselves from the church led the Nazi heads of programming to all but erase church bells from the radio. In the post-war era, church bells were once more highly symbolic, as the voice of both a church and a local tradition that had been silenced by the war.[65] The bells of the Freiburg Minster even served as the 'jingle' for the SWF studio in Freiburg. If the symbolism were not

clear enough to the readers, the local radio guide announced, 'when the brazen chimes of the bells of the Freiburg Minster sound, every listener in Baden, Württemberg and Hohenzollern knows that his *Heimat*-station is speaking to him'.[66] The Saturday evening edition of Radio Frankfurt's daily local programme, *Rundschau aus dem Hessenland* ('Hesse-panorama'), included the ringing of the bells of one of the churches in the broadcast area—inserted as a pause in the middle of the popular evening variety programme—to 'ring in Sunday'. The ringing of bells on Saturday evening is a practice that actually does date back to the middle ages—and one that is also a feature of some radio stations in Germany to the present day.[67] Its function in the programme of Radio Frankfurt was to associate the large virtual space implied by the radio audience ('Hessenland'), especially on Saturday evening when 'everybody' was listening, with the local space of community and tradition.

Just as the church tower is the centre of a *Heimat* image, the church service in the airwaves carried this sense of *Heimat* space over onto the broadcast territory of the station. To help generate this image, newspapers would also print a picture and a description of the church where the service was to take place,[68] a practice that was also taken up occasionally in *Hör Zu* and the other programme guides as well. The *Heimat* orientation of such pictures was readily apparent, as in the note in the margin of a Sunday schedule from 1947: 'The NWDR will broadcast the Lutheran church service from St Maria's in Husum. In our thoughts we see an age-old little church, battered by the storms of many centuries . . . '[69] The very heavy markers of *Heimat* contained within the church service suggest that their audience, as well as their purpose, went beyond those who were not capable of attending their local church. Instead, they were very much concerned with creating a larger sense of locality within the broadcast territory of the station.

The inner world: *Morgenfeier, Schatzkästlein and Heimat shows*

As we have seen, the function of the broadcast church service was to bring listeners 'out' to a specific place in the region. Besides the broadcast of services from actual churches, another form of church programme specifically designed for the radio, had also been part of broadcasting since the early 1920s. The *Morgenfeier (*'Morning Celebration') was a combination of hymns and other religious music with Bible readings and spoken reflections on religious themes. Where the radio church service brought listeners into a *Heimat*-space 'out there', the *Morgenfeier* emphasised the 'internal' space of the home. The mode of address was also tailored to create this sense of inner space. As one of the creators of these services explained:

> This is not the place for the sermon, but rather the personal address from human to human, where the announcer of the Word certainly speaks in the name of the church, but not as liturgist or preacher but rather as pastor in the private sphere of another. From this arises a different form of speaking and a different style for such addresses that differ greatly from congregational sermon in the church service.[70]

The *Morgenfeier* addresses an audience in a closely bounded private space, cut off from the world of daily troubles. The establishment and bounding-off of sacred space is,

of course, an integral part of almost any sort of religious ritual. What is interesting about the sacred spaces implied by both the radio church service and the religious *Morgenfeier* is that they draw very heavily on visions of space that were also deeply entwined in the production of national and regional identity in Germany.

One of the most common versions of these programmes was built on the prototype of a popular Nazi-era programme called *Unser Schatzkästlein* ('Our little box of treasure', mentioned above), which began in the years before the war, and carried on almost through the end. It was in form essentially a *Morgenfeier*, devoted, as its name suggests, to the celebration of the 'treasures' of European culture. Although the poetry sometimes leaned toward the 'blood and soil' end of the spectrum, the show sold itself largely as a quiet, inward-focused show, which presented 'eternal' works that would remain untouched by the events of the world outside. Precisely because these shows were not deemed to have any sort of 'political' content, shows modelled on the *Schatzkästlein* found an almost immediate home in the schedules of the post-war stations. The first was the Soviet zone's *Besinnung und Einkehr* ('Reflection and Meditation'), that began 27 May 1945, and was put together by Heinrich Burkhard, who had been one of the creators of the *Schatzkästlein*.[71] Similar programmes such as *Stunde der Besinnung* ('Hour of Reflection') at the NWDR, *Die Einkehr* ('Meditation') or *Besinnlicher Morgen* ('Reflective Morning') at Radio Stuttgart, and *Das Unzerstörbare* ('The Indestructible') which later changed its name to *Das Unvergängliche* ('The Immortal') at the SWF, soon became entrenched parts of the Sunday schedule. All of these shows built more or less consciously on the tradition of *Das Schatzkästlein*, as can be seen in the announcement of Radio Stuttgart's *Die Einkehr*: 'And now our broadcast *Die Einkehr*, from the *Schatzkästlein* of German music and poetry'.[72] Their titles alone already give an indication of what they are meant to convey: 'eternal' aspects of German culture that can be rediscovered by shutting out the modern world and turning attention inward.

The manuscript of *Die Einkehr* cited above provides a good illustration of such programmes. Next to poems by Eichendorff, Friedrich Wilhelm Weber, and music from Schumann, Schubert, Brahms and Beethoven, there were also short prose pieces with a distinctly nostalgic ring to them, such as 'Winterfreuden' ('Winter Joys') by the German essayist and critic Bogumil Goltz (1801–1870), that begins

> Finally one morning we found the first thin ice rim on the creek or on the pond—how that captured our childish hearts! Now the new world, the new order of things, was really there! Happy was whoever could dig up an old ice skate, that in a pinch could consist of an old knife blade wedged into a block of wood.[73]

Besides taking place in an unspecified rural space, the piece takes place entirely in an unspecified time—there is nothing at all that would indicate that it had been written in the previous century. Set in amongst other 'treasures' from Germany's cultural past, the reading presents listeners with an image of a world that was intact at some indeterminate point in the past.

The blurring of the boundaries between the presentation of religious observance and 'high' German culture in the *Morgenfeier*- and *Schatzkästlein*-type programmes was not accidental, particularly in post-war Germany. Both the church and the traditions of German art and literature appeared as eternal aspects of life. During the war,

the *Schatzkästlein* had helped listeners, as they saw it, to keep the war in perspective as a fleeting, modern moment next to the eternal worth of German culture.[74] After the war, especially in the face of the massive destruction and the shame of defeat and occupation, it is small wonder that such programmes remained popular. The weekly shows on Sunday brought listeners out of 'a hypocritical, guilt-bringing time', as it is referred to in an article about *Das Unzerstörbare* at the SWF,[75] and reconnected them with a Germany that had supposedly always existed. This 'other time' was mapped multiply on to 'internal' spaces of experience: the world of the listeners' 'inner feelings' (as opposed to external activities), as well as the inner space of the home, marking these out as the spaces both for remembrance and healing.

'Traditional' *Heimat* shows, which were also quickly entrenched in the Sunday schedules, served a very similar purpose. Sunday *Heimat* programmes were very similar in format to the *Morgenfeier* or the *Schatzkästlein*. They consisted mostly of folk music and dialect poetry, often tied together around a theme. Initially, these were primarily musical broadcasts, such as *Rheinish-Westfälischer Sang* ('Rhinish- Westphalian Song') in the first weeks of Cologne's programme, and weekly Bavarian folk music programmes at Radio Munich in the early afternoon in a time slot filled on every other day of the week with American jazz. In the French Zone, on Sunday afternoon came *Stimme der Heimat* ('Voice of the *Heimat*'), which was produced by each of the regional studios in four-week rotation.[76] Sunday morning throughout much of 1946 at the NWDR consisted of a weekly rotation between the 'Harbour Concert' produced in Hamburg and the 'Miner's Concert' produced in Cologne. This was significant both in its continuation and its modification of long-standing tradition. The Harbour Concert is perhaps the longest-running feature of broadcasting in Germany. Begun at the station in Hamburg in 1929, it was soon carried by almost every station in Germany as part of their Sunday morning programme. It was continued in the Nazi programme, almost to the very end of the war. The format of the show never changed. It was broadcast live (whenever possible) from a different ship in Hamburg's harbour each week. Beginning with the bells of Hamburg's famous 'Michel' (Church of St. Michael), the show celebrated in light-hearted fashion the city (and the nation's) maritime and colonial history.[77] By placing this long-running feature in rotation with a similar concert that highlighted the essential feature of Western Germany, the coal mines of the Ruhr, the NWDR created the image of their broadcast territory as two separate *Heimat*s, one Northern and one Western. This parity was maintained when, late in 1947, the *Hafenkonzert* and another broadcast, *die alte Liebe* ('Old Love'), were joined into one and put into rotation with *Glück Auf!* a broadcast for miners from Cologne in the popular Sunday midday slot (11:40–12:30). The announcement for the new show, called, in Low German dialect, *Bi uns to Hus* ('With us at home') explains:

> *'Bi uns to Hus'* is less narrow and restricting and also satisfies the passionate enthusiasts of Low German *Platt*. It gives us the possibility to speak of things besides seafaring, things that happen on the Elbe and the Weser, on the coast and inland—wherever the Low German language reaches.[78]

Besides the title of the show, which already invokes a 'home' space, the description here offers us a view of an organically bound space, where it is the 'local' language

that makes it even possible to speak about the way of life of the people there. While describing what is actually a vast region ('wherever the Low German language reaches') it describes the region as a place of largely pre-modern activities and relationships.

Beginning in August 1945, Radio Stuttgart devoted the Sunday edition of its brief daily local programme (almost all of the rest of the schedule at that point was produced from what was then Allied-controlled Radio Luxembourg) to a 'special Swabian broadcast'. Comprised of folk music, poetry and anecdotes in local Swabian dialect, the show soon changed its name to *Aus der schwäbischen Heimat* ('from the Swabian homeland') and acquired its own place in the Sunday schedule, which it maintained for decades to come. Within a short time, the show came under the direction of the well-known Swabian radio personality and folk-actor Albert Hofele, and developed into a standard form of a *Heimat* show, with a combination of dialect poems and regional folk tunes, put together and frequently moderated by Hofele. The world of these shows was also focused on close, familiar places, often 'visiting' towns in the region or presenting nostalgic reflections on home and family life.[79] Tellingly, this show shortened its name to *Aus der Heimat* ('From the homeland') shortly after the end of the occupation period, in order to include the refugee populations from the East in the show's address. While still overtly making an appeal to local sentiments and mentalities, the production of *Heimat* within the programmes provided a space to imagine an ongoing national tradition within the boundaries of the new state.

Epilogue: from invented tradition to collective memory

Taken together, the programmes on Sunday, even when bringing listeners 'out' into the world, mostly served to reinforce the mental boundaries between 'inner' and 'outer' and 'public' and 'private' space. The space of the home and the space of the region were repeatedly invoked as close inner spaces where the 'true' life of Germany continued in spite of whatever external changes might be taking place. The repeated emphasis on the bounded nature of Sunday routines, in the structure of the Sunday schedules, in the individual programmes and in the terms of correspondence with the audience, were clearly aimed at building memories of the past and hopes for the future with the positive associations of familiarity and kinship. In spite of this apparent boundedness, however, Sunday programmes also maintained a profound ambiguity surrounding their actual location in space and time. It is this ambiguity that allowed listeners to place a wide range of their own experiences, past and present, into unproblematic and apparently unbroken collective narratives of regional and national identity.

The 'traditions' invoked within the Sunday programmes of the occupation period were, to a large extent, invented, in the sense that they evoked a close, familiar past that had never actually existed. At the same time, however, for millions of radio listeners, such programmes formed a part of a regularly recurring experience that unfolded in the context of their home, and often family, spheres. As such, they form a large part of a 'genuine' collective memory, a series of experiences and images held

in common by a large group of people. The listening routines that were quickly re-established immediately after the war were carried over into the 1950s and have become part of the standard iconography of family life during the reconstruction era.

As with any collective memory, the memories of the Sunday radio programmes are also sites of contested meaning.[80] Particularly for younger people, many of whom did not feel as personally either the sense of responsibility or of loss in the wake of the war, this persistent invocation of bounded space was often experienced, and remembered, as a trap. The persistent 'traditions' of Sunday radio programming, particularly in combination with the authority structures of many families, deeply entrenched this generation gap.[81] As one Bavarian listener recalled of the early post-war years:

> I still remember the terrible opera concerts at Sunday dinner. There was just as little chance of escaping from them as from the clever commentary by my father from his opera guide, trying—in vain—to expose me to this cultural treasure.[82]

This private sense of being trapped has carried over into the public reproductions of the memory of the reconstruction era, and indeed has played a significant part in the analysis of *Heimat* genres.[83] A similar sense can be seen in representations of Sunday in song, film and art, which are filled with images and metaphors of captivity.[84] While such 'captive' representations of Sunday have become the dominant public memory of them, however, the radio diversity offered by 'format' radio has allowed radio stations to maintain many of the 'traditions' of Sunday programming. Almost all of the programming conventions discussed above can be found on at least one channel of any of the public service broadcast stations in western Germany to this day, now generally as part of a format targeted to 'older' listeners.[85]

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Notes

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2 For the more general argument about the 'Stalingrad to Currency Reform' periodisation of German history, see Martin Broszat (ed.) *Von Stalingrad zur Währungsreform: zur Sozialgeschichte des Umbruchs in Deutschland* (Munich, 1990);

on the role of private vs. public events in memory, see, among many others, Ulrich Herbert, Good times, bad times, *History Today* (1986), 42–48; Margarete Dörr, *Wer die Zeit nicht miterlebt hat . . . Frauenerfahrungen im Zweiten Weltkrieg und in den Jahren danach. Das Verhältnis zum Nationalsozialismus und zum Krieg* (Frankfurt am Main, 1998), here especially pp. 446–447. On the role of consumer goods and everyday life, see Michael Wildt, *Am Beginn der 'Konsumgesellschaft': Mangelerfahrung, Lebenshaltung, Wohlstandshoffnung in den fünfziger Jahren* (Hamburg, 1994).

3 Radio stations would go silent during Allied bombing raids, which gained in frequency from 1943 onward, but the most serious disruptions to the provision of regular service did not begin until 1945. Of the primary radio stations that had existed in Germany before the war, not including those east of the Oder-Neisse line, only the station in Cologne was not running when the Allies formally took up their occupation zones. For detailed information on the broadcast institutions in the Western zones of Germany, see Hans Bausch, *Die Rundfunkpolitik nach 1945 I. 1945–1962* (Munich, 1980), pp. 13–148; on individual stations and their programmes, see Edgar Lersch, *Rundfunk in Stuttgart 1934–1949* (Stuttgart, 1990), Sabine Friedrich, *Rundfunk und Besatzungsmacht. Programm und Hörer des Südwestfunks 1945 bis 1949* (Baden-Baden, 1991); Rüdiger Bolz, *Literatur und Rundfunk unter amerikanischen Kontrolle: das Programmangebot von Radio München 1945–1949* (Wiesbaden, 1991), Thomas Rölle, *Der britische Einfluß auf den Aufbau des Nordwestdeutschen Rundfunks 1945–1948* (Aachen, 1997).

4 See, for example, Lersch, *Rundfunk in Stuttgart*, p. 52; WDR, *Jahrbuch* (1955), p. 3; Report on the finances of Radio Frankfurt 15.3.1948, Historical Archive of the Hessischer Rundfunk, Chronik 1948/1.

5 Production from the Baden-Baden central did not begin until March of 1946, although the station at Koblenz, with its large transmitter, began broadcasting already on 14 October 1945.

6 For an overview of staff, see Arnulf Kutsch, Deutsche Rundfunkjournalisten nach dem Krieg. Redaktionelle Mitarbeiter am Besatzungsrundfunk 1945 bis 1949, *Mitteilungen des Studienkreises Rundfunk und Geschichte* 12(3) (1986), 191–214; furthermore, see Friedrich, *Rundfunk und Besatungsmacht*, pp. 34–53, 251–255; Christof Schneider, *Nationalsozialismus als Thema im Programm des Nordwestdeutschen Rundfunks 1945–1948* (Potsdam, 1999), pp. 53–60, 241–269; for the role and experiences of returned exiles, see Hans-Ulrich Wagner, *Rückkehr in die Fremde: Remigranten und Rundfunk in Deutschland 1945–1955* (Berlin, 2000) and Hans-Ulrich Wagner, Über alle Hindernisse hinweg: London-Remigranten in der Westdeutschen Rundfunkgeschichte, in Charmian Brinson & Richard Dove (eds) *'Stimme der Wahrheit' German-Language Broadcasting by the BBC* (Amsterdam, 2003), pp. 139–157.

7 See Konrad Dussel, *Hörfunk in Deutschland. Politik, Programm, Publikum (1923–1960)* (Potsdam, 2002), p. 127. One survey conducted in the US Zone in 1946 showed that listeners tuned in an average of five hours per day—four hours for men and six for women. See (no author) Statisik des Geschmacks, *Radiowelt* 1(38) (1946), p. 23. Reasons for this loyalty had in part to do with the technological conditions: listeners tended overwhelmingly to tune in the station they were best able to receive. Particularly for those with inexpensive Nazi-era *Volksempfänger* sets, this was normally the closest station. Nine out of ten listeners surveyed in the American zone in 1947 cited good reception as the reason for their station choice; see OMGUS Surveys, Report 45, 'Radio Listening in the American zone and in Berlin',

Zentralarchiv für empirische Sozialforschung, University of Cologne, copy in Deutsches Rundfunkarchive, Wiesbaden (hereafter DRA). Better reception was also one of the main reasons cited for tuning in the NWDR in British zone in 1946, see 'German Reaction report number 11' 29 December 1946, Foreign Office 371/64516, Public Record Office, Kew.

8 See works cited in note 3, above; also Schneider, *Nationalsozialismus*, and Robert Bassenge, *Radio München 1945–1949—eine Programmanalyse*. MA thesis, Ludwig-Maximilian-Universität, Munich (1998).

9 See, among others, Hans Schwitzke *Das Hörspiel. Dramaturgie und Geschichte* (Cologne, 1963); Marget Bloom, *Die westdt. Nachkriegszeit im literarischen Original-Hörspiel* (Frankfurt/Main, 1985); Irmela Schneider, Verschlüsselte Opposition und verspätete 'Stunde Null'. Zum Hörspiel nach 1945 in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland; Albrecht Schöne (ed.) *Kontroversen, alte und neue. Akten des VII. Internationalen Germanistenkongresses* (Göttingen, 1986), pp. 160–166; Bolz, *Literatur*, and most recently, and thoroughly, Hans-Ulrich Wagner, *'Der gute Wille, etwas Neues zu schaffen' Das Höspielprogramm in Deutschland von 1945–1949* (Potsdam, 1997).

10 See in particular the work of Konrad Dussel, also Inge Marßolek, Vertraute Töne und Unerhörtes. Radio und Gedächtnis im Nachkriegsdeutschland in Elisabeth Domansky & Harald Welzer (eds) *Eine offene Geschichte. Zur kommunikativen Tradierung der nationalsozialistischen Vergangenheit* (Tübingen, 1999), pp. 154–178.

11 See Paddy Scannell, *Radio, Television and Modern Life* (Oxford, 1996), especially chapter 7.

12 The Sunday morning *Hafenkonzert* from Hamburg, for example, was started in 1929, and has carried on essentially into the present. Similarly, Werner Höfer's *Internationale Frühschoppen*, which began in 1952, was broadcast every Sunday until the late 1980s.

13 See Axel Schildt, Hegemon der häuslichen Freizeit: Rundfunk in den 50er Jahren, in Axel Schildt & Arnold Sywottek (eds) *Modernisierung im Wiederaufbau: die westdeutsche Gesellschaft der 50er Jahre* (Bonn, 1993), pp. 458–476.

14 Hansjörg Bessler, *Hörer und Zuschauerforschung* (Munich, 1980), pp. 85–87; Friedrich, *Rundfunk und Besatzungsmacht*, p. 109; Dussel, *Hörfunk*, pp. 121–123.

15 Axel Schildt, *Moderne Zeiten. Freizeit, Massenmedien und 'Zeitgeist' in der Bundesrepublik der 50er Jahre* (Hamburg, 1995), p. 255; Karin Falkenberg, Rituale des Radiohörens, in M. Hamm, B. Hasselbring & M. Henker (eds) *Der Ton, Das Bild: die Bayern und ihr Rundfunk 1924–1949–1999* (Augsburg, 1999), pp. 274–279.

16 While both have noted some Sunday schedule characteristics, neither the extensive programme history of the Weimar Republic nor the more recent programme analysis of the first 40 years of radio in Germany has paid any significant attention to Sunday schedules. See Renate Schumacher, Programmstruktur und Tagesablauf der Hörer, in J.-F. Leonhard (ed.) *Programmgeschichte des Hörfunks in der Weimarer Republik* (Munich, 1997), Vol. 1, pp. 362–364; Konrad Dussel, *Hörfunk* is devoted almost entirely to the evening programme. Stephanie Burandt is somewhat unique in laying out, albeit briefly, a separate section on the Sunday programme in her treatment of the *Reichssender* Hamburg, although her account does not provide a great deal of analysis on the meaning of the programme as a separate entity unto itself. Stephanie Burandt, Propaganda und Gleichschaltung: Der Reichssender

Hamburg 1933–1945, in Wolfram Köhler (ed.) *Der NDR Zwischen Programm und Politik* (Hannover, 1991), pp. 62–63.

17 Horst O. Halefeldt, Postkarten aus aller Welt. 50 Jahre 'Hamburger Hafenkonzert:' Erfolg am Sonntagmorgen. *EPD Kirche und Rundfunk* 43 (1979), 3–5; Harald Heckmann, Die Institution 'Wunschkonzert' *Mitteilungen des Studienkreises Rundfunk und Geschichte* 5(2) (1979), 90–97; Even in her otherwise excellent account of the Nazi era *Wunschkonzert*, Monika Pater does not mention its placement in the Sunday programme as an essential part of its meaning in envisioning the whole nation as a national family. See Monica Pater, Rundfunkangebote, in Inge Marßolek and Adelheid von Saldern (eds) *Zuhören und Gehörtwerden Vol I: Radio im Nationalsozialismus zwischen Lenkung und Ablenkung* (Tübingen, 1998), pp. 224–239.

18 Dussel, *Hörfunk*, pp. 247–250; compare further Monika Pater's discussions of Nazi and GDR progamming, Rundfunkangebote (I), and Inge Marßolek & Adelheid von Saldern (eds) *Zuhören und Gehörtwerden Vol. II: Radio in der DDR der fünfziger Jahre zwischen Lenkung und Ablenkung* (Tübingen, 1998), pp. 171–258.

19 For two accounts of how the concept of Heimat developed over time in Germany, see Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials* (Berkeley, 1990); and Alon Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor: Württemberg, Imperial Germany and National Memory 1871–1918* (Chapel Hill, 1999).

20 See, among others, E. Boa, and R. Palfeyman (eds) *Heimat: a German Dream. Regional Loyalties and National Identity in German Culture 1890–1990* (Oxford, 2000), where there is no mention of radio; Willi Höfig, *Der deutsche Heimatfilm 1947–1960* (Stuttgart, 1973); Heide Fehrenbach, *Cinema in Democratizing Germany: Reconstructing National Identity After Hitler* (Chapel Hill, 1995), chapter 5; Johannes von Moltke, Evergreens: the Heimat genre, in T. Bergfelder, E. Carter & D. Göktürk (eds) *The German Cinema Book* (London, 2002), pp. 18–28; On Edgar Reitz's series, see Anton Kaes, *From Hitler to Heimat: The Return of History as Film* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1989), pp. 161–192; David Morley & Kevin Robins, *Spaces of Identity: Global Media, Electronic Landscapes and Cultural Boundaries* (London, 1995), pp. 85–104.

21 Klaus Pabst. Kulturlandschaften als Alibi. Strukturfragen der frühen Sendegesellschaften, in W. Först, *Rundfunk in der Region. Probleme und Möglichkeiten der Regionalität* (Cologne, 1984), pp. 76–77.

22 See Horst O. Halefeldt, Die Entdeckung der Nahwelt. Regionalisierung in Hörfunk und Fernsehen. Eine Zwischenbilanz nach 60 Jahren, *ARD Jahrbuch* (1983), pp. 63–64; Wolfram Köhler, Regionen und Zentrale: Landschaft, Länder, Landesprogramme, in W. Köhler (ed.) *Der NDR zwischen Pogramm und Politik* (Hannover, 1991), pp. 353–356; Renate Schumacher, Radio als Medium und Faktor des aktuellen Geschehens, in J.-F. Leonhard (ed.) *Programmgeschichte*, p. 607ff.

23 Karl Karst, Regionalsprache in den Massenmedien. Mundart und Dialekthörspiel, in W. Först, *Rundfunk in der Region. Probleme und Möglichkeiten der Regionalität* (Cologne, 1984), p. 276.

24 For an excellent discussion of the interaction between National Socialism and the *Heimat* movement, see Applegate, *Provincials*, pp. 197–227.

25 Pater, Rundfunkangebote (I), p. 149.

26 Applegate, *Provincials*, p. 229.

27 Manfred Overesch, *Deutschland 1945–1949: Vorgeschichte und Gründung der Bundesrepublik* (Tübingen, 1979), p. 100. This number represents refugees from

the East as well those who were evacuated as a result of Allied bombing. It does not take into consideration that half again as many soldiers were still in captivity as prisoners of war as well.

28 Hermann Bausinger, Heimat in einer offenen Gesellschaft. Begriffsgeschichte als Problemgeschichte, in W. Cremer and A. Klein (eds) *Heimat. Analysen, Themen, Perpsektiven* (Bonn, 1990), p. 85.

29 Höfig, *Heimatfilm*, p. 166.

30 Schildt, *Moderne Zeiten*, pp. 185–188.

31 Confino, *The Nation*, pp. 144–145.

32 In this regard, *Heimat* films are a case in point. Though foregrounding the landscape of specific regions, such films were clearly aimed at, and readily consumed by, an audience that went well beyond the borders of the region they portrayed—though seldom, if ever, beyond the borders of Germany.

33 Confino, *The Nation*, p. 144.

34 W. Cremer & A. Klein, Heimat in der Moderne, in Cremer & Klein, *Heimat*, p. 38.

35 Confino, *The Nation*, p.183.

36 See von Moltke, Evergreens, p. 24; Schildt, *Moderne Zeiten*, pp. 185–188.

37 See Paddy Scannell, *Radio*, pp. 153–178.

38 Karst, Regionalsprache, p. 276.

39 Inge Marßolek, Vertraute Töne und Unerhörtes. Radio und Gedächtnis im Nachkriegsdeutschland in Elisabeth Domansky &Harald Welzer (eds) *Eine offene Geschichte. Zur kommunikativen Tradierung der nationalsozialistischen Vergangenheit* (Tübingen, 1999), p. 171; E. Schusser, 'Heimat' hören?—Die Stellung der Volksmusik im Bayerischen Rundfunk, in M. Hamm, B. Hasselbring & M. Henker (eds) *Der Ton, Das Bild: die Bayern und ihr Rundfunk 1924–1949–1999* (Augsburg, 1999), pp. 161–165; Leo Flamm, *Westfalen und der Westdeutsche Rundfunk: eine rundfunkhistorische Studie zur Regionalisierung* (Cologne, 1993).

40 See Alexander Badenoch, *Echoes of Days: Reconstructing National Identity and Everyday Life in the Radio Programmes of Occupied Western Germany 1945–1949*, PhD thesis, University of Southampton, 2003, pp. 206–214.

41 Confino, *The Nation*, p. 171.

42 See Axel Schildt, *Moderne Zeiten*, p. 255; L. Kosok, Der freie Sonntag und das freie Wochenende. Stationen einer Entwicklung, in Museuem der Arbeit, *Sonntag! Kulturgeschichte eines besonderen Tages* (Hamburg, 2001), pp. 42–53.

43 Confino, *The Nation*, pp. 112, 171.

44 Wildt, *Konsumgesellschaft*, p. 43.

45 L. Kosok, U. Schneider *et al.*, Der Ausgestellte Sonntag, in *Sonntag!*, p. 9.

46 Schumacher, Programmstruktur, p. 363.

47 Pater, Rundfunkangebote (I), p. 241.

48 See David Bathrick, Making a national family in the radio: the Nazi Wunschkonzert, *Modernism/Modernity* 4(1) (1997), 115–27; Monika Pater, Rundfunkangebote (I), pp. 224–239.

49 Sicherheitsdienst, Leitabschnitt München 20.10.1941, R55/1090:57 Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde.

50 Margarete Dörr, *Wer die Zeit nicht miterlebt hat . . . Frauenerfahrungen im Zweiten Weltkrieg und in den Jahren danach. Kriegsalltag* (Frankfurt a. M., 1998), pp. 364–366.

51 After 1945, most of the stations went silent during the late morning and in the afternoon during the weekday in order to save power. On Sundays, by contrast,

in the British and Soviet Zones there were no pauses at all from the outset of programming. In the American Zone, the pauses on Sunday disappeared quickly, in the afternoon by October 1945, and in the morning by July 1946. When broadcasting in the French Zone began in March of 1946, afternoon broadcasting on Sundays was continuous, and the morning pause was shortened by religious services. In the beginning of 1947, broadcast pauses on Sunday disappeared entirely.

52 Th. S, Hamburg, Unsere Leser Schreiben Uns, *Hör Zu* 2(36) (1947), p. 2.

53 C. E. to Radio Stuttgart, 15 February 1948, Correspondence, Folder 4580, SDR.

54 In Munich, this was 1 June; in Berlin, Hamburg and Stuttgart, July 1945 and in the French Zone, 31 March 1946, though it is likely that the station at Koblenz also had church services.

55 See Günter Bauer, *Die kirchliche Runkfunkarbeit 1924–1939* (Frankfurt, 1966), pp. 80–100.

56 Bauer, *Rundfunkarbeit*, p. 93. A recording of one of these still exists at the German Broadcast Archive in Wiesbaden. Amid swelling romantic music, poems and songs extol the virtues of self-sacrifice for the fatherland. *Deutsche Morgenfeier der Hitlerjugend*, 10 July 1935, Sound document 2733139, DRA.

57 See Friedrich, *Rundfunk und Besatzungsmacht*, pp. 153–154.

58 As it turned out, this 'natural' assumption was not appreciated by all, however. The Catholic churches in the North, as well as the Protestant ones in the West, had asked that this order be shaken up, and it was agreed that it could be done. Memo to Maaß/Burghardt from Deputy Controller of Programmes, 31.5.1946, file 10016, Westdeutscher Rundfunk, Historisches Archiv, Cologne. Even so, the parity was maintained—if the Catholic service was broadcast from Hamburg's area in a given week, the Protestant service would come from the Cologne's the following week. Over months and years, these exceptions probably did more to underline than blur the psycho-geographical boundaries of faith in the minds of the listeners.

59 See Bauer, *Runkfunkarbeit*.

60 In the early Weimar years, radio stations were even expected to put in a pause in the schedule from 10 to 11 on Sunday mornings so that listeners could and would attend their local church. See Ulrich Heitger, Auf der Suche nach einem Programm: Die Nordische Rundfunk AG 1924-1932, in Köhler, *Der NDR*, p. 21.

61 K. Becker, Gottesdienste und Morgenfeiern, *Rundfunk und Fernsehen* 3(3) (1955), p. 269.

62 Franz Winter. Ein Rundfunkpioneer erzählt, webpage, Senioren Online, http://www.senioren-online.net/ap/news_sol_view.asp?cid=1673, accessed 21 September 2002.

63 Confino, *The Nation*, p. 168.

64 This was, among other things, the burial place of the Prussian King Frederick the Great. The Prussian military associations were considered strong enough that the sound of these bells was banned from the airwaves of the SWF in 1947.

65 See Klaus-Jörg Ruhl, *Deutschland 1945. Alltag zwischen Krieg und Frieden* (Darmstadt, 1984), p. 142.

66 (No author): Die Sender des Südwestfunks: Freiburg und Sigmaringen, *Funkwelt* 1(19/20) (1947), 4.

67 Röder, Der Sonntag und seine christlichen Feiertagstraditionen, in *Sonntag!*, p. 22.
68 Winter, Rundfunkpioneer.
69 *Hör Zu* 2(24) (1947), p. 8. This particular blurb goes on to explain, almost apologetically, that the church is not actually terribly old, but rather had been rebuilt in the early 19th century. Nonetheless, it does feel the need to mention that the new church was attended—and the old one sadly missed—by Husum's most famous son, the romantic writer Theodor Storm.
70 Becker, Gottesdienste, pp. 271–272.
71 Jörg-Uwe Fischer & Ingrid Pietrzynski. 'Hier Spricht Berlin . . . '. Das Programm des Berliner Rundfunks 1945 und seine Überlieferung im Deutschen Rundfunkarchiv, Standort Berlin, in Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, *'Hier Spricht Berlin' Der Neubeginn des Rundfunks in Berlin 1945* (Potsdam, 1995), p. 43.
72 Manuscript, *Die Einkehr*, Radio Stuttgart, SN-SDR 30.1.1949.
73 Ibid.
74 Dörr, *Wer die Zeit*, *Kriegsalltag*, pp. 364–366.
75 (No author) Das Unzerstörbare, in *Funkwelt*, 1(2) (1947), p. 4.
76 Friedrich, *Rundfunk und Besatzungsmacht*, p. 154.
77 See Halefeld, Postkarten; Burandt, Reichssender, p. 57.
78 *Die Ansage* 23–29.11.1947, p. 1.
79 See, for example, Manuscript, *Aus der Schwäbischen Heimat*, *'Junge war!'* SN-SDR 26.1.1947.
80 Confino, *The Nation*, p. 9.
81 Schildt, Hegemon; Falkenberg, Rituale, p. 277.
82 In Falkenberg, Rituale, p. 277.
83 von Moltke, Evergreens, pp. 24–25.
84 For example, see *Sonntag!*, pp. 60, 72, also the 1982 song 'Weißte noch?' by the popular Cologne dialect singer Wolfgang Niedecken, where he remembers Sundays being 'wedged in' between the coffee table and his relatives.
85 Sunday music request programmes like those described above, for example, are now known unofficially as '*Erbschleichprogramme*'—programmes that allow younger people to ingratiate themselves with their older relatives, so as to be remembered in their will. I am grateful to Heidrun Ultes-Nitsche for pointing this out to me.

Alexander Badenoch is a Postdoctoral Researcher in the History of Technology at the Eindhoven University of Technology, exploring the symbolic role of transnational infrastructures in constructing ideas of Europe in the 20th Century. His PhD thesis, *Echoes of Days: Reconstructing National Identity and Everyday Life in the Radio Programmes of Occupied Western Germany 1945–1949*, was completed at the School of Modern Languages at the University of Southampton in 2003.