

# **Ideology and public order: a narrative analysis of the press in Switzerland**

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abstract

Building on critical linguists work, we propose a methodology to analyse the ideology of press texts on mass demonstrations. Civil right and law and order scenarios (frame packages) are expressed at different levels of the text – words, clause, and texts units – and linguistic tools are very helpful to identify them. In particular, the transitivity analysis is a powerful tool that allows to go from words to numbers. We illustrate this with two case studies in Switzerland.

Biographies

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## **Ideology and public order: a narrative analysis of the press in Switzerland**

### **Introduction**

Many movements use collective action to change the opinion of the public or people's consciousness rather than, in a straight way, politics. For these movements, the access to the public sphere can be a central goal and, as a consequence, their action and frame repertoire is likely to reflect the „entry“ rules of the public sphere. To name one example, the Swiss pacifist movement has recurrently used direct democratic instruments as a mean to impose a public debate on radical goals, such as „the suppression of the Swiss army“, rather than in the hope of a constitutional change (see Epple 1988). For other movements, which do not have routine access to the political process, the access to the public sphere is also central to their preoccupation and activity (Wolfsfeld 1991).

Social movements may be understood, to some extent, as an interaction with the public sphere, but another regular participant to protest events - the police institution - is certainly not indifferent to public opinion<sup>1</sup> itself. Police scrutinise routinely the reaction of public opinion to public order operations and press reports are added systematically to the files on mass demonstrations. Over time, as we will see later, police have lost the „natural“ advantage they enjoyed over social movement organisations (SMOs) as the main interpreter of public order. This lead police to engage more actively in public relations (creating for instance press relation offices in the eighties in Switzerland) and become an even more attentive observer of possible shifts in public opinion. Moreover, as the police institution is moving from a „state police model“ to a „citizen police model“ and „community policing“ (Winter 1998, della Porta 1998, Loubet del Bayle 1991), public opinion has move closer to the core of police preoccupation.

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<sup>1</sup> Following Neidhardt (1993), we use the term the opinion of the public to refer to the aggregate of private opinion of the individuals forming society and „public opinion“ as the opinion which are issued publicly in the public sphere. Both types of opinion do not necessarily correspond to each other.

Both are very attentive to what happens in the public sphere and which point of view (Fowler 1986), scenario (Bennett 1980) or frame package (Gamson and Modigliani 1989) „prevails“ in the public sphere.<sup>2</sup> In this paper, we are going to analyse comparatively the scenario in the Zurich and the Geneva press and use a linguistic methodology to study them these scenarios. We consider linguistic, and in particular semantic grammar, to be particularly appropriate to analyse frame packages. Linguistic provides a strong methodology to the rather vague concept of frame analysis current in social movement research. We will see that point of view can be expressed by lexicalisation, transitivity, modality, and intertextuality. Using the linguistic tools that we expose as briefly as possible in a first section, we will then analyse in detail press reports on two violent mass demonstrations that occurred in both cities in 1971. We will show that while the Zurich public sphere was strongly divided between a law and order and a civil right interpretation of the disorders, the Geneva press seemed much more consensual and civil right oriented.

### **Some tools of critical linguistic**

In the exposition of a selection of linguistic mechanisms we consider particularly relevant for the analysis of scenarios or point of views, we follow mainly Roger Fowler (1986, 1991), Andy Trew (1979), and Norman Fairclough (1992). These „critical linguists“ are influenced by the seminal work of M.A.K. Halliday and his „semantical grammar“ (Halliday 1985) and, in a more distant way, by the work of Michel Foucault.

A text can be analyzed at different levels. At the *ideational* level of analysis, we look at *the way reality is represented* in the text. Wording, modes, semantical and syntactical grammar, or style serves this ideational function of language. Language serves not only to deliver information but also to mediate personal roles and social relationship. We will be interested in particular on the grammar of comment in this interpersonal level of language. Finally, when considering the text under the angle of *intertextuality*, the analyst is interested in the genealogy of the text and its relationship to society or social practices. Many subtexts are present in press articles that express power configurations (Fairclough

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<sup>2</sup> For more detail on this, see Wisler and Tackenberg (1998).

1992) as well as the organization of the journalist work (Ericson et al. 1989, Hall 1978, Tuchman 1978).

In this section, we will review a selection of concepts for each of these levels of analysis.

***Words: categories, registers, metaphors***

*Categorization and registers.* Categories are stabilizing devices that divide the permanent flow of experience in „pieces“, available as cultural resource. Categories do not exist simply by virtue of the external reality to what they refer, but are parts of systems of classification in pretty much the same way as a specific vegetal exists as part of the classification system of the botanist. One piece of grass may be classified by the gardener as „weed“ while the botanist or the medicine man will class it as one „species“ or „health plant“. Different classification systems are available not only to different cultures and knowledge domains but also, as semiotics shows, to different social classes, genders, or, in our case, different political coalitions. To refer to a system of classifications, we will use the term „register“.<sup>3</sup>

Categorization can be approached through further concepts:

*Neologism.* A neologism denotes the creation of a new cultural concept. The fact that a new word is invented stabilizes the experience and, in this sense, create a new cultural concept.

*Metaphors.* They suggest that one level of reality can be understood with reference to another or, in other words, that one classification system can be substituted to another to interpret reality. A typical metaphor is „time is money“. You can loose time, spend hours, etc. (see Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Many metaphors are build-in language and, in this sense, reflect the normal culture or normal discourse. Others are more contested.

Categorical metaphors are important because they prepare the ground for a prognostic. Call political demonstrators „wild horde“ and the solution to the problem may not be political anymore.

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. the notion of „discursive formation“ of Foucault.

*Overlexicalisation.* Overlexicalization happens with an excess of synonyms or quasi-synonyms to refer to the same entity or process. Overlexicalization suggests an area which is particularly problematic in a culture, the existence of a social problem.

Overlexicalisation is a formal linguistic marker of an exclusive social practice. By contrast, the use of a single term for an entity denotes the existence of a basic consensus over the entity.

### *The clause: Transitivity*

If we move from nouns to clauses, we move from the reference to entities to the reference to events or, as Halliday (1994) call them, „processes“. Various ways, both semantical and syntactical, can freeze or impose an order to the stream of processes in the same way categories naturalize one classification system. The analysis of the clause as selection of one process type is what we will call the transitive analysis. This type of analysis, as we will see later, is particularly well suited to quantitative analyses. However, it requires some elaboration that we intend to do in the following.

The basic or nucleus proposition is necessarily composed by one or more nouns (participants) and a verb. The verb convey a process. Circumstances are often attached to the process. An example of a nucleus proposition is 1:

1. the police - have charged - young demonstrators - yesterday  
(first participant)- (process) - (second participant) - (circumstance)

### *Participants and roles*

In the clause, an entity is not only ascribed an identity through the choice of a category, but it performs now a *role*. Two basic roles can be distinguished.

A participant is an agent if he controls the process. In (1), the agent is the police. In the role of the agent, we can distinguish between an agent (who can act deliberately) and a force. A force is a physical entity which perform the role of an agent. In the following example, the stone is a force.

- (2) A stone break a window

In (1), the young demonstrators are cast into the role of the patient. Patients are in the role of the affected participant. Again, we can distinguish between persons - a patient - and goals - a physical entity. In (2), the window is the goal.

Affected participants can perform many different role. We can distinguish between the role of a beneficiary (3), an experiencer (4), a result (5), an instrument (6). The patient in the following examples is in italics:

(3) Stones flew over the *police*; I told *him*

(4) A *demonstrator* suffered a heavy injury

(5) Miners produce more *coal*

(6) I picked the lock with a *hairpin*

We can distinguish between (4) and (7). In both cases, the demonstrators are the experiencer. However, in a deliberate and controlled action (7), the experiencer is an agent, while in a process which is not controlled by the experiencer, he is rather a patient.

(7) *Demonstrators* run away

#### *Process and transitivity*

By transitivity, it is meant that the process affects, is extended or directed at a patient (or a goal). The patient may not be named however. If the process cannot be extended to another participant, it is intransitive, like in (7). We follow Fowler (1991) rather than Halliday to classify the types of processes. There are three types: *action* (deliberate and controlled), *process* (not deliberate), and *state*. Each type can be itself *physical*, *mental* or *verbal*. For instance, an action can be: *physical* (the police hit, arrived, joined, charged); *mental* (the police speculated, estimated); *verbal* (the police issued warnings).

#### *Directed action and passivation*

In a transitive clause, the patient can be „deleted“. We can make a distinction between a *directed action* (8) and a non directed action (9).

(8) the police charge demonstrators

(9) the police charge

When the text prefers non directed action, it characteristically limits the responsibility of the agent. The action does not „reach“ explicitly the patient and, therefore, appear relatively benign.

*Passivation* is the reverse syntactical process. By stating (10) instead of (8), the emphasis is on the demonstrators rather than the police. In many languages, the left-hand position of the clause is by convention the „theme“ of the sentence. After a sentence such as (10), we would expect the next sentence to be on the demonstrators rather than the police. Through passivation, agency fade into the background.

(10) demonstrators were charged by the police

*Style*

Point of view can be expressed by using a *style*. By style, we mean an emphasis on one semantical (and also syntactical) type of proposition. If the press report uses short sentences, mainly transitive events and physical action, it creates a sense of heavy action not very dissimilar from the American black series style. Depending on whether the police or the demonstrators are the main agent of the text, the point of view expressed can be either law and order or civil right. The emphasis can be either on the toughness of the demonstrators action or the brutality of police.

***The clause: the grammar of comments***

*Mode*

The mode is the register of communication. The analysis of mode belong to the interpersonal level of the clause. Mode, unlike words, resembles to comments and express the relationship of the speaker to the ideational part of the clause. It serves to mediate an appreciation rather than an information.

There is a basic distinction between oral and written.<sup>4</sup> Orality is a mode where categories are heavily naturalized. Categories, in orality, enjoy a taken-for-granted status. In conversation, consensus dominates. The illusion of orality can be created in the written language with the help of various linguistic devices, such as italics or capitals (to underline intonation in the word „really“ for instance), etc. Orality can be recreated by using public idioms (Hall et al. 1978).

By using a public idiom, a newspaper shows affinity (consensus) and solidarity with the public. Depending on whose idiom it is, the point of view expressed can be either conservative or „subversive“. If the idiom is used by a subculture, the text indicates a challenge of authority. By contrast, if the idiom is used by the „silent majority“, the effect can be conservative and reinforce status quo.

The newspaper can also distance itself from categories by using quotation marks. Using quotation marks is the reverse process of using public idioms. It indicates distance from, rather than appropriation of the category. Again, depending on which social group the category „belongs to“ has a different signification for the point of view or the scenario.

### *Modality*

A speaker's direct comment on the ideational part of the clause is called „modality“. Modality is the grammar of explicit comments. The various ways comments may be expressed explicitly include modal adverbs such as „perhaps“, „certainly“ or evaluative adjectives („brutal police operation“). It includes also modal auxiliaries which can express *obligation* („must“), *permission* („can, may“), or *inclination* („willing to“, „anxious to“).

Modality is a major aspect of the clause as exchange and as the expression of point of view of the speaker. This leads us to the last topic: intertextuality.

### ***Intertextuality: the history of the text***

Texts are always „bumpy“. They always contain a variety of subtexts or prior texts which presence may or may not be explicitly acknowledged. This seems particularly obvious in

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<sup>4</sup> Within written, differences exist between a legal report, a press article, a scientific article, etc.

the case of journalism. Press conferences, witnesses, privileged contacts, etc. provide the journalist with texts that are going to be used (or not used) in the press report. The process of construction of a text with other texts is what we call intertextuality. As Kristeva observes, intertextuality implies „the insertion of history“ in the text (quoted in Fairclough 1992).

We can distinguish between *manifest* intertextuality and *constitutional* intertextuality (Fairclough 1992: 104). The intertextuality that is manifest is when the presence of other texts is explicitly acknowledged by the author. This can occur through the use of direct speech, with quotation marks, or indirect speech. When the source of the text is acknowledged this way, the source can be called an „accessed voice“ (Hartley 1982). Which social group has access to the media through this mechanism is an important indicator of the power relations that are reproduced by the social practice of journalism.

The existence of a subtext is not necessarily acknowledged by the text. Indeed, most of the time it is not. Categories are used, whole registers, while being historical in nature, constitute the text. This is what is called „constitutive“ intertextuality. The study of diffusion and importation of registers from one social institution to another belongs to the analysis of constitutive intertextuality.

In press reports, it is crucial to identify who is making the comments to discuss the role of the newspaper in the frame struggle. Who within the compositional structure of the article is the vehicle for the ideology? Is it the journalist speaking through the narrative voice or is it an „accessed voice“, such as the police, a politician or SMOs? And is there a single dominating world-view, or a plurality of ideological positions? Does the narrative voice (the journalist in our case), appropriate the meanings of prior texts or does he refer to them through manifest intertextuality?

### **The two cases.**

Using these tools, we will analyze press reports on two demonstrations: the 1<sup>st</sup> of May after-demonstration in Zurich and a demonstration in Geneva organized the 11 of June 1971. Both demonstrations were organized by similar radical left-wing groups. In both cases the police intervened using tear gas and the truncheons. We chose the year 1971

because the wave of protest that was going to pick in the mid seventies was well under way and we would expect that the frame struggle over the interpretation of the protest would show already some solidified positions. Moreover, in both cases, police had reorganized, creating riot police sections (the Zurich Bereitschaft police and the Geneva Kamikaze (!)) and acquired new equipment such as water canons, tear gas „bombs“ and sprayers. This makes the two cases similar.

In the Zurich case, we analyze the reports of the conservative NZZ and the liberal Tages-Anzeiger on the 1<sup>st</sup> of May demonstration. We distinguish between the story-telling, which is the report reporting the sequence of events during the demonstration, and the editorial. The NZZ and the Tages-Anzeiger, as was relatively usual during the late sixties and early seventies, made a separate article on the police press conference. This last report is not analyzed here. In the Geneva case, we chose to analyze the story-telling of the Journal de Genève and the Tribune de Genève. Both newspapers are conservative. This choice of conservative newspaper will become obvious later. Our goal was to demonstrate that in Geneva the conservative press has endorsed a rather civil right scenario and that, in other words, the consensual (dominant) ideology in this city is more civil right.

We will begin with an analysis of transitivity in the story-telling. Later, we move to the editorials which, by putting the demonstration in a context, are more appropriate for the analysis of the diagnostic and prognostic frames. In the last two sections, we analyze intertextuality from the angles of constitutional and manifest intertextuality.

### ***Transitivity and style: the story-telling***

Let us begin the analysis with transitivity in the story-telling. As mentioned earlier, transitivity allows to look at the role ascribed by the text to the participants of a demonstration in the processes or events. It also allows to consider whether the action extends to another participant and, in this sense, permits an analysis of interaction between participants. In this interaction, the emphasis on agency and, correlatively, „patiency“, reveals important information of the ideological point of view in the text.

Transitivity analysis requires that the complex sentences in the text are cut and reduced to simple clauses involving a process and the participants to the process. To do so, we use a

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three-steps procedure (cf. Trew 1979). First, the text is recomposed entirely according to the semantic grammar. The full text thus transformed contains a lot of information that can be used for later analysis. But to analyze transitivity alone, it needs to be reduced, in a second step, into simple clauses containing at least the process and one participant, the agent or the patient.

When one participant is unknown, a „\*\*\*“ replaces by convention the missing participant. In many instances, the missing participant can be deduced from the context of the clause. For instance, „stones were thrown at the police“. However, we adopt a conservative position in our analysis and when the participant is not mentioned with a name or a pronoun, it is coded as unknown. In the case of a simultaneous existence of two patients, such as in „demonstrators threw stones at the police“, the patient in the receiver role (here the police) has always been preferred. Participants are sorted out according to the categories that are displayed below, in the matrices.

In the last step, one matrix is constructed for each press report. Example of matrices are shown below. The matrices work this way. In the row, we find the agents of the processes and in the columns the patient. Non transitive processes form the diagonal. The only exception is the square \*\*\* by \*\*\*. It can contain both a transitive process with unknown participants or an intransitive process with an unknown agent. The column and row „total“ contain the result of the addition of their respective line.

For the sake of analysis, some information (already contained in the matrix) is supplemented in the „transitivity“ column and „victim/goal“ row. The transitivity column displays the total of transitive action (it subtracts the square of the diagonal by the total of the row). The last square at the bottom right-hand corner of the matrix is the total of the diagonal minus the square \*\*\*.\*\*\*, that is the total of the intransitive processes. Finally, the bottom row adds information on the number of times the participants are cast in the role of a patient of a process.

A separate analysis can be made of the small square shaded in grey inside the matrices with police and demonstrators as participants in the interaction. The higher the total number of the upward diagonal, the higher level of interaction. A separate analysis of agency and victims can be made for these two core-participants to the protest event.

When patients are human beings, they can be labelled as victims. If the patient is a physical entity, we will call it a goal. The term victim is relatively appropriate in the case of physical action but less so in the case of mental or verbal processes. However, since most transitive action reported by the press in the story-telling are physical action, the term 'victim' is convenient. For the same reason, the agent in the case of transitive action can be named the aggressor.

The result of the analysis for the four press reports is shown in Figure 1.

(Figure 1: The four matrices, about here)

The style of the NZZ article is one of transitivity, which creates a sense of heavy action and destruction. The demonstrators are portrayed as the principal agent. They dominate both intransitive and transitive actions. As agent of transitive action, they are cast in the role of the aggressor. In this sense, the subtitle of the article - „Heavy action from the young demonstrators“ („Massives Vorgehen jugendlicher Demonstranten“) - expresses suggestively the dominant process and role ascribed to the demonstrators by the text.

By contrast, the police action is more intransitive and do not affect anybody or anything. This contrast is at the highest in the smaller gray square. We find that police action affects demonstrators only once, while the demonstrators' action is directed at police 10 times. While demonstrators are the principal aggressor, they are barely the victim in the NZZ report. In only 4 cases are demonstrators referred to in the role of a patient. The emphasis of the NZZ is rather on the police as victim and on the heavy destruction and disorder. Indeed, in 18 cases are police victims, while objects are the goal in 24 cases.

The overall picture, as sketched by the NZZ, is one of impunity for heavy action. We will see that the editorial of the NZZ builds on this „up-side-down“ image of the world to call for more repression.

Of course, the respective role of the police and the demonstrators, as it is framed by transitivity in the NZZ report, did not remain uncontested in the Zurich public sphere. Transitivity is an important arena of the frame struggle between the law and order and the civil right coalition. The Tages-Anzeiger provides for an example of a more balanced picture with regard to agency and the victims. In this report, intransitivity and transitivity

are evenly distributed. The emphasis is no longer on heavy transitive action. Interaction is no longer at the core of the picture.

Furthermore, police, rather than demonstrators, perform now the role of the „aggressor“, the principal agent. This is true for the transitivity in general but also for the direct interaction between police and demonstrators. While the Tages-Anzeiger does not emphasize such an interaction, it appears that demonstrators are the victim of two police actions, while they are the aggressor in only one case. Neither the police nor the demonstrators are portrayed as principal victims.

Given this rather balanced report, or even somewhat critical towards the police, we do not expect the Tages-Anzeiger to ask for more repression. Indeed, it does not. The newspaper chose not to evaluate the action and no editorial was devoted to the demonstration.

If we move to the Geneva case, it becomes immediately clear that there is a similarity between the Geneva newspapers and the Tages-Anzeiger in the configuration of the matrices. The Tribune de Genève's and the Tages-Anzeiger's matrices are almost identical. The conservative Journal de Genève proves to be even more civil right oriented than these two newspapers. Indeed, we see that the police is now the principal agent. It dominates both transitivity and intransitivity. In 11 cases do the police appear as aggressor as compared to only 3 times for the demonstrators. The smaller grey matrix shows the same picture. Demonstrators are now the principal victim of police action. Finally, the Journal de Genève clearly puts transitivity at the margin of the picture. While the report is heavily focusing on action, agency do not affect other participants. There is a relatively low degree of interaction.

It is worth mentioning that in all the articles, the demonstrators' transitive action is always directed. By contrast, all but the Journal de Genève have used in many instances non directed transitive action to portray the action of the police. This deletion of the patient is dominant in the press. In German, we find often the clause „Die Polizei griff ein“; in French „la police charge“. In all these cases, demonstrators are the deleted patient. The Journal de Genève used even metaphors (euphemism) to describe the police charge: „la police rentre en scène“!

The analysis of transitivity suggests that the Geneva press is clearly more critical towards the police than the NZZ. Geneva conservative newspapers, as illustrated by our case analysis, tend to cast the police in the role of an agent rather than a victim and, doing this, complicate the work of the police. It is after all quite suggestive to find the conservative Journal de Genève, which is close to the Liberal party (a conservative party) adopt a more civil right point of view, as far as transitivity is concerned, than the more left-wing Tages-Anzeiger.<sup>5</sup>

### ***Categories, diagnostic and prognostic: two editorials***

To have a fuller picture of the opposition between the NZZ and the Journal de Genève with regard to the 1971 demonstration, we will now turn to a comparative analysis of their editorials. To a large extent, the Journal de Genève's scenario, as expressed in the editorial, is not very different from the framework that the Tages-Anzeiger will adopt somewhat later, in the eighties. The NZZ scenario, while being clearly anchored materially or culturally in the context of the early seventies, provides many images that have lasted and are still in use today by the conservative press in the Swiss German region. When this will prove useful, we will make a few additions to text from other press reports on violent demonstrations.

Editorials, by contrast to the story-telling, place protest events within the context of a larger framework. More „participants“ move into the picture as well as other types of processes. The analysis of transitivity can show in what role the new participants are cast and who are these new participants: The justice? Political authorities? Parliament? Others? Editorials are very well suited for the analysis of the diagnostic and the prognostic. Also, the labelling effort of the story-telling is often enhanced and exasperated in the editorials. Thus, the „Randalierer“ („rowdies“) of the NZZ story-telling will become a „horde“ in the editorial. Story-telling and editorial are ideologically coherent. The style of the story-telling and the role that police and

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<sup>5</sup> The variation of shape of the matrices in the Zurich case shows that transitivity analysis and the use of newspapers to map complex social relationships in conflict situation is highly biased toward the point of view of the newspaper. While the matrices can be used for network analyses, they reflect less the „outside world“ than this world *as it is framed* a social group (newspapers). We move, with this type of analysis, in the realm of ideology.

demonstrators perform in the story-telling prepare the ground for the prognostic of the editorial. Whereas, in the editorial, the ideological work of the newspaper is most direct and visible, it is nevertheless nothing else than the continuation of the ideological work already manifested in the story-telling. The two editorials are in the annex reproduced.

### **The editorial of the NZZ, 3.5.1971: the law and order ideology**

While, in the story-telling, the curious „passer-by“ were antagonized as disturbing the police operation (!), in the editorial they move into the center of the picture in a new identity: the „angry“ public. The NZZ makes a list of this public: passers-by, car-drivers, workers, shopkeepers, newspaper readers. These individuals are the „Bürger“, the citizen. The citizen is in the center of the picture because he is the one who „ask questions“, the one who „react“. This citizen is omnipresent: everyone („every mouth“) and „everywhere“ („überall“). He is the „overwhelming majority“, and Zurich is „his“ city. This public is „angry“ (against demonstrators) and „confused“ (by the weak attitude of the authorities).

The NZZ pictures the entire society as opposed the demonstrators, who, consequently, are pushed out of society. We will come back to this „outsider“ frame below. By picking up groups who are usually not speakers in the newspapers but rather „readers“ of the newspapers, the NZZ takes the *vox populi*. The *vox populi* is also manifested by the use of labels of demonstrators, such as „hordes“, a public idiom. This term is frequently used by the NZZ along with „pack“ in the early seventies. Later, in the eighties, the NZZ will use the word „Chaoten“ (without quotation marks) to label demonstrators. The *vox populi* is manifested by intertextuality, by the use of texts of the public. Doing this is, of course, adversarial to the elite - the political authorities as we will see - and is rather unusual for an elite newspaper such as the NZZ. The use of public idioms is constant in the Blick, a popular Swiss-German newspaper with the widest circulation in Switzerland.

Why does the NZZ use such public idioms? In fact, we observe, in the editorial, a strong adversative stance against the elite: The elite is described as an agent, but an agent who does perform the job poorly. Agency (transitivity) is inefficient, even wrong. The political authorities, are passive, the justice is „impotent“, the police is too weak, and, finally, the „left-wing“ („linke“) media are „too tolerant“, „understanding“, and have a „moral

responsibility“ in the situation. All these elite do not perform the „action“ they should perform and, as a result, they do not provide the good and service they should deliver.

This good is, objectively, „security“, „order“, and, more subjectively, „confidence“. The word ‘security’ is hammered by the NZZ 7 times and ‘order’ 5 times. Order and security are the most frequently used words and this underlines their centrality, their necessity. Order, as a result, should be „enduring“ („dauerhaft“). Because security is so central to society, and it is „threatened“ by the demonstrations, the situation has become „urgent“.

At this point, a quick digression may be useful because the text seems to play the ambiguity of the word „sicherheit“ (security), and reflect a cultural change in the law and order scenario. Indeed, the NZZ uses the word ‘Lage’ along with „Situation“ to describe the events. The former word is often used in the military institution when „Lage Beurteilungen“ are performed („analyses of the situation“). „Sicherheit“ is also a central word of the military and the „defense“ in Switzerland is called „Sicherheitspolitik“. Military metaphors are not widely used in this text although they are relatively frequent in other texts of the period, including from the NZZ. The streets are often called „the battle field“; group of demonstrators are labelled as „commandos“ launching „waves of attacks“; relatively frequently, in this period, passers-by are called „civilians“!

In the story-telling of the 1971 demonstration in the NZZ, the words ‘ammunition’ and ‘Geisel’ („hostage“) are used. However, they are used with quotation marks, indicating distance from the NZZ. This distance and the framing of demonstrators as „criminals“ reflect in fact a cultural change. More and more, demonstrations will be interpreted as representing a problem *with the law*. More and more, legal wording will collocate in law and order press reports at the expense of military ones.<sup>6</sup> The interpretation of the trouble as the product of the manipulation of a few „Drahtzieher“ (literally „wire-pullers“), themselves at the sold of Moscow, or as being the continuation of war by other means, according to Clausewitz famous phrase, will be abandoned. In this text, however, a *manipulation model* is still present explicitly (we will come back to it below), but at the same time the

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<sup>6</sup> For instance, while demonstrations are still qualified to be „wild“ in the story-telling, they will later be labelled as „illegal“. Violent demonstrators will be called „Gewalttäter“ rather than „rowdies“ and the term ‘Rechtsstaat’ will become central and replace „security“.

*criminality model* is clearly emerging. In this editorial what we see at work is a transition from a „cold war“ interpretation of political demonstrations to a more juridical interpretation of the disturbance.

Coming back to the text, we further observe that security is „threatened“ by the action of the demonstrators and the NZZ „warns“ the authorities that since the state does not perform its central job, the „Bürger“ may substitute themselves to the deficient elite. The regular citizen is pictured as the main patient of the physical action of demonstrators in the editorial: the passer-by risks to experience tear gas, the car-driver is blocked in traffic jam, the shopkeeper is forced to look after his windows, the newspaper reader has to read the press reports, the worker has to repair the damages. Having been a patient in all these physical processes or a „forced agent“, the common man is pictured, using the present tense, to be the agent of verbal action. The common man *ask*, for the moment, *questions*. But, as in the editorial, the restriction to verbal processes is not guaranteed. The common man may well, in the future, substitute himself to the passive elite and become the agent of a physical action against the demonstrators. The NZZ use the word „Selbsthilfe“. Here, the NZZ uses an image that is recurrent in the German-speaking part of Switzerland, namely the image of the „Bürgerwehr“. This concept validates the urgency of action from the authority and seems to resonate in the Swiss history.

This picture of the common man as ready to use physical action suggests that the solution to the problem does not consist of further verbal actions. The solution does not lie in dialogue. There was already too much „talking“, too much „tolerance“, „understanding“. „Arguments“, says the text, „do not come through anymore“. What is expected and called for by the NZZ is now physical action from the legitimate state. In fact, the action that is demanded is quite violent: „a decisive Durchgreiffen“ a „durchsetzen of legal violence“, a „Unterbindung of Anarchy“, „to put a clear end“.

The text asks that the „legal violence“ applies, but, at the same time, there is some ambiguity regarding the need to respect the spirit of the law in this „reaction“. The editorialist does not show much concern for the legality of the physical action that is called for. The „principle of proportionality“ may be honorable, it says, but it has no place anymore. Why? Because the time has become „urgent“, the „escalating situation“ is

„threatening“ and „dangerous“. This distance that the NZZ takes from the legal arguments of the authorities reflects the context of the late sixties and early seventies in Zurich. In 1968, after the Globus riot, the NZZ and other newspapers did indeed support more or less explicitly police brutalities. As was acknowledged by an inquiry later on, the Zurich police committed violence against arrested demonstrators during the so-called Globus riot, a demonstration on July 30, 1968. The NZZ expressed its support of the police action stating that that police lost their nerves was „understandable“. Even the Zurich Unions declared that „Those who use violence can not expect to be protected from violence“. This kind of statement will change rapidly over the seventies and, in 1980, the principle of proportionality had firmly established itself and was not contested anymore within the law and order coalition.<sup>7</sup>

The editorial contrasts the common man, referred to often with the indefinite „man“ or the „us“, with the demonstrators who are clearly excluded from society. They are excluded from society through several mechanisms. First, they are labelled as „hordes“, with the animal metaphor, which allow the NZZ to disqualify them from the human genre.<sup>8</sup> Second, they are excluded by the use of the possessive „his city“ in the sense of the bourgeois’s city. In fact, this exclusion is rather typical of the law and order scenario. We find numerous examples in press reports of the qualification of demonstrators as geographical or/and social outsiders. They are „foreigners“, „outsiders coming to the city“; they do not belong to the social group they claim to represent, etc. This last frame is recurrent and underlined by the lexical group „a small and isolated minority“.

The exclusion of the demonstrators is done formally with overlexicalization. In the storytelling, overlexicalization is already visible. In the editorial, it is dominant and the foregrounding mechanism: demonstrators are „Wegelagerer“, „Minderjährigen Mitläufern“, „Rowdies“, „Irregeleitete“, „professionelle Schläger“, „Missetäter“, etc. The term „demonstrator“ does not even appear once in the editorial.

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<sup>7</sup> However, the law and order coalition in Zurich has contested ever since the use of another principle, that is „opportunity“. Opportunity, which is widely accepted in Geneva, states that minor destruction can be overlooked by police if the implementation of the law could lead to an escalation.

Within the demonstrators group, we observe the structure that was already visible in the story-telling but is now also made more explicit. There are two types of demonstrators. The „quasi professional“ ones and the „manipulated“ ones. The first category is often presented as clever, cool thinkers, while the manipulated („irregeleitete“) ones are young („minderjährige“), naïve and irrational. This framing of irrational followers as manipulated by a handful of strategic leaders is what we call the „manipulation model“. It is, as has been also observed in the industrial conflict in Great Britain, a pervasive image used by the law and order (cf. Morley 1976, Murdock 1981).

The action of the demonstrators is also overlexicalized. Interestingly, the term „demonstration“ to refer to the demonstration is used only once with quotation marks, indicating distance from the NZZ. In the rest of the text, the action is called „Untaten“, „Rowdy-Treiben“, „Ausschreitung“, „Konfrontation“, „Zwischenfälle“, „Rebellion“, „Gewalttaten“, „Tumulten“, „Provokation“, „Treiben“, „chaotische Wochendende“, „zerstörerisches Handwerk“. In fact, the article refuses to identify the demonstration as a political event. It refuses even to label the demonstrators as political, indicating this distance by the use of quotation marks for „left-wing“ and „political“. The political is a decorum („beschönigen“) for what is in reality a criminal behavior. Later on, during the youth movement in the early eighties, the NZZ would use the term „Bewegung“ used by the participant to the movement in quotation marks, indicating distance, while using in order to label the demonstrators the public idiom „Chaoten“ without quotation marks, indicating solidarity with the „angry“ common man. Note that the liberal press, including the Tages-Anzeiger, would do the contrary: Put ‘Chaoten’ in quotation marks and remove those on ‘Bewegung’.

### **The editorial of the Journal de Genève, 17.6.1971: the civil right ideology**

The editorial of the Journal de Genève adopts quite a different point of view. There is no overlexicalization in the text of either the demonstrators, labelled mainly as the youngsters („les jeunes“, 4 times) or the action, labelled simply as demonstration (4 times). The text

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<sup>8</sup> This term is used more or less frequently by the NZZ, so for instance in NZZ 12.9.72 („Krawallhorde“), and we could observe its use also in police reports in the early seventies in Zurich.

mentions the interpretation of the „government“ of the existence of „meneurs“ and „voyous“, but only to distance itself from such an interpretation. It distances itself from the „manipulation model“ to adopt a more „structural model“ of the cause of the demonstration.

The demonstration is seen as an „expression“ of a „profound malaise“, a „profound disquietude“. The metaphor of „profound“ underlines that the explanation of the problem is not top-down (manipulation) but bottom-up (structural). Social change is responsible for the disquietude. It names the problems: religion (values), leisure society (Marcuse!), relations with Europe and the world, etc. Demonstrators, in this sense, are not so much agents than *patients* of structural changes. The text adopts a functionalist perspective with its usual medical metaphors qualifying demonstrations also as „symptoms“ of social change.

Being patients of social change makes demonstrators and „citizen“ alike. Everybody, every tendency, and every age is affected by social changes. The „honest“ citizen is also disquiet. He, like demonstrators, looks for answers. Underlining this similarity allows the editorialist to include demonstrators to society. They are declared to be looking for a „new space“ within society. The text, while using widely the word „us“, does not distinguish between „us“ and „them“. They are part of us. Therefore, the solution to the problem must also be found together, and within society itself between its members.

Repression is not seen as a solution to the problem. Indeed, the text refuses to identify repression with politic. Moreover, the state is not seen as a main agent in finding the solution to the problems. At most, it is an auxiliary. The state must provide the infrastructure for a dialogue to happen within civil society. The solution to the problem is not physical but verbal. What is needed is „dialogue“. Verbal processes are the main processes mentioned in the text, often through nominalization (dialogue 3x, debate 2x). Society must think, discuss, define, imagine, enlighten. What is needed is not the status quo, but „new solutions“, „new space“, „progress“, „creation“. The title of the editorial emphasizes this creative process: „After the disorder: building“.

„Building“ is a metaphor. Society, like a house, must be reconstructed on new basis and this basis can be found only in a rational debate. It is in the debate that new solution will „be born“. All those who are the patient of the structural change must become the agent of the debate. The youth must also participate. There is an important limitation to the

openness of the text. Demonstrators who were violent are accepted as representing the problem of the youth, but they are said to have disqualified themselves as „interlocuteur valable“. They can no longer „speak“ or take place in the debate because of their violent action.

### **Discussion**

The citizen to which both texts refer are not alike. In the NZZ, it is the bourgeois of civil society who defend above all the freedom of economical exchange. The car-driver, the shopkeeper, the passer-by, in a buoyant city of commercial activity on a Saturday afternoon („Samstagebummel“). In the Journal de Genève, the citizen is of another kind. It is the „bourgeois gentilhomme“, the *kalos kagatos*, who, after all, resemble oddly to Socrates, the public philosopher who, through dialogues, discover the „essence“ of things (cf „l'essence même de notre système politique“).

In fact, behind these two notions of citizens, two different visions of the public are visible. In the Zurich case, the model is the bourgeois public, a public who has obtained his public freedom and a privatisation of the economical activity. The citizen is the subject of economical exchanges and, in this perspective, the state core role is to warrant the condition of this activity through a politic of public order. This perspective, of course, is not astonishing given the fact that the NZZ is a newspaper who defend the neoliberalism in Switzerland and is close to the so-called Radical party. More surprising is perhaps the ideal of the public portrayed in the Journal de Genève, a newspaper also close to the business community in Geneva. The model of the public here is rather the classic Greek *agora*. The philosopher-citizen who debates on the public affairs in the city. He debates, highlights, defines, and, finally, progresses. The business activity, in this text, is not even mentioned. The role of the state is to furnish the infrastructure so that society can better verbally exchange. In Zurich, the State provide a service to the citizen to better exchange economically.

In both editorials, the state is declared deficient. But for quite different reasons. In Zurich, because the state does not repress enough; in Geneva because it does not dialogue enough. Other opposition: while the NZZ declare the demonstration to be non political, the Journal

de Genève consider repression to be non political. In the Journal de Genève, the demonstration is interpreted as speech act, as an „expression“. This language is declared to be maladroit, incoherent, even stupid, but nevertheless verbal and non physical. In the NZZ, the demonstration is viewed from the angle of the physical action and its speech act quality is, as said, denied.

Indeed, the perspective is inverse. In the NZZ, the demonstration is perceived in its role of agent, while in the Journal de Genève the emphasis is on the patient role. In the NZZ, the manifestation produces damages, destruction; in the Journal de Genève, the demonstration is the product of social change. The tumultuous demonstration express a „disquietude“ which, itself, reflect social change. The Journal de Genève employs a „structural model“ in order to explain the demonstration phenomenon, while the NZZ uses a „manipulation model“, which insists on agency, physical destruction, and wrong or malign intentions.

Besides, it is not social change that is in the agenda of the NZZ. Rather, the aim of the NZZ is the status quo. That things regain their initial form, that order and security is restored. There is the necessity to restore what was „always“, and to restore it „definitively“. The legitimate „will“ of the „huge majority“ must be reaffirmed against the physical constraint of the „small minority“. The solution lies in more repression.

For the Journal de Genève, the status quo is not on the agenda. The goal is „novelty“ („new solution“, „a new place“), it is „change“, „progress“. What is needed is „imagination“, „thinking“, and, above all, „debate“. There perhaps, the Journal de Genève rediscovers the ideal of the bourgeois public sphere and the modernity project: it is in the use of the reason through a public dialogue that progress can be reached. In this debate, what is needed is also „clairvoyance“. The solution will be born out of the dialogue.

We can observe that the NZZ text is closed whereas that of the Journal de Genève is open. The second part of the text of the Journal de Genève uses many subjunctives (potentiality) and ends with the terms of ‘suggestion’ and ‘progress’. The second part of the NZZ text employs many „obligations“ modalities („müssen“), warnings or threats („Selbsthilfe“, „Vertrauenschwund“, „droht“), and the hope of the success of measures destined to restore order and security.

The closeness of the NZZ text symbolises the exclusion of the „outsiders“. In the NZZ, demonstrators are excluded from society with the help of overlexicalization, the use of the criminal label and the non representativity frame („small minority“). They are further excluded by the use of the possessive „his city“ when referring to the angry common man.

In Geneva, it is the representativity model that dominates the Journal de Geneve’s text. The 200 to 300 demonstrators are not overlexicalized. They are declared to represent a youth in search of a new space within society and, therefore, to be a legitimate member of this society. The youth are part of the society in the same way as are the honest citizen. Therefore, „all tendencies“, „all ages“, the whole „nation“ must be included in what is labelled as a „national debate“. It is true that the editorialist stops short from including also the violent demonstrators in the debate as „valid interlocutor“.

### **Intertextuality and modality**

The 1971 press reports present also different perspective with regard to modality. The NZZ is the only newspaper studied here whose narrative voice - the journalist - does the law and order ideological work itself by using the obligation modality to legitimate the police action. Neither the Geneva newspaper nor the Tages-Anzeiger comment in such a direct way on the police intervention.

In the story-telling, the NZZ uses the modality „müssen“ 5 times to „explain“ the police action. The obligation of the police to intervene with force is contrasted with the use of „inclination“ („want“) modality when it comes to describe the demonstrators action. In this sense, the action of the police is naturalised, while the action of demonstrators seems to be more voluntarist. This opposition, which is a recurrent one in the law and order press, fits perfectly well the imagery of the diagnostic which see the police as instrument of the law and the demonstrators as manipulated by leaders with wrong intentions.

One interesting further example of the expression of obligation in the NZZ 1971 text is the statement that police *was forced* to employ hard means. Let us quote the full sentence:

„... kam es zu heftigen Strassenkämpfen, bei denen die Polizei gezwungen wurde, zu harten Mitteln - Tränengas und teilweise Knüppelinsatz - zu greifen.“ (NZZ, 3.5.71)

In making this statement, the NZZ did not only contribute to objectify or naturalise the type („tough“) of police intervention, but it did reproduce, without specifying, the prior police text. This becomes apparent by reading the Tages-Anzeiger. This newspaper attributed a very similar statement to the declaration of the police chief during the press conference. The Tages-Anzeiger quote is the following:

“Wir haben den harten Polizeieinsatz nicht gesucht, wir sind gezwungen worden, zu härteren Mitteln zu greifen“ erklärte Polizeivorstand Hans Frick an einer Presse Orientierung am Samstagabend.“ (Tages-Anzeiger, 3.5.71)

Without quoting what is in fact the police text, the NZZ becomes, in this example, an active reproducer of the police interests and ideology. The ideology of the police is appropriated by the newspaper and becomes a constitutive part of its law and order discourse.

A more civil right oriented newspaper is less likely to use obligation modality to legitimate either the police. There is less likely to be a „single“ voice in the report and several points of view of the participants are usually expressed through the use of direct and indirect speech, as illustrated by the Tages-Anzeiger report. Quoting allows the journalist to conserve some distance from the text but, at the same time, granting access to a source is ideologically significant by itself since it offers one point of view to be heard(see below).

The difference regarding intertextuality and modality between the NZZ and the Tages-Anzeiger, as illustration of law and order and civil right scenarios, can be illustrated through another example. We chose the coverage of a sequence during a demonstration on June 4 1982. The NZZ describes this sequence on two occasions in the report. The texts are the following:

„Eine Gruppe von Randalierern griff beim benachbarten Jugendhaus Drahtschmidli Polizeibeamte mit Steinen an, worauf die Polizei Gummigeschosse und Tränengas einsetzen musste.“

and:

„Etwa gleichzeitig musste sich die Polizei beim Drahtschmidli der Angriffe einer Gruppe von *Randalierern* erwehren; Tränengaswolken waren von der Platzspitzanlage aus zu sehen.“ (original italics, NZZ, 4.6.82)

The Tages-Anzeiger, for the same sequence, writes this:

Es kam beim Jugendhaus Drahtschmidli - laut Polizei nach Provokationen durch Steinwürfe - zu einem massiven Gummigeschoss- und Tränengaseinsatz, in dessen Verlauf der ganze Platzspitz eingenebelt wurde. Die Demonstration wurde darauf vorzeitig abgebrochen. Augenzeugen berichten dagegen, die Polizei habe zuerst auf im Gartenrestaurant des Drahtschmidli sitzende Personen Gummigeschosse abgegeben, erst dann seien Steine gegen die Polizei geflogen.“ (TA, 4.6.82)

The NZZ uses twice the obligation modality (müssen) to explain the police intervention, whereas the Tages-Anzeiger distances itself from this explanation by explicitly specifying that it is a police text („laut Polizei“, „according to police“). Moreover, the Tages-Anzeiger contrasts the police text with the adversative version of „witnesses“.

The space is missing to make a transitivity and categories analysis of these two texts but the reader can do it himself and observe how opposed points of view emerge from the narratives of these two texts. In the NZZ text, the obligation of the police intervention is sustained by other narratives while, in the Tages-Anzeiger, transitivity and categories subversively undermine the police interpretation of the disorders.

### **Manifest intertextuality: Accessed voices**

Whose voice is the most often heard in the press? The status and distribution of „accessed voice“ reflect the power relations in society, as many studies have shown, but refer also to the fit of social group within the working practices of journalists (Tuchman 1978). Journalists grant „authorities“ more credit than „outsiders“, but they also need sources' texts and, possibly, „quotable“ texts (Gitlin 1991, Wolfsfeld 1991). Those social actors who are the most effective and professional in publishing and transmitting texts are more likely to access the public sphere.

In the introduction, we mentioned that the police lost their progressively over time the control they enjoyed over the interpretation of public order. This is true especially with regard to the status of the main accessed voice they enjoyed in the early seventies. In the 1971 press reports used as illustration in this paper, one special section was dedicated to the police press conference in all but one newspaper. This was characteristic of the time period. In the early seventies, police (and political authorities) were granted considerably more editorial space than social movement organisations. But, as early as in the mid seventies, the practice changed quite dramatically. Police lost gradually their hegemonic

position as main accessed voice and social movement organisations gained progressively more prominence.

Figure 2 illustrates this change. The data from which these graphics are derived originates from a sample of 294 press reports on 50 violent mass demonstrations in three Swiss cities - Geneva, Bern and Zurich. 11 newspapers, when a report was available, were coded: 5 in French language<sup>9</sup> and 6 in Swiss German.<sup>10</sup> 4 newspapers are liberal, 5 are conservative, and 2 are popular(/conservative). In each report, the total number of lines attributed explicitly to a source was computed. This attribution could be done through direct or indirect speech. But the sources has to be named. We distinguished between several types of sources<sup>11</sup>.

In the graphic, the line shows the difference obtained by deducing the total number of lines obtained by SMOs sources from the total number of lines obtained by the police and the authorities in each press report. The picture of the 1980s is almost the reverse one of the 1970s. While the police and authorities had more access in the seventies, and especially before 1973, social movements became the main speaker in the eighties. In the eighties, however, there seem to be a more balanced degree of access for both „parties“ in the framing struggle. The difference is close to zero in many press reports.

Figure 2 here

Table 1 display the average mean difference for each period which looks significant in the graphics. We observe that up to 1980, police had slightly more access than social movements on average and that the situation is turned into the favor of the latter since.

Table 1 about here

Not all social movement are granted the status of „accessed voice“ in the newspapers. As institutional movement, we coded the farmers movement. In the NSMs we excluded the category of the squatters, which is the less institutionalized of all NSMs. „Foreigners“ are

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<sup>9</sup> Journal de Genève, Tribune de Genève, Courrier, La Suisse, Voix ouvrière

<sup>10</sup> NZZ, Tages-Anzeiger, der Bund, Berner Tagwacht, Blick/Sonntagsblick, Vorwärts

<sup>11</sup> The categories are: police, authorities, left-wing elite, right-wing elite, SMO, demonstrators, experts, editorial, counter movement.

added to the original set. They represent demonstrations organized by ethnic diaspora groups. Results are presented in Table 2.

Table 2 about here

We observe that the more institutional the movements are, the less editorial space for the police. In the case of the squatters, the police remain the main speaker. The lack of access to the media by the less institutionalized social movements is not only a function of their social status, it is also a function of their lack of professionalization and fit within the social organization of the press. Typically, these organizations do not organize press conference after an event and, as a result, they do not provide texts that can be used by journalists in their work.

The access of the police to the public sphere depends on the orientation of the newspaper (Table 3). The more liberal the media, the less access. We also observe that the French-speaking newspapers give a slight comparative advantage to the police (Table 4).

Table 3 and Table 4 about here

We performed a linear regression with a model including all four variables. All but the last coefficients (French-speaking versus German-speaking newspapers) are significant. The year as well as the movement type are the variable with the strongest effect on the differential access of police and demonstrators to the public sphere. The impact of the year does not mean automatically that the practice of journalists has changed over time but could well be an artifact of the fact that social movements became, over the year, more institutional and professional.

The general picture that emerge from this analysis of intertextuality is that the conservative press reproduce a law and order ideology not only by the way of the constitutional intertextuality but also by manifest intertextuality. In the liberal press, we observe almost the reverse picture. Constitutive intertextuality, at least through the

medium of modality, is less likely and social movements are slightly more advantaged with regard to their access to the media. With regard to the access of social groups in the regional public spheres, we do not observe significant differences. However, we could show, with the illustration of the 1971 press reports, that the conservative French-speaking press is less likely to adopt a law and order scenario constitutively, with categories, modality and transitivity.

## **Conclusion**

The linguistic analysis of the respective scenarios in the Geneva and Zurich press suggests that the public sphere in Zurich is split on the matter of radical left-wing public demonstrations, while there is a dominant ideology, more civil-right oriented, in Geneva. The Geneva press, while granting slightly more editorial space to the authorities and the police than the Swiss German press (which has a stronger liberal press), has adopted in 1971 a position toward the radical protest of the left-libertarian movement which was inclusive. The transitivity analysis showed that the police were portrayed as the aggressor and the conservative *Journal de Genève* proposed verbal processes as the right way to exchange with protest. In Zurich, while the liberal press adopted a similar point of view, the conservative press - the *NZZ* in our analysis - displayed a strong law and order ideology. The *NZZ* appropriated police texts, chose to portray demonstrators as the aggressor, police as the victim, and demanded a strong, at the margin of legality, action of the authorities to restore public order.

While we did not show that these articles are representative of the respective position of the newspapers, and that this would require to extend the analysis to more articles, we would suggest that it is the case. In fact, political authorities in Geneva have adopted, after the era „Schmitt“ (who was police chief until 1974) a decided inclusive policy with regard to protest. The notion of „valid interlocutor“ has been extended widely towards representatives of subcultures in the seventies and this inclusive policy has become, in Geneva, a political ethos. Symbolically, when indeed a national dialogue took place in the constitution of a „youth national commission“ (!) in 1980, the presidency of the commission was attributed to a Geneva politician. The squatters, during the eighties, have been integrated and represent a population of about 1000

persons today. The police are known for their discursive strategies. They have created a „squatter police“ whose function is to dialogue, negotiate and inform both squatters and the population. They have renounced to the use of rubber bullets and, more recently, the Geneva parliament has prohibited the use of tear gas during mass demonstration.

What is crucial in our perspective is that the „new policy“ in the mid seventies in Geneva has followed the existence of a rather adversative press, from a press picturing the police as too tough, too „transitive“, and from leading editorialist of the conservative press demanding the dialogue rather than repression. Later on, the press has become a strong supporter of a soft police line and, in the local parliament, the only demands for more repression came from the extreme right, a sporadic political party in Geneva.

In Zurich, the public sphere has remained tensed and divided during the eighties riots, and remains so today. The Tages-Anzeiger has adopted a strong civil right position during the eighties, but the NZZ and the Blick, a popular newspaper with the widest circulation in Switzerland, remained strong supporters of law and order. During the eighties, the dialogue was still opposed by the NZZ with the imperative „do not negotiate under the pressure of the streets!“ and repression was strongly favoured. The Zurich police began, in the early eighties, to use rubber bullets systematically and to dissolve often non permitted demonstrations. While the Geneva police clearly became softer over time, this can not be said of the Zurich police. The degree of support for a stronger stance against violent demonstrators is still quite high in this city.

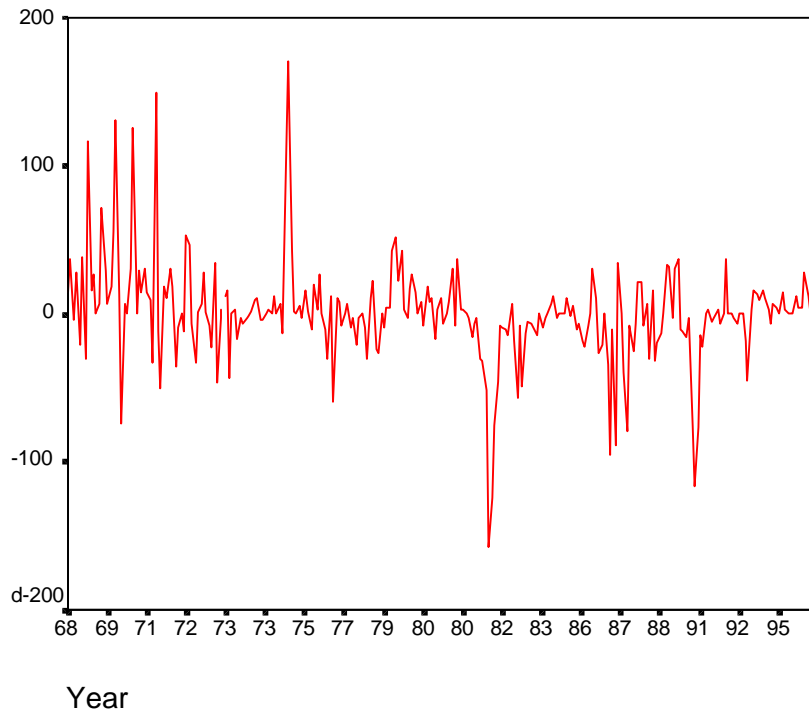
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Figure 2: Police and demonstrators as manifest sources in the Swiss press:1968-1996



Difference between the number of lines of the police as manifest source and the number of lines of SMOs. A positive number means that the police's number of lines is greater; N=294

Table 1 The control of the public sphere by the police with regard to public disorders by time period

	<u>Mean</u>	<u>N</u>
68-73	10.9868	76
74-79	2.2292	48
80-96	-7.7765	170
Total	-1.2925	294

Difference between the number of lines of the police as manifest source and the number of lines of SMOs. A positive number means that the police's number of lines is greater

Eta= .23\*\*\*

Table 2 The control of the public sphere by police with regard to public disorders by type of social movement

	<u>Mean</u>	<u>N</u>
Farmers	-14.6552	29
NSMs	-5.5691	181
Foreigners	6.8235	17
Squatters	12.5357	84
Total	-.85	311

Eta= .26\*\*\*

Table 3 The control of the public sphere by the police with regard to public disorders by ideological position of the newspaper

	<u>mean</u>	<u>N</u>
Conservative	3.01	176
Liberal	-7.7119	118
Total	-1.2925	294

eta=.15\*

Table 4 The control of the public sphere by the police with regard to public disorders by the region of the press

	<u>mean</u>	<u>N</u>
French-speaking	2.72	145
German-speaking	-5.20	149
Total	1.29	294

eta=.11\*

Journal de Genève, editorial, June 17, 1971

### **Après les désordres: construire**

Mardi soir, le Conseil d'Etat genevois a décidé de faire „dispenser dès le début toute manifestation ou tout rassemblement sur la voie publique, non autorisé par l'autorité compétente“. Notre exécutif estime que les cent ou deux cents manifestants qui chahutent les rues de notre ville depuis plusieurs semaines commencent à être dirigées par des meneurs politisés, refusant tout dialogue, décidés à détruire la communauté, et cela par les armes mêmes.

Nous avons élu ce gouvernement et notre devoir est de l'appuyer, même lorsque nous déplorons qu'il n'ait pas tenté - à notre connaissance - de tout faire pour nouer le dialogue avec les jeunes partisans d'un „Centre (cultural) autonome“.

Cependant, empêcher toute manifestation de rue non autorisée est un acte de protection sociale - ce ne peut être une politique. La question se pose donc: que faire maintenant?

De deux choses l'une. Ou bien les manifestations de jeunes n'étaient que des éruptions superficielles, les actes d'éclat de jeunes voyous en mal de „flics à casser“ et de „bourgeois“ à molester. Auquel cas la décision ferme du Conseil d'Etat genevois ramènera la tranquillité. Et les meneurs qui, à mesure que la situation se dégradait, ont tenté de noyauter et d'organiser à leur profit cette masse informe, en seront pour leurs frais.

Ou bien - et c'est là ce que nous croyons - les manifestations de jeunes qui ont secoué la ville ces derniers temps sont des indices, des symptômes d'un malaise plus profond, que nous aurions tort de négliger.

Par l'outrance de leurs propos, la violence irresponsable de certains de leurs actes, leur mépris affiché de tout dialogue, les cent à deux cents manifestants qui ont perpétué l'agitation au cours des semaines passées ont par leur faute, perdu maintenant le droit à la discussion: ils n'ont plus qualité d'interlocuteurs valables.

Néanmoins, on ne peut en rester là. Car les jeunes, il faut le souligner à nouveau, ne faisaient qu'exprimer - avec incohérence, maladresse, voire stupidité - une inquiétude profonde qui, à l'heure de la réflexion, du retour sur soi - saisit, dans notre démocratie, chaque homme de bonne foi. Qu'il s'agisse de religion, de la signification profonde de nos loisirs, de l'essence même de notre système politique, de nos relations avec l'Europe ou le monde, ou simplement avec notre milieu naturel.

C'est à éclairer ces problèmes-là, à définir la place (nouvelle et sans doute plus grande) que les jeunes doivent occuper dans notre société, que nous devons tous nous atteler d'urgence. Il faut que nous mettions, à organiser ce débat national, au moins autant d'effort que nous en mettons à maintenir l'ordre public.

L'idée centrale serait de créer une sorte de grande commission de travail où toutes les tendances de notre population et toutes les classes d'âge seraient représentées. L'Etat pourrait fournir l'organisation de base, les locaux et les services d'intendance. A la différence du Parlement, cet organisme très lâche n'aurait aucun pouvoir de décision: sa fonction serait d'imaginer, hors de toute préoccupation électorale, des solutions neuves aux problèmes de notre temps. Les rapports majoritaires et minoritaires qui naîtraient de ces débats seraient transmis aux citoyens et aux assemblées législatives. Ces dernières trouveraient là matière à réflexion et, parfois, à législation - après qu'elles auraient discipliné ces produits de l'imagination et les auraient ramenés dans les limites du possible.

Ce n'est là qu'une suggestion; il doit y en avoir d'autres. Car une chose est claire: notre République a toujours su tirer de ses expériences amères la force et la clairvoyance nécessaires à de nouveaux progrès.

Claude Monnier

NZZ, Mai 3, 1971

### **Feststellungen und Fragen**

Zürich hat ein weiteres seiner im Lande herum berüchtigt gewordenen Wochenenden hinter sich - wie es scheint das schlimmste seit den Krawallen von 1968. Dass es ausgerechnet auf den erstmals staatlich anerkannten *Feiertag der Arbeit* fiel, macht die Sache noch unerfreulicher. Mit Nachdruck ist auch an dieser Stelle festzuhalten, dass das, was im Anschluss und die offizielle Maifeier geschehen ist, nicht deren Veranstaltern zur Last gelegt werden kann und dass sie damit nicht zu identifizieren sind.

Offen bleibt allerdings die Frage, ob der *Trennstrich* zwischen geordneter politischer Manifestation und jenen, die sich mit ganz anderen Absichten daran anzuhängen versuchen, im allseitigen Interesse nicht deutlicher gezogen werden muss. Offen ist auch die Frage nach der moralischen Mitverantwortung einer allerdings nicht auf die sozialistische Presse beschränkten „linken“ *Publizistik*, die sich in den letzten Monaten und Jahren in überaus wohlwollender Duldung, bisweilen in offener Ermunterung jeder Art von „linker“ Rebellion geübt hat - eingeschlossen in solcher Toleranz das Verständnis für „ein bisschen Gewalt“ oder ein bisschen mehr Gewalt, oder für jene seltsamen Advokatenplädoyers nach dem Prinzip, dass in solchen Fällen offenbar nicht der „Mörder“, sondern in der Reger der „Ermordete“ in erster Linie schuldig sei.

Mit Nachdruck ist ferner festzuhalten, dass die Ausschreitungen der letzten Zeit in der Bereich blosser *Kriminalität* gehören. Die Horde, die am Samstag „demonstrierend“ in der Stadt herumzog und ihre Spur mit Glassplittern und Steinwürfen markierte, besteht aus nahezu professionellen Schlägern nebst irregeleiteten, zu einem nicht geringen Teil minderjährigen Mitläufern. Ihre Untaten sind mit „politischen“ oder weltverbesserischen Absichten weder zu beschönigen noch zu rechtfertigen; sie haben mit Politik nichts, um so mehr dafür mit reinem *Rowdy-Treiben* zu tun. Was kann eine ernsthafte politische Partei oder Bewegung mit ihnen gemein haben

Einige Feststellungen zur Lage sind nun aber nicht mehr zu umgehen: die *Sicherheit des Eigentums*, des öffentlichen wie des privaten, die Sicherheit des *Verkehrs*, die Sicherheit von Arbeitsplätzen, die Sicherheit von Veranstaltungen, die Sicherheit selbst der *Person* vor Übergriffen des Strassenpöbels ist in der Stadt Zürich *nicht mehr gewährleistet*. Die *Ordnungskräfte* vermögen trotz Anstrengung aller ihrer Kräfte und Einsatz aller verfügbaren Mittel die Ausschreitungen und ihre Schäden nicht zu verhindern. Die Missetäter werden offenbar zu einem nur sehr geringen Teil erfasst, Die *Justiz* erweist sich auch in entscheidenden Fällen - siehe Winterthurer Krawallprozess - als ohnmächtig oder wirkungslos. Die *politischen Behörden* suchen der „Konfrontation“ nach wie vor auszuweichen und geraten trotzdem von einer Konfrontation und die andere. Das löbliche Prinzip der „Verhältnismässigkeit der Mittel“, von dem sie sich leiten lassen, verhindert nicht die Eskalation der Zwischenfälle und Gewalttaten und die ständige Verschärfung der Situation; es hemmt dafür ein entschiedenes Durchgreifen, für das allerdings und überdies die *rechtliche Basis* nicht tragfähig genug zu sein scheint.

Der Bürger reagiert darauf vor allem mit der Frage: *Wie lange muss man dieses Treiben noch erdulden*, wie lange wird es noch geduldet? Die Frage ist in aller Munde. Der Passant stellt sie, der beim Wochenendbummel in der Stadt riskiert, in tränengashaltigen Sprühregen zu geraten, der Autofahrer, der von den Tumulten blockiert und von Provokationen bedroht wird, der Arbeiter, der - am Feiertag der Arbeit - die Glassplitter aus seiner hochempfindlichen Maschine herausliest, der Ladenbesitzer, der um seine Schaufenster bangen muss, der Zeitungsleser schliesslich, der mit steigendem Unmut im Montagsblatt die jeweiligen Berichte über ein abermals chaotisches Wochenende in seiner Stadt zur Kenntnis nimmt.

Überall fragt man sich: Was muss noch geschehen, damit hier ein deutliches Ende gesetzt wird? Ist es unmöglich, in dieser sich als geordnetes Gemeinwesen preisenden Stadt die Ordnung dauerhaft wiederherzustellen und zu sichern, ist es wirklich unmöglich, einer winzigen isolierten Minderheit ihr kriminelles, zerstörerisches Handwerk zu legen, müssen wir wirklich gegen den Willen der überwältigenden Mehrheit in Anarchie und Rechtsverwirrung abrutschen, muss Zürich Höhle und Freistatt der Wegelagerer werden oder sein?

Haben die politischen Behörden in Ohr für die Zunehmende *Dringlichkeit* dieser Fragen, gegen die ihre Argumente, warum das alles jetzt eben so ist und im Augenblick nicht anders sein könne, immer weniger durchkommen? Haben sie ein Gespür für die *Gefahren* einer Lage, in welcher der rechtmässigen Gewalt, wenn sie sich nicht durchsetzen vermag, ein *Vertrauensschwund*, in welcher eine Erschütterung des öffentlichen *Rechtsbewusstseins* droht? Man hofft es, sähe aber die Hoffnung allmählich gerne durch Erfolge in der Sicherung der Ordnung bestätigt. Davon, und vom glaubhaften Eindruck ihrer *Entschiedenheit* in der Unterbindung der Anarchie, und nicht vom Zuspruch der Behörden, hängt das Vertrauen ab - und hängt es ab, ob den noch gefährlicheren Versuchungen der Selbsthilfe der Boden entzogen werden kann.

*Note: original italics*