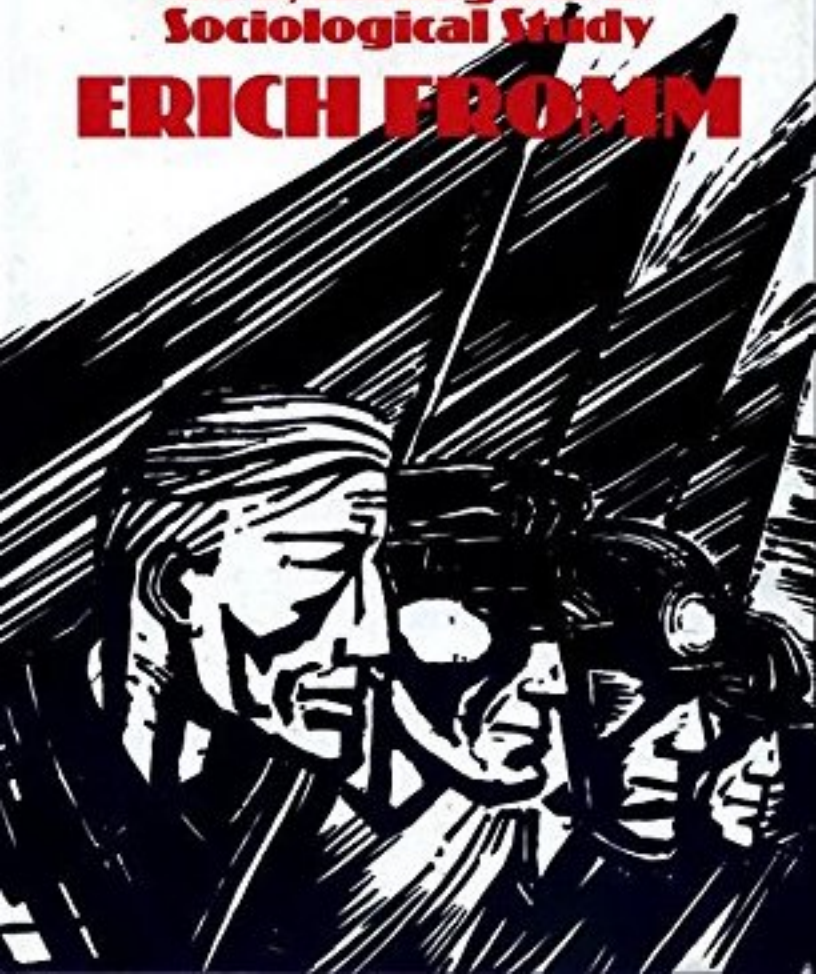


**THE
WORKING CLASS
IN WEIMAR
GERMANY**

**A Psychological &
Sociological Study**

ERICH FROMM



The Working Class in Weimar Germany

A Psychological and Sociological Study

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*The Working Class in Weimar
Germany*

A Psychological and Sociological Study

Translated by BARBARA WEINBERGER

Edited and with an Introduction by
WOLFGANG BONSS



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A Note on the Editor

Dr Wolfgang Bonss was born in 1952, studied social science and history at Munich and held a Research Fellowship at the Max-Planck-Institute for the Social Sciences at Starnberg. He is now at Bamberg University and working in the fields of the sociology of knowledge and of political sociology. His most recent publications include *Die Einiübung des Tatsachenblicks* (1982) and, as co-editor, *Sozialforschung als Kritik. Zum sozialwissenschaftlichen Potential der Kritischen Theorie* (1982).

WOLFGANG BONSS

Critical Theory and Empirical Social Research: Some Observations

On the occasion of the opening of the Frankfurt Psycho-Analytical Institute in February 1929 Erich Fromm gave a lecture, entitled 'The Application of Psycho-Analysis to Sociology and Religious Knowledge' in which he outlined the basis for a rudimentary but far-reaching attempt at the integration of Freudian psychology and Marxist social theory. He maintained that, with psycho-analysis, a scientific instrument had been created which made possible 'a comprehensive knowledge of man's psychic apparatus' (ibid., 268). What, given the psycho-analytical paradigm, was now needed, was research into the question: 'In what way has the mental apparatus had a causal or determining effect on social development or social formation' (ibid.). That this formulation was not put forward in an abstract, programmatic manner, is evidenced by the present study (*German Workers 1929—A Survey, its Methods and Results*), which was begun a few months later under Fromm's direction at the by now almost legendary Frankfurt Institute for Social Research,^{1*} and which became the unknowing precursor for a whole series of empirical investigations.

The aim of the survey planned by Fromm, and largely carried out by Hilde Weiss, was 'to gain an insight into the psychic structure of manual and white-collar workers' (IfS, 1936, 239). With the aid of psycho-analytical theory, they were hoping to obtain evidence about the *systematic* connections between 'psychic make-up' and social development. To initiate this ambitious research programme, a comprehensive questionnaire with 271 items was designed and distributed to 3,300 recipients; this was to provide the primary data. By the end of 1931, Fromm and Hilde Weiss had received back 1,100

*IfS for short (translator's note).

questionnaires for analysis. As so often happens with this type of project, the analysis at first proceeded rather slowly and was partly overtaken by new plans, especially by the start of the *Studien über Autorität und Familie* (*Studies on Authority and Family*) (IfS, 1936). But the study suffered the greatest set-back through the enforced emigration of the Institute to the United States in 1933, in which many documents were lost, including practically half of those relating to the study: out of 1,100 completed questionnaires only 584 remained in 1934, and doubts were raised whether there was any sense in proceeding with the analysis.²

Fromm, who had also undertaken the co-ordination of the empirical follow-up projects, stood firmly by the survey, and a first report on the *German Workers* appeared within the framework of the publication of *Authority and Family* (IfS, 1936, 239ff). Fromm wrote in the introduction to Hilde Weiss's summary that they were concerned with a project that 'had more of an experimental character than had later inquiries' (ibid., 231). Despite this 'experimental character', publication of the total material was announced for 1936 (ibid., 240), which, however, never occurred. Although an advisory working party composed of Anna Hartoch, Herta Herzog, Ernst Schachtel, Erich Fromm and Paul F. Lazarsfeld undertook the translation and expansion of the original German analysis, dissension over the content and reliability of the inquiry increased. Horkheimer and other members of the Institute voiced strong misgivings, while the arrival of Adorno in New York added to the tensions, which became increasingly personal rather than being scientifically motivated.³ When Fromm left the Institute in 1939⁴ the study was finally withdrawn from publication since, as previous director of the social-psychological department, Fromm took all the relevant documents with him and the Institute was unable to realize its publication plans for the early 1940s.⁵

That the survey disappeared into Fromm's desk drawer after these unpleasant developments, and was later also partly deleted from the annals of the Institute, is hardly surprising in the face of the mutual animosities it had aroused; and when publication took place forty years later, this was only possible because it no longer had anything to do with the previous disputes. But the possibility of publication in no way implies its necessity. Social science research dates very quickly, and its resurrection usually makes sense only in the case of a document of real historical or scientific significance. In the present instance both these criteria are satisfied.

Firstly, the survey is without doubt a *contemporary historical* document of considerable importance; while there were one or two

investigations into the objective situation of workers in the Weimar Republic, there were no analyses of their subjective perceptions in relation to social reality. In this area there are in the main only biographical sources so that the attempt by Fromm and his collaborators to provide a scientific examination of conscious attitudes in itself adds to a clarification of the historical situation at the beginning of the 1930s.

Secondly, the study is of equal interest from the viewpoint of history of science; as a preliminary work for the later *Studies on Authority and Family*, it is a first expression of 'the broadest and most advanced effort in the Weimar Republic of German sociology to establish . . . empirical social research' (Schad, 1972, 76). But the label 'empirical' needs to be defined, since the survey was not based on just any form of empirical research. In so far as it was integrally related to the programme of the Frankfurt Institute, sometimes even described by Max Horkheimer as a central work of that Institute (Horkheimer, 1931, 43), it was of great significance, despite all subsequent rejections by those involved, for the development of the inter-disciplinary materialism envisaged in early 'critical theory'.⁶

Background and Preconceptions of the Inquiry

Asked towards the end of his life to give the reasons which prevented the publication of the study, Fromm continued to regard Horkheimer as the chief obstacle; the latter, he said, considered the inquiry as 'too Marxist' and was always afraid that this would have negative consequences for the Institute.⁷ While one may question whether this really was the decisive reason, what becomes clear from Fromm's reply is the thoroughly Marxist understanding underlying the survey, which was obligatory for practically all members of the Institute taking part in the research.⁸ Nevertheless, in its specific form, this understanding is by no means clear-cut. Scientifically and historically speaking, the survey can be seen, essentially, as the expression of an historically specific reformulation of Marxist social theory, which in Fromm's eyes, and not only his, was to be broadened by *social-psychological* concepts and tested by empirical analysis. We will need briefly to define both the social-psychological and the empirical dimensions in order to be able to discuss the significance of an inquiry based on them as an empirical contribution to a critical theory of society.

Social-Psychology as a New Dimension of Materialist Theory-Formation

If one looks at the development of materialist theory after 1918, one is struck by the growing emphasis given to social-psychological explanatory concepts, which was hardly to be found in Marx and his early followers. In the second half of the 1920s in particular, there were an increasing number of demands for a 'refinement of theory' which was orientated not only towards economics, but also psychology, in order to be able to solve 'the incredibly increased range and quality of tasks of the labour movement' (Jenssen, 1926, 219). As this quotation makes clear, an explicitly *practical* motivation points to a changed political situation in which the empirical content of materialist explanation and the faith in its prognostic ability had been shattered. Where the labour movement in the nineteenth century had, apparently, repeatedly confirmed the hypothesis that capitalism was crisis-prone and the victory of the proletariat inevitable, this *empirical* certainty had become increasingly fragile since the legalization of Social Democracy; the failure of the November Revolution of 1918 finally made unmistakably clear that there was nothing inevitable about the outcome of the theoretically established contradiction between the forces of production and the relations of production. Even if the economic function was now only viable with massive state support, the political potential for action of the labour movement had hardly developed in an adequate manner. Instead, parallel with the integration politics of the now 'incorporated' SPD, the proletariat appeared to have lost their role as the agents of social change.⁹ In this regard, rising fascist and nationalist tendencies, which also threatened to overtake the working class, increased the problem. Against this background, many left-wing intellectuals were confronted with the question as to how the manifest mismatch between being and consciousness or, more precisely, between the position of productive forces and consciousness of productive relations could be explained or overcome.

At first sight, the answer to this question was easy. In so far as statements about the development of capitalism—that is, the 'objective' side of Marxist economic theory—had in no way been falsified, the reasons for the relative ineffectiveness of socialist campaigns had necessarily to reside in the *subjective* field. This consideration led almost inevitably to taking recourse in psychological explanations.¹⁰ From the start, the psycho-analytical theory of Freud assumed a prominent place, next to the Adlerian school of individual psychology, in the relevant discussions. Freudian biologically-based 'psychology of the unconscious' appeared to offer

the most useful point of departure.¹¹ Nevertheless, very diverse themes were presented as 'explanations of the lost revolution', largely due to the diversity of the Left's response to Freud. Marxists concerned with practical-pedagogical questions, for example, had fewer problems with Freud than did pure theoreticians; orthodox Marxists understood Freud differently from revisionists, and 'the front-lines, straightened only in the heads of ideologues, run along curiously criss-crossing paths' (Sandkühler, 1970, 7). But despite the lack of unity, and apart from psychologizing critiques of Marx such as that by Kolnai (1920) and de Man (1926), at least three significant responses can be identified—namely, the *eclectic adaptation of Freud* by the Social Democrats, the *dogmatic dissociation from Freud* of the Communists, and the *mediating positions* of some practising psychoanalysts, most of whom were not committed to a particular party.

In the ranks of the Social Democrats, psychological or pseudo-psychological explanations had already been gaining ground from the beginning of the century, whereby a notion of psychology had been arrived at, via Bernstein and Kautsky, that sought to explain individual actions partly through 'economic motives' and partly through 'social drives' (Kautsky). It seemed that these relatively hazy views, which derived less from independent reflection than from the influence of contemporary pseudo-biological ideas about society, could be given much greater precision once Freud had developed his theory on instincts, and in the face of the growing defeat of the labour movement, educationalists and 'friends of the children of the proletariat' sought to integrate psycho-analysis as a new explanatory principle into traditional concepts. Thus Anna Siemsen, for example, believed that within the proletariat 'a whole range of anti-social drives' (Siemsen, 1924, 392) were discernible which were being systematically encouraged by capitalism and which prevented the advance of the socialist movement. Similar arguments are to be found in the work of the aforementioned Otto Jenssen, who wanted to found a 'higher Marxism' out of social psychology 'as a special branch of science . . . between the conscious and the unconscious' (Jenssen, 1926, 218). This attempt never advanced beyond pure postulation and his comments, arising from a comparison of Kautsky and Freud in *Psychology of the Masses* (Jenssen, 1924), are only of interest today in so far as 'the vulgarization of Marxism and psycho-analysis is particularly clear' (Burian, 1972, 12) in this instance.

In confrontation with the Social Democratic reception of Freud, the KPD (German Communist Party) more or less adopted the Soviet interpretation, which was always regarded as a general yardstick and which itself changed radically between 1919 and 1925. Because of its

implicit criticism of bourgeois sexual morality, psychoanalysis was at first very well received in the revolutionary period and, in so far as it was regarded as a praxis-orientated, materialist and social-revolutionary concept, it was credited by intellectuals with revolutionary functions.¹² But consolidation and petrification after Lenin's death ended this 'period of tolerance and encouragement of psycho-analysis' (Dahmer, 1973, 284). The more Soviet Marxist thought hardened into a rigid and dogmatic world-view, the less room there was for a subject-orientated psycho-analytic practice; indeed it was soon decried as, for example, in Jurinetz (1925) or Debordin (1928) as 'Trotskyist' and rejected as a product of bourgeois thinking.¹³ Although the German Communist Party could not make this attitude entirely obligatory amongst its members, with some of the younger ones in particular referring to Freud in positive terms,¹⁴ it was the Soviet version which was considered officially valid. In this context, the then leading theoretician of the KPD, August Thalheimer, took a particularly memorable line. In 1926, following in Jurinetz's footsteps, he published a polemic directed in part against Janssen, which went much further than Jurinetz in its uninformed and primitive tirades against 'anal-psychology' (Thalheimer, 1926, 521) as the expression of the degenerate fantasy of the bourgeoisie.

Several psycho-analysts such as Siegfried Bernfeld, Otto Fenichel or Wilhelm Reich¹⁵ who were committed to Marxism, although not uncritically so, raised their voice from the middle of the 1920s against this sort of ideological denigration; they did so less from a party-political stand-point than from their experience with practical therapy. The first points were made by Siegfried Bernfeld, whose comments on *Socialism and Psycho-Analysis* (Bernfeld, 1926) are among the most expert contributions of that decade. For Bernfeld, who was above all concerned with demonstrating the cognitive compatibility of Marx and Freud, the dialectical-materialist nature of psycho-analysis consisted primarily in three factors: namely, its 'genetic' or more exactly, its concrete biographical orientation (ibid., 12); its physiological base (ibid., 13); and not least Freud's 'dialectical' form of argument, which aimed 'at comprehending psychic polar opposites as identities' (ibid., 15). With the aid of these analogies, Bernfeld believed he could deduce an 'inner affinity' (ibid., 17) between Marxism and psycho-analysis which would have both theoretical as well as practical consequences. In his view, both theories, even if autonomous in that they were concerned with different areas of reality, were methodologically compatible and complemented each other, in that 'spiritual and social life are

dialectical processes and proper cognition consists in the discovery of this dialectic' (ibid.).

With this argument Bernfeld raised the central question of the debate of the 1920s, since psycho-analysis, as a Marxist psychology, meant first and foremost proving that Freudian theory was, in Bernfeld's phrase, 'principally, exclusively and consistently materialist' (ibid., 13). The form of this proof was itself characterized by the ideological lines along which divergent views confronted each other: on the one hand, confined to the traditionally hypothesized juxtaposition of materialism and idealism, psycho-analysts were working with a negatively-charged concept of idealism, which, in methodological terms, was flatly equated with the arts;¹⁶ some, on the other hand, were working with a simplified naturalistic understanding of materialism which had been established in Germany by Kautsky's orthodoxy and which later Soviet dogmatisations had confirmed.¹⁷ In these circumstances, it was almost inevitable that the *natural science* aspects of Freudian theory should become the central argument for its materialist character so that psycho-analysis was often presented, in Fenichel's words, as a 'natural science of the materialist history of man' (Fenichel, 1934, 240), which had to be 'integrated with biology' (ibid., 232) in order 'to understand psychic processes as a matter of principle as stemming from material conditions' (ibid., 233).

If this natural science approach is taken to its logical conclusion, the outcome is precarious; for, to put it bluntly, psycho-analysis which is defined as biologically-orientated individual psychology would find it largely impossible to integrate both biological as well as non-biological factors, on the one hand, and individual as well as social factors, on the other. But this could hardly have been the aim of left-wing psycho-analysts. After all, they had set out to establish a *connection* between psychology and social theory. Freud himself had never conceived of his theory in terms of social theory, but at the same time he was not at all adverse to sociological extrapolations. On the basis of an assumed parallelism between onto-genesis and phylogenesis, he frequently inferred social structures from psychic ones, and it was just these analyses which aroused growing interest in the 1920s. Thus Freud analysed the formation and effect of social institutions in terms of his ideas about individual super-ego development, in which he assumed a structural identity of the censure of instinctual wishes by the super-ego with the prohibiting and idealizing functions of normative regulations. In his anthropological speculations which rested on the Darwinian myth of the primeval horde, he sought to show that the structural elements of the social superstructure were 'phylogenetically acquired via the father

complex'. (Freud, 1923, 265). In this view, the constitution of human society is founded on the murder of the despotic primal father by his rebellious sons (Freud, 1913, 158f); the beginnings of a cultural super-ego are then created in the form of totems and taboos. This imposes a restriction on immediate instinctual gratification and creates the pre-conditions for the development of complex normative institutions; societal evolution now presents itself as gradually accumulating abstention together with the displacement of the original instinctual goals: only by such a diversion of psychic energy in the form of sublimation is it possible that 'higher forms of psychic activity—scientific, artistic and ideological—come to play such a significant role in cultural life' (Freud, 1930, 92).

Such hypotheses were rejected not only by the Soviet Marxist critics, but also largely by the Social Democrats.¹⁸ Neither of these groups actually discussed the *content* of Freud's speculations, but restricted themselves to a generalised reference to the basically lower priority of the subjective in relation to the objective: psychology, concerned as it was with the investigation of subjectivity, referred 'only to a secondary aspect of social development' (Sapir, 1929–30, 211), and its findings were therefore legitimate only in so far as they were compatible with the fixed positions of Marxist orthodoxy. This statement moreover led the representatives of Soviet orthodoxy to draw the conclusion that the empirical discrepancies between objective existence and subjective consciousness could not be analyzed in terms of the way in which the psyche worked them out, but that 'in the study of such a phenomenon we must necessarily move from the sphere of individual psychology to that of social processes' (Sapir, 1929–30, 208). With this, psychology was pushed aside and firmly separated from the social sciences; in place of any mediation between acting subject and social objectivity, the primacy of the latter was accorded the status of natural law.¹⁹

Themselves formed by the orthodox view of materialism, the defenders of Freudian theory watched this devaluation of psychology both helplessly and ambivalently: on the one hand, they not only made systematic efforts to tone down Freud's anthropological speculations, but they also regarded the individual focus of psycho-analysis as being unaffected by sociological implications. On the other hand, they tried at the same time to defend it against a tendency to cast it into the role of an auxiliary discipline which was neutral with regard to social theory; but they were unable to give substance to the basis of the desired autonomy of psycho-analysis. What remained was generally a 'superficial combination of two heterogeneous theories—one being abstractly sociological, the

other being no less abstractly biological, between which they unknowingly vacillated' (Dahmer, 1971, 73). Typical of such vacillation was, for instance, Wilhelm Reich's idea which regarded psycho-analysis as 'a natural science' incapable of being reconciled with a Marxian conception of history (Reich, 1929, 139), while his hypotheses on the function of the family or on a psycho-analytical characterology burst the bounds of a natural-scientific individual psychology.²⁰ The ambivalence of such attitudes towards analysis did not, however, appear to be a problem either for Reich or for his colleagues, and this makes clear that the discussion of the 1920s did not so much offer a *new dimension* to the development of materialist theory, it should rather be regarded as an attempt at *broadening* the established concept of materialism which needed to be adapted to the changed situation of the labour movement.

The Proletariat as the Object of Empirical Research

Although the discussions about the relationship between 'subjective' and 'objective' factors within capitalist society arose out of very concrete problems, they appear somewhat abstract today; nor are they, in principle, more than speculations about a *theoretically* conceivable connection between instinctual drives and consciousness which, however, was hardly ever tested *empirically*. For example, there was often talk about an instinctually conditioned 'immaturity of the proletariat' (Siemens, 1924, 383); hardly anyone asked in what form this 'immaturity' actually manifested itself and in what manner it related to existing conditions of work and life. That such a lack of empirical precision escaped criticism at the time, is due primarily to the then current climate of opinion; for despite the structural changes which had already become visible within the working class,²¹ the proletariat had in no way lost its traditional *political* connotations and there was therefore no necessity for an *empirical* differentiation. This 'soft' understanding of empirical research which was politically motivated was reinforced by the general underdevelopment of this type of social research, as had been described by, amongst others, Anthony Obershall (1965) and Suzanne Schad (1972): not only were surveys of the situation of workers undertaken relatively late in comparison with other countries, but first attempts in this direction also remained episodic, and were largely ignored by the labour movement, which regarded them as administrative exercises towards which it seemed appropriate to harbour a healthy mistrust. Although Marx had, in 1880, in response to just this sort of reservation, instituted his own *enquête ouvrière*, one of whose functions was the critical enlightenment of the workers, they did not respond to his

plan; an interest in the proletariat as an object of empirical enquiry emerged entirely from outside the labour movement.²²

This situation is somewhat paradoxical in that the development of empirical social research bears a close relationship to the rise of the so-called 'social question'. This can be seen not only by looking at the example of England, where Parliament, in the face of growing pauperization, undertook early surveys into factory conditions (1833), health in the towns (1840) and child labour;²³ in the same way German surveys, which began after 1870, were also pre-eminently concerned with the abuses and problems deriving from capitalist working organization.²⁴ Side-by-side with the official investigations there were those which were privately organised either by regional bodies or through the Economics Departments of universities. Particularly active was the German *Verein für Socialpolitik* (Society for Social Policies, VfS), founded in 1872, which had, by 1890, published several works on the situation of agricultural workers (1887), on the housing shortage (1886), on usury in agriculture (1887) and on the cottage industries (1889). These surveys, usually undertaken as 'hearing of experts' were, however, still very modest in scope and execution, and as the 'experts' who were interviewed were landowners, entrepreneurs, teachers, clerics or civil servants, their findings frequently offered less information about actual conditions than about their own strong and status-related preconceptions.²⁵

Progress only began to be made with the second phase of surveys after 1890. This was the period of the changeover from disparate 'impressionistic views of local life' (VfS, 1887, VIII), published without commentary, to comprehensive interpretations carried out according to partially standardized criteria. One of the first examples was the VfS's agricultural workers' survey of 1892 which was chiefly concerned with the 'condition of the workers' and the objective situation of particular 'categories of workers'.²⁶ Earlier methodological deliberations notwithstanding,²⁷ data were still collected exclusively from employers and this was justified with the argument that 'the agricultural worker . . . is usually so lacking in mental development and is so uncertain about his own self-interest, that a short interview would probably have yielded little of significance and value' (VfS, 1892, Vol. 1, XII).

The 'patriarchal' attitude which emerges from this statement, is typical of all the early surveys, and is to be found even in studies by outsiders who tried to reduce the distance between themselves and their subject through participant observation. Thus a theology student, Paul Göhre, published a much acclaimed study entitled *Drei Monate als Fabrikarbeiter und Handwerksbursche* (*Three Months as*

Factory Worker and Journeyman) (Göhre, 1891), followed two years later by the feminist Minna Wettstein-Adelt with a similar project (Wettstein-Adelt, 1893). Both studies were not only concerned with a presentation of 'objective' facts such as age, income and living conditions, but specifically with describing the self-images of workers. This was in keeping with the then current fashion of 'moral statistics',²⁸ to which end Göhre even published the verbatim records of some of his interviews.²⁹

These surveys met with a wide public response probably because of what could be termed a moralizing interest in a 'strange world'; after all what the workers thought and why they supported Social Democratic demands, in contrast with the slowly increasing body of information about their 'objective' situation, was largely unknown. In addition, questions about attitudes or self-evaluation were 'directly in line with German social science' which had a strong interest in ethical questions (Zeisel, 1933, 131); it had long been interested in the 'moral improvement' of the workers, and had placed emphasis on subjective psychological factors regarding the workers' question, even if it was still underdeveloped as far as the theoretical aspects of this work were concerned. Max Weber may be taken as an example of an observer who, although not accepting as scientific his colleagues' ethical motives, yet stated in his contribution to the agricultural workers' survey in 1892, that it was less important for sociological explanations 'how high the workers' earnings actually were . . . than whether they and their employers were satisfied subjectively speaking and what the trend was of their attitudes' (VfS, 1892, Vol. 3, 6).

This overstated hypothesis, in which the psychological and action-theory connotations can scarcely be separated, was not put to the test in actual research; this research was still confined to descriptions of conditions on the basis of increasingly exact techniques of data collection. In other words, theoretical reflections and empirical practice had not yet been unified in a way postulated in the model of an empiricism which was informed by the formation of hypotheses. The function of the various surveys was regarded, in accordance with established views, as that of gathering as much information as possible and, prior to all theoretical 'restrictions', of getting hold of 'the fresh truth of actual utterances' (Stieda, 1909, 925). This conception, which was particularly favoured by representatives of historically orientated economics,³⁰ was reflected in inquiries such as *Die soziale Lage der arbeitenden Klassen in Berlin* (*The Social Position of the Working Classes in Berlin*) (Hirschberg, 1897), *Die Lage der Bergarbeiter im Ruhrgebiet* (*The Position of the Miners in*

the Ruhr) (Pieper, 1897), or *Die Lage der weiblichen Dienstboten in Berlin* (*The Position of Female Domestic Servants in Berlin*) (Stillich, 1902), which were on the increase towards the end of the century. These studies were always conceived in comprehensive terms in which everything that seemed to be of interest for the 'condition', from work and wages to the use of free time, was enumerated. There was a stress on aggregate data about the material and 'moral' situation of workers, but there were also comments on the subjective fate of individuals. This conglomeration presented, if nothing else, a colourful kaleidoscope of data which were quantitatively and qualitatively very varied, covering a field of enquiry that could be delineated only in terms of the locality.

The transition from such 'reports on conditions' to a theory-led empiricism first manifested itself in the well-known pre-war project entitled *Untersuchungen über Auslese und Anpassung (Berufswahl und Berufsschicksal) der Arbeiter in der Grossindustrie* (*Inquiry into the Selection and Adaptation of Workers in Large-Scale Industry, Occupational Choice, and Occupational Fate*) (VfS, 1910, 11). This survey, which was carried out under the direction of Heinrich Herkner, Gustav Schmoller and Alfred Weber and resumed in factory studies, was based on the theoretical sections in one of Max Weber's working papers (Weber, 1908) wherein he formulated two aims for such a survey: firstly, 'what effects does large-scale industry have on the personal character, occupational fate and non-occupational life style of its workforce' (ibid., 1); secondly, 'how far is large-scale industry restricted in its development by given qualities, arising from tradition and living conditions, in its workforce' (ibid.). Weber proposed a two-pronged strategy of data collection which included an unspecified number of interviews as well as the evaluation of pay rolls and personal records. He worked out a detailed questionnaire for the workers' interviews, whose twenty-seven items were to be filled in jointly by interviewer and respondent. In accordance with Weber's theoretical interests, these questions were not confined to material concerns, but included questions relating to the respondents' 'psychic qualities', i.e. their hopes, wishes and self-evaluations which were to be compared with the objective situation. However, this latter aspect remained largely underdeveloped when it came to the implementation of the survey, and while material about age, origin, wages and productivity was widely referred to in the ensuing eight monographs and even partly statistically correlated, the answers relating to psychology were 'no more than impressions' and represented 'at best a few quotations cited out of context' (Zeisel, 1933, 132).

In view of the strong interest in subjective 'psychological' factors, these lacunae may at first seem puzzling; but they are scarcely surprising because of Weber's failure to distinguish between the psychological and action-theory dimensions in his hypotheses; thus they remained unclear and ran into difficulties when they were to be operationalized. Similar difficulties occurred in the first explicitly social-psychological enquiry into the 'workers' question', which was inspired by Max Weber and published by Adolf Levenstein in 1912. The theoretical background to this study was the working paper already referred to (Weber, 1908); but in contrast to the *Inquiry into the Selection and Adaptation*, Levenstein concentrated exclusively on 'the connection between technology and inner life' (Levenstein, 1912, 1); he started from the assumption that the routinization and monotony of industrial work systematically increased the spiritual impoverishment of the proletariat. In order to test this hypothesis he developed a questionnaire of twenty-six items based on Weber's, which was to be answered by the various occupational groups and which covered four themes: the 'psychic relationship' to work and working conditions, ideas on improvements of the material situation, the relationship to the 'social community' and attitudes to 'non-occupational cultural and other problems' (ibid.).

To carry out the survey, Levenstein—who, as a former worker, 'had himself been pushed around in a proletarian and proletaroid existence' (Weber, 1909, 529)—used his contacts with his old class comrades to address them directly or to distribute his questionnaire with their help. Even so, he met considerable difficulties, not least because of the distrust aroused by polemics in the Social Democratic press, so that his response rate of 63% must be seen as a significant achievement. In his evaluation of the 5,000 replies he paid particular attention to possible differences between the occupational groups (metal, textiles, mining). Within these 'workers' categories' he distinguished further between four so-called 'psychological types' (Levenstein, 1912, 11), labelled the 'intellectual', the 'contemplative', the 'mis-educated' and the 'mass' (ibid.). As these labels make clear, their designation as 'psychological' could hardly be justified, and Levenstein admitted that they were ultimately based 'on entirely subjective convictions' (ibid.) and were without theoretical foundation. Given these deficiencies the original claims were bound to remain lofty postulates: there was rich descriptive material about the attitudes of the various types in relation to their occupational situation; but the decisive question about 'the mental and physical processes of class types' (ibid., 3) could not be conclusively answered and retreated progressively into the background of the analysis.

Nevertheless, Levenstein's survey was in no way as 'naive' as it was judged to be by Zeisel, for instance (Zeisel, 1933, 131); while it was in keeping with the standards current at the time, it also offered a new analytical perspective which had not been seen so clearly before, even if it was not sufficiently worked out. The fact that his work found no successors and was soon forgotten is certainly due to the outbreak of the war which put any discussion about the proletariat and the social question into cold storage. But even after 1918 there was no resumption of this type of survey, owing not only to a changed social consciousness but also to a change in the preoccupations of academic sociology itself, which had actually already started before the war. One may point here to the origins of the German Society for Sociology whose orientation had altered significantly between its foundation in 1909 and the beginning of the war;³¹ in all early discussions philosophy and empirical interests, while unconnected, carried relatively equal weight; two years later an arts-orientated concept of sociology came to the fore which called itself 'empirical', but understood this in the Hegelian sense of a world of phenomena which could only be adequately interpreted by 'pure' sociology.

In such a climate there was little incentive for undertaking a differentiated study of the work and living conditions of the proletariat; worse, with Max Weber's death in 1920 and thus the loss of the most important exponent of a theoretical social-political orientation, an almost complete dearth of this type of survey followed.³² An increase in the literature occurred only in the second half of the 1920s. It came this time not from academic, but from trade union circles and almost entirely from white-collar unions. Using as a base the occupational censuses, these 'new' unions began to gather together information about the income and living standards of their members in order to back up their arguments in negotiations about wage settlements. Thus the AFA League published an inquiry by Otto Suhr about *Die Lebenshaltung der Angestellten (Employees' Attitude to Life)* (AFA, 1928); the German National Association of Clerks commissioned F. Behringer's *Herkunft, Vorbildung und Berufsausbildung der Kaufmannslehrlinge (Origin, Education and Professional Training of Business Apprentices)* (Behringer, 1928) and the Union of White-Collar Employees examined *Die wirtschaftliche und soziale Lage der Angestellten (The Economic and Social Position of White-Collar Employees)* (1931). These inquiries remained purely descriptive and confined to the 'objective' position of the employees, since subjective attitudes and forms of behaviour were no longer of any interest in empirical research.

German Workers 1929—Critical Purpose in Social Research

Appearing at a time when there was almost no empirical research in the academic field, the present study marked a first step towards the rediscovery of the proletariat as an object of empirical study, since projects similar to that of the Frankfurt group were being planned in other places. Mention must be made of the survey at the Psychological Institute in Vienna into *Die Arbeitslosen von Marienthal* (*The Unemployed of Marienthal* (Lazarsfeld/Jahoda/Zeisel, 1933), even though it was not begun until 1930 and took a different path, conceptually speaking.³³ Whereas the Vienna group was strongly influenced by American work such as Robert and Helen Lynd's study of Middletown (Lynd/Lynd, 1929), Fromm and his collaborators stood for the German tradition, as previously outlined, which they tried to develop in three ways:

Firstly, their research was to take place in a demanding theoretical and inter-disciplinary context, since they believed that 'the working out of a theory of social development is decisively dependent on a general increase in empirical knowledge' (see p. 41). In other words, *empirical* research was to make a contribution to the *theoretical* study of materialism which, in the face of the Weimar experience, had shown itself to be deficient in an understanding of manifestations and consciousness.

In contrast to previous surveys, these manifestations would not be described in isolation, but attempts would be made to *explain* them on two levels; on the macro-level by comparing 'data on group-specific individual attitudes and personality structures' (see p. 41) with 'a range of objective data such as income, occupation, marital status' (IFS, 1936, 239) and, on the micro-level, by a systematic structural analysis of individual cases.

Methodologically, this would signify a combination of the *quantitative* techniques of a written questionnaire with a psycho-analytically based *qualitative* procedure, never before attempted, in order to relate representative statements to the 'uncovering of personality traits' (see p. 53).

Although it was not possible to realize all these points as the study developed, and although the inquiry ultimately remained fragmentary, it still bears testimony to the attempt to initiate a new 'critical purpose in social research' whose specific form was without doubt unique at the time.

The Inter-disciplinary Context of the Study

When Fromm and his collaborators began their survey, the Institute

for Social Research was formally under the direction of Carl Grünberg, although most actual decisions were taken by members of the future Frankfurt circle such as Friedrich Pollock and Max Horkheimer; and since Grünberg was not interested in social-psychological inquiries, the start of the study itself provides an indication of the growing re-orientation, which gained official sanction when Horkheimer was made Director two years later.³⁴ In his speech of acceptance, Horkheimer presented a new programme based on a concept of *inter-disciplinary materialism* (Horkheimer, 1931), which centrally determined the work of the Institute until the mid-1930s. This programme is of interest to us in the present context, because it places the workers' survey into a far wider context and makes clear the meta-theoretical viewpoint from which Fromm's study was seen at the time.

The starting point of Horkheimer's argument, which was later elaborated in several papers (Horkheimer, 1932a, b; 1933a, b), was a critical diagnosis of contemporary science which was found to suffer from a basic 'contraction of rationality' (1932a, 4). The outward signs of this 'inner crisis' (*ibid.*, 4) were a 'chaotic subject specialization' (1931, 40) as well as a growing separation between philosophy and science, revealed above all in the clash between positivism and metaphysics. Both forms of knowledge, according to Horkheimer, were based on equally valid cognitive concerns: whereas the core of positivism lay in its insistence on empirical research methods, metaphysics, concentrated on reflections about the basic 'for-what-purpose' question of human existence 'which was too deeply rooted in man's psyche to ever to set aside' (1930, 70). In the degree to which each became absolutist in its claims, these two approaches were transformed into ideologies, and once thus confronting each other as closed ideologically-based conceptual systems they became set into opposite forms of scientific practice and a brake was put on the quantitative and qualitative developmental potential of both (1932a, 2); cognition of the total social process was systematically paralysed.

This dissociation of theory and empirical research was not seen as inevitable by Horkheimer, and in this connection he pointed to the Marxian analysis of capitalist society which to him seemed to offer an alternative in two ways: in contrast to the metaphysical social philosophers, Marxism had a thoroughly materialist orientation; but in contrast to positivism, the decisive significance of its 'theory of mere data collection' (1933b, 195) had to be recognised. Through his specific coupling of theoretical construction and empirical research Marx had formulated a 'unification of philosophy and science' (1933a, 25) which, for Horkheimer, resulted in a 'qualitative

transformation of fundamental categories' (1934, 49) and lifted 'knowledge as such onto a higher plane' (1934, 49): Marx's conception overcame the mechanical materialism of the eighteenth century and freed the dialectical construction of reality from its metaphysical foundations, since the spiritual principles of the idealist philosophers were replaced by economically-based materialist principles of social evolution. This facilitated 'a moving away from metaphysics to scientific theory' (1932b, 132) with normative as well as descriptive claims; it was precisely in this double sense that the critique of political economy offered 'a formulation of historical experience which accords with contemporary cognition' (1932b, 133) and could serve as an exemplary model for a theoretically based and empirically differentiated analysis of social relations.

But Marxist theory was in no way a blank cheque for correct analysis: if it appeared 'as a universal means of construction in place of concrete investigations' (1932b, 132), the critique of political economy would itself be transformed again into a 'closed, dogmatic metaphysic' (*ibid.*), which was just as ideologically suspect to Horkheimer as its bourgeois equivalents. The theory only retained its model character when applied in a reflective historical manner and was itself not exempted from this test, since Marx's laws of social development were not laws in the sense of natural science; rather they indicated all-embracing structural and functional connections whose concrete forms were in every individual case to be reconstructed. In order to be able to comprehend society as an 'incomparable, constantly changing whole' (1933a, 15) Horkheimer believed that theoretical and empirical differentiations were necessary to account for concrete social problems and to guarantee the unity of philosophy and science that is the hallmark of a rational explanation.

With this hypothesis, Horkheimer took up a position against the traditional understanding of materialism which had been dominant in the Frankfurt Institute during the Grünberg era:³⁵ if Marx's hypotheses about the development of capitalist society were to retain their validity despite the massive defeats of the labour movement, then the materialist analysis could no longer be confined to the well-known economic critique. In view of the undeniable lack of simultaneousness between base and superstructure, additional perspectives had to be admitted, and this was not only a theoretical but above all a scientific-organisational problem: only when 'philosophers, sociologists, economists, historians, psychologists . . . were united in a constant work-association' (1931, 41) would it be possible systematically to throw light on 'the connections between economic life . . . , the psychic development of the individual

and cultural change' (ibid.), without lapsing into dogmatic pre-conceptions. According to the fundamental hypothesis of this new programme, the validity of Marxian theory could only be preserved if one were able, through specialist research and basic theory formation, 'to pursue the large philosophical questions by the most refined scientific methods, to make more precise the questions in the course of actual work on the project, to conceive new methods, and in all this not to lose sight of the whole' (ibid.).

Horkheimer pointed out the numerous disciplines which were to support the envisaged inter-disciplinary materialism, in which philosophy, economics, social psychology and theory of culture stood in the forefront.³⁶ Psychology was of necessity awarded a special position, and in the Frankfurt Institute it became the pivot of a modern Marxism. One can see this in the research question which Horkheimer raised in his inaugural address and in which he sought to compress the general theme of future work into an empirically viable formula: 'What relationship can be established for a particular group . . . between the role of this group in the economic process, the changes in the psychic structure of its individual members and the influence on it of ideas and attitudes?' (1931, 44). If one replaces the word 'group' with that of 'worker' or 'white-collar employee', one is presented with the themes of Fromm's study, which was cited as an example of the realization of the proposed research programme. But for Horkheimer the project was only a partial answer for the problems at hand and needed to be broadened out; the connection between economic, psychic and cultural development was not only to be considered from a psychological point of view, but was to be put into the inter-disciplinary spectrum developed by the Institute, in which theoretical reflection and empirical research were to carry equal weight.

Horkheimer saw methodological diversity as a sign of the desired inter-disciplinary breadth and proposed to include, next to the 'various processes of inquiry' (ibid.), a wide range of techniques of secondary analysis, ranging from an 'evaluation of the published statistics . . . in connection with the ongoing analysis of the economic situation' (ibid.) to sociological and psychological scrutiny of the 'press and literary works' (ibid.). The application and refinement of these conceptually neutral methods was however to be derived from an overarching process which Horkheimer formulated as a co-ordinated three-pronged research strategy comprising 'social philosophy', 'social research' and 'a theory of the course of history'.³⁷ According to this model, which also stands as the quintessence of the foregoing social science critique, social philosophy must first

formulate a 'general theoretical intention aiming at the general "essentials"' (ibid., 41). This represented the framework of problems for the joint research process. At the social research level, the task was to pick up and re-formulate general questions according to the standards of the separate disciplines and to find the answers through the empirical work. The third step, arising from the combined effect of social philosophy and social research, was to offer what was called a 'theory of the course of history in the present epoch' (1932c, III), namely one which presented an integrated, materialist analysis of the various separate scientific perspectives, for the construction of which the workers' study was, in Horkheimer's eyes, an early and important foundation stone.

Analytical Social-Psychology as Theoretical Background

Although the argument outlined above makes clear the methodological framework within which Fromm's study was placed within the Institute, this does not indicate how the survey was to be constructed and implemented: the programme basically said no more than that empirical work should be undertaken, without specifying how it would actually proceed in line with 'critical social research'. However, this absence was by no means due to an oversight; for Horkheimer, the critical potential of empirical research lay less in the concrete research work than in an independent social philosophy which had to judge *ex post facto* the significance of these inherently neutral methods.³⁸ His methodological guidelines were therefore confined to encouraging methodological diversity, and his few additional remarks were exclusively concerned with the problem of the social-philosophical usefulness of procedures whose structure was already predetermined by tackling the workers' inquiry. Given this background, it hardly seems possible, in contrast to Horkheimer's own presentation (1931, 44) to 'derive' the present study from the inter-disciplinary programme.³⁹ Although it could have fitted into the programme and could be related to its aims, the study's concrete form arose from other considerations which had arisen prior to and outside the Institute's programme and which, especially in their theoretical aspects, were essentially those of Erich Fromm.

Fromm's contribution to the development of what is now called 'early critical theory'⁴⁰ was certainly greater than is usually allowed for in the relevant literature. Although, as a 'scientific loner',⁴¹ Fromm apparently never belonged to Horkheimer's inner circle,⁴² his conception of a materialist social psychology influenced the Institute's theory formation at least as strongly as did the inter-

disciplinary programme itself. If one asks why it was Fromm and not some other psycho-analyst who was integrated into the Institute, then, apart from coincidences and personal factors,⁴³ Fromm's double qualification as a sociologist and psychologist, by which he was distinguished from most of his colleagues, certainly played a part. In contrast to Bernfeld or Reich, for example, his introduction to psychoanalysis had not been through medicine but through studies in sociology and philosophy, with his main interest at first lying in sociology. Only after his Ph.D. thesis, entitled *The Sociology of Jewish Law* (Fromm, 1922) and completed under Alfred Weber, did Fromm turn more strongly to psychology and undertake a comprehensive psycho-analytical training through which he gained distance from Jewish orthodoxy.⁴⁴ Although clinical psychology took up a considerable part of his time, his interest in sociological and social questions remained. He dedicated himself to a continuation of the work for his Heidelberg dissertation on problems of the sociology of religion (Fromm, 1927, 1931a), made contributions to a social-psychological analysis of criminal justice (Fromm, 1930, 1931b) and, in parallel with these, published his authoritative essays (Fromm, 1929, 1932a) in which he presented the 'method and task of analytical social psychology'.

This concept, which was unconditionally accepted by most members of the Institute, at least until 1937, actually consisted of two parts; the description of the relationship of economic and psychic factors was itself based on a lengthy discussion concerning the compatibility of Freud and Marx which initially proceeded along established lines: Fromm, like others, also saw the biological basis of Freudian theory as the essential indirect proof for its materialist character and reduced the instinctual world to 'a force of nature . . . which like others, belongs directly to the base of the social process' (1932, 49). Such pseudo-biological connotations were not always taken over uncritically, however; in contrast to Reich, for example, Fromm regarded 'the active and passive adaptation of the impulses to social reality . . . as the key concept of psycho-analysis' (ibid., 31), and even if the instinctual apparatus had to be described primarily in biological terms, it had always appeared 'in reality . . . in a given specific form that had been changed by the social process' (ibid., 45). With this, psycho-analysis was being accorded social-scientific qualities which on closer inspection remain ambivalent, however: although Fromm reacted specifically against a purely natural-science interpretation of Freudian theory, the social determination of natural potentials was not regarded by him as a problem relating to the social constitution of nature, but as a question of the social 'modifiability

of the instinctual apparatus' (ibid., 39), so that the biological interpretation was not actually nullified, but was overlaid by additional concepts of a sociological kind.

This tendency can also be seen in the conceptualization of the social-psychological procedure itself: the starting-point here was, as a matter of principle, 'the method . . . of classical Freudian psychoanalysis' (ibid., 54), which needed not to be changed, but to be rigorously transferred 'to social phenomena' (ibid.). This is to be understood quite literally since, unlike in the arguments of Reich and Sapir, the individual-psychological orientation of Freudian theory was completely retained. In other words, social psychology was for Fromm not a mass—or class—psychology, but rather a form of extrapolated personal psychology which was grounded in the 'banal fact' (1929, 268) that society always consisted of 'single, living individuals, who could not be guided by any other psychic laws than those which psycho-analysis had discovered in the individual' (1932, 32).

Given such a view of a but marginal difference between individual psychology and social psychology, the paradigmatic core of the psycho-analytical explanation of consciousness arising from the unconscious could be incorporated without further ado. Parallel to the Freudian equation: psychic structure = drive + repression or sublimation, Fromm thus developed an idea, basically taken from Freud, of the 'libidinous structure' (ibid., 51) of a society as his basic concept. As the 'product of the effect of socio-economic conditions on instinctual tendencies' (ibid., 53), the libidinous structure is on the one hand supra-individual; on the other hand it is itself anchored in the individual: like the individual structure, it develops through the mechanisms of repression and sublimation; but these, representing a social-psychological context, can only be deduced from the socio-economic conditions of a given real-life situation, and can be regarded as the central factor in the development of feelings and consciousness within different strata of society.

What role does the libidinous structure play in social processes, and what can be explained by it? In so far as changes in instinctual tendencies are dependent on economic conditions, the starting-point, according to Fromm, is invariably that 'the libido adapts to the economic structure . . . thus becoming a factor that stabilizes class relationships' (1932a, 51). Through sublimation and repression, specific displaced ideal transferences occur which, functioning through the rationalization of unconscious drives, hide the contradictory nature of social relations and act as the necessary precondition for the maintenance of social relations of dominance

and subordination. In so far as changes in instinctual tendencies which manifest themselves in norms and ideologies are at the same time to be seen as an exploitation and integration of those drives, this signified for Fromm that libidinous forces were in themselves an essential factor for constituting society.⁴⁵ They provided 'the mortar . . . without which society could not hold together' (ibid., 50), since 'neither the external power apparatus nor rational interests would be sufficient on their own to safeguard the functioning of society without man's libidinous strivings' (ibid.). Ultimately it is also from this that a theoretical possibility arises for the drives to become a force of social change. On the assumption that contradictions and repression grow, an originally positive functional relationship between libidinous structure and economic organisation could be reversed, thus releasing libidinous energies with explosive consequences.

Analytically speaking, the concept of a libidinous structure marked a first attempt at explaining the genesis and efficacy of ideologies, which was, however, still relatively abstract: basically, Fromm had stated no more than that there existed a connection between an instinctual base and the formation of ideology; but this hypothesis did not say anything about how and in what instances this process operated in a way which was tangible in social-psychological terms. By reference to Freudian socialization theory, Fromm therefore expanded his argument in two respects in a way which was also to facilitate the transition to empirical analysis: on the one hand, as with Wilhelm Reich (Reich, 1929, 159), the family was introduced as the social locus through which 'society or a class impresses on the child and hence on the adult a structure which is commensurate with it' (1932a, 35). From this arose the research question, dealt with at length in *Studies on Authority and Family* (IfS, 1936), as to 'how far the family . . . was the product of a particular social form and how far a socially determined change of the family . . . could have an influence on the psychic development of the individual' (1929, 269). For the workers' survey, on the other hand, a different refinement, taken from Karl Abraham (1925) and derived from a reworking of Freudian characterology, was used from which were developed the psychological 'types' which were to be used to explain the connection between 'personality traits and political attitudes' (Chap. 4; Fromm, 1932b, 1936). The starting-point for this concept of various 'societal characters'—the term used by Fromm in 1941⁴⁶—lay in the psycho-analytical scheme of the stages of individual character formation: in strict psycho-analytical fashion, Fromm described the attitude dispositions which relate to the oral, anal, and phallic phases which

could in the course of development each solidify into their own type, and hence into different character structures (1932b, 252f). Independently from this and at the sociological level, Fromm, with reference to Sombart, defined the 'character traits typical of the bourgeois spirit' (ibid., 274), such as thrift, orderliness, sense of duty and competitiveness. Since outwardly these factors accorded widely with those typical of the anal character as previously analysed Fromm, in 'applying the psychoanalytical characterology to sociological problems' (ibid., 268), came to the conclusion that 'the typical libidinous structure of man in bourgeois society is characterized by a reinforcement of the anal libido position' (ibid., 274). The identification of bourgeois attitudes and anal character was further differentiated in an elaboration of that argument; Fromm thought that these character traits were 'more hindrance than help' (ibid.) for the propertied class under monopoly capitalism. An anal fixation thus appeared to be typical only of the petty bourgeoisie; but even here there were signs of a different emphasis in that 'the characteristic mixture in an anal attitude of respect for paternal authority [and] a longing for discipline' appeared 'in strange alliance with rebellion' (ibid.). As against the anal fixation of the petty bourgeoisie, there finally evolved an alternative psychological type, defined by a genital character structure, which Fromm promptly ascribed, on the basis of the 'equivalence of psycho-sexual and social development' (Dahmer, 1973, 341), to the proletariat. In contrast with Reich's emphatic hypotheses (Reich, 1933), Fromm's elaborations remained relatively vague on this point and hardly went beyond the statement that, in the ideal case, the genital character had at its disposal a strong, unambivalent and loving ego. This vagueness was probably due to the results already emerging at the time from his parallel empirical studies; for although anal traits should have been 'superfluous' for the proletariat because of its position in the production process the *enquête ouvrière* had made clear that the rather daring social-theoretical construct of a genital and revolutionary character was hardly widespread in real life.

The Implementation and Evaluation of the Study

If one compares Fromm's concept with the hypotheses of other representatives of the Freudian Left it emerges that, while there are differences of content between them, the *type* of theory was ultimately the same, in that they were all engaged to provide relatively general explanatory models; Fromm's work, like that of Reich, for example, contained few statements which might have presented a starting point for empirical verification. Or to put it another way: whereas

Fromm had indeed outlined a research possibility (the analysis of ideologies and character structure of particular groups in the population), this did not mean that he had developed a 'design' for an empirical enquiry, and the question is how, given the connection between theory and empiricism, he arrived at the decision to undertake empirical work. This question cannot be answered on the basis of Fromm's theory alone. An analytic social psychology could give guidance to empirical work, but such work was not the inevitable consequence. One therefore needs to look for external factors which had nothing to do with theory, and here there were two reasons which seem to have been decisive. The first precondition seems to have been Fromm's dual qualification in sociology and psychology, which enabled him, far more than Bernfeld or Reich, to engage in empirical social research. At least as important was, secondly, the connection with the Frankfurt Institute. It not only had the organizational and financial means for the execution of a large project, but also employed a collaborator, Hilde Weiss, who was familiar with inquiries in the then largely forgotten Weberian tradition and who was involved in a revival of work of this nature.⁴⁷

There followed a division of labour in the conceptualization and execution of the study which to some extent repeated Horkheimer's model of the interaction of social philosophy and social research, but this time on the level of a single discipline; Fromm took on the initiating, directing role, while Hilde Weiss was entrusted with the actual execution.⁴⁸ Which parts of the research design stem from Fromm and which from Hilde Weiss can no longer be reconstructed, but if one looks at the questionnaire and early interpretations in the *Studies on Authority and Family* it becomes clear that a decisive influence on the evaluation of its empirical working methods can be clearly traced to a quite specific precursor, namely to Adolf Levenstein. His ideas are noticeable in many places of the *enquête*: differentiations in the area of attitudes, the division into three 'psychological types' as well as the analysis of replies to each question in relation to economic position and political orientation (cf. Chap. 3) — all had been 'put into practice in rudimentary form by Levenstein before, so that the present study can in some respects be described as a second edition of his inquiry.

But in both its theoretical claims and its empirical programme the study went far beyond that of Levenstein; its purpose was to gain as comprehensive a picture as possible of the 'opinions, attitudes and ways of life of workers' (see p. 42). Indeed, the questionnaire, with its 271 questions, exceeded all previous limits, and, even seen solely as a purely quantitative social research project, it was not entirely

satisfactory: the high number of non-replies to certain questions as well as the relatively low response rate, which at just over 33% did not reach the level of Levenstein's, is a sign that respondents were being 'overtaxed'. The length of the questionnaire was misconceived both with regard to the study's theoretical aims and to the practicalities of the inquiry: out of the 271 questions, hardly more than half—namely 156 (IfS, 1936, 248)—had anything to do with actual attitudes; but even within this group many questions were of only partial use for analysis, given the time-scale and framework of the inquiry.⁴⁹

It would, however, be shortsighted to turn these technical deficiencies into fundamental objections to the study as such. Although it is true that Fromm and his collaborators were relatively inexperienced in social research at the start of the inquiry, this lack of experience also had its advantages. Since they did not start off with a fixed set of tools, but had 'first to work out the right use of the questionnaire method' (IfS, 1936, 231), they were in a position to try out an *experimental* form of inquiry, half forgotten today, which aimed at the possibility for creative development and change rather than the most efficient application of known techniques. In other words, they were concerned within the above-mentioned theoretical framework to test out the various empirical possibilities; but in so far as they were mainly concerned with testing the usefulness of a number of techniques for eliciting responses, in what may have been a technically 'ineffective' procedure, this was not only justified but even necessary.

The work was not undertaken in a naive manner, as the preliminary methodological deliberations showed: although the separate methodological analyses were not published until later (Schachtel, 1937; Lazarsfeld, 1937), the discussion for and against a written questionnaire had early on reached a high standard for its time. Arguments were developed which remind one of today's criticisms of attitudinal research.⁵⁰ In the circumstances, a decision in favour of interviews of the psycho-analytic model could have been expected, since it was immediate interaction, in Fromm's view, which offered the best possibility of revealing the respondents' real attitudes. But since at the same time a representative inquiry was considered essential,⁵¹ the interview method would have been too expensive, so that ultimately only a written questionnaire remained feasible. Even so, an attempt was made to include the advantages of the interview, as is shown in the discussion about 'closed versus open-ended questions'. The suggestive nature of standardized pre-set answers as well as the loss of individual nuances of response were considered and led to most of the attitudinal questions being posed in deliberately

'open-ended' form, the more so since individual nuances were of particular significance for the analysis.

These considerations were not only of interest within the Institute for the *enquête ouvrière*, but were regarded as the basis for further studies of 'critical social research'. They offered a starting-point for research which was both theoretically well-founded as well as data-responsive and which thus fulfilled the conditions that had been only vaguely outlined in Horkheimer's programme: as the work was largely founded on theoretically-based questions and open-ended responses, the construction of the empirical object did not depend exclusively on theoretical pre-conceptions, but included the respondents' definitions of the problem. This implied an important difference from the then (as now) leading conception of an analytical-deductive social research,⁵² since the empirical appropriation was no longer in one direction, from the theoretical-conceptual definition through its operationalization, to the measurement. Instead, there was a conceptually unacceptable 'break' between the theoretical definition and the empirical material which, at least potentially, ensured the necessary data-responsiveness and which was only to be set aside at the evaluative stage.

The first step in the direction of eliminating the 'break' consisted of 'a simple, descriptive account of the replies' (see p. 42) which attempted to classify the non-standardized, individual points of view in order to be able to make comparisons. Here Fromm distinguished two types of classification, as did Lazarsfeld later (1937), between the 'descriptive' and the 'interpretative'. The 'descriptive' classification included those answers which could also be used as systematic categories, whereas in the interpretative classification the replies had to be categorized in relation to over-riding theoretical considerations. This differentiation, although only partial, facilitated the selection of particularly important questions for analysis; for ultimately it was only those questions which were classified as interpretative which were of interest for the purposes of the inquiry. The concept of an interpretative classification clearly had psycho-analytical connotations; according to Fromm, the replies were to be 'analyzed in the same way in which a psycho-analyst listens to his patients' free associations'.⁵³ Systematically speaking, this had two implications: on the one hand, it meant not to take expressed points of view at their face-value, but always to seek out the differences between manifest opinions and their latent meaning. On the other hand, these differences were not to be explained in just any way, but according to the model of psycho-analytic interpretative techniques, since the aim of the interpretative classification was 'to relate the original answers to

the underlying personality traits' (see p. 53).

In actual practice, the category formation was only partially successful in this respect: although Fromm and Schachtel, who had divided the work of classification between them,⁵⁴ constantly referred to connections between opinions and their possible psychological meaning, the categories themselves were not really psycho-analytical ones. Instead, they represented themes abstracted from the responses, whose content in no way corresponded with the structure which could have been expected from the theory. Opinions were graded according to a relatively simple Right-Left dichotomy, whose reference points were determined by the 'conservative', the 'liberal' and the 'socialist' theory (see p. 92). As a second step, this schema was then related to the above character types, in which it was assumed that the authoritarian or the 'authoritarian-masochistic character' (Fromm, 1936a, 110) would tend towards conservatism, the ambivalent character towards liberalism, and the genital-revolutionary character towards socialism. Without substantiating this in individual cases, socialist-revolutionary attitudes were basically rated as positive, conservative-authoritarian as negative and, in so far as this approach was applied to all questions, it resulted in a hypothetical model of attitude structures revealing consistently 'anti-authoritarian' leftists at one end and consistently 'authoritarian' rightists at the other.

This model with its polarized value-judgment, which was applied at all levels and which the intermediate group of the ambivalent personality did little to modify, gave an undoubtedly distorted picture of social reality; furthermore, its evaluation were not always sufficiently substantiated.⁵⁵ But just because it ultimately mirrored the self-image and ideology of the Weimar Left, it paradoxically proved to be highly fruitful for empirical analysis: methodologically speaking, the study opened the way for a falsification analysis, leading to results which were both surprising and remarkable.

The successive falsification of the model was first revealed in the correlations of the statistics of the second stage (Chap. 3) which systematically compared classified attitudes with political orientation and occupational status (manual/white-collar worker). The comparison showed an unexpected divergence between the hypothetical Right-Left dichotomy and the actual position, which not only put into question the viability of the construct, but also the view of reality of the Weimar Left: although the survey sample consisted basically of workers with mostly left-wing political views, the percentage of 'revolutionary' replies was very low and, interestingly enough, was reduced precisely in accordance with the

extent to which the 'political' content of a question was not immediately apparent. Thus most respondents gave the expected 'left-wing' answer to the question about an ideal form of government, whereas the percentage of responses to the question about the most important personalities in history was already lower; and to the question on corporal punishment significantly more authoritarian than anti-authoritarian replies were given.

Analysis thus revealed that the majority of respondents associated themselves with the (usually left-wing) slogans of their party, but that their degree of radicalism was considerably reduced in more subtle, seemingly unpolitical questions. This finding seriously called into question the assumed unity, especially of socialist-anti-authoritarian attitudes, so that Fromm and his collaborators sought as a third step (Chap. 4) to establish the consistency, or otherwise, of attitude structures more precisely. Three attitude complexes and their inter-relationship were selected for further analysis, namely 'political' attitudes, attitudes towards 'authority', and attitudes towards fellow human beings. For each complex, single questions were selected as indicators, although the originally planned wide range of indicators could not be applied because of a lack of suitable questions. But the results of the subsequent correlation with political and occupational characteristics underlined the results previously obtained: although a relatively high level of consistency existed for each separate attitude 'syndrome', there were profound divergences between the various complexes: only 15% of the members of the KPD and SPD could be called 'radical' in the terms of the classification model, while 25% had to be described as tendentially, or totally, authoritarian.

In view of the small, and not entirely random, sample one could argue about the accuracy of these figures; but this is not really at issue for the aims and evaluation of the study: in contrast to the usual analytical-deductive strategies, the technical precision of their results was always less important for Fromm and his collaborators than the relationship of the results to the problem, which they saw as satisfactory only 'if they succeeded in preserving their purposes from lapsing into dogmatic rigidity or into the mere empirical-technical' (Horkheimer, 1931, 45). Statistical exactitude was not the aim, and Fromm several times stressed that he did not want to offer 'proof' with his figures, but only to show tendencies. The main tendency and therefore central result of the study was the discrepancy between manifest political attitudes and latent character structures, since, contrary to theoretical expectations, there were, empirically speaking, very few purely 'authoritarian', 'ambivalent' or 'revolutionary' characters: most respondents were inconsistent; they

showed authoritarian attitudes in one attitude syndrome, but ambivalent or revolutionary attitudes in another.

This result should have led to further theoretical differentiation and developments, but at this point the work remained fragmentary, and the psycho-analytically based characterology was not refined so as to incorporate the inconsistencies discovered. A re-interpretation along these lines was only proposed for the so-called rebellious character so that the original aim of relating theoretical premises and empirical data was not realised.

This deficiency, which would doubtless have been remedied in one form or another in the intended continuation of the work, should not be overstated. However one may seek to explain the inconsistency, its existence is not in dispute, and this gives rise to an interesting new point which can help us to understand the smooth establishment of fascism after 1933: the outward verbal radicalism of the Left was misleading with regard to the actual anti-fascist potential of the labour movement, and if one looks at the discrepancy between manifest opinion and latent attitude, it seems that in many cases a left-wing outlook was neutralized or perverted by underlying personality traits. Fromm's conclusion was that despite all the electoral successes of the Weimar Left, its members were not in the position, owing to their character structure, to prevent the victory of National Socialism.⁵⁶

NOTES

1. On the Institute of Social Research, see Schmidt, 1970; Jay, 1973; Söllner, 1976; Dubiel, 1978,
2. According to Pollock these doubts mainly concerned the loss of material which the representativeness of the study was no longer assured; but according to Fromm differences of opinion were crucial from the start (see Jay, 1978, 148).
3. The relationship between Fromm and Adorno was already strained in Frankfurt—apparently the failure of Adorno to enter the Institute at that time was partly connected with Horkheimer's refusal to distance himself from Fromm and Löwenthal (see von Haselberg, 1977, 11).
4. The final reason for leaving the Institute arose from its financial crisis in 1938–39. Since Fromm had a certain measure of financial security from his psycho-analytical practice Pollock, as business manager of the Institute, requested him to give up his salary, at least temporarily. In the face of this request, Fromm felt that the basis for further co-operation had been finally destroyed, and after he had received compensation of \$20,000 for his tenured position, he broke off all further connections with the Institute (conversation with Fromm, 22 February 1977).
5. See Jay, 1973, 147f. But contradicting Jay, Fromm remembered the last publication plans to have been made in 1941.
6. These attempts at dissociation went so far that the Institute played down Fromm's participation in the empirical work of the *enquête*, while Fromm

disputed the participation of other Institute members in the study (conversation with Fromm, 22 February 1977).

7. Conversation with Fromm, 22 February 1977.
8. Although the interpretations of the materialism concept were by no means identical even at the start of the Institute (as has been shown above all by Jay, 1973) increasingly sharper differences of opinion appeared only from the middle of the 1930s; the discontinuation of the *Studien zur Autorität und Familie* (IFS, 1936) marks the decisive date in this respect.
9. See Horkheimer, 1926, 122f.
10. The attitude behind this development is made clear in a statement by Paul F. Lazarsfeld from the early 1920s: 'The start of a revolution must have economic conditions on its side (Marx); a victorious revolution needs engineers above all else (Soviet Union); an unsuccessful revolution needs psychology' (Lazarsfeld, 1968, 149).
11. It must be noted here that until late in the 1920s, psychoanalysis was a system which 'was attacked and laughed at by nearly all "respected" experts and academics' (Fromm, 1970a, 206) and which could only set itself up as a subculture in opposition to existing institutions.
12. This can be seen for instance in the psycho-analytical childrens' home laboratory of Wera Schmidt (1921-23) or in the teaching activity of Freud's pupil Ferenczi, or of Bela Kun in Hungary (see Dahmer, 1973, 276f).
13. For this development, see Dahmer, 1973, 282f. This shows that after the first wave of polemics, an at least partially more sober tone entered the discussion towards the end of the 1920s (see Sapir, 1929-30; Stoljarov, 1930); however it always remained tied to the boundaries of a dogmatized Marxism that could not deal adequately with the problem of 'subjective factors', as raised by psychoanalysis.
14. This also manifests itself in episodes like the Sexpol Movement as documented by Gente, 1970, which was initiated by Wilhelm Reich.
15. To this group, which was mainly concentrated in the psycho-analytical institutes in Vienna and Berlin, belonged, together with Bernfeld, Reich, Fenichel and Fromm, analysts such as Barbara Lantos, Edith Jacobsen, Käthe Misch, Annie Angel, Edmund Bergler, Annie Reich and probably also Richard Sterba. These left-wing psycho-analysts were not able to advance beyond an informal organisation; although 'they were agreed on the goal (the integration of psycho-analysis and Marxism) their theoretical and political differences were so grave that no academic co-operation proved possible' (Dahmer, 1973, 311).
16. For a typical example, see Fenichel, 1934, 229.
17. Lenin's polemic against idealism already assumed 'dogmatically that natural science knowledge was the model for all knowledge' (Negt, 1969, 41); this position became the 'authorised version' (ibid., 33) in the course of the canonization of Marxism. The starting-point for this monistic construct was taken from Engels's 'dialectic of nature' which is understood as a materialist base independent of man (Deboun, 1925, 94); and like this asocial dialectic of nature the 'dialectic of history' is similarly to be reconstructed as an objective relationship of nature: 'Nature is not organized, as in Marx, as a factor of historical praxis, but the reverse applies: historical praxis becomes part of the relationship of nature' (Negt, 1969, 37; see also: Marcuse, 1958, 134).
18. Thus, for example, Jentsen criticized Freud's treatment of '*Totem and Tabu*' because it 'was without any sociological foundation, with could be supplied precisely by a Marxist ethnology. Equally, psycho-analytical attempts to explain the rise of capitalism show where one may end up, if one proceeds in a one-sided psycho-analytic manner, without connecting psycho-analysis with sociology' (Jentsen, 1926, 219).

19. Although Sapir rightly criticized Freud for failing to reflect on the relationship between individual psyche and class psyche as a problem, the stated discrepancy between the two factors remains unconnected in his work also: individual psychology is simply eliminated in the sociological analysis of the concept of class psyche, and relegated to the level of an asocial discipline, which does not affect historical-materialist explanations and is hence also not of interest to them.
20. See also Burian, 1972.
21. Here the disproportionate growth of white-collar employees, the decrease of those engaged in the immediate production process as well as a greater differentiation within the branches of industry must be mentioned, which were not without consequence for the development of consciousness. (For the above structural shifts see Lederer, 1912, as well as Lederer/Marschak, 1927. Further references are to be found in Fromm's bibliography, Appendix 3).
22. For the development of empirical social research, see Zeisel, 1933; Obershall, 1965; Schad, 1972; Maus, 1973 (who presents the German development within the context of international trends); Kern, 1982; Bonss, 1982, 59ff.
23. For the organization and development of the English *enquêtes*, see Cohn, 1877 and Maus, 1973, 26f.
24. Here the initiative was taken by surveys for the Reich Chancellor's Office (*Reichskanzleramt*), 'about female and child labour in the factories' (RKA, 1877a) and 'about the conditions for apprentices, journeymen and factory workers' (RKA, 1877b), which were carried out in the years 1874-75. Although these surveys covered up to 4,000 employers and 2,000 workers (RKA, 1877 B, 2) they were in Obershall's view 'not an ambitious undertaking' (Obershall, 1965, 19); nevertheless their significance for developments in the years following should not be underestimated, since through these administrative analyses the proletariat became to some extent 'respectable' as an object for empirical research.
25. Gottlieb Schnapper-Arndt was the first to express himself critically against this precarious procedure, describing the *enquête ouvrière* in particular as largely unscientific and seeking, by reference to the latently anti-semitic tendency in the results, to show up the class- or personality-specific distortions in the report (Schnapper-Arndt, 1888).
26. Max Weber was involved in this inquiry for the first time and undertook a study on 'the condition of agricultural workers in the East-Elbian parts of Germany' based on the primary material of this inquiry (VfS, 1892, Vol. 3).
27. See also Cohn, 1877 and Stieda, 1877, particularly also the essay of von Ludlow, 1877, about 'the credibility of employers and workers as witnesses' which was discussed at the annual meeting of the *Verein für Socialpolitik*.
28. For the development of moral statistics, see Boehme, 1972.
29. This attempt to encourage the workers themselves to talk, can also be seen in the publication by Göhre of workers' biographies, which appeared in sometimes large editions after the turn of the century (see for instance, Fischer, 1904; Bromme, 1905; Dulden, 1910; Rehbein, 1922, as well as the best-known, the autobiography of August Bebel, 1910).
30. For the methodological conceptions of the historical school of economists, some of whom spoke out explicitly against standardized surveys and statistical-evaluative techniques, see Schäfer, 1971, 197ff; Bonss, 1982, 104ff.
31. See Honigsheim, 1959 as well as von Wiese, 1959.
32. One of the last inquiries in the tradition of Bebel is the study by Duisberg, 1921. Although there were a few local studies in the years that followed, particularly about workers' housing conditions, these did not follow in the same tradition and remained in general without significance for research.

33. Conceptual differences alone exclude the possibility of a reciprocal influence in the two studies; although Fromm later drew on Lazarsfeld in respect of methodology, these links had nothing to do with the Marienthal study. It is nevertheless of interest that both studies were based on a comparable political background, since Lazarsfeld as well as Fromm and his collaborators saw their aim as overcoming, through education, the gap between the economic situation and the lack of potential for political action. They hoped through enlightenment 'to spread the spirit of Socialism' (Lazarsfeld, 1968, 149).
34. For previous history, see Jay, 1973, 25ff.
35. Thus Oscar H. Swede complained in 1927 about the 'hour-long, angry discussions in a Marxist Institute, in which a younger generation abandoned itself to an orthodox religion and the veneration of an iconographical literature' (cited in Jay, 1973, 30).
36. The following acted as personal representatives of these disciplines: Philosophy: Horkheimer and Marcuse; Economics: Grossman, Pollock and Gumperz; Social Psychology: Fromm; Theory of Culture: Adorno and Lowenthal. See also IfS-Report, 1938, 3; Bonn/Schindler, 1982, 50f.
37. For this model of a 'Dialectical Presentation and Research Organisation' see also Dubiel, 1978, 170ff.; Bonss/Schindler, 1982, 45ff.
38. This concept, whose negative consequences became apparent later in a growing revival of an interest in philosophy in the work of the Institute (see Dubiel, 1978, 66ff) reminds one of Hegel's conception of empiricism, since 'separate disciplines only contribute elements for the theoretical construction of the course of history, and these do not remain as they were represented within these disciplines, but are given new functional meanings which had not previously been thought of' (Horkheimer, 1934, 22).
39. 'This 'derivation' of individual projects from research programmes is as legitimate as it is usual in the presentation of research to the outside world; but it would be wrong to identify such *ex post facto* descriptions with the actual course of research procedure (as is implied in Dubiel, 1978), particularly as the influence, observable also in the work of the Frankfurt Institute, usually works in the opposite direction.
40. Against a use of the concept which is frequently rather undifferentiated (also in Jay, 1973), it must be pointed out that the term 'critical theory' first occurred in 1937 in connection with the revival of an interest in philosophy in the programme of the Institute and should not be related to any process of theory formulation which marked the pre-1937 period. See Bonss, 1982, 185ff.
41. Conversation with Fromm, 22 February 1977.
42. This is supported by the fact that Fromm, despite his tenured appointment, rarely worked in the Institute, and according to his own testimony had fewer roots in the Frankfurt circle than among the neo-analysts.
43. Contact with the Institute arose firstly out of the relationship with Leo Lowenthal, who belonged, as did Fromm, to the intellectual circle around Rabbi Nobel and who had been acquainted with Horkheimer and Pollock since the beginning of the 1920s.
44. The contact with psycho-analysis also gave rise to a growing politicization, and Gershom Scholem recalled that by 1927 Fromm, from being a follower of the *jüdisches Lehrhaus*, had developed into a convinced 'Trotzkyite' (Scholem, 1977, 197), who sympathized with Left-Socialist groups outside the SPD and KPD, without however forming any specific party-political ties.
45. This hypothesis marks already a decisive difference from Horkheimers' reception of Freud: whereas Fromm was quite prepared to assign a positive social meaning to libidinous energies and thus equated social psychology with social theory, social-psychological analyses were only necessary for Horkheimer

'because the actions of numerically important strata are not determined by knowledge but by drives which falsify consciousness' (Horkheimer, 1932b, 135). In contrast to Fromm, he regarded these drives as a negative element which falsified an insight into the social context. In view of this it was only consistent that Horkheimer thought that 'the historian needs to have [less] recourse to psychological explanations, the more the historical actions of men and groups of men are activated by cognition' (ibid.).

46. The decisive turning-point here is marked by Fromm's book *Escape from Freedom* (Fromm, 1941a) which, although a logical development from previous essays in presenting a sociologizing of psycho-analysis, was perceived by the Institute as well as by a reviewers as a qualitatively new beginning. (For an interpretation of social character, particularly in Fromm's later work, see Funk, 1978).
47. To be seen in publications such as Weiss, 1932, 1936; Rigandias-Weiss, 1936.
48. See IfS, 1936, 239.
49. Out of the 156 questions used for the first stage of the evaluation (Chap. 3) only forty-three were selected for further analysis (see the footnotes to Chap. 3). This number was again reduced at the second stage (Chap. 4), because only ten questions fulfilled all the conditions required to serve as indicators for the connection between personality traits and political attitude.
50. As a good illustration see Berger, 1975. However, it should be noted that the criticism developed by Fromm and his collaborators had less to do with the relationship between attitudes and behaviour than with the problem of an adequate measurement of attitudes.
51. This focus, which incidentally marks an important difference from the inquiry of Jahoda/Lazarsfeld/Zeisel, may stem from the example of Levenstein, which in this instance was accepted without further reflection.
52. For this concept see, for example, Mayritz/Holm/Huebner, 1969, 9ff. Empirical social research is seen as a three-step procedure, from conceptual definition, to operationalization through to measurement, aimed not at a mutual change of concept and object, but as a method which always proceeds in an analytical-deductive manner, in one direction—namely from conceptual definition to the measurement relevant to it (but not necessarily relevant to the object).
53. Jay, 1973, 147. Fromm used a similar formulation in a conversation, 22 February 1977.
54. For the division of work between Fromm and Schachtel, see also the editorial comments on Chap. 3.
55. This is most noticeable in questions about cultural and aesthetic standards (Chap. 3c) where the certainly not unproblematical value standards of the Weimar left-wing intellectuals were simply presented as generally socially valid.
56. Marcuse recalled that, within the Institute, the publication of these results, whether correct or not, was held to be unwise for *political* reasons, since they might have given the impression that the German workers, despite or just because of their socialist attitudes, had always been fascist at heart (conversation with Marcuse, 28 June 1979).

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ERICH FROMM

*The Working Class in Weimar
Germany*

A Psychological and Sociological Study

CHAPTER I

Aims and Methods

a. Research Goals

The following study* was undertaken as a first attempt at investigating the social and psychological attitudes of two large groups in Germany—manual and white collar workers. [Decisive for this venture]□ was the conviction that the elaboration of a theory of social development was critically dependent on a general increase in empirical knowledge, in particular on data concerning the group-specific attitudes and personality structure of individuals.

American social science has led the way towards a comprehensive empirical approach, although there were also a few attempts in this direction in the German literature. Here we would particularly mention A. Lewenstein's social-psychological enquiry of 1912 into the workers' question—the only study which, like our own, used a questionnaire to capture social attitudes and behaviour outside the work situation. Nevertheless, one does miss a theoretical interpretation of the data in Lewenstein's work, whereas other authors concerned themselves either with isolated aspects of the problem (e.g. H. de Man, 1927), or with restricted groups (P. Lazarsfeld et al., 1933), or withdrew entirely from thorough empirical data collection (S. Kracauer, 1930).□**

Naturally we did not expect that we would gain deep insights into the situation of German workers simply through our survey; this

*This study was carried out in conjunction with Anna Hartoch, Herta Herzog and Ernst Schachtel. Hilde Weiss provided an additional important contribution. Paul F. Lazarsfeld kindly advised us over all questions concerning statistical analyses.

**This sign □...□ indicates a change in the draft manuscript, while the square brackets mark the editor's additions. Cf. editorial comments in Appendix 4.

would hardly have been possible on the basis of 3,300 distributed questionnaires with an anticipated limited response rate. However, we thought that we would be able to proceed with our work on a broader basis and in a better context by having the experience and preliminary results as a background. □ But the political situation in Germany brought the realization of these plans to nought. □

The purpose of our questionnaire was to collect data about the opinions, life-styles and attitudes of manual and white collar workers. □ We wanted to form a picture of what books they read, how they furnished their homes, and what their favourite plays and films were. We were interested in what and in whom they believed, in what they had to say about topics such as women's work, the upbringing of children and the rationalization of work in the workplace, and in how they regarded their colleagues and superiors. Finally we wanted to know their attitude towards lending money to friends, their view of the German legal system, their opinion about the actual distribution of power in the state—and their views on many other subjects, which will be presented in detail later. □

The respondents' replies allowed us to reconstruct a relatively comprehensive picture of the life of a certain stratum of the German population. Although the actual sample was numerically not very large, the picture has considerable historical significance—the more so, since the respondents were in general representative of their social groups (cf. Chap. 2e). Despite the lapse of time, the results are worth publishing, because the years (1929-30) during which most of the material was gathered, have emerged as a turning point in the history of the German labour movement.

In addition to a simple descriptive account of the replies, the replies were also analyzed in relation to the respondents' economic status and political orientation. Specific differences between the different political and occupational groups were revealed. Further analysis sought to establish the basis for these differences in order that preliminary conclusions could be drawn. □ This emphatically does not imply that we wished to 'prove' certain hypotheses. Our material is both quantitatively and qualitatively much too sparse to enable us to do this. We were much more concerned with drawing the most appropriate theoretical conclusions from the evidence and with offering a stimulus for new empirical and theoretical studies. □ The analysis concentrated on bringing out the relationship between the individual's emotional make-up and his political opinions. The events in Germany since the end of the upheavals have shown how important it is to ascertain how far respective political beliefs accord with the total personality, since the triumph of National Socialism

revealed a frightening lack of a will to resist among the German workers' parties, in sharp contrast to their numerical strength as indicated by the polls and mass demonstrations prior to 1933.

One might argue that commitment to political organizations has little to do with personality characteristics but is rather exclusively determined by convention and by material interests. But in this connection it must be remembered that the German parties, and particularly the Marxist press, were usually representative of particular world-views which went far beyond political doctrine in the narrow sense. It was therefore not only material interests which ensured that some would join a left-wing party, but also that these parties offered sufficient room for the expression of individual characteristics. But this is only one side of the problem.

The strength and reliability of their members' beliefs were also important determining factors for the fate of the political parties themselves. For many adherents of left-wing parties there was a far-reaching accord between personality and party programme. These people wanted freedom, equality and happiness for all: they hated war and sympathized with the oppressed. Their convictions and commitment were passionate and strong. Others showed a comparable attitude but their emotional commitment was weaker; their main emotional interests were concentrated on family, work, hobbies or personal goals. They had never hesitated in their political support of left-wing parties, but the strength of their convictions was ultimately weaker. They followed their party leaders but rarely developed any personal initiative, and tended to give up the fight if it demanded personal risk or sacrifice. Finally, there was a third type, whose political convictions—though strong enough—were not reliable. These people were filled with hate and anger against everyone who had money and who appeared to enjoy life. That part of the socialist platform which aimed at the overthrow of the propertied classes strongly appealed to them. On the other hand, items such as freedom and equality had not the slightest attraction for them, since they willingly obeyed every powerful authority they admired; they liked to control others, in so far as they had the power to do so. Their unreliability finally came into the open at the point when a programme such as that of the National Socialists was offered to them. This programme not only corresponded with the feelings which had made the Socialist programme attractive but also appealed to that side of their nature which Socialism had not satisfied or had unconsciously opposed. In such cases they were transformed from unreliable leftists into convinced National Socialists.

In the face of the relatively large electoral success of the parties of

the German left in the years 1926–31 one could count on the fact that most of the respondents would be close to one or the other of these parties. The analysis and interpretation of their answers thus has to take account of the basic beliefs of the political left. An examination of the basic personality traits of the survey subjects nevertheless revealed that these often did not accord with their political beliefs—a discrepancy which may have contributed substantially to the collapse of these parties.

A further aim of our study was related to the field of sociological methodology. In the face of the frequent use of questionnaire methods in recent years, the conviction has grown that pure description and statistical evaluation of respondents' overt replies does not lead very far. □ Above all, if the aim of the inquiry consists in finding out something about the personality of subjects, we regard it as illegitimate to present only the surface meaning of the answers to a questionnaire. Here we relied on the basic rule in psychological work that the individuals' statements about their thoughts and feelings, however subjectively honest, can not be taken literally but need to be interpreted. Or to put it more exactly: it is not *what* someone says which is important but *why* he says it. Therefore answers should not simply be recorded; instead their content has to be interpreted. At the same time we wished to be able to compare answers in their political meaning, and it was the combination of qualitative and quantitative statements that became the main methodological problem of the study. □ We were aware of the deficiencies of this attempt at synthesis, but on the other hand we were convinced that, as in other sciences, it was better to break new ground, even at the risk of making mistakes, than to reproduce what is already known.

*b. The Structure of the Questionnaire**

Since our questionnaire was concerned with the opinions, preferences and habits of the people questioned, the necessary information could only be secured by addressing the respondents themselves. Here, two procedures were basically applicable: the direct interview or the questionnaire.

Compared with the questionnaire, the interview has one great advantage: provided that it is conducted by someone who is familiar with the psychological and social problems of the interview situation, it is possible, from information gathered in this way, to gain a significantly more exact insight not only into the social situation,

*The complete questionnaire is reproduced as Appendix 2.

but also into the psychic structure of the respondent. From the manner in which someone replies—intonation, confidence or lack of persuasive power, social expression and gesture—a trained interviewer can, in a relatively short time, gain a precise picture of their personality. The 'how' of a reply is thereby frequently more significant than the content, and it is precisely the 'how' which easily gets lost in the questionnaire. In addition, the interview usually ensures a higher response rate, since the interviewer can adapt his questions to the specific situation of the respondent and ask further questions, should this be necessary.

Nevertheless, for the present inquiry these advantages were more than outweighed by the problems of the interview. In view of the highly confidential character of many questions regarding political opinions and activities as well as personal relationships, it was clear from the start that many people would insist on guarantees of strict anonymity. Under these circumstances even the most insistent assurances at the start of a face-to-face conversation were hardly as reassuring as the possibility of sending an unidentifiable questionnaire back through the post. A personal interview would have been refused far more often for this reason than would a written response to a questionnaire. Since we also needed information from a large number of people the survey would have required substantially more interviewers than time or money allowed. For all these reasons we became convinced that the questionnaire method was better suited to our purposes.

Our first, relatively simple, task consisted in establishing the objective circumstances—that is, the concrete facts concerning the socio-economic status of the respondents. The questions relevant to this problem area concerned the occupational position (education, present position, type of enterprise, numerical proportion and political orientation of employees); standard of living (income and expenditure, living conditions, expenditure on clothing, food, tobacco, drink and entertainment); personal data (age, sex, marital status, information about parents and siblings and their social status); as well as data about wife and children (wife's background, education, occupational prospects and childrens' state of health). The extensiveness of these questions was ultimately determined by the degree of detail with which we wished to register the concrete existential situation of the respondents.

Determining party membership, voting behaviour, participation in trade unions and political activity was also relatively unproblematical. But the situation was different with regard to those questions concerned with *Weltanschauung* and political orientation

as well as with the preferences and dislikes of the respondents. Different shades of meaning were conceivable here, not only in the formulation but also in the entire complex of questions. The choice of questions itself therefore had an experimental character since their usefulness could only be judged by the results. The theoretical considerations which determined their selection will be briefly outlined in Chapter 3 where the itemized questions are analyzed. In this connection, psychological explanations were the most significant. Since we were dealing with a politically committed population with pronounced party ties, it was expected that answers, particularly to specific political questions, would be given less according to the personal opinion of the respondents than to the current party lines, as expounded in commentaries in the party press. But the opposite could also be assumed: that fewer preconceived answers would be given to more personal questions with no apparent connection with politics; the expression of opinions, feelings and attitudes which corresponded with an individual's personality structure was likely to be encouraged in such instances. So, for example, one group of questions dealt with opinions about the theatre, films, literature, architecture, music and radio. The average respondent certainly knew that this field was connected with politics to some extent, but the questions nevertheless allowed for the presentation of individual character traits to an extent which should not be under-rated. The same was true of questions concerning relationships with colleagues, friends, spouses and children, about wishes and hobbies, as well as the evaluation of one's own life and its direction; such questions often provoked answers that—in so far as they were not merely conventional—revealed significantly more about a respondent's character and were merely indirectly political slogans.

In order to prevent bias from the overall context, the questions were not ordered according to the logic of the inquiry but were deliberately strewn through the whole questionnaire. In a written inquiry which deals with the relationship between political attitudes, personality structure and social status, attitude scales and personality tests are normally used. Both techniques claim to be able to measure attitudes and personality traits, and with greater scientific exactness than all other methods. If this were really so, then it should be possible to compare the results of the attitude test with the personality test and to discover positive correlations. There are, however, specific problems involved which led us to decide in favour of the present form of questionnaire (cf. also E. Schachtel, 1937).

Attitude measures and personality tests, which lead to a set of

scales for adding up answers which have been given fixed numerical values, require homogeneous responses as a precondition; these may not be open-ended; instead respondents must select their answer from a limited number of given replies. The alternatives on offer either require 'Yes-No' or 'More-Less' answers, depending on whether it is the frequency of a particular form of behaviour or the gradations of a specific positive or negative attitude which are being sought. This restriction of the range of answers enables one to give each answer a standard value, with the possibility of achieving further refinements by subtracting contradictory responses or developing the quota. The result of measurements arrived at by adding up the value of each answer signifies a far-reaching devaluation of the individual responses. The same overall score for two respondents can be derived from totally diverse answers, which lose their original significance when torn from their context and transformed into numbers. What is being measured remains ultimately unclear and indefinite; the individual structure of the attitude or personality trait is lost. Another disadvantage of attitude measures lies in the restriction of answers to a few fixed alternatives. In most cases, a prescribed list will hardly allow for all possible answers. It puts words into the respondent's mouth which he only gives because he has to decide in favour of one of the alternatives and which he might never have arrived at by himself. This restriction would, for example, have been very obvious for Question 426, which asks for a list of favourite people in history. By using a multiple choice method it would have been impossible to present even the most frequently named individuals without bursting the bounds of the questionnaire.

For many other questions concerned with opinions and attitudes it appears quite possible that one could present a more or less complete set of answers. But in so far as these questions were to assist in the analysis of the personality structure, two further objections arise. Consider for example the frequently used 'True-False' attitude tests in which the respondent can tick a list of statements as 'true' or 'false', and sometimes as 'not sure'. A 'naive' respondent may select those statements which correspond most closely with his actual attitude, so that almost the same opinion would be expressed as in an unstructured reply. For some of our questions such a 'naive' lack of prejudice could be accepted as predominant. But for political questions, above all, such an assumption would not be justified. The majority of respondents were politically aware and would have selected from the given statements those which corresponded with the current party line. However neutrally the questions were phrased, they could still in this instance be suggestive. They might recall

various party slogans or the theme of a recent newspaper article. If the respondent could phrase his own answers, they were then more likely to correspond with his real attitude.

The extent to which individual answers are influenced by suggestion depends on many things. The 'attraction' of a question must be mentioned here, that is the quality of its relationship to themes which, through external factors, usually invoke a stereotyped response. In addition there is the capacity of respondents to see through these connections and to give considered replies. A further external factor consists in the assessment of the situation by the respondent which can induce him to give 'correct' answers. Here the respondent's feelings, when answering the questionnaire (thoughts about its purpose, about the people who distributed it, etc.), are just as important as his general social situation. For instance, Question 424 asks: 'How, in your opinion, can the world be improved?' If the respondent had discovered the answer 'Socialism' in a pre-set list of replies, probably most, if not all, the adherents of left-wing parties would have ticked this alternative. The surprising fact that the answer 'Socialism' occurred relatively rarely when respondents were given the opportunity for personal expression, would thus have been completely lost.* All this leads, in questionnaires with pre-set answers, to a critical restriction of the truth. [A further objection to the use of a multiple-choice technique may be phrased as follows:] Apart from the unavoidable suppression of possible replies and the problem of distortions of meaning through the suggestion of 'correct' statements, one also loses the individuality of certain unique forms of expression. But for a proper statement of personality the individual form of expression is often more significant than the answer itself: *C'est le ton qui fait la musique*. Sometimes the actual content of an answer may be totally unrevealing, whereas the manner of its formulation may throw a significant light on the character of the respondent. Someone with sufficient experience of psychological tests can recognize from slight nuances of expression that the respondent may perhaps mean the opposite of what he actually says. The important question of whether a reply only reflects convention or whether it stems from an inner conviction can hardly be decided on the basis of a check-list, but can frequently be decided by studying the

*From the methodological point of view an experimental investigation of the declared differences between answers to open and closed questions would be highly interesting. Such an experiment could take the form of having the same questions answered twice, once with free and once with structured replies and once without a list of answers. Naturally the time between the two interviews would have to be long enough to prevent the respondents from remembering their answers to the first questions.

form of the response. One is denied this source of information, if one does not use open-ended questions.

Our arguments against a multiple-choice technique do not, of course, apply to all types of questions. Questions relating to objective factors such as family status, number of children and housing conditions do not allow for answers in which the influence of personality can be detected. In such cases, check-lists are to be preferred since the information sought can, with their help, be asked in a consistent manner. But in an inquiry which aims at uncovering individual personality traits, check-lists become unproductive if the answers in any way contain personal points of view or attitudes, preferences and dislikes.

In some cases, the construction of the questions was unclear or wrong, so that difficulties arose in answering them. Two basic mistakes must be pointed out. In the first, two questions or perspectives were condensed into one question (e.g. Question 318). In the other, it was not always absolutely clear if the question 'Why' or 'For what reason' referred only to the immediately preceding question, or also to the question before that (e.g. Questions 324/25).

c. Distribution and Completion of the Questionnaires.

The distribution of the questionnaires was carried out by volunteers who were, in their occupational capacity, in contact with many workers. Our helpers worked in communal and state welfare organizations and were doctors, newspaper publishers, teachers in further education and members of co-operative organizations as well as party and trade union officials. On average, they were representative of all the political and trade-union tendencies and were therefore in a position to secure the co-operation of members of these groups. The relatively large number of members of left-wing parties in our sample therefore corresponded with the actual political distribution of workers in urban centres at the time of the study.

Every questionnaire that the distributors were given contained a covering letter and stamped envelope addressed to the Institute for Social Research at the University of Frankfurt, where the research was carried out. The letter referred to the purely scientific nature of the inquiry as well as a request not to answer those questions whose meaning was not clear. At the end of the questionnaire was a tear-off slip for the name and address of respondents, only to be filled in by those prepared to take part in a further survey. In order to guarantee anonymity here as well, the slips were to be separated from the questionnaires immediately after they were received. The first

questionnaires were distributed in 1929, others followed at periodic intervals; we received the last questionnaire back at the end of 1931.

This type of survey was relatively new in Germany at the time and gave rise to some opposition. As mentioned, there had in fact already been a number of empirical studies, but as in the case of the survey of salaried employees of trade unions (1931), these mainly concentrated on a description of economic circumstances, with hardly any further analysis. The misgivings aroused by our study were directed either against the scientific or the personal value of such a survey or were of a direct political nature. Thus, it was argued that an appropriate completion of the questionnaire was not assured since the target groups did not have the necessary information to answer all the questions. The political parties adopted a more or less negative attitude; officially they objected that the personal character as well as the large number of questions would upset their members, but in reality they were very suspicious of the possible conclusions of the study.

In the face of this opposition it was to be expected that the participants in the survey would tend disproportionately towards a critical and independent attitude towards their party. But since the official rejection only became apparent at a relatively late stage in the inquiry, we did not expect that the representativeness of the whole had suffered excessively. Nevertheless, our sample clearly shows certain distortions. With their willingness to answer more than 200 questions our participants represented a fairly active and alert type of person. They generally had a distinct interest in the problems at issue and were courageous enough to undertake the risk of offering their replies. The survey certainly did not reach those totally passive strata who reacted to the socio-economic problems of their time in an unquestioning and uninterested manner. Equally, the fearful and mistrustful did not participate. But both types are hardly likely to have been representative of the German worker in 1931.

Additional comments, at the end or throughout the questionnaires, give an insight into the motives of the participants and into their general attitude. One group was critical of the survey as such: the practical value of such studies was questioned and it was pointed out that even the most painstaking survey would not be able to raise the living standard of the underprivileged. Others queried the usefulness of the questions or the reliability of the answers. Although absolute anonymity was assured, arguments for refusing to reply were put forward, and one man remarked at the end of a fairly complete questionnaire, that this was 'an enormous indiscretion'.

Some participants also presented critical suggestions regarding

modifications in, or additions to, the questionnaire. This related chiefly to the unemployed and the single person who felt their specific situation had not been taken into account and who demanded certain alternative questions, whereas the proposed extra questions dealt with practically every conceivable theme (sexuality, morality, education etc.). A further group made lengthy comments about socio-economic problems, and some respondents offered detailed statements about their personal circumstances. These statements, which cropped up both independently and in connection with our questions, mostly exposed a dissatisfaction with existing circumstances. The essential motivation for answering the questionnaire seemed, on the one hand, to lie in the wish to articulate one's opinions concerning important problems, in order perhaps to contribute towards improving conditions, and, on the other hand, in a need to communicate oneself and one's loneliness to others. Some of the unemployed not only recounted their personal difficulties but also asked directly for help; apparently they wrongly understood the name 'Institute for Social Research' to be that of a welfare institution.

d. Methods of Analysis

As already indicated, the questionnaire contained basically two types of questions: the first one related to the objective circumstances or status of the respondents, the other to their specific personality structure. Questions of the first type sought, on the basis of various characteristics, to ascertain objectively the situation of the respondent as a member of a social group. They included age, address, occupation, income, living standard and marital status, as well as membership of socially influential association or organizations, such as church or political party. Our method of classification corresponded with the usual procedures here and needs no further clarification. [Nevertheless, at some points during the evaluation, in order to differentiate our analysis, certain classifications were combined and indices created; for example, in the grouping of respondents according to political attitude, whereby we drew on the typology suggested by Paul Lazarsfeld (cf. P. Lazarsfeld, 1937).] (. . .)

The range of possible answers to questions concerning habits, preferences, opinions or attitudes was basically wider than that for questions regarding status. This increased the problems of classification, which is significantly more difficult with open-ended than with closed questions. In the latter case, standardized answers are given which allow for direct quantification on the basis of their qualitative clarity. With open-ended questions, by contrast, there is

no such uniformity in the replies; rather these vary from person to person, with sometimes only a few identical answers. Such variations would be no handicap if each questionnaire were only to be analysed as a totality. But if separate questions from all the questionnaires were to be compared statistically, a basis for comparison had to be created. Despite all the differences of expression, the answers therefore needed to be reduced to a small number of statistically workable categories. Whether one can thereby retain the advantage offered by open-ended questionnaires of individual nuances of expression depends on the care with which these categories are formed and the answers assigned to them.

Descriptive Classifications. The approach towards classifying answers is always conditioned by the aim of the inquiry and the hypothesis linked to it. Often we are interested in opinions and attitudes whose structure is immediately clear from the answers. In such cases the answers can be grouped according to their intended meaning (cf. P. Lazarsfeld, 1937), so that one can speak of a *descriptive* classification. (. . .)

However, a descriptive classification is sometimes not confined to a listing of answers according to a particular perspective, but includes an evaluation at the same time. For instance in Question 242 ('How do you like modern workers' housing?'), we differentiated between rejections of its substance and insubstantial criticisms. The answers were divided according to whether they criticized central elements of modern architecture or related only to details. However, one was still dealing with a descriptive classification, even when the categories contained an evaluative aspect. All the same, it is hardly possible to draw a clear line between 'pure' and 'value-laden' descriptions; through the selection of certain aspects of the replies, every classification contains an implicit value judgement. The extent of this will, nevertheless, vary considerably, which is why it is important to keep this point always in mind.

For many questions there is also more than one aspect to classification. A category often grows out of a combination of characteristics which refer to different classification systems. Thus we found that with Question 319 ('How and where do you best like to spend the weekend?') we needed to consider the nature of the activity and the place where the weekend was spent as well as the people involved. Few answers covered all three points; most mentioned two aspects—for example, the place ('at home') and (almost always) the family as the people involved. On this pragmatic basis, the category 'at home with my family' was formed, which combined two

classificatory aspects. The logic of such combinations as well as the use of 'pragmatic reduction' has been described by Paul F. Lazarsfeld (1937).

Interpretative Classification. With a number of questions, we aimed at uncovering personality traits or attitudes which could not be got at directly. What respondents regard as their motives for action are often rationalizations under which their actual motives lie buried. But we did not only want to understand what someone thought or did, but also *why*. Had we asked directly for his reasons, we would mostly have been given rationalizations rather than the real motive. However, certain forms of behaviour have in our view a 'physiognomic' character, which refers to deep-seated personality traits that can be uncovered through careful interpretation. In so far as we were interested in information which did not emerge directly in either the question or the answer, the classification of replies was only possible after an interpretation of their hidden meaning had been made. In contrast with a 'descriptive' approach, where the answers are grouped directly according to their overt content, this latter method can be designated as *interpretative* classification.

An interpretative categorization must translate the original answers into the language of the underlying personality traits. Here individual nuances of expression, disregarded in explanations of surface meanings, play a significant role. The drawback of this method lies in the fact that the classificatory categories are constructed from the interpreted answers, so that the reader is only indirectly in touch with the actual data. An interpretative classification is therefore less open to checking than a descriptive one, and the avoidance of possible mistakes depends on the accuracy of the interpretation itself. The theoretical part of questionnaire analysis is not however restricted to the preparation of an appropriate classification system and its use; the assigning of answers to the separate categories poses an important theoretical task.

Examples for an interpretative classification are to be found above all in questions relating to cultural themes (favourite books, films, plays, pictures). In grouping the responses, we used the categories 'individual' and 'conventional' amongst others, as the basis of our theoretical considerations. As a rule, our respondents replied with a title or a list of books, films or plays or of pictures hanging in their homes. An inquiry that was concerned with recording the distribution of particular pictorial forms could divide the answers into categories such as 'copy', 'reproduction' and 'original', or 'genre', 'still-life', 'landscape', 'portrait'. In contrast, we were

concerned with the connection between the pictures and their owners. In so far as this information offered 'physiognomic' data, we were not interested in the pictures as such but only in them as indicators for the relationship of the respondent to certain cultural themes. If one is already familiar with the object named as well as with its specific social significance, one can infer the nature of this relationship from the titles or names given.

The connection with cultural themes was designated as 'individual' if the respondent did not reply according to his fashions but obviously made his choice according to his own artistic interests; he had to show an unprejudiced attitude, which had been formed by experience and was not merely an expression of conformity with a given standard. A 'conventional' attitude, by contrast, was free from any more personal interest and relied on stereotypes acquired at school or copied from Mr Smith or Jones. Both the latent and manifest content of the answers enabled one to deduce whether a person's stance was 'conventional' or 'individual', and with these categories we were able to describe a qualitative characteristic of the respondent's personality.

A further example of an interpretative classification is the category 'employer's viewpoint', as applied in Question 135 ('What do you think about the rationalization measures?'). Answers which came into this category contained neither the word nor the concept, 'employer's viewpoint' and could indicate both acceptance or rejection. An answer such as: 'Rationalization tires the worker and makes him unwilling to work' is hardly to be distinguished, at the descriptive level, from the statement that rationalization is responsible for over-tiredness and nervous tension. But the use of the expression 'unwilling to work' indicates that the respondent views the harmful consequences of rationalization from the point of view of the employer. If, on the other hand, only the fact is mentioned that rationalization means more stress for the worker, then the effects are being viewed from the standpoint of the worker. In regarding the first answer as employer-orientated, we interpreted it according to its distinguishing attitude to the production process, which may be described as one of identification with the employer's point of view.

In this instance our interpretation is not at odds with the conscious view of the respondent, but the contrast between the latent and manifest meaning of an answer can sometimes be a sharp one. In this connection, Questions 434/35 are illustrative ('Do you lend money or goods to friends? Yes-No; Why (not)?'). We wanted, with this question, to gain an insight into the relationship of the respondents to their circle of friends. A readiness to lend money or other things

indicated, in our view, that the desire to help was stronger than the pleasure of possession or fear of loss. One respondent replied that he lent both money and goods since friends should help each other. In contrast, another was of the opinion that one should not lend money since this would destroy the friendship. In both instances the significance of the friendship was stressed; but whereas the first saw lending between friends as a duty, the second came to exactly the opposite conclusion. If we took both answers literally, we could assign them to the category 'positive valuation of friendship'. It does not however require great psychological competence to recognize that behind the refusal to lend something stood not the fear of losing a friend, but the fear of loss of the loan. The objective meaning of the answer is not changed by the fact that the respondent actually believes, or wishes us to believe, the opposite. This is also a typical case of rationalization: with the help of a moral excuse something is to be given sanction—or rather is to be hidden—which the respondent does not want others, or himself, to acknowledge. We assigned this type of answer to the category 'moralizing rationalizations'.

In contrast to the above cases there were other responses to these questions where one could not be absolutely sure whether they were rationalizations or unalterable facts. Thus one cannot simply assume from the answer that 'one cannot lend anything because one does not have anything oneself' that the respondent does not wish to lend. But the poverty argument was frequently a clear rationalization and, as we were able to establish, was used above all by respondents with higher incomes.

A striking example of this attitude is to be seen in Questionnaire 66. The respondent lived in constant fear that he could not manage on his income and he carried thrift to exaggerated limits. The rationalization that he had no money recurred constantly. His income (technician, married, one child) was RM 444 a month, which meant that he came clearly above the average of our highest income group.

Despite this he gave the following answers:

- | | |
|--------------|---|
| Question 319 | ('Where do you best like to spend the weekend?')
'Out of the question because the cost is too high'. |
| Question 416 | ('Why/Why not are you afraid of illness?')
'Illness costs money'. |
| Question 419 | ('Are you a teetotaller, a non-smoker, vegetarian?')
'I have no money for tobacco'. |
| Question 434 | ('Do you lend money or goods to friends?')
'I have nothing to lend'. |

- Question 452 ('What prevents you from being (more) active in the union?')
'It costs too much money'.

All the same, a decisive response was always possible so that the answers were ultimately more often worked on with a descriptive technique. As was the case with many other questions, interpretative and descriptive categories supplemented each other. If one can gain the desired information from respondents without difficulty, interpretative techniques are doubtless also unnecessary. But they are often fruitful in cases where the respondent is either not in the position to give the desired information or where he resists giving a truthful answer. For example, the already defined categories 'individual' and 'conventional' were necessary because respondents were unable to reply straightforwardly. The interpretative classification in this case draws on attitudes of which the respondents were hardly aware and which they therefore could not articulate. In other cases social taboos might have been responsible for the fact that respondents replied evasively or not at all. The fact that they had more or less repressed their real thoughts or feelings so that they were hardly conscious of them any more was decisive here. A mixture of resistance and inability was also shown by those respondents who justified their refusal to lend to friends on moral-ideological grounds. Some of the respondents believed their own statements and were not conscious of the rationalizing nature of their self-presentation; others knew throughout that their stated reasons hid their real motives, but they were not prepared to admit this.

An open-ended questionnaire, and in particular interpretative classifications, require, as a precondition, an intimate knowledge of the research problems from the researcher. If, for instance, he has to decide if a particular painting or favourite film indicates an 'individual' or a 'conventional' attitude he has to know which paintings or films are the most popular amongst the social group he is dealing with; only in this way can he then decide how far a particular reply reveals an individual taste. He must also be familiar with the social-theoretical concepts which influence the respondents' thought. Questions 442/43 ('Do you believe that the individual is responsible for his own fate? Yes-No; Why (not)?'), are a good example. In Marxist theory, which has developed explicit statements regarding this problem, the individual's fate is presented as socially determined, but at the same time it is stressed that through political action the individual can change the position of his class and, with this, of his own situation. We often came across the reply: 'No, the

individual can do nothing about his fate, since it is determined by social conditions'. Although one can see the influence of Marxist theory here, it was selectively perceived since its positive behavioural aspect was ignored. Only by reference to the totality of the theory was it possible to grasp the exact significance of the answer and to classify it accordingly.

Finally, one needs a thorough knowledge of psychological interpretations generally as well as a theoretical knowledge about specific mechanisms such as repression, rationalization and reaction-formation; together these form an essential part of the tools of psychological interpretation. If the researcher can meet these demands, the use of interpretative classification will provide scarcely less objective results than would purely descriptive techniques. The relationship between these two corresponds with that of explanation and description, and only with an interpretative method will it be possible to secure the information we are interested in and to answer questions.

e. Correlations

After classification, the responses needed to be analyzed in relation to their status characteristics, that is, according to age, sex, marital status, income, occupation and political orientation. In this way a proportional division of the answers was established which in turn needed to be analyzed theoretically.

The point has already been made that nothing can be proved by our data. But where the statistical results corresponded with our expectations they lent them additional weight, and where this was not the case, they made our hypothesis appear doubtful, even if we were able to add explanatory variables or point to methodological mistakes. Each category of the various divisions within groups was tested for reliability and declared significant, if the results were positive. In those cases where a theoretically expected difference was not significant, but was greater than a simple standard deviation, this was regarded as at least tendential confirmation of our expectations. This occurred above all when two or more differences existed between the same status groups which in themselves exhibited a logical consistency. Such differences could be observed either in single, or in a series of, questions. A good example of this is offered by the tendency of the Communists to answer political questions disproportionately more frequently than the Social Democrats. We also frequently succeeded in uncovering interesting trends as, for example, that of a growing number of radical answers in relation to an

increasingly leftist orientation. If the differences between the extremes were statistically significant, then such 'trends' or 'tendencies' were themselves declared significant in a broader sense. □ But even if differences in response between two status groups could be confirmed as reliable, if for example the Social Democrats held a particular attitude significantly more often than the Communists, these differences were not automatically ascribed to their respective political positions, since they could also have been dependent on age or occupation. Since one could not rule out the possibility that differences between status groups rested on such external factors, further tests were undertaken. If for example it was thought likely that a particular response which was proportionally higher among the Social Democrats was age-determined, then both the Social Democrats and the Communists were divided into different age-groups. If within the respective age-groups the same differences likewise manifested themselves, one could be sure that these differences were due to political divisions.

This type of additional analysis was carried out above all in two instances which occurred frequently: firstly, when occupational as well as political differences were shown in answers to one and the same question. In such cases these differences were only mentioned in the text, if the breakdown of political types according to economic status showed that these were mutually independent. In the second instance all significant differences between Social Democrats and Communists, and between the answers of the unemployed and white-collar workers, were checked against other occupational groups, since in our sample the Communists included more unemployed than the Social Democrats, and the Social Democrats more white-collar workers. It, therefore, always had to be determined whether the 'typical' answers of the Communists or Social Democrats were not the consequence of the different occupational composition of these two groups, or whether conversely, the 'typical' answers of the unemployed or white-collar workers did not relate to the different political composition of these groups. (. . .). □

The explanatory power of the correlations examined was variable: the least useful were those relating to replies about sex and income. We had very few questionnaires returned from women (47 women compared with 537 men), and their social and occupational situation was hardly comparable with that of the men; sex-specific differences were therefore hardly to be expected empirically. The examinations of characteristic answers relating to income were interesting in so far as a lack of significance seemed to point to the slight degree by which the habits, opinions and personality of the respondents

were causally determined by their income level.

Correlations with marital status also showed no surprising results. The differences established could partly be related to the age variable, since the lower average age of the unmarried was sufficient to explain certain aspects of their replies. Other results were so obvious that they could be left to stand without further explanations. Thus the married more often undertook outings with their family than the unmarried and spent less time with friends or in clubs or unions (Question 320). But for many questions, age was a strong determining factor. In the Tables, we have not shown all the results in relation to sex, income, marital status and age, but only those where these variables influenced the response in specific ways.

[On the basis of our theoretical premises] we expected a close relationship between economic status and possible types of response. While our expectation was met for many questions, for an even greater number this was not the case. This seems to be mainly due to the quantitative and qualitative limits of our material. If, for example, one divides the category 'manual worker' into sub-groups such as skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled and again according to the respective size of the enterprise, the resulting units become extremely small in comparison with the numerous categories of response. These difficulties were further exacerbated because we had far fewer white-collar workers in our sample than manual workers. Too narrow a representation of each group is worthless for a statistically valid comparison. Conversely, results which were based on the undifferentiated category of 'worker' were also unsatisfactory, since this term does not refer to a unity in the social-psychological sense, and therefore the general value of the various sub-categories of reply was ultimately without deeper significance. In some cases, for example, significant differences emerged between skilled workers in large- and small-scale enterprises which would have remained unobserved in an overall average; in such circumstances the mid-point would correspond with that which results from a combination of employees' responses, although these show significant differences as soon as they are divided into sub-groups. In order to reach a compromise, we subdivided occupational grades only so far that statistically viable units remained. Nevertheless, our theoretical expectations were widely confirmed. The influence of economic status on personality became even more apparent when we compared it with certain recurrent character types (cf. Chap. 4).

In fact, the connection between responses and party membership was even clearer. One reason for this lies in the fact that political groupings form closed units in the social-psychological sense which

do not need to be further differentiated in order to identify specific qualities. Even a most extensive sub-division of the categories of respondents' political activity offered clearer, more unified results than did the sub-division of occupational categories. The empirically established close connection between party membership (e.g., level of political activity) and attitudes runs in two directions. Firstly, the members of a particular party, as well as their actions, influence the opinions and attitudes of the individual. They adopt those lessons and ideas that their respective parties constantly propagate. But there is also another basis for the relationship between personality factors and party membership. At the time it was certainly customary for a worker, whatever his character traits, to belong to, or vote for, one of the two workers' parties. But whether he belonged to the SPD or the KPD and how far he became politically active depended partly, if not wholly, on his personality structure. Thus a single answer can be assessed by party membership, and this in turn can be assessed by character type as revealed in the response pattern. Frequently there is an interaction between the two, and it is hardly possible to decide which is the cause and which the effect. Generally though, one can assume that answers relating to these themes, on which the parties offered standardized ideas in their propaganda, were party-influenced. But in relation to problems not discussed by the party, and which had more to do with personal attitude, the responses tended to be expressions of character structure which determined both party membership and level of political activity.

f. Syndromes

Up to now we have discussed the analysis of responses independently from the context of the individual questionnaire. But in order to bring out certain aspects of the personality of the respondent which were to be considered in relation to his political and economic status, a method had to be found for treating each questionnaire as an integrated whole. The aim was to discover how meaningful political doctrines were for the respondent, and which personality types accorded with which political and economic groups.

□ If we proposed to take the whole questionnaire as the basis for understanding the personality of the respondent this in no way implies that one can thereby gain a total picture of the personality. Even if this were possible through a written questionnaire, the available techniques for constructing and evaluating these are quite inadequate, and our own questionnaire above all could in no way meet the necessary criteria. The purpose of our survey was

consequently much more modest: first of all we wanted to form a picture of certain personality types which have been accorded an accepted place in social psychology. The aspects of personality on which we concentrated were as follows: authoritarian versus non-authoritarian tendencies, individualistic versus collectivist aspirations and, not least, consistency of an individual's political ideas.□ (. . .)

[The following example makes clear that various attitudes need not necessarily be consistent with each other:] if a left-wing respondent answered Question 424 ('How in your opinion, can the world be improved?') with: 'By smashing the ruling class', and Questions 621/22 (Whether one could bring up children without beating them) with: 'No, children need to be beaten in order to teach them respect', one can deduce from these replies that the respondent's hatred of the capitalists hardly derives from an inner commitment to freedom and equality, since these stand in opposition to his method and teaching children respect. It is more likely that they show a deep-seated anger against all those who are more powerful and happy, as well as a wish to dominate all those who are weaker. If one were then to incorporate other answers into the combination of the two above, it is possible that one's early conjectures might, through these larger configurations, become a well-founded certainty.

[In order to gain a picture of the various aspects of the respective personalities], a technique was developed which enabled us to construct a 'syndrome' of the attitudes of each respondent which could then be compared with his political position. This technique will be described in detail later, □but at this point we will just mention the basic aims of syndrome formation. We were chiefly interested to study the relationship between party membership and character structure in order that we might form a picture of the depth and consistency of the individual's political opinions. (. . .) We understand by depth of political conviction the strength of its influence on a person's behaviour. This is slight if someone, while supporting a particular party at elections, joining in its gatherings and paying his dues, deserts his party the moment a real sacrifice is asked of him; or if someone belongs to a party as long as it is on the winning side, but immediately doubts its programme, if it is defeated. By contrast, political conviction is reckoned strong, if nothing can replace the faith in the aims of one's party.

Between these two extremes lies a broad band of attitudes marking numerous in-between positions. The weight of political convictions becomes stronger either where the realization of the political programme leads to an immediate improvement in living conditions or the greater the programme's chances of success. But if it is a

question of explanations and promises which—although appealing to self-interest—clash with what is rationally thought to be right, then this will only influence those whose capacity for rational thought is underdeveloped or has been paralyzed. On the other hand, the more rational the political aims and explanations, the more meaning the party line will have for its adherents. But if the situation is not hopeless to the point where death seems preferable, political convictions will only have great weight, if they are also emotionally grounded. The stronger the emotional bonds, and the more directly the party programme appeals to these, the more whole-heartedly and energetically will individuals stand by their party and fight for its goals. On the other hand, the more tenuous the relationship between party programme and emotional needs, the more individuals there will be of the 'fair weather type' on whom one cannot rely in a crisis.

Undoubtedly, political doctrines cannot always be reduced to both material and emotional needs. They can even stand in open opposition to objective interests, even if judged advantageous by some. A political doctrine can actually go against all common sense but, nevertheless, be of great significance because of its close ties with emotional needs. But in such cases there must be some factors which prove emotionally irresistible, since the entire doctrine stands in opposition to the individual's immediate interests and, in its actual content, is apparently unable to convince him on a rational level. Political doctrine then becomes ideology, whose effectiveness is proportionate to the extent and intensity of its emotional appeal and its capacity to replace rational thinking with rationalization.

We have mentioned that the manner and effect of an individual's emotional needs in relation to their personality structure can differ. This does not mean however that character is formed by individual and chance circumstances; nor that this derives from a biologically determined 'human nature'. No doubt there are personality differences which are influenced by hereditary factors as well as by different life experiences. But these experiences, although in some respects accidental, always lie within a certain framework which is generally determined by the cultural standard or development and, especially, by class position. Furthermore, particular emotional complexes are the result of historical circumstances which transform the biological and physiological foundations of human nature in the course of time into something new and changeable. The social constraints underlying a group mould the personality structure of its members in such a manner as to lend a certain uniformity to the basic elements of personality within a class.

Thus, for example, the middle class in Europe is marked by a

distinct inclination to accumulate wealth, by a glorification of strength and a denigration of weakness, by a distrust of 'all things foreign' and by a fear that the private sphere of the individual's existence might be disturbed through too close contact with others. By contrast, workers, particularly those in large-scale enterprises, live under totally different conditions: here there is a necessary solidarity instead of mutual competition, no opportunity to accumulate capital and therefore no desire to save, and no compulsion to keep apart from others. This has led to a totally different personality structure with different emotional needs and different forms of satisfaction. But the discrepancy of the personality structures between the classes is, empirically, not as clear as one might assume. There is a rift between the economic and psychic development of the classes, the reasons for which would lead too far [from the theme of this study] to be discussed here. Our material clearly shows that many workers exhibit personality traits which are more or less typical of the middle class and which therefore do not accord with their socialist views. These correspond much more with structures that are only to be seen in the most advanced sections of the working class.□

g. Refusals

All questions elicited some refusals. The lack of an answer is not merely negative evidence which excludes further interpretation. If the refusal can be traced to subjective factors, this in itself becomes an answer which is often as meaningful as some more manifest reply. Objectively, the reason for a refusal may be that not all the questions are relevant to the respondent or, sometimes, because they do not have the necessary information. For instance, many questions were directed only at families with children (603, 605, 608, 609 and others); also questions regarding one's father-in-law's job changes or the number of employees in one's firm needed precise knowledge of one's environment. But the instances where a question could obviously not be answered formed only a fraction of the total number of non-replies.

In many cases one cannot easily decide whether a question is unanswered for objective or for subjective reasons. Perhaps the respondent firmly believed that he should not or need not answer the question; but frequently the true motive is likely to have been either reluctance or a lack of interest in the question. This becomes quite clear when respondents in the same objective situation make different decisions about whether a question concerns them or whether they possess sufficient information to answer it. The

responses of the unemployed offer a good example of this point: a minority left out a series of questions concerning their workplace and work conditions (108-40) because they were unemployed at the time of the inquiry. But the majority did reply to these questions, relating them to their last place of work.

The situation was somewhat different regarding the high number of non-replies (in all groups) to Questions 621/22 ('Do you think one can bring up children without corporal punishment?') and 624 ('What do you and your wife think about early sex education for children (birth, reproduction, sexual diseases)?'). These questions form a series in which it was assumed that the respondents were married and had children (601/620). But they were formulated in such a way that the unmarried and childless could also answer them. Reference to problems of corporal punishment and the sex education of children are very common, and an answer required no special pedagogic experience. A considerable number of the unmarried did express their opinion on the subject while many of the married did not.

In this connection we were firstly interested in those among the unmarried who did not reply. To begin with, it is possible that, after a brief glance at Section VI of the questionnaire, these people decided that it did not concern them, since all the questions had to do with problems regarding children and their upbringing. This assumption is apparently quite correct if the whole section is skipped. However, in most cases the questionnaire was filled in more carefully; consequently it was not whole pages but only single questions which were missed or crossed out or shown to be unanswerable in some other way. In this instance we could be sure that the respondents had read all the questions and had left some of them out, not accidentally, but on purpose. If an unmarried respondent replied to these questions, this indicated that he was interested in them. By contrast, an unfilled space showed either a lack of interest or a refusal to give an opinion on the subject.

Whether or not a respondent feels obliged to reply to a question in no way depends on its wording or immediate relevance but rather on his level of interest and his resistances. A similar problem occurs for the respondent when he has to decide whether he knows enough to answer a particular question. An exaggeratedly detailed way of thinking can often result in a non-reply, if, for example, he cannot be a hundred per cent sure whether his firm employs 500 or 510 people. This type of attitude, which we actually observed very rarely, need not rest on a desire for absolute correctness, but can be a rationalization of an unwillingness to reply.

The subjective reason for a non-reply often rests, in our opinion, in a lack of interest. But just as interests are a part of personality, so a non-reply to certain questions offers a significant indication of peculiarities of the personality structure. Interest in questions concerning, say, the possibility of stopping another world war, can hardly be compared with questions about whether one likes to listen to jazz. Psychologically speaking, there is a big difference between the appeal of the latter question and those which ask whether one would like to live long or how one would invest one's money, if one had any. If we want to know something about the psychological meaning of an interest or lack of interest, we first have to look at the question itself. Here one must basically differentiate between questions which relate to general political or cultural interests and those which are solely concerned with the individual's personal life. The relationship between an interest in private and in social problems may be seen as typical not only for single individuals but for whole social groups.

There is a further field of interest where one can establish individual differences. This has to do with all those questions which relate to the individual's capacity for happiness and pleasure; that is, questions relating to personal wishes, favourite films etc. The type of person who is chiefly orientated towards work, achievement, and doing his duty would often leave such questions unanswered, either through lack of interest or actual antipathy. A non-reply of this nature can add revealing information to an understanding of his personality structure.

Fear and mistrust form a further complex of subjective reasons for a non-reply. One sometimes comes across an open fear of the adverse consequences which a response to certain questions might incur. Given the anonymity of our inquiry, there was actually no real basis for such fears, so that these in themselves pointed to the diffident and anxious character of the respondent. But it was more often the case that the respondent, despite a willingness to reply in principle, answered questions as shortly and non-committally as possible because of his mistrust and reserve. Questions regarding assessments of the respective parties and trade unions, their leaders, politics and organizational structure could finally be an additional reason for the large number of non-replies, out of loyalty to the party or unions and the wish not to criticize them *vis-à-vis* outsiders.

All in all, we consider that the non-replies should not be regarded as too great a loss of data; given an appropriate analytical technique, they can themselves be interpreted. This has consequences for the statistical treatment of such data. If one wants to give place and meaning to non-replies, one has the choice of two methods of

procedure which may, however and in certain cases, lead to mutually exclusive results. The first procedure allows non-replies to be treated as one of a number of categories representing specific attitudes. In this case non-replies appear as part of the total within a group of answers so that the percentage figure of the actual answers is correspondingly reduced. The second procedure totally ignores non-replies so that the percentage for positive answers correspond with the percentages of actual replies. An example will clarify the effect of both methods: assume that we have two groups of 100 people each, one composed of those aged 20 and under, the other of those over 51. The analysis of the question regarding favourite films shows that in the younger group five did not reply, while twenty-five named Russian films; the corresponding values for the older group were fifty-six and ten. The distribution, expressed in percentages, is as follows:

Table 1.1

	20 Years and under	51 Years and over
No answer	5%	65%
Russian films	25%	10%

If we leave non-replies out altogether and only take the percentage answering 'Russian films', the picture is totally altered:

Table 1.2

	20 Years and under	51 Years and over
Russian films	26.4 (25)%	28.6 (10)%

The figures in brackets denote the absolute values. An analysis according to the second method gives the impression that Russian films are more attractive for the old than for the young. With the first method, which takes non-replies into account, the result is the opposite. Which method is the 'correct' one, clearly depends on how one interprets the meaning of non-replies. If one decides that a positive reply is merely coincidental, one is justified in assuming that the various categories of positive replies would have been proportionately increased, if the respondent had not 'forgotten' to reply. That is to say, the relative strength of each group would not be altered by the addition of the non-replies. In our example this would mean that older people really do show a greater preference for Russian films than the young, since we firmly believe that 28.6% of the 65 non-respondents in the older group would have decided in

favour of these films had they replied, as would 26.4% of non-respondents in the younger group.

But if our starting-point is the belief that a non-reply is not accidental but is based instead on a lack of interest, such reasoning would lead to totally wrong conclusions. In this case one would assume that, had the non-respondents replied, they would have answered that they had no favourite films, that they did not go to the cinema or that they did not know what sort of films they preferred. If one believes that non-replies also lend themselves to interpretation, one can only arrive at a reliable picture of actual conditions, if one treats these responses in the same manner as one treats other variables—that is, as a category with its own specific meaning. Accordingly, the results were interpreted as signifying that the preference for Russian films was much stronger in the younger than in the older groups (25% against 10%), while an interest in films as such was significantly lower among the old than among the young.

The choice of a suitable statistical method depends on the interpretation given to the fact of non-response. On the basis of the reasons sketched out above as well as certain other research results, we can start with some certainty from the assumption that a non-reply indicates specific motives in almost all cases; we have therefore treated them as one of a number of categories of attitude towards certain themes.

CHAPTER II

The Social and Political Situation of the Respondents

□ On the following pages a short overview of the personal, social, economic and political composition of our sample will be given. In this process, the characteristics regarding origin, religion, age, income, occupation, marital status, standard of living and trade union organization will be analysed. These will be followed by an examination of the distribution into political groups and of their correlations with the above-named characteristics. □

a. Personal Data

Most of the 584 questionnaires, namely 71%, were from urban centres between Frankfurt and Berlin. 25% came from areas south of the River Main and from the Rhineland, while the remaining 4% derived from all other regions in Germany, with the exception of the rural east.

In contrast to the mainly Protestant northern and central regions, the south and the Rhineland contained a predominantly Catholic population. 11% of the respondents belonged to the Catholic church, and these groups mostly lived in the last-named areas. 25% were Protestant and 7% belonged to religious minorities, including the Jews; nevertheless, not less than 57% described themselves as atheists.

The respondents lived almost exclusively in urban areas, even though 26% had been born in the country. Even the small group of 3% of country-dwellers worked either in the towns or in large enterprises such as the state railways. Since 74% of the respondents' parents lived in the towns, only a small degree of local mobility between the generations can be identified. This is complemented by an equally minimal structural mobility, since in most cases the social status of the respondents corresponded with that of their parents. Only those of rural origin form an exception, since the move into a town gener-

ally also meant a rise in status. But greater social advancement is predicted for the children of the respondents: half of them had completed some form of training which was generally associated with a higher social position than was the case for their parents.

59% of the respondents were married, 2% were widowed or divorced; the average marriage age was between 27 and 28 years. 38% described themselves as single and, as was to be expected, these were mostly the younger respondents. All the under-20's were unmarried, while this was only true for 3% of the over 40-year-olds. Women presented a special case in our data: only 7 out of 47 female respondents were unmarried. Three-quarters of the married had been married for more than five years. Although 17% of these marriages were childless, the average number of children was 1.8.

Among the married samples, 66% of the wives were in employment and, apart from 6%, had worked continuously since the War. But only 31% of respondents stated that their mother was or had been employed; however 58% had sisters who worked, and in no less than 27% of cases all the female members of the family were engaged in paid labour.

b. Living Standards.

The evidence available to us concerning the living standards of the respondents does not allow us to make statistically reliable comparisons between the various groups, but at least enables us to point to a number of general characteristics which can shed light on social background. Living conditions can basically be described as poor. Only a third of the respondents had a room with a bed for each family member, while 28% of households did not even possess a bed for each of its members. Furnishings, however, were more luxurious than living conditions would have led one to expect; presumably they stemmed from better times when larger accommodation could still be afforded. The unemployed, for example, had furnishings in their cramped accommodation which had doubtless been acquired in happier circumstances. Only 9% of respondents did not own more than basic furnishing necessities such as chairs, table, washstand, cupboard and occasionally a sewing machine or a clock. The great majority, however, also possessed book cases, shelves and sometimes even a desk.

About 10%—of whom half were unemployed—stated that they ate meat on less than two days a week and that they could not afford drink or cigarettes. 57% of respondents — of whom the unemployed formed only a sixth — had meat five times a week and could spend a

moderate amount on drink and tobacco. Finally, 33% could afford plenty of meat, drink and tobacco; the proportion of unemployed was reduced to one in eighteen in this group.

If one seeks to establish whether expenditure beyond basic necessities was devoted to pleasure or to further education, the result is as follows: 11% clearly favoured pleasure and spent their money mainly on alcohol or cigarettes. 51% decided in favour of education (books and lectures), while no clear trend was discernible for the remaining 38%.

c. Age, Income and Occupation.

Tables 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3 show the age and income distribution and occupational status of the respondents.

Table 2.1 Age

Age in Years	Number	%
Under 21	34	6
21-30	237	41
31-50	260	54
51 and over	48	8
No reply	5	1
	584	100

Table 2.2 Income

Income (RM per month)	Number	%
Under 51	109	19
51-100	36	6
101-150	83	14
151-200	124	21
201-250	170	29
251-300	60	10
No reply	2	1
	584	100

The age distribution of the sample ranged from less than 21 (6%) to over 60 years (3%). The largest group was formed by the 21-40 group, and the average age of the total sample was 31 years.

If one disregards incomes under 51 RM, the average income was 197 RM per month. But the income distribution looks different when tabulated against age or sex. The average income among the 21-30-

year olds was 172 RM, in the 31–50 group it rose to 209 RM, to reach 215 RM among the 51–60-year-olds. The average income of fully employed women was 160 RM, significantly below that of their male colleagues.

Table 2.3 Occupational status

Occupational group	Employed		Unemployed		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Skilled manual	264	45	57	10	321	55
Unskilled manual	34	6	20	3	54	9
White collar	154	26	13	3	167	29
Other	42	7	0	0	42	7
	494	84	90	16	584	100

The essential occupational groups in our inquiry were made up of white-collar, skilled manual and unskilled workers. The category 'white-collar' included employees in both the public and private sector. Manual workers (64%) formed the majority in our sample. 29% of respondents were white-collar workers. The remaining 7% ('other') were made up of students, housewives and small traders, whose numbers were too small to form separate categories. 16% of respondents were unemployed. Every third semi-skilled, every sixth skilled but only every thirteenth white-collar worker was without employment. Public servants, who were mostly untouched by unemployment, were included in the white-collar group. Basically, manual workers were hit significantly more severely by the crisis, since 20% were unemployed in comparison with 16% among the sample as a whole.

Most of the unemployed were entirely dependent on state support and therefore came into the lowest income category of less than 51 RM per month. Table 2.4 shows the relationship between occupational status and income.

Apart from the unemployed, unskilled workers had the lowest incomes. The earnings of skilled workers were only slightly below that of white-collar workers. It was not always clear from the replies, however, whether or not the earnings of all members of the family were included.

The age distribution within the occupational groups was relatively similar; only the large number of unemployed aged under 30 is striking.

Table 2.4 Occupational groups and income (%)

Income in RM	Unskilled	Skilled	White collar	Un- employed	Other	Total
Under 51	18	3	3	83	30	19
51-100	12	5	6	1	20	6
101-150	35	16	14	6	5	14
151-200	32	31	17	2	8	21
201-250	3	34	42	8	22	29
251-300	—	10	18	—	15	10
No reply	—	1	—	—	—	1
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 2.5 Occupational groups and age (%)

	Unskilled	Skilled	White collar	Un- employed	Other	Total
Under 21	6	7	5	6	3	6
21-30	41	38	33	60	45	41
31-50	44	44	52	33	40	44
51 and over	9	9	9	1	12	8
No reply	—	2	1	—	—	1
	100	100	100	100	100	100

16% of respondents worked in firms with less than 100 workers, 33% in those with 10-100, 32% in factories with 100-1,000 and, finally 19% in large enterprises with more than 1,000 workers. The remaining 20% were either students, housewives, self-employed or, more often, the unemployed who did not offer information on the size of the firm where they were last employed.

In all enterprises and firms apart from the very small, there was a Works Council which was elected by the workers and which was seen as representing their interests. After subtracting the unemployed, self-employed and those employed in small businesses, there remained 390 questionnaires of which only three offered no information about the Works Council.

451 of the 584 respondents were members of a trade union. 92% belonged to the 'Free Unions' which were under Social Democrat control. In 62% of the enterprises the Works Council consisted entirely of Social Democrats, but in 1930 most Communists were still members of Social Democratic unions. Only 4% of respondents mentioned purely Communist Works Councils, the only three respondents were members of the newly established 'Revolutionary

Trade Union Opposition'. A quarter of the Works Councils were made up from a number of groups: Communists sat together with Social Democrats next to members of the Hirsch-Duncker unions, the Christian as well as the white-collar unions. One reason for the strength of the Social Democratic unions lay in the loyalty of their members: 20% of Social Democrats among the respondents had belonged to the union before 1918, and the average length of membership was roughly ten years.

The unions generally made heavy demands on the time of their members. Only 7% of members in our survey were totally passive; 22% took part in meetings or read union papers, while the remaining 71% took an active part in union affairs; every third union member held an official position in the union.

d. Political Groupings.

Answers to Question 442 ('Which party do you vote for?') served as a starting-point for classifying the respondents into political groups. These were classified into: Social Democrats, Communists, National Socialists, *Bürgerliche* and Non-voters. The category '*Bürgerliche*' included all organizations to the right of the Social Democrats, except for the National Socialists: the German People's Party, the [Catholic] Centre, the Swabian Peasants Party and others. This aggregation was necessary for methodological reasons, since the individual organizations were represented by very few respondents. It was also justified by the fact that the replies of these respondents were only to be used for comparative purposes. Although the number of National Socialists was relatively low, they were formed into an independent category; since the far Right were trying to gain power at the time, this small group was mainly of historical interest to us.

Inside the Social Democratic Party was a fairly pronounced left wing, which distinguished itself from the core of the party by its interpretation of socialist theory as well as over immediate political strategy. On the basis of these differences the USPD [Independent Socialists] had previously split off and some time after the end of our inquiry the SAP [*Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei*] was founded as a new left-socialist party. The official Social Democratic Party concentrated in its politics on the preservation and defence of the democratic republic against reactionary attacks, while the Left Socialists pressed more strongly for a rapid transformation into a socialist society. The answers to Question 423 ('Which type of government do you think is the best?') were used to divide the Social Democrats into two groups: within Social Democracy, those who opted for a 'socialist republic' or

even for a 'Soviet system' were designated Left Socialists, since they expressed a marked divergence from the official party programme by these answers. (. . .)

Given the political convictions of German manual and white-collar workers, the Social Democrats and Communists undoubtedly formed the two largest political groupings at the time of our survey. Only these two samples within our total sample were large enough to allow for further sub-divisions into degrees of political activity. Basically, political commitment can be concentrated either on the party or on the union. In both cases we made a distinction between only two levels of commitment, namely 'active' and 'inactive', for quantitative reasons. All officials were included here as 'active'; the rest of the party or union members as 'inactive', so that four possible combinations resulted:

Table 2.6 Possible combinations
(active/inactive)

		Union	
		Active	Inactive
Party	Active	1	—
	Inactive	3	2

Union and party work are naturally not interchangeable indicators for political interest, since the unions were primarily concerned with the improvement of living conditions and not directly with political problems. The motives which caused someone to dedicate his free time to union work were not necessarily an indication of political activity. If, however, a respondent worked for a political party, this was a clear indication of great political interest; the question of union work could in this case be left aside. If someone was inactive in both spheres, this was a sure sign of a lack of political interest.

For the purposes of evaluation the four combinations were reduced to three: 1) 'Officials' who were active in the party and possibly also in the union; 2) 'Supporters' who were active in neither and 3) 'Undecided' who, although members of the union, were not active in the party. Table 2.7 shows the subdivision within the various groups.

A good two-thirds of both wings of the Social Democratic Party were registered party members, whereas this was the case with less than half of the Communist supporters. On the other hand, the Communists had a significantly higher percentage of officials

Table 2.7 Political orientation and political activity

	Number	%
Communists (C)	150	26
1) Officials	63	
2) Supporters	78	
3) Undecided	9	
Left Socialists (LS)	45	8
Social Democrats (S)	262	45
1) Officials	61	
2) Supporters	125	
3) Undecided	76	
<i>Bürgerliche</i> (B)	43	7
National Socialists (N)	17	3
Non voters (O)	67	11
	584	100

amongst their members, namely two-thirds in comparison with less than 50% among the Social Democrats. As in the case of their union organisations, the Social Democrats as a party also contained a larger proportion of older members: 11% of the KPD [Communists], which was founded in 1918, had been members of the Social Democratic Party before the Revolution, whereas 18% of SPD members had already belonged to the party before 1918.

13% of Social Democrat supporters belonged to religious associations; every sixth person in this group was also a registered party member. Only 2% of the Communists were also organized in church associations. The majority of Communists as well as the Social Democrats described themselves as atheists, of whom every ninth person belonged to an atheist association. In contrast, five-sixths of the *bürgerliche* supporters were convinced adherents of a religious faith, and there was not one atheist among them. The National Socialists amongst the respondents were mostly Protestants, with the exception of two without a religion.

Table 2.8 Political orientation and age (%)

	S	LS	C	N	B	O
Under 21	4	4	5	12	5	13
21-30	38	57	48	64	21	32
31-50	48	35	41	18	53	45
Over 50	10	4	5	6	21	5
No reply	—	—	1	—	—	5
	100	100	100	100	100	100

The division into age groups for the various parties presents the following picture:

The *Bürgerliche* had the highest average age of 38 years, followed by the Social Democrats with 32 years. Then came the Communists and Left Socialists with 29 and 28 years, while the NSDAP as the youngest party also showed the lowest average age of 26 years.

If one compares political orientation with occupational status one arrives at the following interesting results:

Table 2.9 Political orientation and occupational group (%).

	S	LS	C	N	B	O
Unskilled manual	6	6	8	—	4	1
Skilled manual	52	52	45	17	35	35
White-collar	31	22	14	36	34	34
Unemployed	6	18	25	17	16	26
Other	5	2	8	30	11	4
	100	100	100	100	100	100

The National Socialist voters fall mainly into the category 'White-collar' as well as 'Other'. In general, the relationship between manual workers and white-collar workers depended on the degree of left-wing orientation of a political party: in the KPD the proportion of white-collar workers (14%) was at its lowest, growing to 36% in the NSDAP on the extreme right.

In the left-wing parties the proportion of manual workers was very similar, but the Communists contained a high proportion of the unemployed. This relationship between unemployment and political orientation held not only for the current unemployed, but also for those previously unemployed: thus 40% of the Social Democrats, but only 25% of the Communists had never been employed.

A comparison between income and political orientation was rather difficult, given the uneven distribution of the unemployed between the groups (see Table 2.10).

If one leaves aside the special problem of the unemployed, only minor wage differences appear between members of the different parties. In so far as they were in employment, the Social Democrats and Communists had comparable incomes; discernible income differentials could mostly be attributed to the greater proportion of unskilled workers among the Communists (15% compared with 7%).

Table 2.10 Political orientation and income (%).

	S	LS	C	N	B	O
Under 51	10	23	29	24	23	27
51-100	4	4	8	17	5	10
101-150	15	7	16	—	16	19
151-200	28	23	16	18	12	11
201-250	27	34	28	35	30	29
251-300	16	9	3	6	12	3
No reply	—	—	—	—	2	1
	100	100	100	100	100	100

e. Representativeness of the Survey

In order to be able to judge how far our sample can be seen as representative of the whole German population, an analysis of the general socio-economic situation in Germany at the time is unavoidable. Even if we do not have the statistical material at our disposal to test the question of representativeness point for point, there is still good reason to suppose that the respondents, with their structural characteristics, were widely representative of their respective groups. At least the political orientation and its distribution can be taken as typical for Germany at the time. 79% of the respondents voted for one of the two left-wing parties; similar figures are to be found in the statistics for the large German voting-districts. Although the results from agrarian East Prussia or Catholic Baden seem to contradict this comparison, these areas themselves showed structural peculiarities. The Protestant and industrial districts of Hesse-Nassau (including Frankfurt) and Saxony provided the characteristic background for our respondents. In relation to the total number of manual and white-collar workers and civil servants, the proportion of Social Democratic and Communist votes in Hesse-Nassau was 79.8%, in Saxony 73.9%, and these results are very close to our own figures.

Our research sample contained 53% Social Democrats and 29% Communists. In 1930 these two parties provided 193 and 77 deputies respectively in the Reichstag. These figures make clear that the relationship between the SPD and KPD amongst the respondents closely paralleled their distribution in the nation. The insignificantly small number of National Socialists in our data also corresponds with the very slight influence which this party had amongst industrial workers, at least in 1930/31.

Furthermore, the history of the German labour movement shows

that Social Democratic trade unions held the same predominance nationally as they had in our sample. The same is true of their predominance in the Works Councils in Germany as a whole as well as in our sample.

The *income level* of the respondents was somewhat higher than the national average for the relevant groups. This is not, however, uncommon in studies such as ours since the relatively poor have a tendency to over- rather than under-state their income. But in our case the differences were smaller than is usual and since the spread of incomes was not great, the reliability of our sample is not put into question.

The *unemployment statistics* in Germany are unfortunately not broken down in such a way that one can use them for comparative purposes. Although the proportion of 16% unemployed in our data was only slightly higher than the general average of 14% at the end of 1930, it would have been of interest for our survey to know whether the higher proportion of Communists amongst the unemployed was representative for the whole country. Even though there are no statistics concerning the political orientation of the unemployed, most experts on the German scene assume that these constituted a relatively large proportion of KPD supporters (cf. A. Rosenberg, 1935). The various explanations for this generally accepted trend are not, however, agreed. Some observers suggest that Communist workers were dismissed from their jobs because of their political beliefs, others believe that the Communists' radical programme was attractive to just those workers who experienced great misery because of unemployment. Whatever the case, there is no reason to suppose that the proportion of the unemployed amongst the Communist-orientated respondents was too high at 25%.

Practically no data are available regarding the question of *the distribution of occupational groups within the political parties*. There is no statistical material about the occupational situation of KPD members. Only the Social Democrats have attempted something of the sort for themselves, but their statistics do not cover more than an eighth of their members and totally ignore those who were only supporters. The larger proportion of white-collar workers among the Social Democrats in our study nevertheless appears to correspond with the general observation that more white-collar workers belonged to the SPD than to the KPD. Finally, the very high proportion of white-collar workers amongst the National Socialists confirms the opinion of most observers that the NSDAP at that time had hardly any support amongst the workers.

It is not possible to compare *the age-distribution* of our sample

with that in the various parties. Relevant data are only available for members of the SPD, by comparison with which the Social Democrats in the sample had a lower average age than was evident in the Party generally. The reason for this is probably that the younger people were more interested in the questionnaire than the older ones, and consequently more prepared to answer it. Furthermore, it must be noted that the SPD figures related only to actual members and not simply to supporters. There are no data regarding the age distribution in the KPD, but all those who are experts in this area are agreed that the Communists had a larger proportion of younger members and supporters than the Social Democrats. The fact that in our data the National Socialists had the lowest average age is equally in agreement with the unanimous opinion of all observers, although there are also no statistics available on this point.

All in all, there is good reason for asserting that our respondents were representative of German workers at the time of our survey. Even though statistical evidence was not always available, what evidence did exist offered confirmation of this point, especially with regard to political orientation. Many other indicators point in the same direction. There are doubtless certain deviations from national averages, but these are not serious. Even though our study was based on a small sample, it indicated certain developmental tendencies which were of great significance for German manual and white-collar workers of that period.

CHAPTER III

Political, Social and Cultural Attitudes

[Once the most important social-structural characteristics of our sample had been developed, we turned to the analysis of attitudes. To this end, large numbers of questions were evaluated which could be grouped in relation to five problem areas: that of political opinions (3a), of general world views (3b), cultural and aesthetic attitudes (3c), attitudes towards women and children (3d), as well as attitudes towards others and towards oneself (3e). The aim of our work was above all to clarify the influence of political orientation and economic status on the respective attitudes and opinion. Occasionally additional factors such as age and sex were also analyzed.]

a. Questions on Political Themes

[In order to document the attitudes of the respondents towards politics and social policy, we selected the following nine questions:

- Question 432: Who, in your opinion, has the real power in the State today?
- Questions 427/28: Which form of government do you think is the best? Why do you hold this view?
- Question 430: What do you think of the German judiciary?
- Question 429: How, in your opinion, can a new world war be prevented?
- Question 431: Who, in your opinion, is responsible for the inflation?
- Question 134/35: Has a rationalization programme been carried out at your place of work? What do you think of it?
- Question 444: What are your views on your party?

Seen systematically, the first three questions are concerned with an assessment of the general political order, while the next two relate to the most decisive political events since the beginning of the century, namely the World War and the inflation. The question regarding rationalization is aimed at a trend which is often not regarded as a political matter but which is nevertheless of great societal importance; the last question was designed to discover the respondents' attitudes towards official political positions in the Weimar Republic.]

Question 432.

Who, in your opinion, has the real power in the State today?

According to Article 1 of the Weimar Constitution the power of the State resided basically in the people: legislative authority rested with the commonly and freely elected Reichstag, and the President of the Reich was also elected through a direct vote. He appointed the Cabinet, which in turn was dependent on the confidence of the Reichstag and which was obliged to resign after a successful vote of no-confidence. At the time of our survey, however, there were considerable doubts in Germany as to whether the power of decision really did rest with the people. It need hardly be stressed how important this question was for the stability of German democracy. A government which is thought to be powerless cannot hope to gain respect, and those who long for a stronger authority will reject and insult it.

According to Marxist theory and also according to the propaganda of the left-wing parties to which many respondents referred in their replies, the real source of power, even under a democratic constitution, lies in the economic sphere. It was not surprising, therefore, that suspicions about the workings of parliamentary democracy were constantly being voiced. Although the workers' parties formed the largest faction within the Reichstag, a strong sense of disillusionment prevailed in the working class as to its actual potential for power. Replies in which the economic system in general was blamed for this, were categorised as *Capital, capitalists, industry and banks*. Answers referring to *Industry and banks* were included here since the respondents probably meant to lay the blame on the capitalist system in general. The reply *Bourgeoisie*, on the other hand, was not considered to be identical with the category *Capital*: first this concept has a much more aggressive connotation in German than it has in French or English; moreover it refers more clearly to the propertied class and includes the middle-sized and small entrepreneurs. The category *Large-scale industrialists*, alone or

together with that of *Large estate-owners* has a particular meaning in relation to the answer *Capital*. An attempt is being made here to establish gradations of power within capitalist society. The emphasis on *large* refers to monopolistic tendencies in Germany and makes it clear that criticism is being directed only at the quantitatively small but powerful groups of capitalists. All the same, it was much easier for the average wage-earner to criticise big business beyond his reach than to criticise the whole system including the small businessman, when it was the ambition of many to join the latter. The National Socialists cleverly exploited these feelings and gained many followers through their promise to break the power of the trusts and to re-distribute the large landed estates.

The answer *Banks, stock exchange* has also to be regarded separately, since it refers to a particular aspect of the capitalist system. Although there were not many such replies, they are nevertheless important, since power was here being ascribed to just those institutions which were strange and puzzling to most people. But respondents may have been partly influenced by Nazi propaganda here, since this propaganda distinguished between 'constructive' (*schaffenden*) and 'rapacious' (*raffenden*) capital, the latter being banks and speculators (see Table 3.1).

The nature of the response with regard to questions dealing with the basis of political power is highly interesting. The largest contingent of refusals to reply (. . .) was among the *bürgerliche* supporters; at 30%, this was significantly higher than among the Social Democrats, who in turn had more refusals than the Left Socialists (5%) and the Communists (4%). An interest in questions concerning the possession of power in the state thus increased relative to the degree of political radicalism. The National Socialists, only 6% of whom did not reply, came close to the Communists in this regard. Although they looked at the problem from a totally different perspective, the question about the actual distribution of power was also of vital significance for them.

More than half of the answers, namely 56%, fell into the category *Capital, capitalists*, and this opinion was to be found much more often among the Left than among the *Bürgerliche*. This result corresponds with the Marxist doctrine that, independently from the political constitutions, actual power resides with those who own or control the means of production and distribution. The answer *Large-scale industrialists or estate-owners* was also given almost exclusively by followers of left-wing parties, more frequently by Communists than by Social Democrats. Those who opted for this reply tried in this way to characterize above all the most powerful capitalists;

Table 3.1: Question 432: *Who, in your opinion, has the real power in the State today?*
Answers according to political orientation (%)

Response categories	Political orientation											Total	
	Social Democrats				Left Social-ists	Communists			Bürgerliche	National Socialists	Non-voters		
	Social Democrats			Communists									
	1	2	3	Total		1	2	3					Total
1 Capital, capitalists, industry and banks	68	50	63	58	70	66	53	80	60	35	20	52	56
2 Large-scale industry along with large landed proprietors	5	6	5	5	11	12	14	10	14	5	-	-	7
3 Banks and stock exchange	-	2	5	3	-	-	3	10	2	-	6	3	2
4 Bourgeoisie	2	2	1	2	5	9	6	-	7	-	-	-	3
5 Government, Parliament	2	2	1	2	2	2	-	-	1	-	6	4	3
6 Republican parties	2	4	3	3	-	2	5	-	3	7	6	7	4
7 Parties of the centre	-	4	3	3	5	2	1	-	1	-	-	2	2
8 People, capital and work	2	1	2	1	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
9 Fascists, militarists, nationalists, monarchists	2	1	-	1	-	5	6	-	5	3	-	-	2
10 Jews alone or with Freemasons and Jesuits	-	2	1	1	-	-	1	-	1	5	50	7	3
11 No-one	-	3	3	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1
12 Other	2	3	4	3	-	-	3	-	1	15	6	3	3
13 No answer	15	20	9	16	5	-	8	-	4	30	6	19	13
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Respondents	61	125	76	262	45	63	78	9	150	43	17	67	584

frequently, however, it may have been a personalization of structural features which was being expressed. The answer *Bourgeoisie* with its aggressive connotations against the propertied classes was exclusively used by the Left, and the Communists chose this concept significantly more often than the Social Democrats.

Banks, stock exchange is a category which demonstrates the need for a specific enemy who is less anonymous and more personified than is capitalism in general. Amongst left-wing party followers, not a single official and only a few supporters gave this reply. To judge by the nature of the replies, banks and the stock exchange largely seem to fulfill the function of scapegoats. The irrational choice of such scapegoats can best be seen by reference to the category *Jews*, alone or with *Freemasons and Jesuits*, which was selected by 50% of the National Socialists.

The widespread mistrust of the power potential of parliamentary democracy is shown by the fact that only 2% of answers could be assigned to the category *Government, Parliament*. Equally, very few thought that any of the political parties possessed real power.

The answer *Fascists, militarists etc.* was almost entirely confined to Communists, of whom 5% adhered to this view. During political disturbances and also after gatherings and demonstrations, the Communists frequently had violent confrontations with the paramilitary organizations of the extreme Right, as well as with the regular forces of order. Apart from this, the term *fascist* became for them a synonym for political reactionaries in the wider sense far earlier and more clearly than in the other parties. One, but only one respondent, who was a Social Democrat, mentioned *Labour* as the real power in the State, and only 1% of Social Democrats and Communists accepted as fact the constitutional principle that all power resided in the people, or that it was fairly divided between labour and capital.

Finally, some respondents replied *Nobody*. This points, amongst other things, to a lack of knowledge of the developments which took place behind the parliamentary stage. On the other hand, this opinion can also have been arrived at as a result of the endless deadlocks in parliamentary proceedings. Some non-voters, a few Social Democrat supporters and, strangely enough, an official of the Left Socialists, chose this answer.

Questions 427/28:

Which form of government do you think is the best (Democratic Republic—Fascism—Monarchy—Soviet [Council] System)? Why do you hold this view?

The search for the best form of government played a central role in the programmes of the German parties in the twenties. The respondents' replies thus chiefly clarified their political orientations so that we were able to use Question 427 itself as an aid towards the classification of political types.

More revealing than the actual decisions were the reasons given, since these reflected less the official party line than the personal opinions and attitudes of the respondents. Thus 7% of respondents did not reply to either of the two parts of the question, and 16% gave no reasons for their opinion. The remaining 77% did answer Question 428, and their attitude regarding the reasons they gave can be ordered into seven over-lapping categories. Naturally the reasons given are often related to the different forms of government. Since, however, the majority from among all political groups opted for one and the same model, it was possible to treat reasons given and forms of government separately in the analysis. In this instance the group of non-voters had to be excluded, since too many factors relating to too small a group were involved.

Most political groups exhibited independent motivational structures in their choices. Thus Social Democrats chose democracy significantly more often, because this meant *Freedom and equality for each citizen* (26% as opposed to 4% from other parties). The Communists also argued from the situation of the citizen in giving their reasons for the best form of government, but they stressed the *socio-economic interests of the working class* more strongly than individual freedom, and 37% (as opposed to 12% in other political groups) pointed to the situation of the under-privileged members of society. In a similarly significant manner they were more likely to choose the Soviet system as the only realization of their political theory (17% compared with 4% in other groups).

The Left Socialists showed an attitude which lay between that of the Social Democrats and the Communists. They agreed with the Communists as far as the arguments relating to the interests of the working class were concerned; but they differentiated themselves from Communist respondents in so far as they were not as convinced about the practicality of the Soviet system and favoured the ideal of a *Socialist republic*.

The reasons given by the National Socialists mostly referred to their *world-view*. It is actually a tautology to retreat into personal convictions or world-views—as most of the respondents correctly recognized—when asked about the respective advantages and disadvantages of various forms of government. But this may go to show that the National Socialists had no rational grounds for their

preference for fascist dictatorships as a governmental type. The attitude of the *bürgerliche* supporters was not very different from that of the National Socialists: they either supported the democratic republic or the monarchy. 'Everything is going well, why should we change it', or: 'it was better before, why not return to that' were the main arguments, in so far as any were offered, and in both cases the reasons are basically conservative (see Table 3.2).

[In order to clarify the structure of the replies we wish to offer a few examples of the answers, consecutively listed according to the categories they were assigned to by us.]

Examples of answers according to response category:

- 2) *'Democratic republic.* My wish is that individuals should have the largest measure of freedom.'

'Democratic republic. In a democracy everybody has a voice. Minorities comply. Dictatorships only produce violent counter-movements.'

'Democratic republic. Every nation decides on its own form of government. Who has the right to feel that they are better than the next person? Everyone is born equal—all sons of a noble race.'

- 3) *'Council system.* The directly elected councils which are responsible to their voters and which can be recalled at any time, are the most suited to secure the interests of the workers.'

'Soviet system. No exploitation in this system.'

'Democratic republic. Work gains a bit more respect.'

- 4) *'Monarchy.* We had more order then.'

'Socialist democracy. The present situation—the exploitation of the masses—is a poor offering.'

'Democratic republic. The behaviour of William II and the World War.'

'Monarch. It offers more peace, politically. I have come to the conclusion that one fights against the other in a republic, and for this reason I believe that a monarchy is better. There are too many parties.'

- 6) *'Democratic republic.* With this form of government, a mature nation can govern itself (U.S.A.).'

'Soviet system. Against great odds, this is fighting for a new form of economy, which will confront Western Europe with decisions of far-reaching implications.'

'Soviet system. We can see the progress that Russia has made. No single individual there can amass millions.'

'Soviet system. A form of government which has endured and achieved great social advances, despite twelve years of continuous

Table 3.2: Question 427/8: *Which form of government do you think is the best (Democratic Republic—Fascism—Monarchy—Soviet [Council] System? Why do you hold this view?*
Reasons according to political orientation (%)

Response categories	Political orientation											Total		
	Social Democrats				Left Socialists	Communists			Bürgerliche	National Socialists	Non-voters			
	1			2			3							
	1	2	3	Total		1	2	3					Total	1
1 No reason (Question 428 not answered)	15	17	15	16	18	-	5	-	3	18	26	32	11	
2 Because of freedom and equality for each citizen	26	25	27	26	9	-	3	-	2	-	7	3	14	
3 Better for the workers' interests	10	11	11	10	22	38	34	56	37	23	2	13	18	
4 Functions the best	19	13	9	13	4	6	4	-	5	6	11	7	9	
5 Better than other systems	5	3	5	4	11	11	7	22	9	12	5	2	7	
6 Worked well in other states/times	2	2	5	3	4	16	17	-	15	12	33	6	13	
7 Corresponds with own political theory	5	2	4	4	11	16	18	11	17	-	2	3	7	
8 In accord with the world-view	15	17	23	18	19	11	7	11	9	29	9	8	14	
9 Both questions unanswered	3	10	1	6	2	2	5	-	3	-	5	26	7	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Number of respondents	61	125	76	262	45	63	78	9	150	17	43	67	584	

battle against enemies from outside; must be good.'

'*Monarchy*. What we need is a monarchy again. At that time no-one needed to go hungry, and there was justice for all.'

- 7) '*Soviet system*. Collectivization survives its first trials there. It is the first step in the direction of socialism.'

'*Democratic republic*. I am a Social Democrat and consequently think this is right.'

'*Soviet system*. The only way in which the proletariat can achieve socialism is through the dictatorship of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie understands this better than the Social Democrats, who believe that they can eventually achieve socialism through the ballot-box. The bourgeoisie will profit from this belief and will strengthen their position, if necessary behind a different mask (fascism).'

- 8) '*Democratic republic*. I reject force on religious grounds. Violence always breeds violence.'

'My view of the world.'

'*Democratic republic*. My belief in humanity and socialism.'

'*Monarchy*. It corresponds with divine principles.'

Question 430:

What do you think of the German judiciary?

A belief in the impartiality and reliability of the judicial apparatus is basic to the maintenance of an orderly community. But at the time of our inquiry a general mistrust of the law came to be voiced which was being widely discussed as a 'crisis of confidence'. Our question was therefore highly topical and the answers may be interpreted as an indication of the stability of the social order.

Only 4% of Communists refused to answer this question, whereas the figures for Social Democrats and *bürgerliche* supporters were considerably higher (18% and 31%). The Left Socialists (6% non-replies) were as ready as the Communists to offer their opinions. The high percentage of non-replies among the Social Democrats could possibly be explained by the fact that their own party participated in the government of Prussia as well as of the Reich. Criticism of the administration of the law would in this case have been a simultaneous criticism of their party, which could only be avoided by not replying to the question. The *bürgerliche* supporters replied less often, probably because they were less interested in the topic.

Only 4% of respondents declared themselves entirely satisfied with the administration of justice; their answers came into the category *Good*. 57% thought the administration of justice was basically *Bad*, 11% without further commentary, 46% describing it as *Politically*

distorted. A few respondents offered detailed criticisms and thought that courts were still too monarchist or not humane enough in their judgements; these answers were categorized as *Requiring reform*, since justice was not totally rejected, but regarded as capable of being reformed. However, no less than 75% of respondents expressed themselves as critical, in some way, of the existing legal system. Without wishing to make inadmissible generalizations, it can be established that the German working class had largely lost confidence in the impartiality of justice in this period (see Table 3.3).

The differences between political orientations are made particularly clear in the distribution of the category *Bad, politically distorted*: here the response gamut ran from 37% for Social Democrats, 66% for Left Socialists to 74% among the Communists. As expected, the *bürgerliche* supporters were trailing behind with 19%. On the other hand, the National Socialists at 58% came out with a higher percentage than the Social Democrats. The above-average political interest among the National Socialists as well as the fact that they were often in conflict with the law explains their rejection of the judicial administration which in their eyes was an institution of the hated Weimar Republic. The Social Democrats, with 32%, had the largest proportion in the category *Requiring reform*, followed by the *Bürgerliche* with 24%. Only 11% replied in this manner, while the National Socialists in our sample totally denied the possibility of reform. The results correspond with official party estimates: while the Social Democrats believed that the law could be improved and deficiencies removed, neither the Communists nor the National Socialists thought much of measures of reform.

A significant difference emerged between the replies of white-collar and skilled manual workers. Skilled manual workers replied more frequently, and a larger percentage of their answers came into the category *Bad, politically distorted*; namely 55%, as opposed to 31%. This result is further indirect evidence for the hypothesis that skilled manual workers assumed more critical attitudes politically than did white-collar workers.

Examples of answers according to response categories:

- 1) 'Not worse than elsewhere.'
'They try to be as just as they can (certainly much better than in America).'
- 2) 'Not good.'
'I have no respect for it at all.'
'One-sided and prejudiced.'
- 3) 'Serves primarily the middle-class.'

Table 3.3: Question 430: *What do you think of German judiciary?*
Answers according to political orientation (%)

Response categories	Political orientation											Total						
	Social Democrats					Left Social- ists	Communists				Bürger- liche		National Social- ists	Non- voters				
				Total														
	1	2	3	Total			1	2	3	Total								
1 <i>Good</i>	2	2	7	4		-	-	1	-	1	17	6	8	5				
<i>Bad</i>																		
2 Without comment	8	12	7	9		13	6	15	11	11	7	12	16	10				
3 Politically distorted	44	33	37	37		66	89	63	78	74	19	58	18	46				
Bad, total	52	45	44	46		79	95	78	89	85	26	70	34	56				
<i>In need of reform</i>																		
4 Without comment	8	3	12	7		-	-	1	-	1	5	-	3	4				
5 Specific judicial deficiency	18	19	4	14		9	-	10	-	5	7	-	10	10				
6 Still monarchist	4	2	11	5		2	3	1	11	3	-	-	2	3				
7 Not humane enough	-	4	-	2		2	-	1	-	1	-	-	2	1				
8 Other deficiency	4	2	7	4		2	-	-	-	-	12	-	3	3				
In need of reform, total	34	30	34	32		15	3	13	11	10	24	-	20	21				
9 <i>Too many Jews</i>	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	2	12	-	1				
10 <i>No reply</i>	12	23	15	18		6	2	8	-	4	31	12	38	17				
Total	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100				
Number of respondents	61	125	76	262		45	63	78	9	150	43	17	67	584				

'The proletariat always comes off badly with these judges.'

- 4) 'Needs a lot of reform.'
- 5) 'There must be a change amongst the judges: their training is of great significance.'
- 6) 'Too many judges believe that nothing has changed since the time of the Emperor.'
- 7) 'They don't yet know what a really humane justice is; too many bureaucrats.'
- 'Capital punishment should be abolished.'
- 8) 'Everyone makes a mistake sometimes.'
- 9) 'There are too many Jews amongst the judges.'
- 'We have Jewish instead of German laws.'

Question 429:

How, in your opinion, can a new world war be avoided?

The phrasing of this question was really related to the experience of World War I, the consequences of which still overshadowed life in Germany at the time of our survey. Most respondents, however, understood the question in a wider sense, i.e. as one asking about the possibility of avoiding war in general and so investigated our unspoken assumptions that it was basically possible to prevent wars. Some rejected this hypothesis, while others explicitly agreed with it. The answers were thus necessarily influenced by different views about the nature of war, as they emerged from the context of the respective party programmes. Very generally, three sorts of notions can be distinguished, namely the conservative, the liberal and the socialist or Marxist theory. For the *conservatives* war is indeed an iron necessity, grounded in human nature, the greatest test of the strength of a nation and the ultimate means to solve international conflicts. The conservative hypothesis that war is unavoidable was adopted even more strongly by National Socialists and Fascists, although in other areas there existed large ideological differences between them and the conservatives.

Socialist theory conceives of war as the necessary consequence of the capitalist organization of society, as the result of the opposed interests of strong economic groups which are in competition with one another. Seen from this point of view, war can only be avoided through a social order based on an internationally planned economy, and action by the workers, perhaps in the form of a general strike, is seen as a first step in this direction. The *liberal* philosophy disagrees with the Marxists that there is a necessary connection between capitalism and war and views war as an atavistic matter, a superfluous relic from the prehistory of mankind. Those taking this

position hope that war can be prevented by the spread of pacifist ideas; at the same time they believe that a rational way of dealing with international conflicts is possible, for example through international courts, treaties or the League of Nations. Examples of this point of view are answers such as *International agreements*, *Conscientious objection*, *Pacifist education* or *Moral improvement of man*.

The above sketch is hardly a sufficient description of the answers to the question; their form was in effect also conditioned by the level of specificity at which the question itself was understood. As with Question 424 ('How, in your opinion, can the world be improved?'), the replies ranged from concrete rational views to vague hopes for a distant future without any reference to the actual possibilities for action. Within those categories which can be ascribed to a liberal position, the *Moral improvement of mankind* was the least concrete. On the other hand, *International agreements* was an answer which was more geared to reality; in it was reflected the widespread hope of the time when the League of Nations and the Hague Court of International Justice as well as agreements such as the Kellogg Pact could prevent wars. *Conscientious objection* as a consistent pacifist attitude showed the highest level of specificity. This answer is not only a suggestion regarding individual behaviour, but stands in opposition to the view that the avoidance of war is a purely governmental matter.

For the socialists, the category *General strike* showed the same individual and concrete quality as the statement *Conscientious objection*. By comparison, answers such as *Changing the present economic system* and *Internationalism of the working class* were less concrete, even if more decisive, statements than some of the liberal categories: they are bound up with detailed social theories and programmes, whereas the *Moral improvement of mankind*, for example, has hardly any implication for a concrete strategy of action.

14% of the respondents did not reply to this question. The following picture emerges, when this question is related to the various political positions (see Table 3.4 on the following page).

The number of supporters not interested in this question was significantly high. The radical groups on the Left and Right had a lower percentage of non-respondents than had the parties in-between. On the Left, officials were basically more interested than were ordinary voters: thus 9% of Social Democrat officials did not reply compared with 20% of supporters, while the corresponding values among the Communists were 3% and 8%. Readiness to reply

Table 3.4: Non-replies in relation to political orientation (%)

	No Reply
Non-voters	38
Bürgerliche	14
Social Democrats	14
Left Socialists	7
Communists	6
National Socialists	—

appeared to depend on a radical political attitude as well as on the degree of political activity.

The answer *Wars cannot be prevented* was given significantly more frequently by National Socialists than by any others. But the other right-wing groups, namely the *bürgerliche* supporters, expressed this opinion much more often than did the three left-wing groups (see Table 3.5).

As was to be expected, answers corresponding with a socialist attitude were mainly to be found on the Left. The reply *Internationalism of the working class* was found in almost equal proportion in all three groups; but replies mentioning *Changing the present economic system*, *Socialism*, *Communism* and *General strike* as means of preventing war were disproportionately more often given by Communists, while the Social Democrats with 5% and 4% gave this reply surprisingly rarely. At 37%, a *General strike* was preferred by the Communists above all other possibilities, and significantly more often by their officials (51%), than by their supporters (25%). The fact that the socialist theory of the causes of war and the strategies to deal with these found few advocates among the Social Democrats coincides with the results of Question 424 ('How in your opinion can the world be improved?') where astonishingly few gave the answer *Socialism*. Most SPD adherents among the respondents showed a typical liberal attitude, probably because their party's foreign policy supported the League of Nations. The answers *International agreements between governments* and *Pacifist education* were given significantly more often than by the Communists and even by the *bürgerliche* supporters; equally the category *Moral improvement* was preferred to the answers *Socialism* or *General strike*. The Left Socialists came close to the Communist position in their clear support for the general strike (31%) but they differentiated themselves, as did the other political types, from the Communists by their relatively high percentage with a radical-pacifist attitude (conscientious objection) (17%). Finally the

Table 3.5: Question 429: *How, in your opinion, can a new world war be prevented?*
Answer according to political orientation (%)

Response categories	Political orientation													Total
	Social Democrats				Left Social-ists	Communists			Bürger-liche	National Social-ists	Non-voters			
	1	2	3	Total		1	2	3				Total		
<i>Can be prevented by:</i>														
1 International agreements	17	25	33	25	11	3	14	-	9	15	23	12	17	
2 Internationalism of the working class	22	8	10	12	11	13	13	-	11	-	-	3	10	
3 Change of the present economic system	6	4	6	5	9	16	15	11	15	9	-	3	8	
4 General strike	9	4	1	4	31	51	25	45	37	2	6	3	15	
5 Refusal to serve in war	10	2	11	7	17	2	8	-	5	7	-	-	6	
6 Pacifist education	18	20	8	16	4	3	8	22	7	7	6	6	11	
7 Moral Improvement of mankind	5	10	15	10	6	3	5	11	5	14	12	13	9	
8 Other	1	3	2	3	2	1	1	-	2	12	6	5	3	
Total	88	76	86	82	91	92	89	89	91	66	53	45	79	
<i>Wars cannot be prevented</i>														
9 Wars cannot be prevented	3	2	4	3	2	5	3	-	3	15	47	12	6	
10 Don't know	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	5	1	
11 No answer	9	20	10	14	7	3	8	11	6	14	-	38	14	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Number of respondents	61	125	76	262	45	63	78	9	150	43	17	67	584	

bürgerliche supporters were distributed between almost all response categories so that no particular trend could be distinguished.

Examples of answers according to response categories:

- 1) 'United Europe, reduction of armaments. A sensible colonial policy.'
- 2) 'Through the strengthening of working-class parties in the whole world.'
'Through the organization of workers in basic industries, in trade unions and parties everywhere.'
'Through mutual help of all proletarians.'
- 3) 'If the capitalists cannot make a profit from war.'
'Through a revolution in every country.'
- 4) 'Only by firm resistance (conscientious objection, sabotage) by as many people as possible.'
- 5) 'If all the workers' parties and churches would get their members to swear an oath that they would never take up arms.'
- 6) 'Through the education of women and children to democratic attitudes.'
'Mutual understanding.'
- 7) 'Through the ennoblement of men, through a true Christianity, through a new division of the earth.'
- 8) 'By putting those who are guilty into the first trench.'
'By taking women into the government.'
- 9) 'Never, since social freedom must be preceded by national freedom.'
'Sometimes wars are not such a bad thing.'

Question 431:

Who in your opinion was responsible for the inflation?

The inflation of 1921-23 was a catastrophe which affected almost the entire population. Even at the end of the decade, it remained a politically topical issue, and a diversity of factors were held responsible for it, depending on the respondent's political outlook. Through their attributions to one cause or another, the respondents revealed their general political attitudes and gave expression as to how far they were anti-democratic, anti-capitalist, anti-semitic etc. (see Table 3.6).

42% of the Communists believed *Capitalism* to be the cause, while a significantly lower percentage (21%) of Social Democrats shared this opinion. Among Communists there was, however, a significant difference between officials and ordinary supporters, namely 56% as opposed to 28%. In answers relating to specific capitalist groups such

Table 3.6: Question 431: *Who, in your opinion, is responsible for inflation?*
 Answer according to political orientation (%)

Response categories	Political orientation														Total	
	Social Democrats						Left Social-ists	Communists				Bürger-liche	National Social-ists	Non-voters		
	1			2				Total	1	2	3					Total
	1	2	3	1	2	3										
1 Capitalism	31	15	24	21			36	56	28	45	42	14	6	15	26	
2 Large-scale industry or landed proprietors	2	4	6	4			-	3	13	-	8	2	-	-	4	
3 Banks, Stock Exchange	2	5	3	3			2	8	3	11	5	11	6	2	4	
4 Government	11	9	10	10			12	7	13	11	10	2	6	15	10	
5 Other states	15	22	20	20			28	8	8	11	8	7	6	16	16	
6 Individuals (Schacht, Helfferich)	10	6	14	9			4	2	5	-	3	10	32	4	7	
7 Jews	-	1	1	1			-	-	-	-	-	8	25	3	2	
8 Other	6	12	2	8			11	-	9	-	5	28	6	8	9	
9 No answer	23	26	20	24			7	16	21	22	19	18	13	37	22	
Total	100	100	100	100			100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Number of respondents	61	125	76	262			45	63	78	9	150	48	17	67	584	

as *Large-scale industry, Large estate-owners, Banks and stock exchange*, there was a significant difference between Communists and Left Socialists in particular: 13% of the former as against 2% of the latter.

A number of categories were represented by only a few answers and had to be lumped together under the designation *Other* for the purpose of quantitative analysis. The most interesting of these was the statement *Monarchist government*. This answer, which held the pre-revolutionary government of Germany responsible, is typical of a specific outlook which attempts firstly to evade the question by seeing it as a purely political problem and then puts the blame on to a no longer existing system.

Apart from the Communists, the majority of respondents identified as the cause of the inflation neither the economic system nor powerful capitalist or political groups, but *Foreign nations, the War, the Jews* or various individuals. Noteworthy here is the comparatively large proportion of answers by the Social Democrats naming other nations (20%). Such answers were significantly lower among the Communists (8%). In contrast the proportion was 32% among the National Socialists. Finally, the Jews were blamed for the inflation by (0%) of the Communists, by 1% of the Social Democrats and by 25% of the National Socialists.

Questions 134/135:

Has rationalization been carried out in your place of work? What do you think of it?

[In the twenties, rationalization policies were a widespread phenomenon affecting not only industrial production but also office work. With this background] our questions were aimed at eliciting the attitude of workers towards modern industrial production methods and their effects on productivity. [But even a cursory glance at our data showed that an evaluation was more problematical than originally assumed,] since the concept of rationalization was interpreted in several different ways amongst the participants in the survey: (. . .) One approach was the purely technical interpretation whereby the problem of rationalization was discussed only in relation to increasing productivity. Another perspective emerged if the question of rationalization was understood as relating to its concrete effects on the lives of the respondents. Finally, answers could be given in terms of the relationship between rationalization and social order; in this case the question was understood to have an explicitly political meaning. These different levels of perception themselves corresponded with specific forms of political and economic

thinking, [which will be more precisely described in what follows.] In contrast with the directly political themes dealt with so far, it was to be expected that answers to the rationalization question would show a lower degree of party-political pre-formation. Although the problem of rationalization played an outstanding role in the political and economic discussions of the years 1929–30, none of the parties had developed a consistent attitude towards it, with the exception of the Communists, who completely rejected rationalization under capitalist conditions. The other parties either adopted changing viewpoints or did not commit themselves at all in any tangible way.

Some respondents related the question only to concrete changes in their place of work, not to what they thought about the problem of rationalization in general. At the same time there was a noticeable tendency either to see only the characteristics of previous work organization or to think exclusively in general economic and political terms. Those who gave a personally formulated answer probably related this only to the first Question, 134 ('Has rationalization been carried out in *your* place of work?'), since Question 135 asked 'What do *you* think of it?'. But despite this ambiguity, most respondents also gave their views concerning the general economic and political aspects of the problem in question.

If one looks next at the refusals to reply, two basic types can be distinguished: firstly those who replied to Question 134 that no rationalization measures had been carried out at their place of work, and secondly those who either did not reply to Questions 134/135 at all or who did not want to offer their own opinion, after saying *Yes* to 134. The attitude of the first group does not necessarily indicate fear or lack of interest, since the formulation of the question could be entirely responsible for these non-replies, which was unanswerable if taken literally. However, this explanation does not apply to the second group, who did not reply either because of a lack of interest or for some other reason.

The answers themselves were classified according to how the question had been understood. [If one differentiates between employer- and worker-orientated points of view, then] 34% of respondents judged rationalization largely from the point of view of the worker. Yet this group was by no means homogeneous, but was in turn split into various categories. Most of the answers—namely 23%—could be assigned to the category *Only good for the employer, disadvantageous for the worker*. In this case, rationalization measures were judged only according to their effect on the individual workers, whilst their structural significance for the economic system was not thought through. The category *Bad under capitalist conditions*

includes those answers which acknowledged the technical advantages of rationalization, but which saw them as beneficial, in a capitalist society, only to those who own and control the means of production. From this point of view more efficient technologies, which would have been accepted under socialist conditions, were rejected.

Those respondents who replied *Should be improved* were equally aware that the advantages of rationalization within capitalism generally occurred at the expense of the workers. But they also believed that, given certain reforms, the working class could share in these advantages and that structural unemployment could be avoided. This opinion corresponded with that held by many German unions, who started from the premise that technologically and organizationally efficient rationalization measures were in themselves a step in the general evolution to socialism. Those replies which fell into the category *Harmful* criticized rationalization as a 'dehumanization' of work. The central argument here was that the disadvantages of mechanization, including structural unemployment, far outweighed the technical advantages—an attitude which corresponds with that of early-nineteenth-century machine breakers.

Answers under the rubric *Employers' viewpoint* were mostly favourably disposed towards rationalization. Their common characteristic was an apparent objectivity or neutrality of argument: the replies gave the impression that the respondents were chiefly or exclusively concerned with the needs of a particular enterprise; not, however, with their own interests as workers. This group could be said to represent the ideology of the 'works' community' as advocated by some sections of the National Socialist party as well as by those workers' groups who voted for 'industrial peace'. Central to this ideology was the interest of an enterprise as a whole, to which the needs of the employers and of the employees were equally subordinated; there was no inquiry into who actually profited from such a communal organization.

Under the category *Technical standpoint*, those answers were included which judged rationalization in terms of its feasibility in the particular branch of industry in which the respondent was employed. As was to be expected, it was invariably argued in these cases that the technical characteristics of the work would not allow for the implementation of rationalization.

Finally, a separate group was formed by those respondents who described rationalization as *Necessary, useful*. These answers were so general that they could hardly be ascribed to any of the previous categories, but overall they seemed to derive either from a technical

view of the questions or from the viewpoint of the private entrepreneur.

The correlation between categories of response and the economic status of the respondent showed that a high percentage of the unemployed (66%) did not reply to our questions. This may be due primarily to the misleading formulation of the question: since many of the unemployed thought that the question referred to rationalization at their place of work, they did not think that it was addressed to them. Overall, skilled workers replied the most frequently and, as with other questions, this seems to show that this occupational group was the most interested and also the best informed about political and economic problems (see Table 3.7).

The *Employers' viewpoint* was in evidence disproportionately more often among white-collar than among manual workers, which may be explained by their real or imagined closeness to small business. The same tendency can also be defined as showing that white-collar workers judged rationalization measures less often from the point of view of the workers than did those directly engaged in production; in the two most inclusive categories of the workers' viewpoint (*Only good for employers; should be improved*) there were a significantly higher number of skilled workers than of white-collar workers.

As with all questions of political or general interest, the Communists replied more often than the Social Democrats and accordingly seemed to show more interest. This became particularly clear after a closer analysis of those respondents who did not reply to Question 135 ('What do you think of it?') because of a lack of rationalization measures in their place of employment. Here the 13% of Communists represented a significantly lower proportion than the 22% of Social Democrats. (. . .) Compared with the Communists, the Social Democrats also offered a significantly higher percentage of the answers which came into the category *Employers' viewpoint*. The answer *Bad under capitalist conditions*, which also corresponded with the official Communist programme, was given almost exclusively by Communists. The category *Good for employers, bad for the workers* is a sign of resistance to rationalization. In relation to political orientation, this answer was most often given by the National Socialists; they were followed by the Left Socialists and Communists (34% each), with significantly few Social Democrats (19%), and finally by the *Bürgerliche* (16%). Nevertheless, a surprising result was the considerable number of Social Democrats who expressed themselves against rationalization despite the favourable attitude of their unions.

Table 3.7: Questions 134/35: Has rationalization been carried out in your firm? What do you think of it?
Answers according to economic status (%)

Response categories	Economic status				Total
	Unskilled	Skilled	White-collar '	Unemployed	Other
<i>Workers' viewpoint</i>					
1 Good only for employers, disadvantageous for the worker	15	32	21	10	5
2 Bad under capitalist conditions	3	3	1	6	5
3 Should be improved	3	8	3	5	-
4 Harmful	-	1	2	2	3
5 Should have more regard for the worker	3	1	1	1	-
Workers' viewpoint, total	24	45	28	24	13
<i>Employers' viewpoint</i>	-	9	13	5	5
6 <i>Technical viewpoint</i>	3	1	1	1	3
8 <i>Necessary, useful</i>	3	3	7	1	8
9 <i>Other</i>	2	5	4	3	3
<i>No answer</i>					
10 Question 134 answered in the negative	33	23	19	7	5
11 Question 134 answered in the positive/135 not answered	35	14	28	59	63
No answer, total	68	37	47	66	68
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	34	264	154	90	42

If one looks at the attitude of the National Socialists, these almost totally rejected rationalization: 47% were against any form of rationalization while 35% stated that rationalization was almost exclusively to the advantage of the employers. Since the number of National Socialists in our sample was very small, they naturally have little statistical significance. They are, however, noteworthy when considered in relation to National Socialist propaganda among workers and employers. Since the NSDAP needed financial support from industry as well as a strong following among the workers, the rationalization question was hardly a suitable propaganda theme—the opposition between Labour and Capital would have quickly become apparent in connection with this concrete point of work organization. Those workers who sympathized with, or belonged to, the NSDAP expressed, through their negative attitude towards rationalization measures, a basic hostility towards capitalists. In the political sphere this hatred was deflected and diverted by Nazi propaganda onto specific groups such as *rapacious capital*, owners of department stores or the Jews. If, as in our question, no clear-cut ideology was offered, a sense of the contradictions of social relations could still be expressed relatively openly.

Examples of answers according to response categories:

- 1) 'It is the consequence of the malicious politics of large-scale capital.'
- 2) 'I am against *capitalist* rationalization because it throws the proletariat into the street.'
'I am against rationalization as long as it is not for the good of the whole people.'
- 3) 'A rationalization of working hours should go hand in hand with this.'
'Technological advance is to be welcomed unconditionally. Social advance, better social conditions for each person, which should be the only aim of technical advance, must be fought for through the steadily growing might of the working class in *all* fields—party *and* union *and* cooperatives *and* cultural organizations.'
- 4) 'Man is reduced to a soulless machine.'
'That is a return to slavery.'
- 5) 'Seven to eight hours work would be enough.'
'Do rationalize, but in such a manner that men can earn enough to provide for their families.'
'I am in favour of rationalization, but I find the way in which it is carried out at present hard and one-sided.'
- 6) 'Too much of a burden for the workers. One has to hurry all the

time. People become very nervous, bad-tempered and develop resistance to their work.'

'Rationalization is good in pursuit of a particular goal. Unfortunately German industrialists are simpletons, one and all.'

'Partly justified, but rationalization experts do rather a lot of harm.'

7) 'Not yet possible in my field of work.'

'Impossible at my place of work.'

8) 'Has been useful.'

'Has a great effect where control by and cooperation with the works' council is concerned.'

'Everyone has his work, even if lower wages.'

9) 'Not yet totally implemented, but already seems totally wrong.'

'A trend of the times.'

Question 444:

What are your views on your party (politics, leadership, organization)?

The relationship between a party and its members is an important problem that always needs to be taken into account in an investigation of political attitudes. In nearly all answers relating to questions on politics, we found differences between the party programme, on the one hand, and the stand-point of party members, on the other; accordingly one ought to have expected considerable criticism of the parties themselves. This assumption could not be confirmed, however, because we encountered more refusals to reply to this than to all other political questions. The average non-response for all three parts of the question averaged out at 49%.

Table 3.8: Non-replies in relation to political orientation (%)

	No answer
National Socialists	30
Left Socialists	35
Communists	48
Social Democrats	53
Bürgerliche	64

The interpretation of non-replies is more difficult here than for most other questions; they certainly have different meanings for the members of the various parties. Since uncritical obedience was an essential characteristic of National Socialist ideology, a relatively high response rate was to be expected from its members, since even

Table 3.9: Question 444(a): *What do you think about your party (politics, leaders, organization)?*
 Answer according to political orientation (%)

Response categories	Political orientation											Total	
	Social Democrats			Left Social- ists	Communists			Bürger- liche	National Social- ists	Non- voters			
	1	2	3		Total	1	2				3		Total
<i>Good</i>													
1 Excusable deficiencies	36	19	26	25	11	60	28	22	41	28	53	-	29
<i>Bad</i>													
2 With comment	8	7	14	9	16	6	7	-	6	5	6	-	8
3 Comments regarding tendencies and efficiency	29	23	16	22	42	13	9	11	11	12	12	-	20
4 No answer	27	51	44	44	31	21	56	67	42	55	29	-	43
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	-	100
No. of respondents	61	125	76	262	45	63	78	9	150	43	17	-	517

missing out the question could have aroused the suspicion that they were against their leaders. It is therefore not surprising that the National Socialists replied the most often. The Left Socialists replied almost as frequently, but were motivated by different reasons: the Left Socialists were not an independent party, but an opposition faction within the SPD and for this reason alone were willingly prepared to offer their criticism; the more so since freedom of expression was one of the basic principles of the Socialist parties. The very high number of refusals to reply among the Social Democrats, Communists and *bürgerliche* supporters points to a deep-seated reluctance to voice inner-party criticism. It is difficult to decide how far this was the result of party loyalty or how far it was due to an authority-fixation which allowed for no critical statements against their party or leaders. Whatever the reasons may be, it is interesting in the light of the later collapse of the left-wing parties that about half of the respondents avoided offering approval or criticism and preferred to miss out the question (see Table 3.9).

Of those who replied, half were approving, half were critical, of their party. Points of criticism were mostly concerned with the integrity of the leaders as well as with political and organizational efficiency. About a quarter of the criticisms were offered without further explanation, but this is probably to be explained by the fact that the questionnaire allowed little space for detailed answers. The following table shows, for each political group, the number of critical replies for each ten that voiced approval:

Table 3.10:

National Socialists	2.4
Bürgerliche	7.8
Communists	10.9
Social Democrats	12.0
Left Socialists	28.2

It can be seen that a critical attitude was most widespread among the Left Socialists, and was practically non-existent among the National Socialists. In principle the left-wing parties displayed a greater tendency to be critical than the right-wing.

In so far as criticisms were expressed within each party, these were often concerned with different themes: the Social Democrats mostly took their leaders, and particularly their 'middle-class' behaviour, to task. The policies of their party appeared to them to be equally middle-class, and they occasionally criticised the inefficiency of the

organization. This corresponds with the fact that the base of the party was often more radical than the leadership among the Social Democrats, a phenomenon which is hardly observable among the Communists.

In all the left-wing parties there was a striking difference between the attitude of party officials and of ordinary supporters: among the Communists as well as among the Social Democrats, ordinary supporters were rather more critical than were officials. This was to be expected, since the responsibility for politics and organization rested largely with the officials who were hardly likely to criticise themselves to the same extent as were party supporters.

b. Weltanschauung and Attitudes to Life

[After examining the various political attitudes, our next step was to attempt to gain a picture of the world-views and general attitudes to life of the respondents. This complex of problems could not be approached directly but could only be asked indirectly. Four questions above all proved to be illuminating:

- Questions 422/23: Do you believe that the individual has only himself to blame for his own fate? Why (not)?
- Question 424: How, in your opinion, can the world be improved?
- Question 426: Which individuals do you think were the greatest personalities in history? In the present?

As in the previous chapter we again analyzed the answers to each question separately, whereby the influence of occupational status and political orientation was of the most immediate interest. The results were as follows:]

Questions 422/23:

Do you believe that the individual has only himself to blame for his own fate? Yes/No. Why (not)?

With this question we tried to capture the general attitude to life of the respondents, inclusive of rational convictions and personal feelings which lay behind it. The doctrine of the left-wing parties that the individual's fate is determined by his socio-economic situation was apparent in many of the answers and, even if the personality structure of the survey participants was highly variable, they appear to have been influenced by this axiom to a greater or lesser extent. In so far as this attitude, formed by personal experience, had been carried

over into judgements about the political or social situation, it represented in certain circumstances an important personality-forming factor. On the other hand, it was also possible that it operated only as a superficial slogan, without any deeper connection with the person concerned, and his actual life. The concept that the individual's fate is determined by the social and historical situation need not necessarily lead to fatalism, even though some of the answers could be taken as indirect evidence for such a feeling of powerlessness. Others, however, clearly showed that a conviction of individual weakness in the face of social forces does not necessarily lead to hopelessness and passivity, but rather may be accompanied by energetic attempts to bring about a change in social conditions. An activist attitude can develop such strength that political inactivity itself is viewed as a cause of persisting human misery, and the individual's acceptance of responsibility is, in its turn, seen as a positive factor.

In most cases, however, those answers which pointed to individual self-responsibility arose from a totally different attitude. This was characterized by feelings of guilt, self-reproach and internalization of all those norms and taboos whose disregard mostly leads to punishment, censorship or repression at a particular developmental stage of the individual. Often in parallel with this was the Liberalist conviction that everyone forges his own luck and that the world belongs to the strongest. This reply naturally carried a totally different meaning depending on whether it was held by a successful member of society or by someone without employment who had lost all his means of support. For the former, it may be the expression of a Calvinist belief that divine selection (*Auserwähltheit*) is reflected in economic and social success; this is then also an easy and convenient explanation of the misery of others. It is different for the unemployed, in whom such an attitude is likely to be closely bound up with feelings of guilt or despair concerning their own capabilities.

The way replies were phrased was often indicative of typical attitude formations; but this was lost as soon as answers were categorized in an abstract way. The category *Depends on conditions* was the least useful for our analysis, since the replies which came into this category contained no clearly recognisable opinion about the significance of social or personal reasons for the fate of the individual. Answers relegated to the categories *No, because one's fate depends on the social order* and *No, because men are the product of their environment, their heredity, outside conditions* were very similar and could sometimes only be differentiated by the way in which they were phrased. Despite this, it is evident in many cases that replies in the

latter category had a conventional, stereotyped character and produced only banal clichés. In contrast, the answers in the first group often derived from a world-view of historical materialism, even if they did not see possibilities for active participation in changing society. But this central aspect of historical-materialist doctrine was stressed in those answers assigned to the category *No, because one's fate is determined by one's class and can only be changed by changing the fate of this class*.

The question was answered by 92% of the participants in our inquiry. 49% replied that the individual is not responsible for his own fate; 28% believed the opposite, and 16% thought that this depended on conditions. These results clearly show that the Liberalist belief in the individual's capacity for self-realization is diminishing more and more; it would be interesting to know if a similar tendency exists in other countries which have not had the bitter experience of financial catastrophe and high unemployment. [If one next looks at the distribution of responses in relation to economic status, the following picture emerges:]

Table 3.11: Answers according to economic status (%)

Category of response	Unskilled Manual	Skilled Manual	White-collar	Self-employed	Unemployed	Total
Yes	38	25	25	32	32	28
Depends on conditions	3	15	21	18	7	15
No	50	50	47	43	55	49
No reply	9	10	7	7	6	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

There was hardly any difference in the replies as between skilled manual and white-collar workers. The unskilled and the unemployed, on the other hand, each had their own distinctive distribution. The reply *Depends on conditions* was given significantly less often by these groups. This category may be interpreted as an expression of the view that controllable social as well as personal factors have an influence on one's personal fate. This indicates a position often replaced among the unskilled and unemployed by a more radical viewpoint, presumably because of their economic deprivation. But the unskilled and the unemployed did not

exhibit a uniform attitude as a whole, since a great number of negative as well as positive answers were given. There seemed to be two groups among the unemployed: some viewed unemployment and social deprivation as alterable, and believed that improvement could only be expected by a transformation of the existing economic system. Others had come to the conclusion that they were incapable, worthless and responsible for their own critical situation. The difference may be related to the type of unemployment, since long-term unemployment is more strongly demoralising and more likely to arouse self-reproach and feelings of helplessness in the individual (see Table 3.12).

[Significant differences between the various groups can be seen in the analysis of replies according to political orientation.] Thus the majority (59%) of National Socialists believed, in significant contrast to the left-wing parties, in the self-responsibility of the individual, they usually further assumed that the unsuccessful had not used their innate capabilities and had failed to develop their character (47%). This attitude clearly shows the influence of National Socialist ideology, which stated that in the 'struggle for survival' it is the strongest who wins out whilst the losers have revealed themselves as too weak. There was also a relatively high proportion of positive answers among *bürgerliche* supporters, who resembled the National Socialists on this point. But there would seem to be different reasons for this attitude: on the one hand, relating to their social status and, on the other, relating to the Liberalist doctrine that in economic competition everyone has the same chance. Supporters of left-wing parties replied 'Yes' significantly less often, in accordance with their theoretical position: [where they did, it was for totally different reasons;] in their eyes the individual is only responsible for his own fate to the extent that he can improve it through political activity.

[A reverse distribution was found in the negative replies:] the responsibility of the individual for his fate was least often queried by the National Socialists and *Bürgerliche*, more often by the Social Democrats, and most often by the Communists and Left Socialists. [Here there were also considerable differences between the reasons given for these attitudes, with left-wing adherents usually pointing to socio-economic constraints.] Whereas the National Socialists argued that 'man is dependent on higher powers'. This attitude can be interpreted as an expression of a belief in 'Providence', as frequently propagated in National Socialist ideology.

As in all questions with political implications, the Communists replied significantly more frequently than the Social Democrats.

Table 3.12: Questions 422/3: Do you think the individual has only himself to blame for his own fate. Why (not)? Answers according to political orientation (%) * (+ = < 0.5%)

Response categories	Political orientation											Total	
	Social Democrats				Left Social- ists	Communists			Bürger- liche	National Social- ists	Non- voters		
				Total									
	1	2	3			1	2	3					Total
Yes													
1 Without commentary	8	14	14	13	7		5	7	-	23	12	17	12
2 Makes no use of capabilities/ no character development	7	4	4	5	5		2	8	10	9	47	15	8
3 Does not live in full consciousness	5	4	3	4	2		3	3	-	-	-	4	3
4 Politically uninterested/ phlegmatic	2	-	-	+	-		6	3	10	-	-	-	1
5 Other comments	3	5	4	5	-		2	4	10	2	-	7	4
Yes, Total	25	27	25	27	14		18	25	30	34	59	43	28
6 Qualified answers	19	24	18	20	9		6	7	10	24	-	10	15
No													
7 Without commentary	7	7	4	6	2		3	5	-	5	-	19	7
8 Fate determined by class, altered only by class change	3	-	1	1	-		5	1	-	-	-	-	1
9 Fate dependent on society (no reference to change)	18	2	14	10	24		31	21	20	-	-	2	13
10 Man is the product of the environment	15	12	10	12	33		21	16	30	2	-	4	14
11 Man is insignificant	3	7	7	6	9		5	8	10	5	-	4	6
12 Dependent on higher powers	-	7	9	6	2		-	5	-	16	35	7	6
13 Other comments	-	2	-	1	-		5	8	-	7	-	2	2
No Total	46	37	45	42	70		70	64	60	35	35	38	49
14 No answer	10	12	12	11	7		6	4	-	7	6	9	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100
No. of respondents	61	125	76	262	45		63	78	9	43	17	67	584

Differences between political types on the Left, as well as between officials and ordinary supporters, become clearer if one divides the answers into two groups: firstly the Marxist group which included the following three categories: *Yes, because he is politically uninterested/phlegmatic*; *No, because his fate is determined by his class and can only be changed by a change in the fate of this class*, and *No, because his fate is dependent on the social order* (without reference to change). These answers either showed an understanding of the social determinants of the individual's fate, or expressed the belief that only a better society could improve the fate of the individual. The following answers in contrast came into the authoritarian group: *Yes, because he makes no use of his capacities or he has not developed his character*; *Yes, because he does not live consciously*; and *No, because he is dependent on higher powers*. These answers ignore all social influences in the fate of an individual.

Table 3.13: Distribution of replies according to Marxist and authoritarian groups (%)

Party Group	Social Democrats			Left Social-ists	Communists			Bürger-liche	National Social-ists	Total
	1	2	3		1	2	3			
Marxist	23	2	11	24	44	25	33	-	-	15
Authori-tarian	12	15	14	9	5	16	11	26	82	. 17

The significant differences between the Communists and Social Democrats shows the stronger Marxist influence on the attitudes of the former; but a similarly significant difference also existed between the attitudes of party officials and voters. The opposite tendency could be observed in the authoritarian group; this could not however be rated as significant.

Examples of answers according to response categories:

2) 'Yes, man can improve his own fate by adapting to the environment.'

'Yes, life is a game of chess, a bad move can obliterate the effect of ten good ones.'

'Yes, one should think and observe more sharply.'

'If one lacks inner values, one will be unable to master one's own life.'

'Yes, people are too phlegmatic.'

'Yes, many people don't know why they live, for life is a battle.'

‘Yes, if the person would take more care and would do more to provide for his later life, he could save himself a lot of trouble.’

- 3) ‘Yes, through a profligate life.’

‘Yes, through carelessness.’

‘Yes, through thoughtlessness (early marriage etc.).’

‘Yes, a few years ago I made great efforts to learn stenography and gave up all my free time to this. I believe that my present nervous disturbances are a consequence of this.’

- 4) ‘Yes, because a person does not think it necessary to school himself politically and to vote for those who will fight for him.’

- 5) ‘Yes, people often turn their own life into a hell.’

‘Yes and no. If one behaves according to law, justice and morality, and the State is one’s highest priority, one will be financially well off.’

‘Yes, many people are their own worst enemies, but they believe that it is the others who make mistakes.’

‘Yes. We have to submit to Nature’s laws. Any breach of these laws brings punishment.’

- 6) ‘Yes, partly. By the way, man will be less hard pressed by fate in a new world order.’

‘Yes, partly. If people would listen to their parents etc., they would not first have to learn many things through their own experience.’

‘No. A proletarian can rarely control his own fate. He has nothing. But morally man can master his fate.’

‘Yes, if one lives without thought for tomorrow. No, if one cannot find regular employment, no matter how hardworking one is.’

‘Yes, no. One can poison oneself with alcohol, or be ruined by the top ten thousand. Antidote: dictatorship of the proletariat.’

‘Yes and no. Man as a subject, yes. But as an object, his fate is too closely bound up with that of his class.’

‘Partly. Man is not responsible for the environment into which he is born, but he can acquire the knowledge with which to influence the course of fate.’

‘That depends. Lack of skill (employment, training etc.) also of character (roughness, indecisiveness, lack of love, character weaknesses, unpunctuality etc.).’

- 8) ‘No. On our own we achieve nothing, united we can achieve anything.’

‘No. There is no individual fate; it is always the fate of a whole class, and only the class can change it.’

- 9) ‘No. Within the present individualist-capitalist bounds only the merciless can get on.’

‘No. Because all the time more people are losing their jobs because

of rationalization.'

'No. Because one cannot defend oneself on one's own against the present social order.'

'No. The middle class alone is responsible for the fate of individuals.'

'No, social existence determines the fate of men.'

10)'One is not responsible for being born into this world. One's parents are responsible. Ill people should not have children.'

'No, one is the product of the past.'

'No. Everyone's physique is different, and the individual hardly knows what is best for him.'

11)'No. Who is interested in one individual?'

'No, an individual can never overcome a system, and the masses are too stupid to do so.'

'No. Many people probably only need to be ashamed for themselves, but the great majority take things as they come.'

'No. If I could do as I want, I would always have work.'

12)'No. One should be ashamed, if one does not make use of one's capabilities. In other respects, man is the plaything of life.'

'No. Everyone's pattern of fate is fixed in advance.'

13)'No. Others make your fate for you. Not I, but certain other people determine my fate and that of others.'

'No. The masses have too many rights and duties.'

'No. One can't do the right thing. Everything one does is wrong.'

'No. The individual can hardly be held responsible for his fate. If the Socialism about which we are told really existed, everyone would have consideration for others and we would all be happy.'

'No. I am judged by my fate.'

'No. When one is old, one becomes a burden on others.'

Question 424:

How, in your opinion, can the world be improved?

This question can be understood as a political, religious, philosophical or ethical problem, depending on the individual's world-view. Basically, we hoped to be able to recognize from the way respondents replied to this question what importance they assigned to the problem in the first place. The spectrum of attitudes was very wide and ranged from vague day dreams and resignation to quite concrete ideas about how the individual could help to realise a better world.

The most frequent type of answer, offered by 41% of respondents, presents some form of *Socialism* as an alternative form of social organization. However, single replies were highly differentiated; for

some socialism meant doing away with the present system; for others it meant establishing a new social order. Dictatorship was mentioned in this connection, as was democracy, and armed struggle as well as step-by-step reform were named as strategies. But in whatever form, either preparation for or achievement of, the various answers could all be subsumed under the label *Socialism*.

Ethics and education, covering 18% of answers, was the second largest category. This category also covers a profusion of attitudes; those promoting restraint, justice, respect and less selfishness, also truthfulness, duty, unity, tolerance and helpfulness as well as the vague desire for a better education. These attitudes differ from socialist ones not only in the choice of means, but in many cases also with regard to their relative meaning for the individual. Respondents holding such 'idealistic' views were clearly not able to formulate their world improvement schemes in terms of concrete notions; otherwise these would not have been as unspecific as they were regarding educational measures to be taken for the improvement of man as an ethical being. Their interest in the question therefore pointed chiefly to their wishes or dreams, without connection to the real world.

The question was answered by all but 15% of the participants. In this connection, *non-replies* can probably be ascribed to lack of interest in the problem of world improvement. Since there were significantly more non-replies from the politically uninterested groups, it seems that this question was chiefly understood as a political one. [When ordered according to frequency, the results for the individual group were as follows:]

Table 3.14: Non-replies according to political orientation (%)

	Non-replies
Non-voters	40
Bürgerliche	20
Social Democrats	16
National Socialists	13
Left Socialists	8
Communists	6

The Communists once more confirmed their typical political commitment where politically tinged questions were raised, whereas the Social Democrats showed considerably less interest and, as in many other instances, were closer here to the *bürgerliche* supporters.

In contrast, the National Socialists came closer to the Left Socialists and Communists in their degree of political awareness. This similarity is hardly surprising; at the time of our inquiry this party was an oppositional minority which appealed chiefly to people who were dissatisfied with prevailing conditions (see Table 3.15).

The internal differentiation of the heterogeneous category *Socialism* is particularly interesting. If all the members of left-wing groups had replied in accordance with the socialist doctrines of their party, this category would have included 78% instead of 41% of respondents. That *bürgerliche* supporters and National Socialists saw no hope in socialism is easily understandable. But that only 36% of Social Democrats answered *Socialism* shows a large discrepancy between official party doctrine and the personal beliefs of its members. The Communists with 74% and the Left Socialists with 68% had a significantly higher proportion of answers in this category. Finally, officials gave *Socialism* as a reply significantly more often than supporters among the two Social Democratic groups as well as among the Communists.

The reverse of this picture is to be found in the category *Ethics and education*. Both the *bürgerliche* supporters and the National Socialists had the largest proportion at 25%, closely followed by the Social Democrats with 22%, while the Communists were significantly lower at 7%. The relationship between officials and supporters is also the opposite of that for the category *Socialism*, with the proportion of officials giving 'idealistic' answers falling somewhat below that of ordinary supporters.

Answers in the category *Knowledge, thought, enlightenment of the masses* were numerically very small at 2% and thus without statistical significance. 3% of the *bürgerliche* supporters affirmed that the ultimate triumph of reason would bring about a better world. If one compares this result with the important role that was given to reason in the period of the Enlightenment—the epoch of the rise of the middle class—this shift of opinion is impressive. The fact that no National Socialist put forward *Knowledge etc.* as a formula for world improvement proves nothing, but it does no doubt mirror the rejection of intellect and understanding in National Socialism. Among the quantitatively important left-wing groups, few replies were returned in this category; those left-wing respondents who had not given *Socialism* as a reply chose *Ethics and education* significantly more often than *Knowledge, thought and enlightenment*.

If one analyzes the responses in relation to the economic situation of the respondents, [few differences between the occupational groups

Table 3.15: Question 424: How, in your opinion, can the world be improved?
Answers according to political orientation (%)

Response categories		Political orientation											Total	
		Social Democrats			Left Social- ists	Communists			Bürger- liche	National Social- ists	Non- voters			
		1	2	3		Total	1	2				3		Total
Can be improved through:														
1	Socialism	53	31	32	36	66	86	63	83	75	-	-	16	41
2	Taxing the rich	3	2	6	3	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	2
3	Ethics and education	13	23	25	22	13	5	9	17	7	25	25	22	18
4	Knowledge, enlightenment	5	4	5	4	3	-	2	-	1	3	-	-	2
5	Religion	2	4	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	23	19	9	2
6	International co-operation	6	4	3	4	-	-	8	-	4	8	6	6	4
7	Cultural and social reform	3	10	6	8	10	2	4	-	2	8	12	9	7
8	Better leadership, more 'strong men'	-	2	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	3	6	6	2
9	Can't be improved	-	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	5	19	2	2
10	Other (unclear, evasive)	-	3	2	2	-	2	5	-	4	-	-	-	2
11	No answer	15	15	17	16	8	5	8	-	6	20	13	30	15
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents		61	125	76	262	45	63	78	9	150	43	17	67	584

emerge: the distribution of categories between the manual and white-collar workers, and skilled and unskilled, is relatively similar,] so that one cannot regard the occupational situation as an independent variable.

[More revealing] is a subdivision according to sex, where it becomes clear that women consistently reply less frequently to world-view or political questions than do men. Only 23% of women decided in favour of *Socialism*, which is a significantly lower proportion than amongst men (44%). On the other hand, 38% chose *Ethics and education* compared with 16% of men—also a significant difference. These differences cannot be ascribed only to political influences: 68% of women compared with 78% of men belonged to left-wing parties, while 32% were *Bürgerliche*, National Socialists or non-voters. The proportion of men in these groups was 21%. The response of women all in all seemed to be expressive of a more conventional middle-class point of view which coloured their replies throughout.

Question 426:

Who do you think were the greatest personalities in history? In the present?

This question was not concerned with discovering the popularity of certain historical characters; we were far more interested in the reasons why the participants chose particular people. Our assumption was that the principles according to which respondents selected their heroes would show up individual and group differences in attitudes to social greatness. These differences can be condensed into a few main types.

There was firstly an attitude which one may term 'neutral'. In such cases the person concerned had the same attitude towards all forms of social greatness and comprehension of the question accorded with that offered by a liberal education. He remembered the names of poets, composers, painters, saints, politicians, generals, religious founders, preachers, actors, scientists etc., which he had been taught to regard as 'great' at school. These usually contained a patriotic element so that political and military fame predominated. The attribution 'great' was used here without differentiation or regard for the historical significance of the person selected; it thus became a value *per se*.

Another type admired power, as represented by strong, successful men, above all by statesmen, dictators, kings and generals. The difference between the first and second type was less than might be supposed at first glance; the second type also failed to accord meaning to the actual achievements of the powerful individual. Politicians

and generals were admired because they embodied power, strength, iron will and heroism, without regard to the ends for which these qualities were used. For this type, national heroes had a more significant place, because of the close ties with nationalism and militarism, than for those with a neutral liberal attitude.

The disposition typical of left-wing groups was completely different from the attitudes described so far. In accordance with the ideals of left-wing parties, significant figures were to be judged for their contribution to a specific historical development—the transformation of a capitalist into a socialist society. They did not recognize ‘great men’ as such, but measured all human activity on a scale of values wherein efforts to create a better life were given first place. Marxists work with a theory which views the realization of this goal as more or less independent from the action of a single important man and which regards changes in the social structure as the decisive factor.

Different attitudes towards social greatness often correspond with different degrees of authority fixation. Those who above all admire successful, strong and ruthless leaders, usually have a sense of an unbridgeable gulf between themselves and the admired authority. For them this is a sort of superman whom they would like to have guard and protect them. On the other side are those who do not admire strong men, but who ascribe social greatness to those personalities who have worked for the betterment of mankind and who are bound to their idols by an affinity of aims and interests.

There were various forms of this attitude towards important personalities among the survey participants. Pure types were not as frequent as combinations and somewhat covert gradations. The desire to exhibit one’s advanced level of education also played a part and led to lists of names which, in the view of the respondent, were evidence of his ‘learning’.

In all, 160 different characters were referred to in the replies. Names which are celebrated in schools and school-books appeared relatively seldom.

In order to differentiate between *classical* and *revolutionary Socialists*, an interpretative classification was used. This differentiation is important, since it was immediately apparent in many answers. Some respondents regarded socialist leaders of the past in the same way as literary classics: it obviously did not occur to them to relate these leaders’ Utopian ideas to the level of real politics; i.e., to immediate, concrete problems. Whenever this attitude was discernible from the choice of names, the answer was categorized under *Classical Socialists*. If, however, a respondent named a Socialist

leader because he believed in the revolutionary content of his message and its relevance for current political and economic problems, then the answer was assigned to the category *Revolutionary Socialists*. Thus one and the same name, that of Marx, for example, could be classified in one answer as that of a 'classical', in another as that of a 'revolutionary' Socialist. The combination of names amongst which his appeared offered the key to an interpretation of the attitude of the respondent. If the names of Socialist leaders occurred together with Bismarck or Hindenburg, it was decided from this type of combination that the respondent viewed the named Socialists as 'classical'. If, however, the names of early Socialists were coupled with contemporary ones such as Lenin, Liebknecht or Luxemburg, then they were classified as 'revolutionary'. In this manner, Marx, Engels, Lassalle and Bebel, for example, often figure as 'classical'; while Marx and Engels often appeared as 'revolutionary' in other contexts, but Lassalle and Bebel significantly less often. If names like Marx, Engels, Lassalle and Bebel were offered without additional others, then this type of answer was assigned, to some extent arbitrarily, to the category *Classical Socialists*, since most respondents with clearly revolutionary tendencies would normally have added the names of Lenin, Liebknecht and other more recent leaders. Some answers were included under the heading *Revolutionary Socialists*, next to names of socialist leaders, since they mentioned scientists or artists who had initiated a scientific revolution (for example Copernicus, Darwin, Einstein) or who showed a revolutionary tendency in their work (for example Käthe Kollwitz or George Grosz).

Under the heading *Republican leaders* resp. *Leaders of Republican parties*, were assigned those answers which mentioned politicians from parties which actively supported the Weimar Republic, i.e. the SPD and DDP in particular, as well as the Centre Party. But Stresemann and Briand, mentioned forty-eight and twenty-eight times respectively, were also classified as *Republican leaders* since their popularity was based on their political concept of cooperation between the Weimar Republic, the Allies and the League of Nations. Napoleon, who appeared ninety-four times, was assigned to the category *Famous national leaders*, although many Socialists and Communists mentioned him as representing the liberal emancipation in Europe and as preparing the path for democratic ideas in Germany. On the other hand, many respondents from left-wing and right-wing parties named him as a strong man, hero, general and dictator. In a more precise classification, the division of answers according to these two attitudes would have been

unavoidable (see Table 3.16).

The interpretation of the answers according to political orientation reveals interesting relationships. 75% of the respondents took up some sort of position, and the various political groups showed typical differences regarding the extent of their replies. The National Socialists all replied without exception. This is probably because one of the central theses of National Socialist propaganda held that history was made by great individuals, amongst whom dictators and military or political leaders had the greatest significance. In agreement with this belief, the majority of National Socialist replies (76%) came into the category *Famous national leaders*, this being the largest percentage response within any single category. There was a significant difference in *non-replies* between Communists (15%) and Social Democrats (30%), which can be partly ascribed to the typically greater interest among Communists in political questions. For them, the question clearly had a political character, and in this they took a view opposite to that of the *bürgerliche* supporters for whom the political connotations were less important. But the ideology of the cadres could also have played a part in the greater readiness to reply among the Communists.

The category *Revolutionary Socialists* contained more Communist replies (48%) than from any other group. Within this group the difference between officials and ordinary supporters, at 65% and 37%, indicated a considerable discrepancy. It is very astonishing that only 5% of Social Democrats offered purely revolutionary Socialists as the greatest personalities in history. Significantly more often than among the Communists (6%) Social Democrats chose names which belonged to the category *Classical Socialists and republican leaders* (18%) with the addition sometimes of the names of Bismarck and Hindenburg. The naming of Hindenburg could in most cases have been an echo of the campaign for the Reich Presidency in which the SPD had supported his candidacy. The inclusion of Bismarck indicates than an historical consciousness mediated through school was stronger than that of the Social Democratic party tradition which had always regarded Bismarck, the father of the Anti-Socialist Laws, as the most radical opponent of the labour movement.

In the category *Revolutionary Socialists and famous national leaders* were those answers which coupled names like Marx and Lenin with those of Mussolini and Napoleon. The Communists, with 18%, were represented more strongly here than the Social Democrats, with only 8%. As with the National Socialists, many of the

Table 3.16: Question 426: *Who do you think are the greatest personalities in history? In the present?*
Answers according to political orientation (%)

Response categories	Political Orientation											Total
	Social Democrats			Left Social- ists	Communists			Bürger- liche	National Social- ists	Non- voters		
	1	2	3		Total	1	2				3	
1 Revolutionary Socialists	12	4	1	5	20	65	37	38	48	2	3	17
2 Classical Socialists, alone or with religious founders/scientists	23	11	25	18	20	5	7	-	6	-	3	12
3 Revolutionary Socialists, alone or with religious founders/scientists	-	2	-	1	4	-	9	-	5	-	1	2
4 Revolutionary Socialists with famous national leaders	5	2	4	3	9	13	9	25	12	-	9	6
5 Leaders of republican parties	-	5	8	5	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
6 Famous national leaders, alone or with scientific/literary classical names	-	7	5	5	2	-	1	-	1	32	13	9
7 As 6 and Lenin	2	2	3	2	2	-	4	12	3	-	1	2
8 Famous republican leaders and Lenin	5	10	3	7	-	-	3	-	1	10	8	5
9 Religious founders and saints	2	2	1	2	2	-	4	-	2	19	6	4
10 Artists, scientists, discoverers, inventors	3	5	1	3	2	2	1	-	1	2	5	3
11 Famous figures of all sorts	18	12	14	14	2	-	3	13	2	7	6	8
12 Other	2	6	8	5	7	8	-	-	4	-	8	5
13 No answer	28	32	27	30	28	7	22	12	15	26	37	25
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
No. of respondents	61	125	76	262	45	63	78	9	150	43	67	584

former had fallen under the spell of a 'strong' man, a 'leader' and might, for example, name Mussolini together with Stalin.

The answers in the category *Revolutionary Socialists together with religious founders* are numerically meaningless, but their distribution is of significance. They were to be found almost exclusively among Communists and Left Socialists. This combination of revolutionary figures with the founders of religious communities (usually Christ) includes an element of Tolstoyan idealism and fanaticism which was typical for some members of these groups. As already mentioned, 76% of the National Socialist replies, and 32% of the *Bürgerliche*—a substantial proportion—were to be found in the category *Famous national leaders, alone or with classical figures in literature and science*. The National Socialists mostly mentioned national heroes; the *Bürgerliche*, in contrast, mentioned literary and scientific figures. However, both groups gave answers of this type significantly more often than did supporters on the Left.

Under the designations *Famous figures of all sorts* were entered all those answers which expressed a value-free objective admiration for 'great' personalities. This type of answer was given with significant frequency by Social Democrats (14%). *Bürgerliche* supporters had a slightly larger percentage of replies here than did the Left Socialists and Communists, while the National Socialists were not represented at all. This type of reply expresses a democratic tolerance for the goals as well as the fields of activity of great personalities, whether these were of a political, artistic, religious, scientific or military nature.

The classification of each answer demanded a higher degree of subjective judgement than in any other instance: hundreds of different combinations had to be ordered into relatively few categories, and the *Gestalt* of each combination had to be assessed with regard to its correspondence with the principles underlying those categories. For this reason, a tabular representation of the results seemed advisable, in which the frequency of the named 'great personalities' was shown in relation to political orientation (see Table 3.17).

These frequencies enable one to see which names were preferred according to political groupings. If one lists those names which occurred in 10% of the answers for each political type, one arrives at party-specific combinations which confirm our analysis of the response categories (see Table 3.18).

The combinations among the Social Democrats correspond with the results of previous analysis. The greater part of Social Democratic replies (18%) came into the category *Classical Socialists, alone or with Republican leaders and/or Bismarck/Hindenburg*. They also had a

Table 3.17: Question 426: *Who do you think were the greatest personalities in history? In the present?*¹
Rank order of historical personalities according to political orientation (%)

	Social Democrats	Left Socialists	Communists	National Socialists	Bürgerliche	Non- voters	Total Number	%
Marx	29	46	46	-	2	10	173	30
Lenin	17	33	64	6	-	10	159	28
Napoleon	20	11	14	12	12	12	94	16
Bismark	12	2	4	59	29	18	72	12
Mussolini	9	4	6	53	10	10	55	10
Stresemann	13	-	-	-	7	6	42	7
Stalin	2	4	21	-	2	1	40	7
Hindenburg	5	2	1	12	36	12	40	7
Jesus Christ	7	2	8	-	12	7	40	7
Bebel	13	9	6	-	-	1	38	7
Karl Liebknecht	2	9	17	-	12	4	27	6
Engels	6	4	12	-	-	1	37	6
Goethe	7	4	4	6	10	4	34	6
Einstein	7	2	7	-	-	6	33	6
Frederick the Great	4	2	2	35	12	9	31	5
Ebert	10	4	3	-	2	3	30	5
Luther	4	-	1	12	17	6	28	5
Briand	9	4	-	-	2	-	28	5

¹ In most replies more than one name was given so that the total percentage is necessarily more than 100. Names given less than 28 times are as follows: MacDonald (22) Rosa Luxemburg (16) Otto Braun (14) Gandhi (14) Severing (13) Kant (13) Freiherr v. Stein (11) Rathenau (11) Hitler (11) Darwin (11) Alexander the Great (10) Caesar (9) Schiller (9) Buddha (7) Edison (7) Columbus (7) Herm. Müller (6) Socrates (6) Plato (6) Copernicus (6) Charles the Great (5) Moses (5) Gutenberg (5) Beethoven (5) Thomas Mann (5) Sinclair (5) Wilhelm I (4) Hoover (4) Aristotle (4) Fichte (4) Eckener (4). The following were named three times: Brüning, Breitscheid, Poincaré, Wilson, Dawes, Young, Paulus, Francis of Assisi, Hegel, Nansen, Graf von Zeppelin, Ford, Wagner, Rousseau, Shaw. Those named twice were: Kautsky, Thälmann, Otto Rühle, Hannibal, Moltke, Loebe, Robert Blum, Erzberger, Vandervelde, Hedín, Amundsen, Graf Arco, Watt, Richard Strauss, Pestalozzi, Thomas Münzer, Dante, Humboldt, Hauptmann, Barbusse, Haeckel, Voltaire. The following names were mentioned once: William Liebknecht, Rykow, Max Hölz, Münzenberger, Alice Rühle, Jaurès, Sun Yat-sen, Armin, Nero, the Great Kurfürst, Peter I, Bülow, Blücher, Ludendorff, Scheidemann, Wissel, Wirth, Damaschke, Wels, Silvio Gesell, Clemenceau, Henderson, Lloyd George, Laval, Washington, Pope Leo XIII, Pope Pius XI, Herzl, Weizmann, Kenal Pascha, Danton Marat, Heraclites, Homer, Leibniz, Nietzsche, Spinoza, Solon, Kierkegaard, Marco Polo, Krupp, Ehrlich, Virchow, Steinach, Freud, Schmeling, Bach, Mozart, Helene Lange, Virgil, Lessing, Heine, Büchner, L. Feuerbach, Toller, Carlyle, Gorki, Tagore, Nexö, Lao-tse, Bertha von Suttner, Coudenhove, Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo,

Table 3.18: Frequency of names mentioned by more than 10% of each political type

Social Democrats	Marx, Napoleon, Lenin, Stresemann, Bebel, Bismarck, Ebert
Left Socialists	Marx, Lenin, Napoleon
Communists	Lenin, Marx, Stalin, Liebknecht, Napoleon, Engels
National Socialists	Bismarck, Hitler*, Mussolini, Frederick the Great, Hindenburg, Napoleon, Luther
Bürgerliche	Hindenburg, Bismarck, Luther, Christ, Napoleon, Frederick the Great, Mussolini, Goethe

*Hitler does not appear in Table 3.17 since his name was mentioned only eleven times.

relatively high proportion of answers (7%) in Category 8 which included famous national (Napoleon) and Republican (Ebert) leaders, as well as Lenin. A characteristic difference between the political parties lay in the figure of the favourite 'great man'. Marx and Napoleon, with 29% and 20% respectively, were most often mentioned by the Social Democrats. Lenin was mentioned by 64% of the Communists, followed by Marx with 26% and Stalin with 21%. Bismarck and Hitler, with 59% each, led among the National Socialists; next came Mussolini with 53%; Frederick the Great with 35%, and Napoleon, Hindenburg and Luther with 12% each.

Communists and National Socialists were distinguished by the fact that they usually mentioned very few names, often not more than two or three. No single figure among the Social Democrats and *bürgerliche* supporters received such a high number of votes; instead their replies were distributed more or less randomly over a longer list of names. This discrepancy is to be explained by the great importance which the idea of the leader had among the National Socialists and, to a lesser degree, among the Communists. Another reason lies in the fact that the intellectual and personal life of National Socialists, and even more of Communists, was almost entirely determined by political ideas. Among the other groups a democratic attitude as well as conventional ideals taken over from school led to a neutral, tolerant outlook; on this basis highly different personalities could be viewed as 'great'.

In contrast, only comparatively few names were considered eligible by the National Socialists and Communists; their favourite personalities had to satisfy a number of quite specific requirements. The National Socialists, above all, admired authority, success and

strength as well as a particular sort of leadership; the Communists, on the other hand, were guided by a clearly defined political outlook and by a particular attitude to life; they looked for activities which were totally directed towards the realization of their theories. The Communists formed the largest group (48%) in the response category *Revolutionary Socialists*. The classification was confirmed by the distribution frequency: Marx and Lenin were named significantly more often than among the Social Democrats. 32% of the *bürgerliche* supporters' replies came into the category *Famous national leaders, alone or with classical figures* and 19% in the category *Saints, religious founders and reformers*. The frequency distribution also showed a dominance of national leader figures, but in contrast with the National Socialists, Christ and Goethe, but never Hitler, were named in addition. The special role of Napoleon, which has already been mentioned, comes clearly to the fore in the frequency distribution; his name was found in all political groups, on the Left as well as on the Right

c. Cultural and Aesthetic Standards

The third main field in the evaluation of individual answers related to the cultural and aesthetic attitudes of the respondents, i.e. to the question of their personal preferences. In this connection we relied on the results from ten questions:

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| Question 240: | How do you decorate your home? |
| Question 241: | What pictures and photographs have you hung up? |
| Questions 244/5: | Do you have any favourite books? |
| Questions 308/9: | What are the titles of your favourite plays/films? |
| Question 338: | Do you like jazz? |
| Questions 323/24: | Do you like present-day female fashion/bobbed hair (<i>Bubikopf</i>)? |
| Question 325: | Do you like the use of powder, perfume and lipstick by women? |

A broad picture of the cultural standards regarding interiors, fashion, literature, theatre and music was revealed by these questions; in each case we tried to find out which group had which attitude; and how far the distribution of replies was determined by the respondent's occupational situation and by political orientation.]

Question 240:

How do you decorate your home?

How people furnish their dwelling depends above all on their income, i.e., on the amount available to them for furniture and furnishings. But apart from this there are also differences in taste which are determined by personal as well as social factors (see Table 3.19).

The formulation of this question was badly done and clearly also too vague for some respondents. Many were probably not at all aware of how they 'decorated' their dwellings. Others again, because of their constricted and impoverished situation, were not in a position to bother about such a secondary problem as the arrangement of their furnishings, while some may have ignored the question because it seemed to them to be politically unimportant. Whichever was the decisive reason, the result was that 33% of respondents did not offer any reply.

The most frequent, and at the same time, least revealing answer, namely *Flowers and pictures*, was given by 40% of respondents. This response is unrevealing chiefly because one cannot know what sort of pictures and flowers are meant; these could have been chosen according to the average taste of the lower middle-class, but it is also possible that they show a highly cultivated selection. Since all those who had a concrete individual attitude towards furnishing their dwelling generally gave precise information, we may assume that the vague answers *Flowers and pictures* is itself an expression of a relatively conventional taste.

[The category *Nippsachen* (bric-à-brac) is less ambiguous.] Under this heading were put all replies which used the word *Nippes* or *Nippsachen* or which mentioned that, apart from pictures and flowers, there were handicrafts, reliefs, calendars, mirrors, porcelain figures and other decorative items. The category covered 7% of all replies. In contrast, 3% of the respondents replied that they furnished their homes in accordance with the principles of the *New Realism* (*neue Sachlichkeit*); they stressed the quantitative aspects of their furnishings less than the qualitative, that is form, colour and division of space as well as the avoidance of useless furniture.

Some 13% of the total replies came under the heading *No special decoration*. These replies were given by people who regarded decoration of the home as something superfluous and who believed that cleanliness, simplicity and order were the best ornaments a dwelling could have.

If one looks at the question in relation to the occupational situation of the respondent, it becomes clear that white-collar workers

Table 3.19: Question 240: How do you decorate your home?
Answers according to economic status (%)

Response categories	Economic status				Total
	Unskilled Manual	Skilled Manual	White-collar	Unemployed	Other
<i>No clear taste</i>					
1 Flowers and pictures	38	37	40	47	48
					40
<i>Specific taste</i>					
2 Bric-à-brac	6	6	10	1	9
3 New realism (<i>Neue Sachlichkeit</i>)	-	4	5	1	2
					3
4 No decorations	9	14	12	15	9
					13
5 Other	6	2	4	4	9
					4
6 No reply	41	37	29	32	23
					33
Total	100	100	100	100	100
					100
Number of respondents	34	264	154	90	42
					584

and others replied significantly more frequently than skilled and unskilled workers. This indicates that the dwelling basically has greater meaning in middle-class circles; it is regarded to a certain extent as a property, as a citadel of family life. Another indication for the importance of the dwelling for this group is shown by the data on housing costs which reveal that white-collar workers generally spent more on rent than did manual workers. It was also noticeable that white-collar workers and others tended to name *bric-à-brac* more often than manual workers. It is precisely in this that an indirect connection between the type of decoration in the home and a typical middle-class character-type can be seen; after all, the tendency to collect decorative objects is often based more on the joy of possession than on the beauty of the objects themselves (see Table 3.20).

An examination of replies according to political orientation shows a similar distribution—on average 40%—of the conventional category *Flowers and pictures*. The only exceptions here were the National Socialists, of whom 72%—thus representing a significantly large proportion—replied in this manner. Differences between political groupings became apparent when analysing the categories *Sachlichkeit* and *bric-à-brac*. A significant difference existed here; firstly between Social Democrats and Communists—where 10% of the former mentioned *bric-à-brac*, only 4% of the Communists did so. Among the Left Socialists, this reply was not found at all; here, more frequently than in other groups, *Sachlichkeit* was given as an answer. Finally, a significantly larger proportion of Communists replied with *no particular decoration*. These differences can in general be traced to differences in the world-view of the radical parties. The wish to furnish the dwelling as simply as possible corresponds with a certain ascetic tendency among the Communists not to concern themselves with such trivialities so long as more important questions remained unresolved. In contrast, the Left Socialists tended towards the opinion that an education was also desirable in cultural matters.

Examples of answers according to response categories:

- 1) 'With flowers, landscape paintings, woodcuts and paper cut-outs.'
- 'With pictures which I painted and framed myself.'
- 2) 'Calendars and bronze reliefs.'
- 'Animals in porcelain, pictures.'
- 'Pictures of nature, cushions, tablecloths and embroideries.'
- 'Wall hangings.'

Table 3.20: Question 240: How do you decorate your home?
Answers according to political orientation (%)

Response categories	Political orientation											Total
	Social Democrats				Left Social- ists	Communists			Bürger- liche	National Social- ists	Non- voters	
	1	2	3	Total		1	2	3				
<i>No clear taste</i>												
1 Flowers and pictures	53	33	31	36	46	43	40	-	46	72	40	40
<i>Specific taste</i>												
2 Bric-à-brac	3	13	9	10	-	-	7	11	5	11,	3	7
3 New realism (<i>Neue Sachlichkeit</i>)	5	2	3	3	12	3	1	-	2	6	3	3
4 No decorations	9	10	16	11	7	21	17	22	5	6	14	13
5 Other	6	8	1	6	5	-	4	-	2	5	3	4
6 No answer	24	34	40	34	30	33	31	67	40	-	37	33
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	61	125	76	262	45	63	78	9	43	17	67	584

3) '*Sachlichkeit*'.

'Every piece of furniture should serve, through its functional form and harmonious colour, to decorate the home. Artificial decoration is then superfluous, except for the occasional flower.'

4) 'Through cleanliness; I also like flowers.'

'Through cleanliness alone.'

'Ascetic, quite simple.'

Question 241:

What pictures and photographs have you hung up?

Although this question is similar to Question 240, it is much more specific. It could mostly be answered directly, since if one was not immediately sure of the answer, one only needed to look around. No more than a simple factual reply was required, (...) whereas Question 240 demanded a generalization and structuring of separate facts in order to be able to ascribe them to the various taste categories. It is therefore not surprising that question 241 was answered significantly more often, in 81% of cases, compared to 67% for Question 240.

Our classification was related on the one hand to the object represented, for example the depicted person, and, on the other, to the nature of the relationship of the respondent to the picture. The *individual* or *conventional* quality of this relationship could be decided from the pictures named (...). Into the *conventional* category, for example, came picture postcards, mottoes, 'beautiful sunsets', representations with an emotional appeal and the usual 'bedroom art', as well as 'original oil paintings' from department stores—everything which could be called *kitsch*. Those pictures designated *individual* were mostly reproductions of old and modern masters and prints as well as related types of graphic art.

In those replies which could be classified according to the person represented, the relationship to the respondent was based either on family connections or on political convictions. In the category *Family pictures (alone or together with others)*, diplomas or honorary documents of family members (usually the father's) were included. The category *Socialist leaders*, on the other hand, contained pictures of Marx, Lenin, Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Lassalle, Bebel and Friedrich Ebert, but not a single one of a living leader. Hindenberg, Ludendorff, Frederick the Great, the Great Elector, Mussolini and Hitler were all assigned to the category *Dictators and generals*. Most of the replies (41%) came into the category *Family pictures*, which was reminiscent in its implications of the *Flowers and pictures* answer in Question 240, which had been given in 40% of cases. Such a high percentage of imprecise replies

indicates a certain retardation in cultural development; but this factor, which also applied to play and film preferences, was not the only determinant. Other causes had more to do with strong ties with the family and parents as well as with established traditions (see Table 3.21).

The division of replies according to *occupational types* shows that white-collar workers not only responded more frequently than manual workers or the unemployed, but that they also more frequently had a personal connection with the pictures (. . .). This trend can equally be seen in the question relating to favourite books and plays. As with their homes, white-collar workers were also more interested in cultural matters in the realm of education (*Bildung*) than were manual workers—a conclusion which accords with the results of Question 240. This phenomenon was confirmed in other investigations by the fact that, in comparison with manual workers, expenditure on rent and cultural needs played a relatively large role among white-collar workers. Since, on average, they did not receive higher wages than manual workers, one reason for this difference may have been that manual workers needed more, and more expensive, food because of their physically exacting work. On the other hand, it was also based on a feeling, frequently to be found among white-collar workers, of ideological closeness to the middle class. (. . .) More than the (non-existing) higher income, a secondary education (middle and grammar school), as well as the *Bildung* thereby acquired, offered the white-collar worker a basic criterion for deeming himself to belong to the 'better' sort of people. At the same time this ideology really does lead to a greater understanding of literature and art and facilitates a genuine and spontaneous interest in these fields. The higher response rate of white-collar workers (. . .) reflects their greater pride in *Bildung* as a symbol of 'higher' ambitions, as well as a more intense interest in cultural questions; the larger number of 'individual' answers given in this group is an indication of real interest as well as of pronounced cultural needs (see Table 3.22).

As was expected, pictures of political leaders correlated with the political affiliation of the respondents. A combination of both the categories in which socialist leaders were named—*Socialist leaders* as well as *Socialist leaders and family pictures*—was found significantly more often among Communists and Left Socialists than among Social Democrats. In the first two groups political perceptions were more closely bound up with everyday life than among the Social Democrats. This was true above all of officials in the KPD and, to a lesser extent, in the SPD, who named pictures of

Table 3.21: Question 241: *What pictures and photographs have you hung up?*
Answers according to economic status (%)

Response categories	Economic status					Total
	Unskilled manual	Skilled manual	White-collar	Unemployed	Other	
<i>Interest in 'art'</i>						
1 Individual	5	12	26	13	25	15
2 Conventional	–	4	1	–	3	2
<i>Interest in people</i>						
3 Socialist leaders	3	3	3	7	5	4
4 Socialist leaders and family pictures	17	8	4	13	8	9
5 Dictators, generals and family pictures	–	2	1	3	6	2
<i>Interest in people and conventional art</i>						
6 <i>Interest in people and conventional art</i>	34	43	46	38	25	41
7 No pictures	9	7	3	9	8	6
8 Other	3	2	3	1	–	2
9 No reply	29	19	13	16	20	19
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	34	264	154	90	42	584

Table 3.22: Question 241: Which pictures and photographs have you hung up?
Answers according to political orientation

Response categories	Political orientation											Total
	Social Democrats				Left Social- ists	Communists			Bürger- liche	National Social- ists	Non- voters	
	1		2			3	Total					
	1	2	3	Total								
<i>Interest in 'art'</i>												
1 Individual	16	20	13	17	17	4	12	-	8	12	24	15
2 Conventional	3	3	-	2	2	-	5	-	3	-	-	2
<i>Interest in people</i>												
3 Socialist leaders	2	2	1	2	8	10	10	11	10	-	-	4
4 Socialist leaders and family pictures	13	5	-	6	17	30	8	-	17	5	2	9
5 Dictators, generals and family pictures	-	1	-	+	-	-	1	-	1	-	3	2
<i>Interest in people and conventional art</i>												
6	40	35	57	42	28	37	47	56	43	48	42	41
7 No pictures	10	8	5	8	4	7	4	11	5	4	6	6
8 Other	5	4	4	4	-	2	-	-	1	2	2	2
9 No reply	11	22	20	19	24	10	13	22	12	20	21	19
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	61	125	76	262	45	63	78	9	150	43	17	584

* (+ = < 0.5%)

Socialist leaders significantly more often than did supporters. In accordance with their political orientation, the replies of the National Socialists significantly often fell into the category *Dictators, generals and family pictures* (47%). The Social Democrats named individual pictures much more frequently than the Communists, namely 17% compared with 8%. This result can be partly explained by the larger role assumed by cultural questions in the organizational and educational work of the Social Democrats, whereas the Communists stressed economic and political problems. For those Social Democrats who were also white-collar workers, the ambitions and attitudes of the middle class could also have added to this difference.

Questions 244/45:

Do you have any favourite books? Which?

Books are regarded as cultural goods of the first rank much more than are other objects in the aesthetic field. They serve as an established cultural inheritance to which much attention is given in school, which adds its own specific emphasis; some teachers regard a knowledge of literature as the distinctive characteristic of a 'cultured' person. This view is shared by many people, especially in the lower-middle-class, who have taken on the conventional standards of school.

Since culture has a high prestige value, there was a strong incentive to communicate an interest in books when answering this question. One must be aware that many people call those books their favourite which are conventionally regarded as good in order to show that they possess the 'right' kind of culture. But cultural interest can transcend the level of school-transmitted norms and lead to an independent judgement of literary values. Such a relationship to literature may also satisfy a desire for prestige; but in this case an interest in books was to do mainly with their content. In such cases books do not function as symbols of literary *Bildung*, but as a means of extending knowledge or increasing insight. The dichotomy described above is naturally exaggerated, since specialist knowledge can definitely be including *Bildung*. Nevertheless, we believe that, on the whole, the readers orientated towards literature and those who are interested in specialist topics represent two different psychological groups, each marked by specific attitudes. The criteria by which we categorized the replies were derived from these views. We regarded the nature of the interest in accordance with which favourite books were selected as the basic starting-point for our categorization. The respondents were accordingly divided into two main groups: one, chiefly interested in

(literary) *Bildung*; the other, concentrated on the specific content of the books. Into the first group came the so-called *conventional* replies which were predominantly concerned with gaining prestige through school-transmitted *Bildung*. The *individual* replies were those which indicated an independent interest and a stronger individual literary preference, although this by no means ruled out an initial concern for prestige. The terms 'individual' and 'conventional', which we also used for Question 308, are certainly rather simplistic; but we adopted them partly in order to avoid long sentences. Basically, these terms are not meant to describe the quality of a book, but the relationship of the respondent to it, even if the two aspects are sometimes quite inseparable. But there are also many examples of their mutual independence: for example, classical literature was hardly produced out of a conventional attitude, whereas many respondents who chose classical literature had a totally conventional attitude towards it.

Those replies categorized as *Individual* were then divided into those showing *Interest in scientific and technical books* and those with an *Interest in social and political problems*. This last group was further subdivided into *Marxist literature*, *Reformist literature*, *Novels of social criticism and workers' fiction* and *Nationalist, monarchists, and militarist literature*. The category *Novels of social criticism* mostly contained authors like Zola, Upton Sinclair, Jack London and Maxim Gorki. These authors were probably chosen by respondents because they valued their interest in social questions and critical representation of modern society (see Table 3.23).

If one analyzes the responses according to the occupational situation of the respondents, revealing differences between manual and white-collar workers can be seen: the latter not only replied more frequently, but also contained a higher percentage of *individual* answers. Compared with manual workers, cultural values had a higher prestige value for white-collar workers, and this carried a finer judgement and greater understanding of literature with it. Another special feature was that a significantly higher percentage of the unemployed than of other occupational groups were concerned with social and political problems—a difference which is probably due to the large numbers of Communists among the unemployed (see Table 3.24).

Apart from the non-voters, the Social Democrats replied least often among the *political* groups, being distinguished in this respect from the Communists who had a significantly higher response rate. There are many reasons why each political group showed a varying interest in books. Among the *bürgerliche* supporters a predominantly conventional interest in *Bildung* was apparent; they had a signifi-

Table 3.23: Questions 244/45: *Do you have any favourite books? Which?*
 Answers according to economic status (%)

Response categories	Economic status					Total
	Unskilled Manual	Skilled Manual	White-collar	Unemployed	Other	
<i>Interest in Bildung</i>						
1 Individual	6	7	18	11	22	12
2 Conventional	14	11	14	7	20	12
3 Individual and conventional	6	6	5	2	2	5
Interest in <i>Bildung</i> , total	26	24	37	20	44	29
<i>Interest in social/political problems</i>						
4 Marxist literature	9	8	5	12	7	8
5 Reformist literature	–	2	3	–	–	2
6 Novels of social criticism/workers' fiction	11	8	11	19	3	10
7 Nationalist monarchist, militarist literature	–	2	2	–	–	1
Interest in political/social problems, total	20	20	21	31	10	21
8 <i>Scientific and technical literature</i>	3	6	8	6	12	7
9 <i>No favourite books</i>	14	21	8	12	12	15
10 <i>No reply</i>	37	29	26	31	22	28
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	34	264	154	90	42	584

Table 3.24: Questions 244/45: Do you have any favourite books? Which? Answers according to political orientation (%)

Response Categories	Political orientation											Total
	Social Democrats				Left Social- ists	Communists			Bürger- liche	National Social- ists	Non- voters	
				Total								
	1	2	3			1	2	3				
<i>Interest in "Bildung"</i>												
1 Individual	11	12	8	11	16	13	14	-	13	9	12	12
2 Conventional	7	10	15	10	11	8	11	-	9	27	13	12
3 Individual and conventional	7	6	4	5	4	5	7	12	7	7	-	5
Interest in <i>Bildung</i> total	25	28	27	26	31	26	32	12	29	43	18	29
<i>Interest in social/political problems</i>												
4 Marxist literature	11	3	5	6	7	24	9	-	14	2	12	8
5 Reformist literature	5	2	1	2	-	2	1	13	2	-	6	2
6 Novels of social criticism/ workers' fiction	16	6	8	9	22	15	10	-	11	2	12	10
7 Nationalist, monarchist, militarist literature	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	6	1
Interest in social/political problems total	32	11	14	17	29	41	20	13	27	11	36	21
<i>Scientific and technical literature</i>												
8	7	10	5	8	2	2	7	12	5	11	12	7
<i>No favourite books</i>												
9	10	19	18	17	7	11	24	13	19	14	11	15
<i>No reply</i>												
10	26	32	36	32	31	20	17	50	20	21	23	28
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	61	125	76	262	45	63	78	9	150	43	17	584

cantly high response rate in this category. Communists, Left Socialists and National Socialists were more concerned with social and political problems and provided a higher percentage of the replies in this category than the Social Democrats and the *Bürgerliche*—reaching a significant level among the Communists and Left Socialists, but indicating no more than a tendency among the National Socialists. Compared with mere supporters, party members were fundamentally more interested in social themes. This applies to the Communists as well as the Social Democrats. It is noteworthy that National Socialists, having a strong interest in social problems, hardly read books in the *Nationalist etc.* category, but rather those which criticized the social order from the left-wing standpoint (30% as opposed to 6%). This makes it clear once again that anti-capitalist tendencies—at least at this time—decidedly helped to strengthen the support for the National Socialists (see Table 3.25; and also compare with Question 135).

Interesting correlations were derived from analyses relating to age. With increasing age, interest in books declines sharply—which is only partly to be explained by the fact that older respondents tended to move towards the *bürgerliche* parties. The strongest interest in social literature and the weakest in *Bildung* literature was shown in the youngest age-groups, which may be attributed mainly to the influence of the Socialist youth movement which encouraged the reading of social criticism and political books.

Examples of answers according to response categories:

- 1) 'Dostoevsky, Traven, Anatole France'.
 'Schopenhauer, Klabund'.
 '*Buddenbrooks, King Cole*'.
 'Nietzsche, *Zarathustra*; Thomas Mann, *Death in Venice, Disorder and Early Sorrow*'.
 'Büchner, *Danton*; Masereel, *The Passion of a Man*'.
- 2) 'All classical authors'.
 'Goethe, Schiller, Storm'.
 'Boelsche, Hauptmann, Löns, Freytag'.
 'Anzengruber, Ganghofer, Zahn'.
 'Classical literature, but no novels or similar rubbish'.
- 3) 'Karl Marx, Bebel, Lassalle, Engels'.
 'Historical materialism, economics'.
 'The history of the German and Russian Revolutions'.
 'Novels: Zola, Jack London, Sinclair, Barbusse; Darwin; Marx, Lenin'.
- 4) 'The works of Social Democratic leaders'.

Table 3.25: Questions 244/45: Do you have any favourite books? Which?
Answers according to age (%)

Response Categories	Age				Total
	Under 21	21-30	31-50	51 and over	
Interest in Bildung					
1 Individual	9	13	13	4	12
2 Conventional	3	13	10	18	12
3 Individual and conventional	-	5	6	4	5
Interest in <i>Bildung</i> total	12	31	29	26	29
<i>Interest in social/political problems</i>					
4 Marxist literature	10	8	8	2	8
5 Reformist literature	3	1	2	2	2
6 Novels of social criticism/workers' fiction	21	14	7	2	10
7 Nationalist, monarchist, militarist literature	3	-	2	-	1
Interest in political/social problems total	37	23	19	6	21
8 <i>Scientific and technical literature</i>	12	6	7	6	7
9 <i>No favourite books</i>	21	12	15	32	15
10 <i>No reply</i>	18	28	30	30	28
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	34	238	258	49	584

'Trade union literature'.

'Sinzheimer: labour legislation'.

'Traven'.

5) 'Jack London'.

'Gladkow'.

'New Proletarian literature'.

6) 'Books about architecture'.

'Legal books'.

'About the development of aeroplane construction'.

'Natural history, the Universe, Urania'.

Questions 308/09:

What are your favourite plays called? What are your favourite films called?

After the end of the World War a strong interest in theatre and film developed amongst manual as well as most white-collar workers. The invention of films and their growing popularity was a new phenomenon, while theatre visits up to the War had chiefly been a pastime of the well-to-do upper middle-class, in the same way that opera had previously only been accessible to court society. Access to plays and films was impeded by two factors: films laboured under the handicap of not being considered an art form, an opinion supported by a large part in the middle class. Films were regarded as 'cheap entertainment' and were not included in the realm of *Bildung*. Plays, on the other hand, were so encumbered by middle-class tradition and had become such an elite concern that it was difficult for many people outside the middle-class to develop a spontaneous relationship towards them. In these circumstances the development of a new attitude towards the theatre required a capacity for open and independent judgement. Whereas no criteria for judgement had yet evolved for film, those for plays were well-established and had become generally accepted. These obstacles made a response to both questions difficult, and the problem was often avoided, or evaded, by resorting to clichés. To some extent these factors were counter-balanced by the positive influence of the left-wing parties whose trade unions and cultural organizations were very concerned to spread an interest in the theatre and, partly, in films. For example, the *Volksbühne* movement was supported by the Social Democrats and, to a lesser extent, by the Communists; through this the theatre was supposed to be made accessible to workers and to arouse their interest. Such organizations, which were either purely proletarian or had a mixed membership, were, however, only to be found in the larger towns.

The proportion of non-replies is, at 51%, significantly higher than for the previous question regarding favourite books (43%), and this shows that concern with literature at that time had both a richer tradition and was more widespread. But one must also add that an interest in theatre and films declines with age, a factor that is confirmed by the large number of non-replies in the older age-groups.

Table 3.26: Non-replies according to age (%)

	Under 21	21-30	31-50	51 and older	Total
Theatre	43	46	52	73	51
Film	44	39	58	79	51

This result may be partly explained by the fact that the growing interest in theatre and films was a relatively new phenomenon which had by-passed the older generation. As in the question regarding favourite books, white-collar workers preferred traditional forms of culture above other occupational groups. It was not by chance that they had the highest response rate with regard to plays, while at the same time sharing the conventional negative views on film.

Table 3.27: Non-replies according to occupation (%)

	unskilled manual	skilled manual	white collar	unemployed	other	Total
Theatre	64	56	42	49	45	51
Film	64	50	54	46	56	51

There may be several reasons for the attitude of white-collar workers: they may have felt that showing an interest in films was frowned upon, and for this reason they tried to hide it; or they may have been afraid to offer an opinion, given the lack of established critical standards for film. The same trend is to be seen in the group *Other*. On the other hand, skilled workers and the unemployed replied to the question about favourite films more often than to questions about plays.

An analysis of non-replies according to political orientation presents the following picture: compared with the Social Democrats and *bürgerliche* supporters, the Communists had a higher response rate in both cases so that one can ascribe a greater level of interest to

them. Even more than the Left Socialists, the Communists tended to reply more willingly to questions regarding film than to questions concerning plays. At the same time, correlations with income distribution make clear that this result cannot be ascribed to the lower income of the Communists, but is apparently due to actual political orientation. In contrast, the *bürgerliche* and National Socialist supporters showed a stronger interest in the theatre, which may be explained by the fact that they frequently belonged to the middle-class and were therefore to adopt a positive attitude towards traditional values. The same factor, however, played a role among a large section of the Social Democrats. Here the *Volksbühne* movement led to a more marked preoccupation with theatre, whereas the Communists clearly favoured films, particularly Russian ones. These films dramatically confirmed their party doctrines and moved many people more than did the relatively isolated experiments of revolutionary theatre.

As with answers about favourite books, replies relating to the theatre were classified according to the nature of the interest shown; i.e., what type of plays did the respondent choose and what qualitative relationships were being expressed? For many respondents, the left-wing tendency of a play was the criterion on which they based their choice. These replies were grouped together into the category *Revolutionary tendency*. Other respondents based their judgments on theatrical or literary values, and here we distinguished between *conventional* and *individual* attitudes. Attitudes designated as *Conventional* were those by which, for example, classical operas were selected, above all those of Wagner, or dramas by Schiller and Goethe, or popular actors and operettas, such as the frequently named *Three Musketeers*. All these works were either known through school or were approved of by conventional taste. The *Individual* category, however, included answers naming modern authors such as Georg Kaiser, Klabund, Gerhart Hauptmann, George Bernard Shaw and Strindberg, either individually or together with classical dramas.

Answers naming plays with revolutionary tendencies diminished with increasing age and disappeared completely among the over-fifties. The influence of tradition meant that there was no great interest in the contemporary scene among the older generation; but, in addition, it must be noted that a large number of over-fifty-year-olds were *bürgerliche* supporters.

The distribution of replies according to occupational type showed that it was white-collar workers as a group who were most likely to value traditional elements, above all as represented by the theatre. As

Table 3.28: Question 308: *What are your favourite plays?*
Answers according to age (%)

Response Categories	Age					Total
	Under 21	21-30	31-50	51 and over	No age given	
1 Conventional	18	17	23	23	16	20
2 Individual	9	16	10	2	-	11
3 Revolutionary tendency	24	15	7	-	17	11
4 Other	-	2	2	-	-	2
5 No favourite plays	6	4	6	2	17	5
6 No reply	43	46	52	73	50	51
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	34	238	258	49	5	584

with the group *Others*, they had a tendency to reply more frequently than manual workers and the unemployed in the categories *Conventional* and *Individual*; but they were less likely to be found in the category *Revolutionary tendency*.

An analysis of replies according to political orientation shows that *conventional* attitudes increased from Left to Right. They were to be found significantly more often among National Socialists, *bürgerliche* supporters and Social Democrats than among Left Socialists and Communists. But marked differences were found between officials and voters among the Communists, with voters giving conventional answers significantly more frequently than officials. Up to a certain point the Social Democrats had adopted the conventional view of theatre. National Socialists and *Bürgerliche* had only a slightly higher percentage of *conventional* replies. In contrast, only replies from left-wing groups appeared in the category *Revolutionary tendency*, in which the Communist and Left Socialists were represented significantly more often than the Social Democrats. Finally, *Individual* replies were distributed almost equally between all groups.

Replies concerning favourite films were partly classified according to different criteria, as the element of tradition was, for all practical purposes, totally missing. There were, however, some parallels; thus Russian films might be compared with revolutionary plays. The category *Conventional* compromised the current mass-productions in the film industry; they are short-lived and their popularity depends on the popularity of an individual actor or on similar factors. Into this category came those answers which spoke of stars like Henny Porten and Douglas Fairbanks and of films like *Waltz of Love*, *The Jazz Singer* or *Flute Concerto of Sanssouci*. Although not revealing a conventional attitude towards classical culture in the sense of Question 308, these replies were nevertheless similar in type to those relating to the theatre which mentioned detective plays or operettas. But one could talk of an *Individual* attitude, if great artistic achievements in film, above all works by Chaplin or Rene Clair, were named. In our data, these works were mentioned almost exclusively at the same time as Russian films. Although some of the early Russian films may have been chosen because of their artistic content—particularly the oft-named *Battleship Potemkin*—a decision could not be made in every case whether the revolutionary tendency or the artistic quality had been the decisive factor. For this reason, these replies were all grouped into the descriptive category *Russian films, alone or together with other good films*.

If one analyzes the replies in relation to political orientation, the

Table 3.29: Question 308: What are your favourite plays?
Answers according to economic status (%)

Response categories	Economic status				Total	
	Unskilled Manual	Skilled Manual	White- collar	Unemployed	Other	
1 Conventional	6	18	25	20	26	20
2 Individual	9	10	14	9	20	11
3 Revolutionary tendency	12	12	8	16	3	11
4 Other	3	–	3	2	6	2
5 No favourite plays	6	4	8	4	–	5
6 No reply	64	56	42	49	45	51
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	34	264	154	90	42	584

left-wing groups, as expected, chose *Russian films etc.* significantly more often than the *bürgerliche* and National Socialist supporters. Within the Left, these films were chosen significantly more often by radicals, i.e. by Communists and Left Socialists, than by Social Democrats. For *Conventional* films this rank order is partly reversed: National Socialists and Social Democrats named these significantly more often, and *bürgerliche* supporters had a tendency to name these more often than did the Communists. Differences were also to be found between officials and supporters: officials of the SPD as well as the KPD preferred Russian films slightly more often, and named *Conventional* films slightly less often, than did supporters.

Examples of answers according to response categories:

Question 308: (theatre)

- 1) '*Lohengrin, Carmen, Mignon*'.
 '*Peer Gynt*, operas like *Tiefland*'.
 '*Operettas*'.
 '*Comedies*'.
 '*Egmont, Don Carlos, Freischütz, Undine, Carmen, Verdi's operas*'.
- 2) '*Hauptmann, Molnar, Shaw, Strindberg*'.
 '*Schnitzler, Kaiser*'.
- 3) '*Brecht, Beggar's Opera; Toller, Hoppla, we live; Rasputin, Paragraph 218*'.
 '*The Cattaro Sailors*'.
 '*Paragraph 218, Sacco & Vanzetti, Mahoganny (Brecht)*'.

Question 309: (film)

- 1) '*Russian films, Chaplin*'.
 '*Potemkin, Storm over Asia*'.
 '*Eisenstein and Chaplin*'.
 '*Russian films, Sous les Toits de Paris*'.
- 2) '*Douglas Fairbanks*'.
 '*Ben Hur*'.
 '*The Jazz Singer, The Singing Fool*'.

Question 338:

Do you like jazz?

As with other questions, reactions to jazz were not entirely determined by personal taste or aesthetic standards; they reflected ideological factors at least as much as attitudes towards musical values. The widespread criticism of jazz embraced general comments such as

Table 3.31: Question 309: *What are your favourite films?*
Answers according to political orientation (%)

Response categories	Political orientation												Total
	Social Democrats			Left Social-ists	Communists			Bürger-liche	National Social-ists	Non-voters			
	1	2	3		1	2	3				Total		
1 Russian films, alone or with other good films	28	18	14	19	37	62	49	56	55	5	6	14	28
2 Conventional	10	25	16	19	16	6	14	-	10	23	41	24	18
3 No favourite films	7	3	4	4	5	2	1	-	1	5	6	-	3
4 No answer	55	54	66	58	42	30	36	44	34	67	47	62	51
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	61	125	76	262	45	63	78	9	150	43	17	67	584

soulless, undisciplined, immoral, strange, negro music, decadent and un-German. The erotic stimulus of jazz met rejection from those who were in favour of a strict sexual morality; this rejection was partly reinforced by the fact that, despite their apparent disgust, such people were often unconsciously attracted to jazz. Lovers of sentimental and romantic music attacked jazz because of its strange character and sharp syncopation which offended their musical sensibilities. The defenders of jazz mostly belonged to those circles in the lower-middle-class who followed fashion and wanted to be *au courant* or who thought of themselves as exclusive. Jazz became popular in workers' circles through the work of composers such as Kurt Weill and Hans Eisler, and was used in political songs. The sharp criticism of jazz in reactionary circles led to a growing number of supporters amongst left-wing workers, but it was also supported by those who saw in jazz new possibilities for musical expression (see Table 3.32).

40% of respondents approved of jazz, 50% rejected it, and 10% did not reply. A positive correlation was established in relation to *age*: those over 30 gave a negative answer significantly more often, and a positive one significantly less often. The main reason for this seems to be that a generation which had grown up with conventional waltz tunes and sentimental operettas could hardly come to understand the new style.

In relation to *political type* the distribution of replies shows that Communists replied significantly more positively, and less negatively, than did the Social Democrats and *Bürgerliche*. A further analysis by age showed that this difference was not overcome by variations in age. Despite official rejection by their party, the percentage of National Socialists who approved of jazz was nearly as great as that of the Communists, but because of the small number of National Socialists in our sample, this difference from other political parties cannot be regarded as validated.

Questions 323/24:

Do you like present-day women's fashions (e.g. short skirts, silk stockings?) Do you like short hair in women?

At the time of our inquiry short skirts, silk stockings and short hair (*Bubikopf*) were widespread and largely accepted by the general population. This fashion was connected with general attempts at female emancipation; a greater freedom of social position as well as of sexual norms must be noted here, together with greater participation in sport and increasing freedom of action for women. The fashions of the 1920s differed from earlier and later trends in several respects: conventional differences between men and women became as blurred

Table 3.32: Question 338: Do you like jazz?
Answers according to age (%)

Response categories	Age				Total
	Under 21	21-30	31-50	51 and over	
1 Yes	41	45	26	20	34
2 Yes, with reservations	3	8	5	2	6
3 No	35	38	59	66	50
4 No answer	21	9	10	12	10
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	34	238	258	49	584

as differences between younger and older women, amounting all in all to the elimination of individual role differences as well as of the traditional ideas that went with this. These attitudes were most clearly manifested by short hair, to a lesser extent by short skirts, and hardly at all by silk stockings, which were in any case an unattainable luxury for many people.

The answers did not interest us so much as showing an aesthetic response to fashion as in relation to the respondent's view of the values associated with this. Since the fashionable image was independent of generally accepted values, and was even regarded as conventional, an affirmative response could not, on its own, be seen as evidence for a progressive attitude. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that a fundamentally negative attitude undoubtedly signified a rejection of a progressive point of view, and was to be interpreted as an expression of prudery or some similar attitude.

The response rate to both questions was very high: 93% for women's fashions, 95% for short hair. The majority of respondents gave positive answers, 78% to the first question and 81% to the second. In some cases only silk stockings were rejected, but these replies were counted in with affirmative answers, since they did not reflect a progressive or conservative attitude to women, but were rather a protest against luxury. In two cases, which were also counted in with positive replies, the objection was only to short skirts (see Table 3.33).

An analysis of answers according to occupational groups showed that 46% of the unemployed were in favour of the current women's fashion. This proportion is smaller than for any other group and significantly lower than for skilled manual and white-collar workers, each with 61%. The negative answers were also relatively high in this group: compared with 8% of skilled manual and 9% of white-collar workers, 18% of the unemployed declared themselves to be against women's fashion (see Table 3.34).

In contrast, the response to the question about *short hair* was not more negative than in the other occupational groups. The negative attitude to Question 323 might therefore also be interpreted as a protest against the term *fashion*; for the unemployed *fashionable* objects were mostly luxury articles, and as such were firmly rejected by people in their economic position. This oppositional attitude became most apparent in the question about silk stockings, which was the most frequently criticised by the unemployed. A correlation of the replies with *political orientation* showed similar differences for both questions (see Table 3.35 and 3.36).

In contrast to the Right, members of left-wing parties responded significantly more often with *Yes* and significantly less often with

Table 3.33: Question 323: Do you like present-day women's fashions?
Answers according to age (%)

Response categories	Age				Total
	Under 21	21-30	31-50	51 and over	
<i>Yes</i>					
1 Without qualification	56	61	61	46	59
2 Against silk stockings	3	8	8	13	8
3 Against short skirts	-	-	-	1	+*
4 With other qualifications	3	13	15	6	11
Yes total	62	82	84	66	78
5 No	15	8	9	18	11
6. Other	-	3	1	8	3
7 No answer	23	7	6	8	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	34	264	154	90	584

* (+ = < 0.5%)

Table 3.34: Question 324: Do you like short hair in women?
Answers according to economic status (%)

Response categories	Economic status				Total
	Unskilled manual	Skilled Manual	White-collar	Unemployed	Other
1 Yes	79	84	78	82	72
2 No	12	8	14	14	12
3 Other	–	2	3	4	13
4 No Answer	9	6	5	–	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	34	264	154	90	42
					584

Table 3.35: Question 323: Do you like *present-day women's fashions*?
Answers according to political orientation (%)

Response categories	Political orientation											Total		
	Social Democrats				Left Social- ists	Communists			Bürger- liche	National Social- ists	Non- voters			
	123			Total		1	2	3					Total	
	1	2	3											
Yes	1 Without qualification	61	57	62	58	63	76	59	56	67	42	53	42	59
	2 Against silk stockings	11	9	13	11	9	9	11	22	11	-	-	1	8
	3 Against short skirts	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	+
	4 Other qualification	15	14	10	13	14	5	5	11	5	14	12	15	11
	Yes, total	87	80	85	82	86	90	75	89	83	56	65	51	78
5 No	3	11	7	8	5	-	12	-	6	40	29	16	11	
6 Other	2	2	-	2	2	5	5	11	5	2	-	4	3	
7 No Reply	8	7	8	8	7	5	8	-	6	2	6	19	8	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Number of Respondents	61	125	76	262	45	63	78	9	150	43	17	67	584	

*(+ = <0.5%)

Table 3.36: Question 324: *Do you like short hair in woman?*
Answers according to political orientation (%)

Response categories	Political orientation													Total
	Social Democrats				Left Social- ists	Communists			Bürger- liche	National Social- ists	Non- voters			
				Total										
	1	2	3	Total		1	2	3				Total		
1 Yes	93	82	82	84	91	100	87	89	93	56	59	57	61	
2 No	2	11	9	8	2	-	5	11	3	37	29	22	11	
3 Other	2	2	4	3	5	-	5	-	3	-	6	6	3	
4 No reply	3	5	5	5	2	-	3	-	1	7	6	15	5	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Number of respondents	61	125	76	262	45	63	78	9	150	43	17	67	584	

No. Silk stockings were probably rejected by these groups because they were seen as luxury articles, whereas short hair and skirts were symbols of a progressive attitude towards the position of women.

There were no statistically valid differences with regard to age. However, an exception is to be noted in relation to short hair, since here there was a significant trend towards decreasing approval and increasing rejection, if related to age. Analysis according to sex showed that women rejected the current fashion more often than men. This indicates that the feminine wish to be dressed in the newest fashion was hidden by ideological and other considerations.

Examples of answers according to response categories.

Question 323:

Do you like present-day women's fashion?

1) 'Good, it is practical.'

'Why not?'

'It is not a question of liking. It is practical.'

'Yes, but not because of its erotic elements, but because it is more hygienic.'

'I am not a prude.'

'Short skirts, yes. Silk stockings, yes. With short skirts one can see a woman's build (position of the legs). If we wish to have a good choice for breeding, this is necessary. Good positioning of the legs indicates a good pelvic build.'

4) 'In moderation.'

'Yes, up to the calf. Allows freedom of movement and doesn't stir up dust.'

'It doesn't appeal to me as fashion, but it is practical.'

'Yes, as long as it is not unhealthy.'

'Summer, comfortable; winter, flu.'

'It could be a bit longer.'

'Everything can be exaggerated.'

5) 'I hate it.'

'Terrible.'

6) 'It's a question of personal opinion.'

'Everyone should dress as they like.'

'I could answer with regard to a particular fashion, but not such a general question.'

'*De gustibus* etc. In any case the present fashion offers women more comfort, and is more hygienic.'

'One cannot have any preferences here.'

'A question of taste.'

'It is difficult to say, because today there are short dresses,

tomorrow long dresses, and next year no dresses at all.'

'I am not concerned with this.'

Question 324: Do you like short hair (*Bubikopf*)?

1) 'Short hair, if well groomed, looks very good.'

'Yes, it leaves more room for individual taste.'

'Yes. Short hair is an advance on "the good old days".'

2) 'No, long hair is the most beautiful adornment of a woman; take it away, and most of them look like scarecrows.'

'No, a woman should make herself beautiful with that which nature has given her.'

'No, a man's haircut is without charm when worn by a woman.'

'No, because this form of artificiality spoils much which is simple and beautiful about our women and girls.'

Question 325:

Do you like the use of powder, perfume and lipstick by a woman? Why/Why not?

Although powder and lipstick became popular in Germany at about the same time as short skirts and short hair, they were not as widely accepted as in the United States, for example. Cosmetics were first used by the urban middle- and upper-class and then by sections of the working class. The use of make-up, unlike short skirts and short hair, did not, however, function as a symbol of female emancipation.

The use of cosmetics were rejected on various grounds: they were declared immoral, un-German and unworthy of a decent woman. Occasionally such moralizing and nationalistic arguments were also used against short skirts and hair—even if in muted form—mainly by people from reactionary and nationalistic circles. On the other hand, cosmetics were rejected as unhygienic, un-sporty or as an expression of bourgeois decadence. In such cases, the argument was not against the immoral, but against the unnatural aspects of make-up, although the definitions of 'natural' nearly always contained unconscious moralizing elements. For different reasons, the rejection of cosmetics occurred at all levels: middle-class and nationalistic circles were in agreement here with large sections of the class-conscious working class, as were members of the youth and sports movement, irrespective of whether these were nationalistic or socialist. This extraordinarily strong rejection has to be seen not only as an expression of aggressive ideologies; the sometimes wild denunciations also reveal a deep personal dislike. The generally violent reactions also show clearly how much emotion can be hidden behind an apparently marginal problem like cosmetics. This provides a point of departure for

political propagandists, who frequently seek to inflame such emotions further, in order to use them for their own purposes.

The three objects concerned—face powder, perfume and lipstick—were not all attacked to the same degree: overwhelmingly, lipstick came under attack, with powder in second place. Perfume was hardly reckoned to be in the same category: firstly, it had long been in fashion before powder and lipstick had come into use; moreover, the arguments put forward against make-up were hardly appropriate against perfume. This is why those respondents who were in favour of perfume or who accepted powder and lipstick *on rare occasions* were put amongst the *No* groups.

A particular problem arose from the explanation that the use of cosmetics gave the face a mask-like expression; it was difficult to decide here whether the respondent thought a mask concealed the actual face or if he was criticizing the immobility of its features. In the first instance the answer would have been put into the category *No, it is immoral, artificial, deceptive*; in the second, into the category *No, it is abhorrent, off-putting etc.* The last meaning seemed the over-riding one, and so all such replies were put into the second category.

Only very few respondents (5%) did not answer the question. Such a high response rate points to a general interest in the question: contrary to many political and personal questions, respondents clearly perceived no obstacles to offering their opinion in this instance. The proportion of negative replies was 84%; positive replies amounted to only 10%. The largest sub-group, which covered 33% of replies, argued for the 'unnatural' nature of cosmetics; the second largest group (12%) presented directly moral objections.

The correlation of replies with sex showed that the use of cosmetics was significantly more often accepted by women than by men. The numerical results were 27% as opposed to 9%—a result which is in contradiction to the attitude towards short skirts and hair. Compared with cosmetics, attitudes towards dress and hair were mainly determined by the associated ideology. Men, who are generally more progressive than women, were more inclined to accept short hair and skirts. In contrast, the hope that the use of powder and lipstick would increase their beauty and attractiveness outweighed ideological principles among women. Finally, if one looks at the *age* of the respondents it appears, as in Question 323 (women's fashions), that this had little influence on replies.

Examples of answers according to response categories:

- 1) 'Yes. I love life. Better to have a face with make-up than an ugly face (old women excepted).'

'Yes. Why not?'

- 2) 'Only where it is proper.'

'Powder prevents the skin from breathing; a discreet use of perfume is aesthetically absolutely necessary to hide body odours, since washing does not always help. I am against lipstick because it smears.'

'Yes, many women need it to hide deficiencies.'

'Yes. A woman who needs to use them should do so, but carefully, so as not to cheat her husband. A woman should always make herself attractive only for her husband.'

- 3) 'Perfume etc. belongs in the dustbin.'

'No. No comments needed.'

'No. I am certainly not a Puritan, but I am sure that women today go too far.'

'No. Only my personal opinion.'

- 4) 'It is like prostitution.'

'No. Anyone in full command of his senses could not do anything else but abhor such unnatural, underhand practices. After all, we are not actors.'

'No, the articles referred to are superficial and appeal only to lust, whereas a woman should attract a man through her mind and spirit.'

'No, women should leave that to those who need it for professional purposes.'

'No, they are false since they hide faults, which has damaging consequences in a marriage. Secondly, it is unhealthy.'

'I only love the truth.'

'A face is no shop-window.'

'No. Unaesthetic, pernicious, seductive, false.'

'No trick can replace Nature.'

'No. The use of every artificial cosmetic is a betrayal. Sensible ways of living and a healthy diet do more for the beauty of a woman.'

'No. These things are certainly not German. They may be alright for French, Italian, Spanish and particularly Jewish women in order to hide their unpleasant smell.'

'No. It is unworthy of a woman or mother.'

'No. The values of a German woman reside in her person. She has no need for the face-decorations of primitive tribes.'

- 5) 'Since it disfigures a person, they should show themselves as they are, and not make a caricature out of themselves in order to be attractive.'

'No, every woman should try to increase her beauty on a natural basis.'

'No. A girl or a woman should rely on her natural beauty and not smear her face full.'

'No. Beauty cannot be stuck, or painted, on; it rests deep in the soul. And anyway, these methods are capitalist inventions.'

'No. It is unnatural and disgusting. It is perhaps a relic of pre-historic times or a relapse into prehistoric vanity.'

'No. A woman who uses powder, perfume and lipstick is not worthy of becoming a wife; it is against Nature and fills one with disgust.'

'I despise such things. A married woman does not need to improve on nature; her goal—a husband—has been reached.'

'No. It appeals only to sexuality and destroys the naturalness of human and spiritual relationships. Why not be natural?'

6) 'Unnecessary and harmful; only poisons and clogs up the skin.'

'No. A freshly washed face is more hygienic than one which is plastered with powder and make-up.'

7) 'I am satisfied, if a girl is clean and well-dressed. Powder etc. is a waste of time and money and is unhygienic.'

'No. If a woman lives sensibly, does some sport, dresses well and cares for her body, she does not need such things.'

'No, a girl who washes herself well does not need such rubbish. Perfume is mostly used to hide body odour.'

'No. A pretty woman does not need technical aids to make her attractive.'

'No. Needless waste of our national wealth.'

8) 'A working class woman does not need this and need not imitate the habits of the bourgeoisie. A woman is only attractive if there is nothing artificial about her.'

'No. The upper classes can do it; the worker is beautiful enough without.'

'No. I have a very strong dislike of this form of painting. A working-class woman can't afford it; it is actually a sign of class difference.'

'No. A woman has all the beauty that she needs. In any case it is only bourgeois nonsense to distract women from their tasks. Insulting to proletarians, if they wish to be proud of being proletarians.'

9) 'No. I think it is terrible.'

'No. Women made-up so artificially disgust me. They only do it to arouse men.'

10) 'I leave it to the taste of my wife and female comrades (left-wing).'

'The majority of women have so much finesse and tact that men can only learn from them in this respect.'

d. Attitudes to Women and Children

[The fourth point in which we were particularly interested concerned the problem areas of authority, family and sexuality; the following questions have been used as examples:

- Questions 326/27/28: Do you think it is right that women should have a job? Including married women? Why/Why not?
- Questions 621/22: Do you think one can bring up children entirely without corporal punishment? Reasons for this.
- Question 624: What do you and your wife think about early sex education for your children (birth, procreation, sexual diseases)?
- Question 424: What do you think about punishment for abortion?

According to our theoretical conjectures, the family in present-day society was the place where authoritarian tendencies were both likely and most directly expressed. The answers to the first two questions were accordingly to be used to clarify the state of patriarchal or non-patriarchal relationships. An additional aspect, namely attitudes to sexuality, was raised by the two other questions. In both cases the relationship of attitude and political orientation are to be analyzed but, as in previous chapters, the main point is not to provide statistically clear-cut evidence; the aim is rather to indicate possible relationships and tendencies.]

Questions 326/27/28:

Do you think it is right that women should have a job? Including married women? Why/Why not?

Since Marx and Engels, the question of equal rights for women has played a dominant role in Socialist thought. Thus Engels had early in his work drawn upon the most important points in Morgan's and Bachofen's investigations of matriarchal societies, whose importance he stressed repeatedly in his study on the origins of property and the family (Cf. E. Fromm, 1934a). Another example for the justification of equal rights between the sexes was given by August Bebel in *Die Frau und der Sozialismus* (*The Woman and Socialism*) (1878); in this book, which is among the most widely-read works of German Socialist literature, the complete emancipation of women was declared to be one of the most important aims of Socialism.

The promotion of equality and freedom for women is completely

in accordance with the anti-authoritarian intentions of Socialist philosophy, which constantly stresses that no-one must be subject to the authority of another person, neither politically nor economically. Accordingly women are in no way regarded as biologically or otherwise inferior to men; their 'weakness' is the result of centuries of oppression, which could be removed by full equality and freedom based on economic independence. The analysis of our data makes clear, however, that a large number of Socialists and Communists did not agree with these basic premises of their parties. Economic as well as psychological factors may be responsible for this.

On the economic side, many workers, confronted at the time of our survey with the feared or actual loss of their jobs, may have viewed women as dangerous competitors, although they may have continued to adhere to the belief, independent of actual economic pressures, that economic equality of women in a future socialist society was possible. Given this background—and indeed possibly for such reasons—the Social Democratic Party had officially taken a far less radical position on the women's question than would in effect have been justified by their basic philosophy.

On the other hand, responses may have been influenced by psychological factors, as many men exhibit an authoritarian trait in their character. Deep down they have a strong wish to have someone at their disposal who is weaker, who obeys and who admires them; this need not surprise us in so far as an authoritarian character structure is itself the product of history. Although at the time of our inquiry, in 1929, the purest and most extreme manifestations of the authoritarian personality were to be found among members of the lower-middle-class, they were also frequent among workers. The changing function of the family among the working class, as well as the disappearance of a traditional personal relationship with superiors in large-scale industry, had altered attitudes towards authority. Although feelings of solidarity with one's fellow-workers were developing at the same time, the powerlessness of the individual in society nevertheless meant that the obedience of wife and child had an important compensatory function which would not be given up easily.

Starting from these theoretical premises, we hoped that the analysis of our material would provide important clues concerning the more precise structure of authoritarian attitudes. The remarkably small number of refusals indicated that our question was generally of great interest; most respondents had formed clear opinions which they expressed quite freely. If one compares the replies to Question 326 with those to 327 and 328 which follow, considerable differences

Table 3.37: Question 325: Do you like the use of powder, perfume and lipstick by a woman?
Answers according to age (%)

Response categories	Age				Total
	Under 21	21-30	31-50	51 and older	
Yes					
1 With or without comment	-	1	5	2	3
2 With qualifications	3	3	12	19	7
Yes total	3	4	17	11	10
No					
3 Without comment	11	19	20	14	18
4 Immoral, superficial, deceptive	11	10	14	12	12
5 Unnatural	32	36	26	38	33
6 Unhygienic	11	5	5	11	6
7 Unnecessary, wasteful	3	5	6	3	5
8 Too middle-class	6	3	-	1	2
9 Ugly, off-putting, ridiculous	11	11	6	7	8
No total	85	89	77	86	84
Other					
10 Other	-	-	3	1	1
11 No answer	12	7	3	2	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	34	264	154	90	584

Table 3.38: Question 325: Do you like the use of powder, perfume and lipstick by a woman?

Answers according to political orientation (%)

* (+ = <0.5%)

Response categories		Political orientation,						Left Socialists		Bürgerliche		National Socialists		Total			
		Social Democrats			Communists												
		1	2	3	Total	1	2									3	Total
Yes		3	2	-	2	-	3	5	12	5	-	9	3	3			
2 With qualifications		5	9	3	6	16	8	5	-	6	12	5	10	7			
Yes total		8	11	3	8	16	11	10	12	11	12	14	13	10			
No		23	24	20	23	11	11	11	13	11	12	18	16	18			
3 Without comments		13	10	3	9	9	6	17	12	12	35	26	10	12			
4 Immoral, superficial, deceptive		29	32	37	33	38	29	35	38	33	35	26	35	33			
5 Unnatural		8	5	7	6	13	9	5	13	7	-	-	4	6			
6 Unhygienic		7	3	8	5	2	1	7	-	4	-	9	3	5			
7 Unnecessary, wasteful		-	1	-	+	2	9	4	-	6	-	-	-	2			
8 Too middle-class		5	10	12	10	7	14	7	12	10	6	5	4	8			
9 Ugly, off-putting, ridiculous		85	85	87	86	82	79	86	88	83	88	84	72	84			
No total		2	-	2	1	-	5	-	-	2	-	-	-	1			
10 Other		5	4	8	5	2	5	4	-	4	-	2	15	5			
11 No answer		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100			
Total		61	125	76	262	45	63	78	9	150	17	43	67	584			
Number of respondents																	

emerge. This led us to conclude that our general question about women and work was not really the decisive one, because at this point it was possible for many respondents to reach a compromise between the philosophical position of their party and their own feelings: they were of the opinion that women could work until marriage, but that they were to care for husband and children thereafter. We therefore assumed that only those who categorically rejected any form of female independence would reply *No* to the first question. In fact 67% of respondents were in favour of unmarried women working, whereas only 29% replied *Yes* to the more far-reaching question relating to married women.

Age, occupation and income seemed to have no clearly defined influence on replies to Question 326. There was also no great difference between the employed and the unemployed; both regarded the employment of women in a similar fashion, with the latter even showing a slightly less negative attitude towards the employment of married women. This tendency indicates that the factor of economic competition, which one would have thought was of greater importance to the unemployed, did not play a decisive role (see Table 3.39).

A different picture emerges if one looks at the replies in relation to the political orientation of the respondents: here there were generally significant differences between left-wing and right-wing parties. The proportion of positive replies ranged from 66% to 93% on the Left, compared with 38% to 29% among the *bürgerliche* and National Socialist supporters. Within the Left, the Social Democrats were only slightly below the Communists; a significantly higher proportion of positive answers was given by the Left Socialists. This shows once again that these respondents applied Socialist doctrines to their personal lives much more consistently than did other left-wing groups. At the other end of the scale were the supporters of the NSDAP with only 29% of positive answers, a testimony to their extreme patriarchal and authoritarian attitude.

These results were also confirmed by the analysis of the corresponding negative replies. The Social Democrats and Communists were roughly equal with 23% and 24% respectively, whereas the proportion amongst the *bürgerliche* and National Socialist supporters was significantly higher (53% and 65%); the Left Socialists had the lowest proportion: a mere 5%. The position of the Communists is noteworthy in this connection. In the face of the positive attitude of the KPD, it is astonishing that 23% of their supporters were against the employment of women; nor were they inclined towards compromise over this question. This finding

Table 3.39: Question 326: *Do you think it right for women to go out to work?*
Answers according to political orientation (%)

Response categories	Political orientation											Total	
	Social Democrats				Left Socialists	Communists			Bürgerliche	National Socialists	Non-voters		
	1	2	3	Total		1	2	3					Total
1 Yes	77	64	60	66	93	87	62	67	73	38	29	64	67
2 Yes, if necessary	3	4	4	4	-	-	-	11	1	6	6	5	3
3 No	15	26	28	24	5	10	36	22	23	53	65	28	26
4 No answer	5	6	8	6	2	3	2	-	3	3	-	3	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	61	125	76	262	45	63	78	9	150	43	17	67	584

appears somewhat less extreme, if a comparison between officials and supporters is made. The former replied in the affirmative consistently more often than the latter, and these differences were actually greater than the differences between the parties as such (see Table 3.40).

As expected, the analysis of Questions 327/28 presents a different picture: . . . [the absolute as well as the relative position of the political groups is changed whereby] the Social Democrats moved closer to the right-wing parties in their attitudes. [Although their proportion of negative replies was clearly below that of the *bürgerliche* and National Socialist supporters, in no way did they achieve the proportions of the Left Socialists and Communists,] who replied *Yes* significantly more often, and *No* significantly less often than all other groups (. . .). The different results for Questions 326 and 327/28 confirmed that it was the question about the employment of *married* women which was the decisive test of emotional attitudes to the problem of the independence of women.

In pursuing our analysis we were further interested to know whether the answers were influenced by the marital status of the respondent or by the possible employment of the mother. The following results were obtained regarding the latter factor:

Table 3.41: Answers according to employment of mother (%).

Response	Question 326		Questions 327/28	
	Mother in employment	Mother not employed	Mother in employment	Mother not employed
Yes	72	63	17	11
No	23	29	63	73

This Table makes clear that employment of the mother increased the proportion of affirmative answers to both questions. This positive relationship needed further investigation, since its indirect dependence on economic factors could not be ruled out; it was not impossible that it might only have applied to respondents from economically weaker backgrounds who had to rely on additional earnings by the mother. But a comparison of occupational groups did not support this hypothesis; it thus appears more likely that the example of the mother was itself to a certain extent a positive influence. The answers also depended on whether or not the respondent was *married* (see Table 3.42).

It can be seen that in both instances, the unmarried gave significantly more affirmative and fewer negative answers than the married. In an indirect way, these differences were certainly again

Table 3.40: Questions 327/8: *Do you think it is right for married women to go out to work? Why/Why not?*
Answers according to political orientation (%)

Response categories	Political orientation													Total	
	Social Democrats				Left Socialists	Communists				Bürger- liche	National Socialists	Non- voters			
				Total					Total						
	1	2	3			1	2	3							
<i>Yes</i>															
1 No comments	3	4	8	5	7	15	4	20	9	-	-	-	-	1	5
2 Makes them independent, confident	15	5	5	7	23	42	18	-	27	-	-	-	5	6	13
Yes, total	18	9	13	12	30	57	22	20	36	-	-	-	5	7	18
3 <i>Qualified replies</i>	14	11	10	13	15	7	10	10	9	-	-	-	6	6	10
<i>No</i>															
4 No comments	2	10	7	7	2	2	9	10	6	12	6	4	6	4	6
5 Against female nature	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	1	7	1	2	-	2	1
6 Enough to do at home	31	42	32	36	18	24	32	20	28	40	44	44	44	35	35
7 Bad for men	20	18	25	20	20	5	14	30	11	24	11	23	11	23	18
8 Against two wage packets in one family	10	7	7	8	9	-	8	-	4	17	28	10	28	10	8
9 Other	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	+
No, total	63	77	73	71	51	31	65	60	51	100	89	84	89	84	68
10 <i>No Answer</i>	5	3	4	4	4	5	3	10	4	-	-	3	-	3	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	61	125	76	262	45	63	78	9	150	43	17	67	17	67	584

*(+ = <0.5%)

Table 3.42: Answers according to marital status (%).

	Question 326		Questions 327/28	
Response	Unmarried	Married	Unmarried	Married
Yes	74	16	19	9
No	18	23	58	74

politically determined: it was noticeable that most of the unmarried were to be found among the Communists, who were the ones most strongly to support the employment of women.

But this discrepancy cannot be wholly explained by political factors; independently of their political orientation, married men with patriarchal tendencies gain a profound satisfaction from feeling superior to their wives and therefore are more inclined than the unmarried to reject female economic activity.

Examples of answers according to response categories:

- 2) 'Yes. Why should a woman use her capabilities less than a man?'
'Yes, gives women self-confidence.'
'Yes, unless she has many children or a large household to run. Employment makes women freer and broadens their horizons.'
- 3) 'Yes, if the man's income is not sufficient.'
'Yes, if necessitated by the family situation.'
- 5) 'No. Doesn't suit her female nature.'
'No. Is not her calling.'
- 6) 'No. Women belong in the home.'
'No. Enough work at home.'
'No. The education of the children comes first.'
- 7) 'No. Takes away men's jobs.'
'No, there are enough unemployed men.'
'No, it takes away men's employment and their independences.'
- 8) 'No, too much money is spent if there are two wage packets.'
'No. Double wage packets.'

Question 621/22:

Do you think one can bring up children entirely without corporal punishment? Reasons for this.

As with the employment of married women, this question was concerned with the respondents' attitude towards authority. One may basically assume that an anti-authoritarian attitude, in which the freedom and independence of the individual is the central concern, would lead to a rejection of corporal punishment. The opposite

tendency is expected from people with authoritarian character traits; the need for a disciplined upbringing is taken for granted, so that corporal punishment is likely to be regarded as a positive thing.

In the 1920s the question of a progressive education was a much discussed theme in parent associations and in the daily press. Progressive educationalists were at that time decidedly against corporal punishment, and their views were taken over by both the liberal and the left-wing parties. In the face of this publicity it could not be assumed that the answers bore an immediate relationship to the personality of the respondents: especially in positive statements without further comment we have to be prepared that these might simply be repetitions of something picked up from the papers or educational journals. Elaborate replies which stressed that the child should be brought up to be free and independent were different; in such cases it seemed quite legitimate to interpret these comments as an indication of a genuinely anti-authoritarian attitude.

The same considerations applied to those negative answers in which corporal punishment was viewed with favour: where this opinion was expressed by a supporter of the left-wing or liberal parties, it actually contradicted the general attitude of these parties so that it was possible to deduce particular character traits of the respondent from this contradiction. [But caution was necessary here, too.] A negative reply did not necessarily point to an authoritarian character, but could be the result of practical considerations and experiences which did not necessarily correspond with the personality of the respondent; but where the need for strictness and authority was specifically emphasized, the answer was probably motivated by an authoritarian attitude. This led the respondent, in picking up the question about the parent/child relationship, to defend authoritarian behaviour.

If one looks at the distribution of *non-replies*, there appear to be no significant differences between the political groups at first: those respondents who did not reply were as a rule either unmarried or had no children. Conditional replies were also largely distributed independently of political orientation. This only becomes a visible influence when one turns to the analysis of those replies which takes a clear stand in favour of or against corporal punishment (see Table 3.43).

It was generally the case that supporters of left-wing parties agreed with our question significantly more often and rejected it less often than did *bürgerliche* and National Socialist supporters. The Socialists excelled here: compared with the Social Democrats they answered *Yes*, significantly more often and, compared with the Communists, to reply *Yes* quite often (. . .). In the dis-

Table 3.43: Questions 621/22: Do you think one can bring up children entirely without corporal punishment? Reasons for this.
Answers according to political orientation (%)

Response categories	Political orientation									Total				
	Social Democrats			Left Socialists	Communists			Bürgerliche	National Socialists		Non-voters			
	1	2	3		Total									
						1	2					3	Total	
Yes														
1 No comments	27	29	29	29	32		31	20	45	26	12	17	20	26
2 Stress on freedom/independence	5	4	4	4	18		13	8	—	9	2	—	4	6
Yes, total	32	33	33	33	50		44	28	45	35	14	17	24	32
3 Qualified answers	14	9	16	12	7		12	9	33	12	14	15	9	11
No														
4 No comments	10	10	17	12	4		11	4	—	7	23	22	13	12
5 Stress on necessity for authority	4	10	4	7	2		4	13	—	8	19	17	9	8
No, total	14	20	21	19	6		15	17	—	15	42	39	22	20
6 Other	2	—	1	+	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+
No answer														
7 Unmarried/childless	36	31	24	30	35		24	43	22	35	30	29	39	33
8 Married/children	2	7	5	5	2		5	3	—	3	—	—	6	4
No answer, total	38	38	29	35	37		29	46	22	38	30	29	45	37
Total	100	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	61	125	76	262	45		63	78	9	150	43	17	67	584

* (+ + <0.5%)

tribution of clearly anti-authoritarian type answers (stress on freedom and independence), which did not occur at all among the National Socialists, the Left Socialists were also in the forefront: together with the Communists, they showed themselves as anti-authoritarian significantly more often than the *bürgerliche* supporters or the Social Democrats. The opposite picture is presented in the pronounced authoritarian attitude with its typical stress on the need for authority: one finds such an attitude significantly more often among the *bürgerliche* than in the left-wing groups, and also more often among Social Democrats and Communists than among Left Socialists.

Although affirmative answers formed the majority within the left-wing groups, there were a number of Social Democrats and Communists who believed, contrary to their official party programmes, that children could not be brought up without corporal punishment. The Left Socialists clearly stood apart from this view: only 6% thought corporal punishment was unavoidable and 50% opposed it.

Examples of answers according to response categories:

- 1) 'Yes. One cannot stimulate the mind with blows.'
 'Yes. Beating is a relic of the bourgeois class.'
 'Yes. If we are genuine personalities we have to be able to impose our will without blows. To take no notice is better than to beat.'
 'Yes. Parents must approach it in the right manner. Man is basically good.'
- 2) 'Yes. If one beats a child, one destroys his self-respect.'
 'Yes. With blows one does not create self-confident people, but mere creatures.'
 'Yes. Blows do not persuade, they lead to defiance and hypocrisy. Beatings destroy a child's self-respect and self-confidence. The proletariat needs confident youths to achieve its goals.'
- 3) 'No. Unfortunately, a child is also spoilt by bad example. If a child can grow up in an environment where feelings of duty, care of others and, in short, wisdom predominates, than I am sure that corporal punishment will not be necessary.'
- 4) 'No. A child will always try to take advantage of friendly gestures.'
- 5) 'No. Every child wishes to feel the physical superiority of the grown-ups.'
 'No. It accustoms children to subordination, a characteristic which is necessary for the whole of one's life.'

Question 624:

What do you and your wife think about early sex education for

children (birth, procreation, sexual diseases)?

[In order to evaluate attitudes to women and children more fully, the analysis of other questions such as those regarding attitudes to sex education seemed to us useful, next to those on authority relationships within the family.] Although the question about sex education was directed at a specific problem, it also had wider implications, since the nature of the replies allowed us to draw conclusions about general attitudes towards sexuality: thus respondents who saw nothing sinful in sex could, as a rule, be expected to favour early sex education. The more negative the attitude towards sex, the more likely it became that respondents would be opposed to such a practice. But attitudes to sex also offer important clues to the structure of the total personality: a positive attitude is most often found in those whose general world-view is characterised by a striving for happiness and self-fulfillment; the opposite attitude is mostly found in people whose lives are determined by Protestant middle-class morals based on the principles of duty, work and subordination.

While an analysis of the answers in relation to *age* and *occupation* showed no significant differences, analysis according to *political orientation* produced very interesting results. In this connection it must be remembered that, although left-wing parties never included the demand for early sex education in their official programmes, they supported it indirectly by publishing the views of Socialist educationalists in their press and training materials. However, our data show that this semi-official support had only a limited success. Above all, the high number of non-replies, which rose far above the proportion of unmarried respondents, was astonishing. We had originally thought that at least some of the unmarried or childless respondents would offer some sort of opinion; but the results showed that these respondents generally decided that the question did not concern them; so they rarely answered it.

[If one divides the positive replies into direct answers (without comments) and strongly supportive answers,] the largest proportion of straight affirmative replies were given by the Communists (25%). Their share was almost twice as large as that of the Social Democrats, whose percentage was 14%. The lowest percentage occurred among the *Bürgerliche* (7%), while the National Socialists emerged between the *Bürgerliche* and Social Democrats with 12%. It is also of interest that Communist officials were more likely to give straight affirmative replies (33%) than were Communist supporters (22%). The opposite trend emerged for qualified answers: here the Social Democrats contributed 25% of replies, the Communists only 19%, while the two right-wing parties, each with 35%, held the highest proportions. Only

12% of Communist supporters replied in this way; 27% gave no answer at all so that it may be concluded that respondents in this group preferred to refuse an answer rather than to offer a compromise reply.

The number of strongly supportive answers was very low in all political groups (Communists 8%, Social Democrats 7%, Left Socialists 11%, *Bürgerliche* 5%, National Socialists 0%). But the number who categorically rejected sex education was also very small, and even lower than that giving strongly positive answers (Communists 1%, Social Democrats 2%, *Bürgerliche* 11%, National Socialists 6%). These results clearly show that, although the great majority of respondents were in favour of some form of sex education, in most cases latent reservations were so great that ultimately only a small group replied positively and unconditionally. Above all, the Social Democrats and *Bürgerliche* were frequently inclined towards a compromise attitude; but the Communists, who usually held very consistent opinions about political topics, also seemed to have difficulty in adopting a radical viewpoint.

Question 425:

What do you think about punishment for abortion?

According to medical estimates, the number of illegal abortions in Germany in the late 1920s was believed to be around one million. Over 10,000 women died annually from the after-effects of abortions carried out by quacks, and even more contracted chronic diseases. For those who had the financial means, it was quite possible to find doctors who undertook abortions despite legal sanctions; poorer people, on the other hand, had to resort to self-help or turn to midwives and charlatans. Thus the question about punishment for abortion had an existential significance for large sections of the population, and their opinions on this topic were influenced by a combination of political, moral and personal factors.

Apart from its significance for the maintenance of population numbers, legal prohibition of abortion reflected an attitude which was radically opposed to the notion of people gaining pleasure from sexual relations: pleasure was permissible only in marriage for the purpose of procreating children; otherwise it was unjustified as a matter of principle. This notion, which was specifically emphasized in the *Corpus Iuris Canonici* of the Catholic Church, is usually superseded by demographic considerations, as far as the law is concerned. [Nevertheless, the reasoning of the anti-abortionists was not based on demographic arguments.] but on the teachings of the Church which they felt bound by.

Punishment for abortion as set out in paragraph 218 [of the

German Civil Code] was heatedly discussed and opposed by large sections of the liberal-minded middle-class and by all left-wing parties. The problem had become so urgent after the War that—although a new Criminal Code was in preparation—it was thought advisable to reduce by prior legislation the severe penalties contained in the existing Code. This proposal was accepted in 1926 after long parliamentary debates and was largely a compromise between Social Democracy and the Catholic Centre Party. The SPD had already reduced their demands and were only asking for the legalization of abortion during the first three months of pregnancy, if health and the ability to work were in jeopardy. But in order to achieve a reduction in the existing levels of punishment, the Social Democrats had to withdraw even these demands during the negotiations for a revision of paragraph 218, a tactic attacked on two grounds by the Communist press, which was less prepared to compromise. On the one hand, the Communist party programme demanded complete freedom to perform abortions; beyond this, the KPD hoped, in view of the wide public interest in the question, to gain political advantage from the difficult negotiating position of the Social Democrats.

[The replies of the respondents have to be seen and judged with this background in mind.] The high response rate of 92% is striking evidence of the strong public interest in, and practical importance of, the problem. The majority rejected punishment for abortion (66%); but this result is in certain respects distorted because Catholics were under-represented in our sample, so that the emphatic resistance of the Catholic Church could not be given adequate expression. After those with unmistakably negative views, there followed a group of 13% who gave qualified replies and who, while not in principle against freedom from punishment, would only accept it under certain conditions. 5% of respondents did not reply to the question of punishment at all, but evaded the problem by opting, for example, for contraception instead of abortion. Only a small minority of 6% were clearly in favour of punishment.

The analysis of replies according to *economic position* showed no significant differences: the various response categories were distributed relatively evenly, and this remained true even if one put all qualified, evasive and affirmative responses into one group (see Table 3.45).

Correlations of replies with *political orientation* showed clear differences; however, they coincided only partly with the positions of the different parties. In principle the Communists and Left Socialists were significantly more often opposed to punishment than were the Social Democrats, and these were significantly more often opposed

Table 3.45: Question 425: What do you think about punishment for abortion?
Answers according to political orientation (%)

Response categories	Political orientation											Total	
	Social Democrats				Left Socialists	Communists			Burgerliche	National Socialists	Non-voters		
				Total									
	1	2	3				1	2					3
<i>Against punishment</i> <i>No comments</i>													
1 Simply rejecting	51	41	48	45	72	69	52	33	58	17	29	32	47
2 Emphatically rejecting	13	8	3	8	5	19	16	45	19	2	-	5	9
<i>With comments</i>													
3 Socially unjust to the poor	5	5	1	4	7	2	3	-	2	5	-	-	3
4 Reduction of personal freedom	5	5	9	6	4	-	13	22	8	5	-	6	6
5 Other reasons	2	2	3	2	-	-	3	-	1	2	-	-	1
Against punishment, total	76	61	64	65	88	90	87	100	88	31	29	43	66
<i>Qualified answers</i>													
Depends on:													
6 Health and social situation of person concerned	5	6	9	7	-	2	3	-	2	9	12	5	5
7 Qualification of doctor	3	3	7	4	4	3	1	-	2	5	-	3	3
8 Circumstances of the case	-	5	4	3	4	2	4	-	3	2	23	11	5
<i>No comment on punishment</i>													
9 Against abortion	2	4	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	9	6	6	3
10 For contraception	-	3	3	2	2	2	-	-	1	-	-	1	2
Qualified/evasive total	10	21	26	19	10	9	8	-	8	25	41	26	18
	2	4	1	3	-	-	1	-	1	26	30	12	6
	-	3	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	3	2
11 For punishment	12	11	8	11	2	1	4	-	3	9	-	16	8
12 Not clear	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
13 No reply	61	125	76	262	45	63	78	9	150	43	16	67	584
Total													
Number of respondents													

than *bürgerliche* and National Socialist supporters. The opposite trend could be seen in qualified and evasive replies which sought a compromise between opposing views. We also found a significantly higher proportion of *Bürgerliche* and National Socialists in favour of punishment when compared with the members of left-wing groups.

The large number of Communists and Left Socialists who declared themselves against punishment tallied with the Communist party programme, [which called for the complete abolition of paragraph 218]. But that relatively many Social Democrats shared this view is noteworthy, in view of the compromise which the SPD had formally endorsed. As was the case with some other questions, party members were more radical on this point than were their leaders and parliamentary representatives. For the Social Democratic rank-and-file, abortion was an immediate, even if not a crucial problem: the attitude of their leaders was based more on tactical and party-political considerations, did not necessarily correspond with the wishes and interest of their supporters. A similar contrast between party programme and party members occurred among the National Socialists, where 29% declared themselves against punishment. But the Party had always supported heavy penalties for abortion and had demanded the raising of the birthrate at any price—an attitude which led to a radicalisation of paragraph 218 after they had come to power. Examples of answers according to response category:

- 4) 'My body belongs to me.' (female)
'Since everyone must decide for themselves about their own body, I am against punishment.' (female)
- 5) 'Against, in cases of physical or economic necessity.'
- 6) 'Exceptions should be made in cases of need and illness.'
'No punishment, if done by a doctor.'
- 8) 'Not advisable in many cases.'
'Depends entirely on the individual case.'
- 9) 'Morally speaking, one cannot let this occur without any constraints.'
'All abortions are carried out at the cost of the mental and physical health of the mother.'
'In itself, abortion is to be despised, but it is often excusable.'
- 10) 'Birth control, but not abortion.'
- 11) 'I am for the present law, but in somewhat milder form.'
'It is right.'

e. Social and Personal Attitudes

[Apart from attitudes to wife and children, the respondents'

attitudes towards other people and towards themselves were also of interest from the social-psychological viewpoint. This area could not be investigated systematically, but only on the basis of selected questions; we selected the following questions for more detailed analysis:

- Questions 136/37/38: What relationship do you have with your work? With your immediate superiors? With those above them?
- Questions 434/35: Do you lend money or objects to friends? Why (not)?
- Question 433: How would you invest your money, if you were wealthy?
- Questions 213/14: Was your childhood happy? Do you think that your parents have a happy marriage?
- Question 418: Do you sleep well?

The first two questions are closely related to the previous ones, since they are concerned with the structure of social relations outside the family. In the third question we wanted to get hold of one aspect of the respondents' latent personal attitudes, namely their secret material wishes and hopes which are not infrequently in conflict with manifest political views. The last two questions also refer to aspects of the attitude of respondents towards themselves; but this was marginal to the analysis of these questions; what we have to offer in this regard should not be seen as definitive results, but rather as a stimulus for further inquiry.]

Questions 136/37/38:

What relationship do you have with your colleagues at work? With your immediate superiors? With those above them?

[If one is dealing with the analysis of interactions] which occur in connection with work and the production process, the factors of solidarity and competition are of prime importance. Whether a relationship is grounded in solidarity or competition is decisive for the quality of this relationship; the more strongly individuals compete with one another in the work process and experience the advantage of one (e.g. promotion) as the disadvantage of another, the more their relationship will be a tense one. On the other hand, the greater the common interests and the more widespread the consciousness of this communality, the more personal relationships will be coloured by a feeling of solidarity.

The evaluation of the answers [according to the criteria of

competition and *solidarity*] met with two main difficulties: first, we could not be sure that the formulation of the replies had one and the same meaning for the respondents, since what one of them described as a *good relationship* may have appeared as *polite* and *reserved* to another. A second problem, which also arose in other questions, had to do with the fact that many respondents wanted to present themselves in a favourable light and that they therefore described their relationships as better and friendlier than they actually were. Both difficulties could be partly overcome if, over and above individual evaluation, one compared the answers to one of the three questions with the other two.

In Question 136, there were no significant differences between the various [occupational and political] groups concerning relationships with workmates. More revealing were the replies to Questions 137/38 concerning relationships with superiors at all levels. We had originally expected that a comparison of both questions would be interesting, but this did not prove possible, since only relatively few respondents (44%) replied on both occasions. In small enterprises there was only one superior, and in the larger factories the workers often had no contact with the superiors higher up. There were also several respondents who refused to reply.* In the end only 10% made a distinction in their attitudes between immediate superiors and superiors higher up. Since this was too small a group for further independent analysis, we combined their replies into the category *Various*. All other categories, which ran from *Very good* to *Bad*, covered those cases where both relationships were described in the same terms, and those where only one relationship was described (see Tables 3.46 and 3.47).

When the material was analyzed in relation to *Occupational situation* there was a significantly lower percentage of replies from the unemployed and 'others'. The former, who no longer had a place of work, evidently did not consider themselves addressed by this question. Only a minority replied, and these presumably described the relationship to superiors at their last place of work. On the other hand, the low response rate among 'others' had to do with the fact that these groups were made up of a number of housewives, students and self-employed, i.e. of people who had no superiors.

*The relationship of employees to their superiors continues to be an important problem in social psychology; in particular the structure of the authority relationship with immediate superiors, under whose supervision the work is done, should be compared with that of the higher authorities with whom the employee has less contact. However, the methods used in our questionnaire were evidently too crude to provide results which would have allowed for an interpretation in this direction.

Table 3.46: Question 136: How do you get on with your colleagues at work (in comparison with your superiors)?
Answers according to economic status (%)

Response categories	Economic status				Total
	Unskilled manual	Skilled manual	White-collar	Unemployed	Other
1 Same relationship to colleagues and superiors	32	42	50	10	22
2 Better relationship with colleagues than with superiors	27	36	23	21	5
3 Worse relationship with colleagues than with superiors	5	10	15	8	8
4 No reply	36	12	12	61	65
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	34	264	154	90	42
					584

Table 3.47: Questions 137/38: *How do you get on with your immediate superiors? With those higher up?*
Answers according to economic status (%)

Response categories	Economic status				Total
	Unskilled manual	Skilled manual	White collar	Unemployed	Other
1 Very good/good	40	45	58	15	24
2 Satisfactory	12	14	11	1	3
3 Businesslike/reserved	9	8	13	4	8
4 Bad	15	8	1	12	3
5 Other	9	15	8	4	-
6 Both questions unanswered	15	10	9	64	62
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	34	264	154	90	43

Two important differences emerged between white-collar and manual workers, with white-collar workers recording good or very good relations with their superiors significantly more often, and bad relations significantly less frequently, than manual workers. Whether or not these statements corresponded with reality or merely reflected wishful thinking, the stress on good relations can in either case be ascribed to the fact that chances for promotion depended on the will of superiors and that such chances were actually somewhat greater for white-collar than for manual workers. Even more decisive was the conviction among white-collar workers that they belonged not to the working-, but to the middle-class; for this reason they were also more strongly inclined to believe in the possibility of upward mobility and success. These hopes were not generally shared by manual workers, particularly those working in the larger factories; consequently they did not consider good relations with their superiors as basically so important. (. . .)

Some 37% of respondents stated that there was in principle no difference between their relationship with colleagues and with superiors. People who describe their relations with such different social groups in one and the same terms are often more concerned with adapting than are those who differentiate, and this may have applied above all in those cases where the reply was *Good* to both questions: 'If my relations with everybody are the same, nobody can be offended' are the words which might describe this attitude; it is one which is characteristic of a generally conventional attitude.

The number of those for whom there was no difference in the relationship with colleagues and with superiors was significantly higher among white-collar than among unskilled workers, and tendentially higher than among skilled workers. In so far as a greater value is placed on conventions and polite forms of behaviour among the middle-class than among the workers, this result can in itself be interpreted as indirect evidence of the middle-class orientation of white-collar workers. In this connection the comparison between these respondents who got on better with their colleagues, on the one hand, with those who were on better terms with their superiors, on the other, is revealing. In the first category, we found significantly more skilled, and tendentially more unskilled, than white-collar, workers; the opposite held good for the second category; this indicates that white-collar workers have, overall, a less strong sense of solidarity than manual workers (see Tables 3.48 and 3.49).*

*One can assume basically that the relative lack of solidarity, which leads to a far-reaching isolation of the individual, is not only characteristic of white-collar workers,

Table 3.48: Question 136: *How do you get on with your colleagues at work (in comparison with superiors)?*
Answers according to political orientation (%)

Response categories	Political orientation											Total	
	Social Democrats				Left Social- ists	Communists			Burger- liche	National Social- ists	Non- voters		
	123			Total		123							Total
	1	2	3			1	2	3					
1 Same relationship with colleagues and superiors	40	53	46	48	25	17	21	36	21	42	28	40	37
2 Better relationship with colleagues than superiors	37	17	34	26	39	50	28	55	39	12	17	14	28
3 Worse relationship with colleagues than superiors	5	15	10	11	11	3	8	-	5	24	17	13	11
4 No answer	18	15	10	15	25	30	43	9	35	22	38	33	24
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	61	125	76	262	45	63	78	9	150	43	17	67	584

Table 3.49: Questions 137/38: How do you get on with your immediate superiors? With those higher up?
Answers according to political orientation (%)

Response categories	Political orientation											Total	
	Social Democrats				Left Social- ists	Communists			Bürger- liche	National Social- ists	Non- voters		
				Total									
	1	2	3			1	2	3					Total
1 Very good/good	38	53	49	48	32	19	29	23	24	66	38	47	42
2 Satisfactory	17	7	11	10	9	14	9	44	14	7	-	8	11
3 Businesslike/reserved	12	10	10	11	9	10	10	-	10	2	6	7	8
4 Bad	5	4	6	4	16	17	7	11	11	5	-	2	7
5 Other	8	9	14	10	11	11	12	11	11	4	12	7	10
6 Both questions unanswered	20	17	10	17	23	29	33	11	30	16	44	29	22
Ingesamt	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	61	125	76	262	45	63	78	9	150	43	17	67	584

If one examines the distribution of replies in relation to *political orientation*, significant differences are to be found here as well: (. . .) the relationship to superiors worsens in the degree to which the respondents' political views become more radical. Thus, *bürgerliche* supporters spoke of a good or very good relationship with their superiors significantly more often than did any other group. Equally, the number of Social Democrats in this category was significantly higher than that of Communists. In comparison with Social Democrats, National Socialists and *bürgerliche* supporters, the Communists described their relationship with superiors significantly more often as *Bad*. Within the left-wing groups, moreover, the relationship with superiors seemed to depend on the degree of political activism; we found that in the SDP as well as the KPD, party members mentioned unsatisfactory or bad relationships more often than did party supporters. Two factors may be essentially responsible for these results: on the one hand, employers and those in authority totally reject a radical outlook among their workforce. But side by side with these objective reasons, subjective ones are also operative; the more radical the viewpoint of the worker the more likely will he be to regard supervisors or foremen as the 'slave-drivers' in the service of [capitalist] exploitation.

Questions 434/35:

Do you lend money or objects to your friends? Why/Why not?

This question was of interest to us above all because the replies could be taken as being relatively independent of the respective political opinions of the respondents: there were after all no guidelines in the doctrines of the individual parties as to whether or not one should lend money or objects to friends. The responses [are therefore also less reflective of a possibly superficial political view.] Rather they were determined by factors which are deeply embedded in the personality structure, such as, on the one hand, helpfulness, pleasure in possessions, fear of loss, or a proclivity towards solitariness or, on the other hand, solidarity. These characteristics may certainly be connected with the acceptance or rejection of particular philo-

but of the middle-class as a whole. The tendency towards lower solidarity can also be observed in replies to Question 216 ('When you have problems, do you discuss them with your wife, or anyone else?'). The answers to this question were not analyzed separately, since they were not in themselves very revealing. There was however a weak but consistent tendency for white-collar workers to discuss personal problems exclusively with their wives or parents and less often with friends, whereas skilled and unskilled manual workers more often discussed these with friends and did not confine themselves to the isolated family unit.

sophical and political attitudes; but equally the question may uncover inconsistencies between a declared political opinion and actual attitudes; in the doctrine of solidarity, for example, and a concurrent desire for possessions.

[The categorization of replies was relatively difficult, and in some cases no completely uniform categories could be constructed.] It proved impossible to differentiate between two types of reply, such as *Yes, out of solidarity and friendship; and because I want to help others* and *Yes, it is the right thing to do, and I trust my friends*; for it was only in a few cases that the underlying attitude could be clearly identified. For this reason both types of reply were put together under the heading *Yes, helpfulness*. However, the category *Yes, hope for reciprocity* could be seen as separate from the previous category. It contained all those positive replies in which it was pointed out that it should also be possible to borrow something oneself. Under the heading of conditional answers came the category *Money, no; goods, yes*—a statement which was itself very variously justified. The declared reasons ran, for example, as follows: *I have no money; books for education or relaxation* or *One gets into difficulties with this*. The attempt to contrive greater homogeneity foundered because the number of replies in each group were too few to be statistically valid if differentiated further. (. . .)

Since a negative reply could have been unpleasant on moral grounds, it is surprising that not less than 50% of respondents declared that they would lend nothing, neither money nor objects. Such an attitude offends both the principles of Christian neighbourly love as well as the demand for solidarity propounded by the left-wing parties. One might also have expected that respondents would have preferred to evade the question by refusing to reply rather than offer a negative answer. But the replies may possibly show that the idea of a moral right of ownership, which is itself an exclusive right, as well as a certain pride in possessions, are more deeply rooted than the willingness to help. This explanation seems appropriate above all in the case of those negative replies which were accompanied by moralistic rationalizations (as, for example, *Makes a friend into a foe; Has a harmful effect*) and similarly of statements such as *We do not believe in this*.

All in all, the negative answers were more to the respondent's credit than the positive ones since, in spite of a relatively high rate of replies, there no doubt existed a certain tendency to hide this not exactly praiseworthy side of one's character. An important, though ambivalent, exception was the statement. *No, we ourselves do not have enough*, which, at 28%, comprised the largest sub-category. In so

far as it reflects real poverty this reply reveals nothing about personal motives and attitudes; but it could also have been offered as an excuse for an unwillingness to part with money or objects. This masking function was made clear when a sub-division into income groups was undertaken. [This showed that references to one's own poverty had a tendency to increase with rising income:] in the second highest income group (200-250 RM), 30% replied in this way; in the groups 100-150 and 150-200 RM only 27% did so, and in the lowest income group (up to 51 RM) only 25% replied thus. Conversely, the lowest income group, which had to survive on less than the basic minimum, contained the highest percentage of affirmative replies of the type *Yes, no commentary* and *Yes, willingness to help*. For many people it appears that ownership itself stimulates the pleasure in ownership on which an attitude of defending one's goods and possessions against all outside claims is founded. This could be one reason why people in the lowest income group, who can hardly spare anything and are themselves in need, are more willing to help others than are those who live in better circumstances. On the other hand, one would also assume that people who need to borrow themselves would tend more strongly to support the principle of borrowing. Although differences between the divergent income groups were not statistically significant, they do show that to mention 'lack of money' as the reason for a negative attitude had but little to do with actual income levels (see Table 3.50).

As a next step we collected all the expressly negative replies together on one side (open refusal, moralizing rationalizations, fear of loss or damage) and, on the other, all the totally positive replies. The subdivision of these two groups according to the *political orientation* of the respondents brought out considerable differences; for every ten positive replies the following number of negative replies occurred in each group:

Table 3.51:

Left Socialists	3.4
Communists	3.6
Bürgerliche	7.1
Social Democrats	9.6
National Socialists	10.9

Despite their low average income, the number of those not prepared to lend anything was at its lowest amongst the Communists and Left Socialists, while their replies also show that they tended more strongly than the Social Democrats to realise the left-wing

Table 3.50: Questions 434/35: Do you lend money or goods to friends? Why—why not?
Answers according to political orientation (%)

* (+ = < 0.5%)

Response categories		Political orientation										Total	
		Social Democrats			Left Social- ists	Communists			Bürger- liche	National Social- ists	Non- voters		
		1	2	3	Total	1	2	3	Total				
<i>Yes</i>		8	13	12	12	16	18	8	—	21	12	8	12
1	Without comments	14	12	13	13	22	23	22	25	14	32	15	17
2	Helpfulness	3	1	3	2	2	—	3	13	7	—	4	3
3	Hope for reciprocity	25	26	28	27	40	41	33	38	42	44	27	32
<i>Yes, total</i>													
<i>Conditional answers</i>		8	3	6	5	9	6	5	—	8	6	2	5
4	Money, no, Goods, yes.	5	3	1	3	4	2	1	—	2	—	2	2
5	If absolutely necessary, if sure that it will be returned	13	6	7	8	13	8	6	—	10	6	4	7
<i>Conditional, total</i>													
<i>No</i>		13	8	13	11	2	5	5	12	9	6	7	8
6	Without comments	22	34	30	29	30	30	32	25	21	13	25	28
7	No money, no goods	8	7	7	8	9	2	8	—	14	25	12	8
8	Fear of loss or damage	5	7	2	5	2	2	4	—	2	6	10	5
9	Moral rationalisations	2	—	—	++	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	1
10	Other comments	50	56	52	53	43	39	52	37	46	50	54	50
<i>No, total</i>		12	12	13	12	4	12	9	25	2	—	15	11
11	No answer	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Total</i>		61	125	76	262	45	63	78	9	43	17	67	584
<i>Number of respondents</i>													

parties' ideal of solidarity in their daily lives.

Examples of answers according to response category:

- 2) 'Yes. It is simply a duty to help one another with money or goods.'
'It is a basic condition of friendship generally.'
'Yes. I am a good comrade.'
'Yes. I regard mutual help as an ethical duty.'
'Yes. My convictions command that I help, wherever I can.'
'Yes. It helps to spread our point of view; feeling of solidarity.'
'Yes. It is an act of solidarity that I owe my political friends.'
'Yes. It is very difficult for me to say no.'
- 3) 'Yes. It is based on mutuality.'
'Yes. I have sometimes borrowed something myself.'
- 4) 'Yes. Actually, not money, because I do not have any. Books yes, because in this way I can recruit members for my political party.'
'Never money; books for instruction and relaxation.'
'No. I have no money to spare; I only lend objects to those who are careful with them.'
'Books. I want to share the pleasure I have from them with everyone.'
- 5) 'Yes. But only in emergencies or cases of absolute necessity.'
'Yes, if the objects are carefully looked after.'
'Only exceptionally, if the person is worth it.'
'Yes, but in these times only as much as I can afford. Books only after I have noted to whom I have lent them.'
- 7) 'No. My purse could itself do with a refill.'
'No. I cannot spare any money, and as far as objects are concerned, I possess only what is absolutely necessary.'
'No. I own nothing. But I would not do it, even if I had something.'
'No. I have nothing which I could give away.'
- 8) 'No, I have no money, and as far as objects are concerned, they are best kept in my own hands. I lend books.'
'No. Money is rarely paid back and objects will be returned damaged.'
'No. I do not trust anyone.'
- 9) 'No. It makes enemies. I rarely give anything away.'
'No. In each case one loses a friend.'
'No. It is worse for me to ask for something back than to say no in the first place.'
'No. Perhaps if someone needs something very urgently. I am firmly against making debts.'
'No. One loses one's money and one's friend. I only lend money to

people I don't much care for.'

10) 'We don't believe in that.'

'No. Nobody asks me.'

'No. I borrow from no one and therefore do not feel obliged to lend anything.'

'No. Everyone should buy what they need for themselves.'

'No. I don't borrow anything either.'

Question 433:

Would you invest your money, if you were wealthy?

With this question we wanted to bring to light something of the respondent's secret hopes and wishes in order to get a few first clues to his personality. In this connection, it should be remembered that, basically, manual workers in Germany had less faith in the possibility of economic and social upward mobility than did white-collar workers, although the chances of the latter were in reality only slightly better. The reactions to our question were accordingly varied, ranging from open anger to willing acquiescence: some respondents regarded our question as unnecessary and useless; others, having in mind their current economic situation, imagined how they would spend their money on personal needs. A third group accepted our supposition and saw themselves in the role of investors.

Some 23% of respondents refused to reply, some certainly for the same reason as those who positively rejected our question, and these were subsumed under the heading *I can't imagine this*.

[Among the *positive replies* there were the following classificatory possibilities:] in the category *Banks and savings banks, workers' banks or cooperatives* could be taken out as a separate group, since replies naming these generally related to institutions controlled by the SPD or the closely connected Free Trades Unions. Under the heading *Real estate* there were [two types of reply]; those who spoke about home ownership and others who wished to invest their money in real estate and mortgage bonds. Both answers had to be put into one category since it was often not clear which of the two types of investment the respondent actually had in mind.

The category *Other investments* covered several investment possibilities, such as foreign or industrial investment. It would have been desirable to divide these replies into two further groups, depending on whether the drive for security or the drive for profit was predominant. There are no doubt important social-psychological differences between these two types, but unfortunately the replies were mostly not clear or full enough for us to be able to make this further distinction.

Table 3.52: Question 433: *Would you invest your money, if you were wealthy?*
Answers according to economic status (%)

Response categories	Economic status				Total
	Unskilled manual	Skilled manual	White-collar	Unemployed	Other
<i>Would invest in:</i>					
1 Bank or savings bank	6	5	5	6	–
2 Workers bank or cooperative	10	13	11	3	3
3 Property investment	10	23	25	23	19
4 Other (shares, rents, small businesses)	18	14	21	14	23
Investment total	44	55	62	46	45
<i>Would spend it</i>					
5 On higher living standard		3	2	5	–
6 Education, travel	3	1	4	3	13
7 Philanthropic things		5	3	8	10
8 Party and propaganda	–	3	4	4	7
Spending, total	3	12	13	20	30
9 Can't imagine this	6	4	6	14	12
10 Other (evasive, unclear)	–	3	2	2	3
11 No answer	47	26	17	18	10
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	34	264	154	90	42

When looking at the answers in relation to *occupational situation*, there were only two instances of significant differences, namely in the negative answers and in the non-replies: in the category *I can't imagine this*, the unemployed were the most strongly represented and were significantly differentiated from white-collar and skilled workers, and tendentially from unskilled workers. In contrast, non-replies were most frequent among unskilled workers: these were significantly different from manual and white-collar workers, although manual workers replied significantly less often than did white-collar workers. Compared with white-collar workers, manual workers thought that our question was superfluous, since they had little faith in the possibility of individual upward mobility, but were instead convinced of the need for collective efforts to improve the situation of the working class. It was therefore natural that they should skip the question, whereas the unemployed, given their financial predicament, reacted on the whole more sharply, namely with anger and open rejection (see Table 3.53).

The most important differences only appeared when we examined the replies in relation to *political orientation*; it became clear that Social Democrats, National Socialists and *Bürgerliche* would invest their possible wealth significantly more often than would Communists and Left Socialist supporters. In so far as *Bürgerliche* and National Socialist supporters viewed the capitalist social order in a positive light, it was hardly surprising that they would respond to the stimulus provided by their question and put themselves in the position of investors. But the Social Democrats reacted in the same manner and accepted, at least in their imagination, the role of a small capitalist. Apart from differences between the various parties, there were also internal differences among the Communists, with officials choosing investment of any kind significantly less often than supporters—and indication of their greater resistance to taking on such a role.

The categories *No answer* and *I can't imagine this* show the reverse picture: here there were significantly more Communists and Left Socialists than other party adherents, and among the Communists significantly more officials than supporters. Both replies signified either a tacit or open rejection of the question or a lack of interest in it. [If one compares their distribution here with that undertaken according to occupational groups, it becomes clear that political and economic factors could hardly be separated;] there were both more unemployed and skilled as well as unskilled workers among the Communists—i.e. the two groups which most frequently rejected the question or at least replied to it less often. (. . .)

Table 3.53: Question 433: *Would you invest your money, if you were wealthy?*
 Answers according to political orientation (%)

Response categories	Political orientation											Total
	Social Democrats			Left Socialists	Communists			Bürgerliche	National Socialists	Non-voters		
	Total				Total							
	1	2	3		1	2	3				Total	
<i>Would invest in:</i> 1 Bank/savings bank 2 Workers bank or cooperative 3 Property 4 Other (shares, rents, small businesses) Investment, total	3	7	12	8	2	2	1	-	6	-	5	5
	29	16	12	17	17	3	3	-	2	-	3	10
	17	25	23	22	10	5	28	30	20	56	30	23
	12	19	24	20	4	10	15	-	27	31	14	17
	61	67	71	67	33	20	47	30	55	87	52	55
	<i>Would spend on:</i> 5 Higher standard of living 6 Education and travel 7 Philanthropic things 8 Party and propaganda Spending, total 9 Can't imagine this 10 Other (evasive, unclear) 11 No answer Total Number of respondents	2	1	1	1	7	5	7	-	4	-	1
3		3	1	3	7	2	4	-	7	-	3	3
5		2	1	2	2	6	7	10	11	13	6	5
2		1	3	2	7	11	4	-	4	-	1	3
12		7	6	8	23	24	22	10	26	13	11	14
9		5	2	5	15	16	5	10	2	-	5	6
-		2	4	3	2	4	-	10	3	-	8	3
18		19	17	17	27	36	26	40	32	17	24	22
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
61	125	76	262	45	63	78	9	150	43	17	67	584

Social Democrats appeared under the heading *Investment in banks and savings banks* significantly more often than Communists. This type of bank holding, which was widespread chiefly in the petty bourgeoisie, [enabled two interests to be served: it] reflects both the need for security as well as the desire for a small but regular return on capital. The replies under the heading *Workers' bank or cooperative* must be regarded differently; investment in these organisations, which had always been promoted by the SPD and the trade unions, had a political significance. The opportunity for this type of investment was used significantly more frequently by Social Democrats and Left Socialists than by Communists. This difference is not to be explained by the greater readiness of the Social Democrats to invest—a tendency not shared by the Left Socialists either—but rather by the open political divisions between the SPD and KPD; as a rule Communists could not become members or creditors of cooperatives or workers' banks controlled by the Social Democrats.

[An interesting result emerged in the] category *Investment in real estate*: this reply was selected significantly more frequently by National Socialists than by any other group—a tendency which might be ascribed to their 'blood-and-soil' ideology.

Finally, under the heading *Other investment*, there were significantly more replies from Social Democrats, *Bürgerliche* and National Socialists than from Left Socialists, and tendentially more than from Communists. [This distribution, too, can be regarded as further indirect evidence of the critical attitude towards investment adopted by the Left Socialists and Communists.]

Theoretical considerations led us to expect a correlation between chosen forms of investment and levels of income, but this expectation could not be corroborated. A different distribution of replies was evident only in the categories *I can't imagine this* and *Would spend the money on a higher standard of living*.

Table 3.54: Answers in relation to income (%).

Expenditure	Income	
	<150 RM	>150 RM
For higher living standard	10	3
Can't imagine this	10	4

In both the first and second categories, the proportion of respondents from low income groups was significantly higher than

among those in the higher income groups. It is easily understandable that the first group, with its low standard of living and pressed hard economically, should spend money rather than invest it. Equally understandable was the higher proportion refusing to answer our question; this also accords with the findings on the unemployed who made up a substantial proportion of the income group of 150 RM and under.

An analysis of the replies according to *age* of the respondents yielded only one noteworthy result: the under-20-year-olds in all parties replied less frequently than the 31-50-year-olds (41% compared with 18%). It is possible that our question was largely meaningless to the youngest age group, since its members were in part still dependent on their parents; they were unable to do much with the notion that they were themselves wealthy and hence did not consider it seriously.

Examples of answers according to categories:

- 4) 'In some German industrial enterprise.'
 'In machines.'
 'In a safe way.'
 'In a foreign country.'
- 5) 'Underwear and clothes.'
 'Would buy clothes for the family.'
 'I would use the money to improve my living standard.'
 'I would create decent living conditions for myself, and then I would open a factory run in accordance with true socialist principles.'
 'I would look after myself and my dependants.'
- 6) 'For my education, and that of my German sisters.'
- 7) 'I would give part of the money to homes for war invalids.'
 'In works that are done in the name of God.'
- 8) 'In cinemas showing proletarian films and in proletarian libraries.'
 'For propaganda.'
 'Give it to the Communist movement or to the USSR.'
- 9) 'Only wishful thinking.'
 'One needs a feeling for money in order to be able to invest, and only the capitalists have this.'
 'No.'
 'I would not have any sleepless nights over this.'
 'I am not interested in wealth.'
 'I am not concerned with being rich.'
- 10) 'In personal assets.'

Questions 213/14:

Was your childhood happy? Do you think that your parents had a happy marriage?

[These two questions were as interesting as they were dangerous;] we could certainly not rely for our analysis on a sufficient objectivity of the replies. Intensive studies of personality, made possible above all by psychoanalysis, have shown time and again how questionable many childhood memories may be: someone who had an unhappy childhood will relate the complete opposite having, over the years, built up the illusion of a happy childhood. Someone else may have been very unhappy as a child without ever being able to admit this to himself. He will just remember what was happy in his childhood so that his account is no more accurate than the first case. In short, it is impossible to decide how far statements about childhood and the parental home are objective descriptions. The answers must therefore be understood as reflecting what respondents believe they have felt in their childhood, irrespective of whether or not their memories are correct. In general one can assume that *positive answers* contain more distortions of reality than do negative replies; for it is well known that people are more inclined to glorify their childhood than to see it in a bad light. Viewed thus, the childhood of the respondents as well as their parents' marriage is likely to have been, in principle, less happy than the answers suggest: no less than 60% of respondents gave positive answers; the number of negative replies was only half as large. As a rule, both questions were replied to, which may be due to the fact that the same subjective factors came into play in both instances (see Table 3.55).

The causes of the unusually high percentage of positive answers are of interest, both in themselves and in relation to the respondent's perception of life in general. In so far as childhood and marriage are, in the conventional view, supposed to be happy, individuals adhering to conventional ways of thought might be inclined to answer 'Yes', whatever the actual circumstances. Included here will also be those who no longer expect their situation to improve and who idealize the past for this reason. Once the illusion of a happy past, as illustrated by the phrase 'golden age of youth', is firmly established, it exerts a strong influence on a person's views: if he believes that his parents' marriage and his own childhood were happy, he will probably also believe that childhood and marriage must always be happy; and should his own marriage fail, he will be more inclined to blame himself than general social conditions.

On the other hand, *negative replies* are unlikely to be the result of conventional ideas, but are more likely to come from people who are

Table 3.55: Question 213: Was your childhood happy?
Answers according to political orientation (%)

Response categories	Political orientation												Total
	Social Democrats			Left Social- ists	Communists			Bürger- liche	National Social- ists	Non- voters			
	1	2	3		Total	1	2				3	Total	
1 Yes	64	61	58	61	43	45	61	33	52	68	71	66	59
2 Conditional replies	14	12	10	12	11	5	1	-	3	2	12	3	8
3 No	19	23	27	23	37	45	35	56	41	28	17	24	28
4 No reply	3	4	5	4	9	5	3	11	4	2	-	7	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	61	125	76	262	45	63	78	9	150	43	17	67	584

on the whole critical of the social order. In as much as the answers could equally be interpreted as expressions of an overall attitude towards life, the influence of the respondents' views on the political order played a relatively minor role—and it was precisely this that made the question of even greater interest to us.

The low number of non-replies shows that both questions were of general interest and that opinions were freely expressed (see Table 3.55).

The answers became more differentiated, if related to *political orientation*: there was a significant trend among National Socialists, on the one hand, and Communists, on the other, towards increasingly negative and diminishingly positive replies; beyond this there was a significant difference between officials and supporters among the Communists which we have also witnessed with regard to many other questions (see Table 3.56).

Table 3.56: Positive and negative answers according to political orientation(%)

	Question	National Socialists	Bürgerliche	Social Democrats	Left Socialists	Communists	Communist officials	Communist voters
Yes	231	71	68	61	43	62	45	61
	214	82	72	63	54	47	40	52
No	213	17	28	23	37	41	45	35
	214	18	24	24	28	38	45	45

The trend emerging from the above Table can be explained in two ways: on the one hand, one may be dealing with a real tendency—which is to say that people with an objectively unhappy childhood are more often inclined to adopt a radical political attitude. But it may equally be true that people who are more radical are also inclined to be more critical; they therefore have fewer illusions about the past and present and will see their childhood in a more realistic light. If we did not know that an unhappy childhood often results in a gentle, submissive and non-aggressive character, the first explanation would be altogether satisfactory; as it is, we have to assume that the trend itself indicates a constitutional relationship between a growing radicalism and a lack of illusions (see Table 3.57).

There is also a significant trend to be seen in relation to responses according to *occupational groups*: the greatest proportion of affirmative replies came from white-collar workers and others, the lowest, on the other hand, from unskilled workers. The lowest proportion of negative replies was given by white-collar workers and others, the highest by unskilled workers.

Table 3.57: Question 213: Was your childhood happy?
Answers according to economic status (%)

Response categories	Economic status				Total
	Unskilled manual	Skilled manual	White-collar	Unemployed	Other
1 Yes	35	58	69	46	73
2 Conditional answers	12	8	7	9	6
3 No	47	28	23	39	18
4 No reply	6	6	1	6	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	34	264	154	90	42
					584

Table 3.58: Positive and negative answers in relation to economic status (%)

	Question	Other	White-collar	Skilled manual	Un-employed	Unskilled manual
Yes	213	73	69	58	46	35
	214	69	68	59	53	44
No	213	18	23	28	39	47
	214	17	24	25	37	38

A very difficult economic situation is without doubt more likely to lead to an unhappy marriage and childhood and causes, or increases, conflicts which might have been avoided under better circumstances. Since the white-collar workers and 'others' usually came from the better-off economic groups than did manual workers and the unemployed,* differences in response could be partly explained by their strained economic situation during childhood. On the other hand, one can hardly assume that the childhood and homes of the unemployed and unskilled were really so much unhappier than those of the skilled workers. It is therefore highly likely that present economic deprivation has led, amongst the former, to a general disillusionment. Conversely, the high proportion of affirmative replies among white-collar workers and others can be partly ascribed to the tendency of these groups to maintain their illusions and not to question conventional ideas about the happiness of childhood and marriage.

Question 418:

Do you sleep well?

In this question we wished to bring out a possible link between a person's nervous system, their socio-economic status and their ideology. The high response rate of 95% showed that respondents had no inhibitions about replying and this was true even of the Communists who usually disregarded such trivial questions

Some 79% of respondents [evidently had no sleeping difficulties] and replied in the affirmative. It is common knowledge that length of sleep declines with increasing age, and this was confirmed once again by our data. An analysis of the replies according to *occupational status* showed that the unemployed, as the financially worst-off, also

*This is also seen in the results of Question 215 ('In case of need, could you turn to well-off friends or relatives?'). Affirmative replies were given significantly more often by white-collar workers (18%) and 'others' (22%) than by skilled and unskilled workers (10% and 2% respectively) or the unemployed (2%). The opposite trend is to be seen in the negative replies.

slept the worst: 22% answered 'No', which was significantly higher than skilled workers (12%), white-collar workers (11%) and 'others' (11%), who also had a higher proportion of affirmative replies. This result was independent of the *age* variable, since the average age of the unemployed was 28, while that of manual workers was 31 to 32 and of white-collar workers, 35.

The above-mentioned relationship between poor sleep and low earnings can be seen even more clearly when one looks at the *income table*: here, the proportion of affirmative replies grows continually from 70% in the lowest to 85% in the highest income group. The trend is in the opposite direction for negative replies, which drop from 23% to 8%. These results may hence be compressed into the hypothesis that nervous sleep disorders occur more frequently among poorer respondents than among the better-off.

[In relation to the *political groups* it may furthermore be concluded that] the proportion of negative replies was higher among the Communists than among the other groups, with the exception of *bürgerliche* supporters. This difference is not based solely on the fact that there were more unemployed and low earners amongst them than in other groups; the *age* variable also has little bearing on this, since the average age of the Communists (29) was below that of the whole sample. It seems rather as though the Communists were basically fuller of activist energy, an interpretation confirmed by their higher response rate for many of the questions.

CHAPTER IV

Personality Types and Political Attitudes

Up to now, the attitudes of respondents had been assessed in relation to single or inter-related questions, and our statements were therefore concerned in each case with average attitudes towards various groups of problems. In proceeding thus, the answers were abstracted from their context in the questionnaire so that their unity and also the personality of the respondent were lost. We now wish to analyze personality types according to those features which are typical of certain political or economic groups. This means that we are no longer inquiring into the attitudes of all respondents towards a particular question, but that we will be considering the overall attitude of *one* respondent, as it emerges from the most important of his answers.

The following theoretical expectations underlie this procedure: since the questionnaire is answered by one individual, the replies are bound to exhibit a structure which relates to the personality of the respondent. In other words, the replies must amount to more than a number of independent statements about this or that problem; they represent a unity in which every single detail is related to the responding personality. Nevertheless, each questionnaire may contain contradictory answers because the individual's personality may be contradictory. In either case one must apprehend and explain these contradictions within the framework of a total spiritual entity. The replies to a questionnaire are regarded as an expression of the total personality of the respondent, similar in this regard to any other series of connected statements, whether these are the totality of his behaviour in a particular period, a series of associations in connection with the Rorschach test, or the flow of his uncensored thoughts during a psychoanalytic session. Whether, and in what degree, the replies are expressions of personality also depends on the

questionnaire itself. Where it only contains questions along the lines of our status questions, naturally very little is revealed about the personality, even if more is sometimes expressed through particular formulations than might be supposed at first glance. But a questionnaire such as ours, which enquires into attitudes, feelings, habits and opinions without confining respondents to any particular form of reply, produces a great deal of evidence which can be interpreted as an expression of the respondent's personality. Certainly one cannot expect to achieve from a questionnaire of this type—nor from any questionnaire which adheres to the technical limits of this method—an overall picture of the personality. But we did expect to obtain an overall picture of certain personality traits and their inner connection within the individual, especially those which provide evidence as to the weight and reliability of political convictions.

If the questions are posed in such a manner that they allow for the expression of certain personality traits, the way is paved for the possibility, though by no means the certainty, that one will be given correspondingly revealing answers. Nevertheless, one cannot assume that respondents will reply with objective honesty and without deliberately wishing to deceive us. But even where respondents make an effort to say what they think, they may be deceiving themselves and thus may not give expression to their actual thoughts and feelings. When one considers the degree to which people feel and think that which they believe they are expected to feel and think, and how incapable they are of expressing themselves spontaneously, one must assume that there are a great number of such pre-formed answers. But the chances of arriving at positive results are not as remote as they might at first appear. Even a conventional and unspontaneous reply often contains clues, in the details of how it is formulated, as to what lies hidden behind the conventional mask, just as discrepancies or striking parallels among the replies offer a key to understanding the respondent's personality.

The best way to approach this would be to focus on the wording of all the respondents' replies, with all their nuances, contradictions and peculiarities. But this was out of the question here on practical grounds, since reproducing the replies of 584 six-page questionnaires would undoubtedly have burst the bounds of this book. Moreover, it would have been a *sine qua non* of such an analysis to introduce the reader to the necessary theoretical-psychological background which would again require a book in itself. All the same, a few questionnaires are reproduced at the end of this chapter which show that the totality of replies—if the details are taken seriously—

give a richer picture of the personality than if one tries to subsume the individual replies into categories of a more general nature.

The purpose of our survey was not the psychological analysis of a few individuals, but the discovery of typical traits and attitudes in the various status groups. Since we had to refrain from a detailed analysis of the wording of each response in each questionnaire, we faced the task of analyzing the material in a way which would not be beyond our technical and theoretical means and would yet allow for certain insights into the personality structure of individual respondents. For this purpose three main sets of questions (henceforth called 'complexes') were selected for exploration of the personality traits we were particularly interested in. These questions were concerned with general political opinions, emotional attitudes to authority and attitudes towards collective or individualistic approaches to life. The classification of personality traits, as expressed in the response to these three themes, was then undertaken with regard to their relationship to the positions of the various parties. Before describing this procedure in greater detail, we wish to sketch in briefly the theoretical background to the chosen themes which was used at the time.

The first complex of answers was concerned with the divergent *assessments of general socio-political problems*, as reflected above all in the contrasting programmes of the parties of the Left and the Right. Unlike the platforms of American parties, these party programmes did not generally overlap; rather each represented comprehensive and contrasting political doctrines amounting to a *Weltanschauung*. Thus, for example, an unqualified adherence to the programme of the workers' parties meant that one accepted the totality of their views about the present and future of the working class, of the German people, and of mankind. These views were concerned specifically with a critique of the present suffering and inefficiencies consequent on capitalist production and social organization; the belief that mankind could live without wars, oppression or deprivation, if capitalism was done away with; and that men as free individuals could achieve the greatest happiness, if a Socialist order were established through the cooperative action of the workers. To this complex of views belonged such opinions as those which regarded German justice as partisan class justice favouring the propertied; the philosophical conviction that the fate of individuals is determined by their class, but that they can influence their fate by fighting for the victory of their class. However, there were differences between the two workers' parties concerning this complex of views. The right wing of the Social Democrats

believed in a gradual slow development towards Socialism and therefore judged existing conditions in a more favourable light; they believed that, by avoiding sharp conflict, they could arrive at the Socialist goal through a series of reforms. The Communists and left wing of the Socialists, on the other hand, did not believe in the possibility of a slow and struggle-free transition towards Socialism and called for the active struggle of the working-class to achieve the Socialist goal.

The philosophy of the left-wing parties stood in opposition to that of the anti-Socialists. The further to the right they were, the more pronounced was the contrast. While there were a number of views similar to those of the Left among the parties of the centre, a polarity pure and simple existed where the right-wing parties were concerned. The latter rejected a philosophy concerned with the development of the individual. Instead they preached the sacrifice and submission of the individual for the purpose of augmenting the glory of the State, whereby wars were described as something not only valuable but eternally necessary. Over specific issues—for example, the causes of the inflation—they asserted that Social Democracy, foreign countries or certain people were responsible, but not the economic system as such. Although such opinions were not often officially presented in the programmes of the right-wing parties, they were dominant in their newspapers and public speeches as well as the beliefs of their supporters.

The guidelines for the classifying of the replies to the selected questions emerged from such differences of social and political opinion as were formulated here in an ideal-typical way: the answers could be divided according to whether they corresponded most with the Socialist-Communist, the liberal-reformist, or the anti-Socialist-authoritarian philosophy. Nevertheless, a large number of replies could not be classified in this way because they were not clear and consistent, but indefinite and expressed in a superficial and conventional manner.

Political doctrines cover not only a number of attitudes, but also appeal to specific emotions and passions—that is to say, to character structures and attitudes wherein these passions and emotions are dominant. One can describe the complex of attitudes and personality traits which go with the world-view of a particular political doctrine, just as one can describe the corresponding complex of opinions. In such an event the ideal-typical image of a particular psychic attitude will be constructed out of the total view of politics by describing that inner attitude to which the political doctrine makes appeal. This attitude is not derived from the psychic make-up of the

persons who believe in a particular doctrine. A political-psychological typology of this kind does not, therefore, immediately tell us anything about the supporters of a political doctrine. On the contrary, this chapter will show that the supporters of left-wing parties frequently exhibited a psychic attitude which in no way corresponded with the ideal type; indeed it was the exact opposite.

These findings must not, however, be misunderstood, as though this ideal-typical attitude were a construct which did not correspond with reality. Just as a political doctrine is itself an expression of interests and wishes grounded in the material situation of particular social classes, so the emotional elements it contains are likewise those which have arisen on the basis of the historical development of the vanguard of these classes. The psychic structure of a class is an aspect of its objective situation. Its *Weltanschauung* is partly determined by those psychic characteristics and emotional drives which evolve within a class in the course of the historical process and which, at the same time, appeal to those drives and emotions. But psychic change is slower than economic change, and while a class can develop in a relatively unified manner as regards the economic aspect, psychically it may be only the most advanced elements who exhibit the psychic structure in a relatively pure form; the class as a whole meanwhile moving only slightly and tendentially. Again, other class members can be very advanced in their political views, but very reactionary in their emotional attitudes. This duality, which is of particular interest to us, can best be studied in the context of our second complex of questions concerning the attitude of the respondents to authority.

An *attitude to authority* which corresponds with a left-wing philosophical position is to be recognised by a demand for freedom for oneself and for all human beings; a freedom which allows the individual to make his own happiness and development the first principle of his life, without this development being in opposition to that of others; on the contrary this striving for freedom is to be made possible on the basis of solidarity with others. Other characteristics are a hatred of all powers which restrict the freedom of the individual for purposes external to that individual as well as a sympathetic identification with all oppressed or weak people. All in all, one is dealing with an attitude which views the world critically and which does not see the past in terms of the unavoidable rule by superior forces, but as the result of particular social relationships whose change can bring out alterations in the supposedly eternal and indispensable features of the human condition.

The authoritarian attitude affirms, seeks out and enjoys the subjugation of men under a higher external power, whether this

power is the state or a leader, natural law, the past or God. The strong and powerful are simply admired and loved for these qualities, the weak and helpless hated and despised (cf. E. Fromm, 1936a). Sacrifice and duty, and not pleasure in life and happiness, are the guiding aims of the authoritarian attitude.

Beside these two extreme attitudes there is a third, reformist one. This rejects authority at the point when it becomes too strict or impinges too much on the individual; but on the other hand it wishes for authority at just those times when such qualities are absent.

The third complex of questions of interest to us were those concerned with *attitudes towards fellow human beings*. The ideal, as it appears in the collectivist doctrines of Socialism and Communism, may be described as that of solidarity and brotherhood. The aim to be achieved is not the private competitive individual who withdraws from others, but a person who is open to the world and who feels solidarity with people, above all with those of his own class. The ideal of the right-wing parties by contrast is of someone who has no regard for others, but unscrupulously pursues his own advantage as reflected in the principle of *homo homini lupus est*. There is also a mediating and compromise attitude between the two extremes which we characterized as *reformist*. As in the group of questions regarding attitudes to authority, the replies concerning political attitudes can be qualified in the same manner: for each answer one can determine whether it is a consistent statement in the Socialist-Communist manner, the authoritarian manner, or the reformist manner, or whether it does not clearly correspond with any of these ideal-typical attitudes.

Methodologically, we proceeded as follows: we selected those questions which appeared to be indicative of the general political outlook, of the attitude towards authority and of that towards others, and established which answers clearly belonged to the Socialist-Communist, to the anti-Socialist authoritarian or to the reformist attitude and which did not consistently correspond to any of these. We designated the replies in the three main groups by letters, namely R for radical, A for authoritarian and C for a compromise-orientated reformist attitude; neutral replies which could not be clearly categorised were labelled with the letter N. We then established for each questionnaire how the respondent had replied to our chosen questions. The next step was to determine the consistency of attitude within each group of questions; we characterised the replies to each group of questions by the letter which corresponded with the majority of the replies. In this way we arrived at three groupings which were each assessed according to their political tendency [Chap. 4a-c]. The

third step followed by assembling the three groupings. This gave us the final ‘syndrome’ of political attitudes for each questionnaire and respondent [Chap. 4d]. Naturally such syndromes do not offer one a comprehensive picture of the personality, but their particular combinations do provide perspectives from which one can estimate the depth and consistency of political convictions. The fourth and last step was concerned with a comparison of the most important types of syndrome with divergent status groups in order to examine the distribution of syndromes within political and economic groups [Chap. 4e, f]. (. . .)

a. Political Opinions

The first grouping, concerned with general political opinions, consisted of the following four questions:

- Question 424: How, in your opinion, can the world be improved?
- Question 426: Who do you think were the greatest personalities in history? In the present?
- Question 429: How, in your opinion, can a new world war be prevented?
- Question 431: Who, in your opinion, is responsible for the inflation?

The selection of these questions does not require much explanation. We had originally considered including others, but since the structure of answers was more or less the same as for the above questions, we restricted ourselves to the latter. The replies were classified as follows:

Table 4.1: Question 424: *How, in your opinion, can the world be improved?*

Response categories	Classification
Socialism	R (radical)
Better government	
Better leadership examples	A (authoritarian)
More <i>Herrenmenschen</i>	
Knowledge and enlightenment	C (compromise-orientated)
Internationalism	
Tax on wealth	
Ethics, education	
Other	N (neutral)

It is clear that the answer *Socialism* accords with Marxist doctrine, whereas the demand for a stronger government can obviously be assigned to the anti-Socialist standpoint. *Knowledge* etc., *Internationalism* and *Tax on wealth* do not accord with Marxism, although they were mentioned by some Socialists. These terms propose partial solutions in the cultural, political or economic fields but not the radical solution of replacing capitalist society by a socialist one (see Table 4.2). Those respondents who named *Famous national leaders together with Lenin or other revolutionary socialists* were characterized as authoritarian, since it was clearly all the same to them whether a strong leader fought for Socialism or for something else: it was the figure of a strong leader which was decisive.

Table 4.2: Question 426: *Who do you think are the greatest personalities in history? In the present?*

Response categories	Classification
Revolutionary Socialists, Revolutionary Socialists with religious founders, revolutionaries, scientists and artists	R
Famous national leaders, famous national leaders with Lenin or other revolutionary Socialists	A
Classical Socialists alone or with republican leaders and/or Bismarck, Hindenburg; leaders of Republican parties; famous personalities of all sorts	C
Other	N

Where only classical Socialist leaders of the past, such as Marx, were mentioned, but no contemporary ones, there appeared to be a positive attitude towards Socialism, but also a lack of interest in present-day political issues. A similar attitude was evident when only political leaders of democratic parties, perhaps together with Bismarck and Hindenburg, were named, or other *famous men* of all sorts who had been regarded as 'great' from the school days. All the replies were characteristics of conventional types who held a conscious or an unspoken sympathy for the Republican government and who were classified under the heading C (compromise-orientated).

The replies listed under R corresponded with the slogans of left-wing groups current at the time, whereas the conception that wars were unavoidable was characteristic of the right-wing parties; the replies listed under C have the same quality as those which were described as *conventional* in the previous question.

Table 4.3: Question 429: *How, in your opinion, could a new world war be prevented?*

Response category	Classification
Change in existing economic system, Socialism, Communism, general strike	R
War unavoidable	A
International understanding, pacifist education, ethical improvement & mankind	C
Other	N

Table 4.4: Question 431: *Who, in your opinion, is responsible for the inflation?*

Response categories	Classification
Capitalists, capitalism	R
Foreign countries, peace treaty, Jews, Social Democrats, individuals	A
Monarchy	C
Other	N

The Left held capitalism responsible for the inflation. Those with opposing views blamed the war-time enemies, the Jews, the Socialists, or individuals such as Schacht, Helfferich or Havenstein. The answer *Monarchy* was judged to be an indicator for a reformist attitude, since it was not the capitalist system as such which was held responsible in this instance, but the old state whose deficiencies appeared to have been made good by the setting-up of the Republic. The next step was to check the internal consistency of the political opinions. Single replies were held to be consistent where R and A classifications did not appear at the same time in one individual's answers. But C replies were not regarded as contradictory with R or A classifications, since this was a compromise point of view which could not be assigned to any of the extremes. The particular value of these replies was determined instead by the total context of the replies. They could basically only be described as having a quality of their own, if they did not include R or A classifications. The same was true of the replies classified as *indifferent* which could in no way be regarded as being contradictory to the other categories. The

distribution of replies to the first group of questions is as follows (see Table 4.5):

Table 4.5

Type of response	No. of respondents
1) <i>Radical replies</i>	
R for 4 questions	20
R for 3 questions without any A's	38
R for 2 questions without any A's	72
R for 1 question without any A	127
R for at least one question without any A's	257
2) <i>Authoritarian replies</i>	
A for 4 questions	7
A for 3 questions without any R's	7
A for 2 questions without any R's	29
A for 1 question without any R's	57
A for at least one question without any R's	100
3) <i>Compromise-orientated replies</i>	
C for 4 questions	1
C for 3 questions without any R's on A's	11
C for 2 questions without any R's on A's	53
C for 1 question without any R's or A's	49
C for at least one question without any R's or A's	95
4) <i>Contradictory and neutral replies</i>	
R for 2 questions with A for one or two, and C for at least one	30
R or A for 1 question, C or N for 3 questions	32
N for 4 questions	70
Contradictory or neutral replies	132

Seen as a whole, the responses showed a relatively high degree of consistency: R and A did not appear together in 452 of the questionnaires, and only sixty-two respondents were distinguished by striking contradictions in their political opinions. However, completely consistent replies to all four questions were found in only twenty-eight questionnaires. On the one hand, this shows that the political views of the great majority of respondents were not at all contradictory, but followed a distinct line. On the other hand, it is clear that only a small number of respondents were so strongly conscious of their parties' doctrines that they applied them to each question.

b. Attitudes to Authority

The second grouping, concerned with attitudes to authority, consisted of the following seven questions:

- Questions 327/28: Do you think it right that married women should go out to work? Why (not)?
- Questions 621/22: Do you think one can bring up children entirely without corporal punishment? Reasons
- Questions 422/23: Do you think that the individual is responsible for his own fate? Why (not)?
- Question 424: How, in your opinion, could the world be improved?

Even a brief glance at these questions shows that they are quite different from those in the first grouping. Their interest was directed at the conscious political attitudes of respondents, and when they were classified as radical or authoritarian, no attempt was made to ascertain whether these attitudes depended on an inner stance or only on the persistent influence of party propaganda. In contrast, the second and third groupings were made up of questions whose replies allowed for an interpretation of the respondents' subliminal feelings. Since respondents were not asked directly about their attitude to authority or their feelings for others, replies could not be classified directly. This only became possible after these had been interpreted.

Although the questions in the second grouping dealt with very different problems, they all had a connection with the theme of *authority*. Each question illuminated a different aspect of the problem. We have already mentioned that in the anti-authoritarian attitude which corresponds with Socialist and Communist political doctrine, the freedom and independence of the individual is the prime goal, whereas the opposite is true of the authoritarian attitude. Here, the individual is subordinate to a higher power and sees himself as weak or as the tool of a higher power. The authoritarian attitude is also characterized by the tendency to dominate the weak and to keep them in the same state of dependency that one feels oneself to be in *vis-à-vis* those who are stronger. Both aspects of such an attitude find satisfaction in the hierarchy of an authoritarian system, in which everyone has someone superior to him whom he must obey and someone under him whom he can dominate. If one looks at the position of the average citizen in present-day society, who usually has no economic power, his authoritarian tendencies are most likely to be acted out in his private life, in his relationship with his wife and children. Where an authoritarian attitude exists, it will show itself in

the rejection of economic independence for the wife as well as in the belief that too little corporal punishment is bad for a child. Left-wing doctrines hold the opposite view.

The two questions regarding the responsibility of the individual for his own fate and of the possibility for world improvement are directed at the other side of the authority problem, namely at the individual's feeling of helplessness regarding his own fate and that of mankind: the authoritarian would stress his helplessness, the anti-authoritarian his belief that men can do something to improve their own lot and that of the world. Although Question 424 has been used in the previous group of questions, it was used again because it was not only fundamental for the individual's political beliefs, but also neatly describes his attitude towards authority. But less weight was given to this question when classifying attitudes to authority, considering that it had already played a central role in the analysis of the first complex of questions.

Table 4.6: Questions 327/28: *Do you think it right that married women should go out to work? Why (not)?*

Response categories	Classification
Yes, no reason given	R
Yes, makes her independent, confident	
No, against female nature	A
No, enough work at home	
No, interferes with the man's occupation	
Conditional replies	C
Other	N

Those who answered *Yes* to questions 327/8 without further explanations were classified as **R**. This was justified not least because only a small number of respondents held such uncompromising views about the economic independence of women; consequently a simple affirmative reply could be judged as an expression of a positive attitude. The negative replies without further explanation required different treatment; the view that married women should not work was so widespread in Germany that this did not necessarily imply a desire to keep women in a subordinate position. Simple negative replies were therefore classified as neutral. If there were additional comments giving explicit reasons for this attitude, they were regarded as something beyond mere convention and classified under A. Those who stated that in general women should work, but not married

women (or only in cases of emergency) were seen as reformist and classified as C.

Table 4.7: Questions 621/22: *Do you think that one can bring up children entirely without corporal punishment? Reasons?*

Response categories	Classification
Yes, because children should grow up free and fearless	R
No, because a child needs to experience authority	A
No, because that is how I grew up	
No, because children take advantage of leniency	
Relative, depends on child	C
Only, if really necessary	
Yes, because one can manage without in practice	
Yes, because other punishment is more effective	
Other	N

In the analysis, only those replies were classified as R, A or C which offered reasons and thus showed that the respondent had real feelings on this point. A simple *Yes* or *No* was regarded as a reflection of traditional notions for or against corporal punishment and was therefore classified as neutral (see Table 4.7).

Table 4.8: Questions 422/23: *Do you think the individual has only himself to blame for his fate? Why (not)?*

Response categories	Classification
Yes, because he is politically passive and lazy	R
No, his fate is determined by his class; only the fate of the class can be changed	
Yes, because he does not live sensibly	A
No, because he is dependent on higher powers	
Conditional answers	C
Other	N

As already shown in the analysis of this question in Chapter 3, a large number of respondents declared that the fate of men is conditioned by their social position, but gave no further explanation for their views. Although this reply conforms with traditional Socialist thought, it neglects an essential point of Marxist theory which states

that despite, or just because of, his dependence on social position, man can alter his fate by political activity. Only those answers which stressed this important activist element in Socialist doctrine were classified as *Radical*, while replies which simply stated that the fate of man was dependent on his environment, were regarded as neutral.

The authoritarian viewpoint was expressed in two apparently contradictory types of reply. One answer stated that man was quite incapable of influencing his own fate. The other stated that a man must be held responsible for his own fate and failure. But both opinions derived from the belief that man was dependent on outside powers to whom he must necessarily subject himself: the first type of reply stressed helplessness and subordination; the second assumed that one had to obey the commands of an internalised authority; that one must follow the call of duty and of one's consciousness.

Table 4.9: Question 424: *How, in your opinion, can the world be improved?*

Response categories	Classification
Socialism	R
Better government	A
Better example by leaders	
More <i>Herrenmenschen</i>	
Knowledge and enlightenment	C
Internationalism	
Tax on wealth	
Ethics, education	
Other	N

The reasons for the classification of replies have already been discussed above (cf. 4a).

As in the previous complex of questions, the questions concerning authority were checked for consistency for each individual respondent. But in view of the interpretative classification of these replies a different kind of weighting was necessary. This applied above all to the first two questions, for which there were no ready-made party-political replies. The left-wing parties had not openly expressed a positive opinion regarding the employment of married women and, in view of the economic situation, avoided taking up any position. The question about the punishment of children also lay outside the political sphere. It could not therefore be assumed that an R-reply was a straightforward repetition of the party view. It was much more likely to be the respondent's own personal opinion.

Moreover, the first two questions, in contrast to the others, dealt with practical problems which were of importance in the respondent's actual lives. In order to be classified as R-replies in this case, the respondent had to be radical both in theory and in his practical daily activity, whereas R-replies to the third and fourth question might, under certain circumstances, only indicate a subscription to left-wing philosophies. For the evaluation of the complex as a whole it followed that an R-reply to one of the first two questions pointed to an R-attitude, while an A-reply to any question indicated an A-attitude. Seen against this background, the distribution of replies was as follows (see Table 4.10).

Table 4.10

Type of response	No. of respondents
1) <i>Radical replies</i>	
R for Questions 327/28 and 621/22 without A for another question	10
R for Questions 327/28 or 621/22 without A for another question	102
R for at least one of questions 327/28, 621/22, without A for another question	112
2) <i>Authoritarian replies</i>	
A for 4 questions	2
A for 3 questions without R for another question	10
A for 2 questions without R for another question	77
A for 1 question without R for another question	139
A for at least one question without R for another question	228
3) <i>Compromise-orientated replies</i>	
C for 4 questions	1
C for 3 questions without R or A for another question	4
C for 2 questions without R or A for another question	21
C for 1 question without R or A for another question	17
for at least one question without R or A for another question	43
4) <i>Contradictory or neutral replies</i>	
R for Question 621/22, A for question 327/28	13
R for Question 327/28, A for question 621/22	0
R for Questions 327/28 or 621/22, A for Questions 422/23 or 424	6
A for at least one of the first two questions, R for at least one of the last two questions	133
N for the two first questions, N or R for the last two questions	49
Contradictory on neutral replies	201

There was also a high level of consistency in this complex of questions: in only thirteen instances did R-replies appear together

with A-replies to the two first questions; and in only six cases did we find an R-reply to one of the first two questions as well as an A-reply to the other two questions. It is of some interest in this connection that R-replies to the problem of the employment of married women were never associated with A-replies concerning corporal punishment, whereas the converse behaviour occurred thirteen times. This would seem to indicate that the first question went deeper and revealed more about the radicalism of the respondent than the latter. Apparently, all those who were in agreement with the employment of women were consistent enough not to adopt an A-attitude to the problem of corporal punishment.

An authoritarian attitude to at least one of the four questions, with no R-replies to the other questions, was shown by 288 respondents. On the other hand, there were very few questionnaires showing an A-response to all four, or even to three, questions. As was the case regarding political opinions, there exists a marked contrast between the relative and absolute consistency of responses. It must be noted, however, that six respondents replied in an authoritarian manner to one of the first two questions and in a radical manner to the last two. By contrast we met with an unsolved combination in 133 cases; this result strengthens our supposition that R-replies to the first two questions were much more likely to be expressions of the personality than were such replies to the last two.

c. Attitudes towards Fellow Human Beings

The third complex of questions relating to attitudes of solidarity or of individualism towards others, was covered by five questions:

Questions 136/37/38: What is your relationship with your colleagues at work? With your immediate superiors? With those above them?

Questions 434/35: Do you lend money or objects to friends? Why/Why not?

□ Considerate attitudes towards fellow human beings have a great influence on the depth and reliability of Socialist convictions: the Socialist programme would be unthinkable without the solidarity of the working class, one of its central aims being to bring about a comprehensive solidarity between all human beings. In order to grasp emotional attitudes on this point, we chose two problems which seemed to us to be best suited to this, [namely the questions concerning relationships to workmates and the readiness to lend

things to friends]. These two questions were classified as follows:□

Table 4.11: Questions 136/38: *What is your relationship with your colleagues at work? With your immediate superiors? With those above them?*

Response Categories	Classification
Colleagues better than superiors	R
Superiors better than colleagues	A
—	C
Other	N

The fact that a worker had a better relationship with his superior than with his colleagues generally indicated a lack of solidarity with the latter as well as a marked career orientation. Those respondents who got on better with their colleagues than with their superiors usually had the opposite attitude. But, as with the second complex of questions, further distinctions had to be made here. We made the basic assumption that an R-reply to the question concerning a readiness to lend to friends would tell us more about the personality than would an R-reply to the question about relationships with colleagues and superiors. In some cases the relationship with colleagues was better than with superiors; this could easily have been due to a lack of opportunity to establish contact with superiors, so that an R-reply was not very meaningful. However, those A-replies where the relationship with superiors was described as better were deemed to be clear-cut as a matter of principle, since they left no doubt that those respondents were in contact with their superiors and preferred them to their fellow-workers.

Table 4.12: Questions 434/35: *Do you lend money or goods to friends? Why (not)?*

Response Categories	Classification
Yes, with comments expressing helpfulness on solidarity	R
No, with moral-ideological and other comments	A
Conditional answers	C
Other	N

□Readiness to lend things to friends can without doubt be regarded as an important indicator of attitudes towards others. The answers allowed conclusions to be drawn about whether we were dealing with a self-centred personality for whom a loving and giving attitude

spelled danger, or if the respondent entertained positive feelings towards others and found satisfaction in helping them.□

Only those answers which clearly indicated helpfulness and solidarity were classed as R-replies. In contrast, those answering *Yes* without further comments were thought to show a conventional response rather than expressing positive feelings; hence they were classified as *neutral*. Equally only those answers were regarded as *authoritarian* where the comments clearly showed that their *No* was based on principles. Finally, under heading C came those respondents who were willing to lend only where this was absolutely necessary and the return assured. Very often we came across the answer that someone could lend neither money nor objects because he had nothing to lend; where it could not be established whether this reply was a rationalization or was true, we classified these cases as *neutral*. The results were as follows:

Table 4.13

Response categories	No. of respondents
1) <i>Radical answers</i> R for Question 434/35, without A for Question 136/38	87
2) <i>Authoritarian answers</i> A for at least one question, without R for others	108
3) <i>Compromise-orientated answers</i> C for at least one question, with R or A for others	16
4) <i>Contradictory and neutral answers</i> A for one question, R for the other N for both questions	16 357

Since the third complex contained only two questions, it was possible to establish a clear characterization of the answers in a very few questionnaires. This constituted a basic difference from the other sets of questions with four questions each. There was all the same a remarkable consistency of response; only sixteen questionnaires contained contradictions between R- and A-replies.

d. Syndromes and Syndrome Formation

The next step in the research was to form a syndrome for each questionnaire, derived from the final characterization of the three sets of questions which have been dealt with separately until now. The classification applied was briefly as follows: in the first set the answers to the four questions were given equal weight. The totality was

designated as R, if at least one reply was classified as radical and none of the others displayed an authoritarian attitude. An analogous procedure applied to A-attitudes. The letter C was given where at least one reply was compromise-orientated and there were no R- or A-replies elsewhere. Where all questions were replied to neutrally or not at all, we noted this with a dash(—).

For reasons already discussed, we had decided that the first two questions in the second complex had to be accorded greater overall significance with regard to a left-wing outlook. The replies were accordingly classified as R if a radical attitude was shown to at least one of the questions without an R-reply to the other questions. Those respondents who had been given at least one A and no Rs were classified as authoritarian (A). If there were no R- or A-replies but at least one compromise-orientated reply, the questionnaire was designated as C. In those cases where the replies were neutral or the questions were not answered, a dash was used; this practice was also applied to those cases where the first two questions showed an authoritarian, but the last two a radical, attitude (. . .).

When classifying the third complex of questions, a questionnaire was designated as R if one reply was radical and the other at least not authoritarian. The opposite held good for authoritarian replies. Finally, respondents with one C-reply and no R- or A-replies were taken to be compromise-orientated. As for the other sets of questions a dash indicated neutral or missing answers.

The next step in the analysis was to select those questionnaires which showed contradictions in one or more of the groupings, since a definite assessment of the respondent was impossible in such cases. In this way our material was reduced by eighty-nine questionnaires; a further nineteen had to be excluded because they were designated as neutral in all three complexes. There remained 474 questionnaires, or 81% of the total, for further analysis.

In Table 4.14 we have listed the various combinations of the three sets of questions in order of frequency. In addition we give the percentage distribution according to political group, as well as the distribution between officials and supporters among the Social Democrats and Communists. Theoretically, any number of combinations of the three sets could have emerged. In fact, some did not appear at all, others only seldom, and again others comparatively frequently. This result enables one to assume that certain syndromes correspond with widespread psychological structures, whereas others must be regarded as exceptions.

Group R--, which was the most common, was made up of questionnaires wherein the first set of questions was answered in

Table 4.14: Response syndromes and political orientation (%)

Response syndrome	No. of respondents	Social Democrats				Left Socialists	Communists				Bürgerliche	National socialists	Non-voters
		1	2	3	Total		1	2	3	Total			
R--	78	16	10	18	14	20	22	15	44	20	2	-	1
RR-	56	10	3	5	5	11	40	12	-	23	-	-	4
AA-	40	3	9	7	7	-	-	1	-	1	14	18	16
CA-	32	3	8	7	6	7	-	1	-	1	12	6	7
RA-	27	6	4	7	5	-	2	8	-	5	12	-	1
CAA	20	2	8	4	5	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	6
AAA	20	2	2	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	14	29	6
-A-	30	3	4	4	4	-	-	3	-	1	-	-	12
RRR	14	2	1	2	2	7	6	3	-	4	-	-	-

accordance with left-wing doctrines, while the responses to the second and third sets were neutral. This attitude characterized personalities whose political ideas conformed to those of left-wing parties, but whose emotional impulses deviated from this. The strength of their political convictions should not be rated very highly since their opinions were not rooted in emotional needs which form a constant source of energy for the defence of political ideas. However, in so far as no authoritarian tendencies were revealed, one could, on the other hand, ascribe complete reliability to their political opinions. These individuals were probably true supporters of their party, but not fervent fighters; they always needed clear and rousing leadership, if they were not to relapse into passivity.

Whereas the combination R-- pointed to a personality of radical ideas, but of a 'lagging' though not contradictory psychic make-up, Groups RR- and AA- were distinguished by the far-reaching correspondence between political opinions and personality structure. Group AA- was authoritarian, Group RR- Socialist. If one looked at these groups in relation to political orientation, one found that the largely consistently radical combination RR- included only 5% Social Democrats, but 23% Communists. Nevertheless, there was a striking discrepancy between officials and supporters within both parties; the syndrome RR- occurred three times more frequently among the former than among the latter. There were also surprises in the opposite Group AA-. Since this was undoubtedly an anti-Socialist group, one would not expect to find any Socialists in it; but to our astonishment, it included 7% Social Democrats, but only 1% Communists and not a single Left-Socialist. The next combination in our Table was the Group CA-, where an authoritarian attitude went together with a tendency towards reformist political opinions. In contrast, respondents scoring RA- were radical in their opinions, but also authoritarian in their personal attitudes. This combination was of particular interest to us, since it identified a personality type which must be given a particular historical significance in Germany. (Cf. the more detailed description in E. Fromm, 1936a). Their replies made clear that they were, implicitly or explicitly, of the opinion that revolutionary leaders were the greatest figures in history; that war could be abolished by a proletarian revolution; that capitalism was to blame for the inflation and that Socialism would lead to a better world. At the same time their personal attitude betrayed the wish to submit to a strong leader and also a desire to dominate the weak. This attitude was often unconscious. Had we asked: *Would you like to submit to a strong leader and to dominate others?*, many, whose answers showed signs of such a wish, would have replied *No*.

e. Authoritarian, Radical and Rebellious Attitudes

What is the significance of the connection between radical opinions and a consciously or unconsciously authoritarian attitude? The authoritarian character can in general be divided into conservative-authoritarian and rebellious-authoritarian sub-groups. People with a *conservative-authoritarian character* basically wish to submit to authority and have no objections to the public authorities in their society. The classical example of these were the monarchist middle classes or, specifically, the monarchist petty bourgeoisie, of the Wilhelmine era. Members of this class loved authority with all its splendour and symbols of power; they identified with it and gained security and strength from this identification. Their lives, even if not brilliant, were nevertheless firmly ordered. They felt economically secure and were in charge of their households; whatever rebellious feelings they may have had were deeply buried.

However, this picture changed with changes in the economic and political position of the petty bourgeoisie, whose savings were lost in the inflation of 1921-23. The faith in a once-admired monarchist authority was lost, after its final collapse and self-abolition. Previously repressed rebellious impulses were strongly stimulated and came into the open as a result of this. The petty bourgeoisie, and above all the younger generation, revealed rebellious-authoritarian traits and rose against the increasingly hated authorities. The more conciliatory and weak authority appeared, the more grew their hatred and disdain. This emotional need, constantly fuelled by helplessness and economic emergencies, was a latent one, but one which could be activated at any time by a political movement offering new authority symbols suggesting the sort of power which not only the weak Republican, but also the defeated monarchist, authorities lacked.

In the post-war period such *rebellious-authoritarian types* often joined the Socialist or Communist parties. The Left was attractive to them, above all because it represented the fight against an authority which did not ease the general crisis and which showed itself as extremely weak against attacks by its opponents. They were indifferent to other aims, such as happiness, freedom and equality. As long as the left-wing parties were the only ones which appealed to their rebellious impulses, they would support them enthusiastically; after all, it was easy to convince rebellious-authoritarian types that the destruction of capitalism and the setting-up of a Socialist society were necessary. National Socialist propaganda later started from the same basis: National Socialism also offered an outlet for rebellious feelings; the difference was, however, that the power

symbols and authorities which it attacked were the Weimar Republic, finance capital and the Jews. At the same time, the new ideology established new authorities: the Party, the radical community and the Führer, whose strength was underlined by their brutality. In this manner, the new ideology satisfied two needs at the same time—rebellious tendencies and the latent longing for comprehensive submission.

In our data, the authoritarian-rebellious type was chiefly to be found in Group RA-. The political convictions of these respondents can be presumed to have been considerable and accompanied by strong feelings, but the steadiness of their convictions has to be regarded as minimal. Moreover, the National Socialist idea must have made a greater impact on them than the ideas of the Left. Consequently this group represented precisely those people who changed from being convinced Leftists into equally convinced National Socialists either at the beginning of the 1930s or shortly after the National Socialist seizure of power.

After the combination RA-, there follow three groups in our Table whose members were consistently authoritarian in their behaviour and whose personal attitudes hardly differed from their political ones. The most unambiguous was the combination AAA, which was authoritarian in all three dimensions. The syndrome CAA showed a tendency towards a reformist position, while the tendency in the syndrome -A- was neutral. The Socialists were also represented in these three groups by 11% Social Democrats and 1% Communists.

Although we deliberately refrained from carrying out any statistical correlations for groups with less than twenty representatives we do wish to present a breakdown of at least one combination, namely the syndrome RRR. This combination is chiefly of interest [because the tabulated data show the actual significance of a consistently radical position among the left-wing parties]. While the combination AAA contained 30% National Socialists, but hardly any Leftists, the Group RRR was exclusively filled by members of the Left [i.e. by 2% Social Democrats, 4% Communists and 7% Left Socialists]. It may seem surprising that so few Social Democrats and Communists showed evidence of an absolutely consistent left-wing position; but one must not forget that our criteria were very exacting and that the third complex moreover contained only two questions. If we put together the Groups RRR and RR-, both of which had a prerequisite a concordance between expressed opinion and character structure, there is an improvement of the picture, with 28% of all Communists and 7% of all Social Democrats belonging to these groups.

In the following Table, the syndromes are grouped in such a way that R-centred syndromes are contrasted with A-centred ones. Both are further sub-divided into *clear-cut* and *various combinations* sub-groups. The syndromes RRR and RR-, as well as AAA and AA- were designated as *clear-cut* in this connection; the second heading included groups with a lower level of consistency. In addition, we finally listed R- and A-type questionnaires; the rest was made up of the C-centred and neutral groups (see Table 4.15).

As we have stressed repeatedly, evidence which is as limited as ours cannot be regarded as a sufficient basis for an overall classification of German wage-earners and salaried employees. Moreover, our statements have but limited validity in a methodological sense, since our procedures can hardly lay claim to being an exact judgement with regard to each respondent. Nevertheless, our results are of value in providing indicators to several broad and major trends.

Without doubt, the most important *result* is the small proportion of left-wingers who were in agreement in both thought and feeling with the Socialist line. In critical times the courage, readiness for sacrifice and spontaneity needed to rouse the less active and to overcome the enemy, could only be expected from a rather small group of 15%. Although the Left had the political loyalty and votes of the great majority of workers, it had by and large not succeeded in changing the personality structure of its adherents in such a way that they could be relied upon in critical situations. On the other hand, a further 25% of Social Democrats and Communists were in broad though less firm agreement with their party and showed no signs of any personality traits which would have contradicted their left-wing approach. They could be counted on as reliable, but not as fervent, supporters. In view of this we are left with an ambiguous picture: on the one hand, the actual strength of the left-wing parties appears to have been much less than one might have supposed at first glance, if one looked at the numbers. On the other hand, there was nevertheless a hardcore of highly reliable fighters which should have been large enough to pull the less militant along in certain circumstances, i.e. if a capable leadership and correct evaluation of the political position had been at hand.

One must also not forget that 20% of the supporters of the workers' parties expressed, in their opinions and feelings, a clearly authoritarian tendency. Only 5% were consistently authoritarian; 15% displayed this attitude rather ambiguously. Beyond this, 19% of Social Democrats and Communists tended towards the rebellious-authoritarian position with clear contradictions between R- and A-replies. 5% of the Left had a compromise-orientated attitude, and 16%

in all came into the neutral syndrome category.

The analysis of *differences between the SPD and the KPD* was of particular interest to us. While 7% of Social Democrats and 27% of Communists were largely consistently radical (RRR, RR-), a general R-centredness was nevertheless shown by 28% of the former and 60% of the latter. A similar tendency was to be found in the distribution within the authoritarian-centred groups, containing 28% Social Democrats and 8% Communists. These results make clear that the opinions and attitudes of the Communists were in general more consistent than those of the Social Democrats, amongst whom a higher proportion of authoritarian attitudes was noticeable.

The distribution of the contradictory syndromes was different. Here the percentage of Communists was just as large as that of the Social Democrats, which seems to indicate that it was not the openly authoritarian, but the rebellious-authoritarians who were relatively widespread among the Communists. Finally, if one looks at the C-centred, the Social Democrats (6%) were three times as frequently inclined towards a compromise-orientation than were the Communists (2%), which was only to be expected in view of the objective differences between the two parties.

A further *analysis of the relationship of officials and supporters* makes clear that in both left-wing parties, officials out-numbered supporters in the R-groups, whereas supporters were more frequent in the A-groups. Among the SPD almost twice as many supporters as officials were represented in the A-centred syndrome, rising in the KPD to a proportion of 1:11. This confirms the impression we had gained during the analysis of the separate questions that a larger difference between officials and supporters existed among the Communists than in the comparable Social Democratic groups.

f. Occupation and Origin

□ Since we were able to establish strong correlations between personality type and political orientation, we wished to know whether there were comparable connections between *personality type and economic or occupational position*. For this purpose the respondents were divided into white-collar, skilled manual and unskilled manual groups. Contrary to our procedure when analyzing single questions, we did not separate out the group of the unemployed, since we were not at this point concerned with opinions, customs and attitudes which might have been determined or altered by the experience of long-term unemployment; instead, we were concerned with the influence of the individual's position in the

production process on their personality. For this question, a person's normal occupation is of greater importance than their current employment position. The results are shown in the following Table: □

Table 4.16: Response-syndromes and Occupational Groups (%)

Response-syndrome	White collar	Unskilled manual	Skilled manual
R-centred	29	43	39
A-centred	46	34	33
Other combinations	25	23	28
Total	100	100	100
Number	167	53	323

The above Table shows that 29% of white-collar workers were R-centred and 46% were A-centred, whereas the trend for manual workers was in the opposite direction.

In order to establish whether the *size of a firm* was a factor influencing personality, skilled manual workers who were employed in firms with less than 100 employees were differentiated from those in factories with more than 100. The results were as follows:

Table 4.17: Response syndromes and size of factory, skilled workers only (%)

Response syndrome	Firms with up to 100 employees	Firms with over 100 employees
R-centred	34	45
A-centred	38	26
Other combinations	28	29
Total	100	100
Number	175	148

The Table makes clear that in firms with up to 100 employees, skilled workers tended towards R-centred syndromes, whereas in larger enterprises there were almost twice as many R-centred as A-centred responses. This trend can be seen even more clearly, if the respective percentages of consistent R- and A-replies are compared (RRR resp. RR-, AA resp. AA-):

Table 4.18: A- and R-centredness, among skilled workers in large & small firms (%)

Response syndrome	Firms with up to 100 employees	Firms with over 100 employees
Strongly R-centred	9	17
Strongly A-centred	9	5

In firms with more than 100 workers there were three times as many R-centred as A-centred responses. If one looks at the effects of the individual's role in the production process on the personality of the respondent, it appears as if manual workers are moulded much more in the direction of left-wing philosophy than white-collar workers. These results correspond with general theoretical expectations.

The difference between skilled workers in large or small firms was most striking. In large enterprises, the individual worker has far less contact with management or the owner than in a small factory. It is therefore much less likely that workers in large-scale works will develop emotional ties with their superiors. For this reason, there will also be no place for a patriarchal-authoritarian attitude which is characterized by the wish to be loved and valued by the 'boss' (*Chef*) and the desire to avoid this disapproval. Where these emotional factors are lacking, chances for the development of a generally critical and independent attitude are significantly improved: the lack of competition for the boss's favour as well as the contact with many hundreds or thousands of similarly placed workers strengthens feelings of solidarity and the readiness to act on the basis of these feelings.

The final factor that we tested for was the *regional origin of the respondent*. We expected that this factor would also have an influence on the shaping of the personality, since it makes a difference whether a person comes from a town or the country. Respondents who were strongly R- and A-centred were grouped according to their regional origin, with the following results:

Table 4.19: R- and A-centred syndromes and origin of respondent (%)

	R-centred	A-centred
Urban origin	67	37
Rural origin	11	22
No information	22	41
Total	100	100
Number	70	60

67% of respondents from urban backgrounds, but only 11% from rural backgrounds, showed a strong R-centred syndrome; a radical attitude appeared six times as frequently in the towns as in the country. The picture for A-centred syndromes was different: here the relevant figures were 37% and 22%, indicating that those born in the country were almost twice as likely to have authoritarian tendencies as those born in the town. These results support the view that, apart from the factor of *working in a large-scale enterprise*, urban origin is an important pre-condition of a personality which is consistently radical-centred.

g. Examples

[In order to clarify to what extent the various syndromes influenced the flavour of the whole questionnaire, we present below five examples of the three main syndromes. While the questionnaires cannot be reproduced in their entirety, we have tried to list the answers to the most important questions.]

1. Authoritarian personality type

Question	Questionnaire No:
106 (occupation)	5918 Administrative assistant in government statistical department, age 38. 8133 Tax official, age 40. 5933 Proof-reader, age 61. 8135 Pump attendant, age 37. 9027 Policeman, age 33.
508 (income)	5918 RM 282—monthly 8133 RM 350—monthly 5933 RM 76—weekly 8135 RM 300—monthly 9027 RM 230—monthly
144 (how long unemployed)	5918 — 8133 14 months 5933 — 8135 — 9027 —
150 (previous occupation)	5918 Printer 8133 Labourer on a landed estate. 5933 Typesetter 8135 Worker, sailor 9027 I was a gentleman's servant.
154 (favourite alternative occupation)	5918 — 8133 Business man. I am best suited for this. 5933 I am satisfied with my occupation.

	8135	Sailor; who can do something about that.
	9027	Hunter or waiter. Hunter, because I love nature, waiter because they earn well.
216 (in whom can confide)	5918	In wife
	8133	Priest
	5933	Friend (although married)
	8135	Wife and priest
	9027	—
230/31 (allotment, pets)	5918	No; none
	8133	Yes. Chickens.
	5933	No. A dog.
	8135	Yes, chickens, rabbits.
	9027	—
233 (desires for furnishings)	5918	Writing desk.
	8133	—
	5933	No wishes.
	8135	—
	9027	Writing desk, flower stand, kitchen furniture.
241 (pictures hanging up)	5918	Enlarged photo of in-laws; bedroom picture 'Mother happiness' 'Parting and Re-union' own poker-work pictures.
	8133	2 of parents, 2 war pictures, 2 from my military service period.
	5933	Only a few pictures.
	8135	Pictures of Hamburg, parents, children, and the ship on which I served.
	9027	1 large still-life: roses in a vase, some small pictures, a photograph of my wife when she was five, and antlers.
242 (modern suburban houses)	5918	Good
	8133	—
	5933	They should be better built.
	8135	—
	9027	—
244 (favourite books)	5918	Books on ancient history such as <i>The Last Days of Pompeii</i> .
	8133	<i>The World War</i> . (owns): Memoirs of the Kaiser, Bible, Bismarck.
	5933	No. (owns): c. 100 books; various. I read 7 hours a day at work, that's enough.
	8135	I have none, my son has all the more.
	9027	Löns, Fritz Reuter and some war books.
248 (newspapers)	5918	Local paper, broadcasts, <i>Reichsbesoldungsblatt</i> .
	8133	Local paper.
	5933	Local paper, correspondence, house owner gazette.
	8135	<i>Morgenpost</i> .
	9027	The provincial paper.
254 (harmful books)	5918	—
	8133	We read little enough, but believe that

		socialist books are harmful.
	5833	—
	8135	—
	9027	—
303	5918	No
(Co-operative society)	8133	How could I buy at my enemy's.
	5933	No, I have other obligations.
	8135	No. German-national.
	9027	—
308/09	5918	<i>Lohengrin</i> , <i>Peer Gynt</i> , <i>King Lear</i> , light operettas.
(favourite plays and films)	8133	Classical. <i>Wilhelm Tell</i> , <i>Siegfried</i> .
	5933	Classical
	8135	Detective
	9027	Classical for my wife, classical and modern for me.
311	5918	Wife: piano.
(playing of musical instrument)	8133	Wife: piano.
	5933	No one.
	8135	Son: violin.
	9027	—
318/19	5918	At home doing jobs in the house, reading and talking.
(evenings and weekends)	8133	With my wife, on my plot of land.
	5933	At home, after a walk.
	8135	I go fishing; ditto.
	9027	At home.
322	5918	Everything, as long as politics remains excluded.
(conversational themes)	8133	Politics
	5933	Politics, questions of the day.
	8135	About fishing.
	9027	About impending salary cut.
323/25	5918	No.
(women's fashions)	8133	It is vulgar. Prostitutes use such means, but not German women.
	5933	I think present fashions are very healthy, perfume and powder dispensable.
	8135	No: a women who thinks something of herself doesn't need such things.
	9027	—
328	5918	No. Because it deprives men of jobs. It reduces the number of marriages and births and the sense of family life gets lost.
(employment of married women)	8133	Woman belongs in the home.
	5933	Woman belongs in the home.
	8135	No; there isn't even enough work for men.
	9027	No, woman belongs in the household.
331	5918	None
(sport)	8133	—
	5933	Gymnastics
	8133	Fishing

	9027	None
334/37 (societies/games)	5918	Cards, chess (collects) flags from <i>Massary</i> cigarette factory.
	8133	Veterans' association, money, lottery.
	5933	Cards for entertainment.
	8135	Anglers Society.
	9027	None. Cards, Prussian lottery.
341 (religious affiliation)	5918	Evangelical
	8133	Christian
	5933	Evangelical
	8133	Christian
	9027	Evangelical
348 (anything particularly proud of)	5918	—
	8133	Iron Cross, 1st Class.
	5933	I am proud of my independence, that I owe nothing to anyone, can move as a free man and look everyone in the face, whoever it may be.
	8135	Two prizes for angling.
	9027	German technology, and that I am a German.
349 (decisive event)	5918	—
	8133	My wife.
	5933	Yes; long years of night work on a newspaper, where I was able to save; 1895-1906.
	8135	—
	9027	No.
423 (responsibility for fate)	5918	No. Partly for accidents, since agility, physical characteristics and mental abilities play a part.
	8133	No. God guides our paths.
	5933	Yes. Many people have bad luck, are frequently unemployed. Many of the employed do not take care of their health; they do not remember the saying: save up in good time etc.
	8135	Yes. One makes the bed one must lie on.
	9027	—
424 (world improvement)	5918	—
	8133	That the world should return to God and the Kaiser.
	5933	This question cannot be answered in a few words.
	8135	I don't know.
	9027	—
425 (punishment for abortion)	5918	Unauthorised abortion should be punished.
	8133	It rightly exists.
	5933	I consider it a crime against one's own body.
	8135	It is unjust, if abortion is induced by need.
	9027	—

426 (personalities)	5918 Frederick the Great, Napoleon, Bismarck, Hindenburg. 8133 Bismarck, Hindenburg. 5933 Napoleon I, Bismarck, Mussolini in his way. 8135 Luther, Bismarck, Hindenburg. 9027 —
429 (prevention of world war)	5918 One can never prevent a war. 8133 Not. 5933 Through recognition on the part of the nations that peace nourishes, war destroys. 8135 Not at all. 9027 —
430 (German justice)	5918 The foundations are good. The restraint shown recently by the judiciary should only be practised, if it really promises results. 8133 It is just. 5933 Not a patch on old German justice. Conditional discharges and the mild punishments for fraud are bad. 8135 As long as men judge, there will also be miscarriages of justice. 9027 —
434/35 (lending of money or goods)	5918 No, because I do not have any money. 8133 No, I have had bad experiences. 5933 No. If you lend money to a friend, you will easily gain an enemy. I would rather give something. 8135 Yes; I have borrowed things myself. 9027 Yes; not money, but other goods.
436 (party membership)	5918 None 8133 German National People's Party (since 1919). (Before the War I was a member of the Socialist Party. In and after the war I changed my views and my attitude to God. In this, my wife played the greatest part. 5933 None. 8135 German National People's Party (since 1920). 9027 None, because in my view a policeman must not be partisan.
466 (Trade Union)	5918 Civil Service Union. 8133 <i>Stahlhelm</i> 5933 German Printers Union (since 1895). 8135 <i>Stahlhelm</i> Self-Help. 9027 Police Federation.
616 (occupational training under better circumstances)	5918 — 8133 — 5933 — 8135 — 9027 —

621 (upbringing without corporal punishment)	5918 No 8133 — 5933 No 8135 No, because a woman cannot devote herself only to the children. 9027 No
624 (sex education)	5918 — 8133 — 5933 — 8135 Never spent any thoughts on this. 9027 My wife is in favour of early sex education, I think it is better for one child, not for the other.

2. *Radical (Revolutionary) personality type*

Question	Questionnaire No:
106 (occupation)	5057 Lorry driver, age 37. 9307 Machine setter, age 35. 6312 Level-crossing guard, age 40. 5792 Typesetter, age 26. 7681 Glove cutter, age 35.
508 (income)	5057 RM. 66.50 weekly. 9307 RM. 100 weekly. 6312 RM. 150 monthly. 5792 RM. 67 weekly. 7681 RM. 51 weekly (Wife, RM 15).
144 (How long unemployed)	5057 18 months. 9307 7 months. 6312 No 5792 16 months. 7681 6 months.
150 (previous occupation)	5057 Locksmith, car repair. 9307 Outfitter, domestic servant. 6312 Labourer 5792 Machine worker, building worker, porter. 7681 Building trade.
154 (favourite alternative occupation)	5057 — 9307 Gardener, if moderately well-paid; health (nerves!) fresh air, pleasure in nature. 6312 Market gardening, for preference. 5792 Librarian or reporter, because more stimulating and interesting demands. 7681 —
216 (in whom can confide)	5057 I discuss everything with my companion. 9307 No, nobody. 6312 In my wife. 5792 In my wife and comrades (where particularly friendly). 7681 Wife, colleagues.
230/31	5057 Yes —

(Allotment, pets)	9307	Yes —
	6312	Yes. None.
	5792	Yes —
	7681	No. A dog.
233	5057	Dining-room.
(desires for	9307	None, only what is absolutely necessary.
furnishings)	6312	Beds, chairs, cupboards, a sideboard.
	5792	More comfortable and practical furniture.
	7681	1 sideboard, 1 writing desk.
241	5057	Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg, 1 engraving of Friederike, 1 water nymph.
(pictures hanging up)	9307	5 family pictures, 1 drawing.
	6312	Landscape prints.
	5792	Heinrich Vogeler (Worpswede), picture by Kollwitz, Lenin.
	7681	Lenin, picture of father when young.
242	5057	Flat-roofed single family house.
(modern suburban houses)	9307	Gropius (flat-roof building) is good.
	6312	Good. One needn't repair anything, one lives along. Rents not higher than elsewhere.
	5792	Good, but too expensive and far from workplace.
	7681	Very good.
244	5057	Marx—Engels—Lenin.
(favourite books)	9307	Encyclopaedia, travel, politics, history.
	6312	No.
	5792	Yes. Gorki, Jack London, Sinclair, de Coster.
	7681	Party literature.
248	5057	<i>Workers' paper, Inprekorr, International Unity</i>
(newspapers)	9307	<i>Red Flag, Workers' Illustrated Paper, Universum Library.</i>
	6312	<i>Workers' Paper, Workers' Illustrated.</i>
	5792	<i>Against the Stream, People's Rights, Workers' Politics, Printers' Correspondence.</i>
	7681	<i>Fighter, Workers' Illustrated Paper.</i>
254	5057	Bourgeois trashy novels.
(harmful books)	9307	Nationalistic and war books are harmful.
	6312	—
	5792	Trash and mendacious and tendentious novels (religious, political).
	7681	—
303	5057	Yes
(Co-operative Society)	9307	No, my wife doesn't want to join, although her mother was a member. Service?
	6312	Yes, since it is a workers' organisation and pays benefits.
	5792	Yes, because of political attitude.
	7681	Yes.

308/09
(favourite play and
films)

- 5057 *Cry out, China; Revolt in Approved School*; Russian films.
9307 Political, scientific and revolutionary films.
6312 Modern plays, Chaplin, *Pat and Patachon*.
5792 *Cry out China; Revolt in Approved School*; Russian films, Chaplin.
7681 *International, Kater Lampe, Red Sailors, March Night, Potemkin, Men in the Ice, Death Barge, Ivan the Terrible*.

311
(play musical
instrument)

- 5057 —
9307 —
6312 Nobody
5792 Wife: lute.
7681 —

318/19
(evenings and
weekends)

- 5057 Political activities; with the family.
9307 At home and at gatherings and lectures.
6312 At home, on allotment in summer.
5792 At home with comrades. In country, if I have no duties with organisations.
7681 With party members, at home.

322
(conversational themes)

- 5057 Politics
9307 Memories of the 1918 Revolution, workers' battles, standard of living.
6312 Gardening, economic crisis.
5792 Politics, literature, philosophy.
7681 World-political views.

323/25
(women's fashions)

- 5057 Yes. I think the latter (perfume, powder, lipstick) is unnecessary for a proletarian woman; I would consider cleanliness and natural appearance as right and proper.
9307 Yes. (Powder etc.) no, nonsense, a healthy appearance from sport, swimming, gymnastics, washing, is good enough.
6312 Yes. (Powder etc.) No. Too expensive. Could be used, if there is enough money.
5792 Yes. (Powder, lipstick:) No. Imitation of bourgeois decadence and falsity; with the exception of perfume to counteract the possible smell of sweat.
7681 Yes. (Powder, perfume, lipstick.) Unhygienic.

328
(employment of married
women)

- 5057 Yes.
9307 No, only if on own, husband unemployed.
6312 No; as long as there are enough men, these should be used.
5792 Yes, so that the home does not become the whole world.
7681 No, since there is enough work at home.

331
(sport)

- 5057 No time because of political activities.
9307 Gymnastics, ju-jitsu.
6312 No.

	5792	—
	7681	Cycling.
334/37 (societies, games)	5057	No time because of political activities.
	9307	Never
	6312	No, cards for money.
	5792	— —
	7681	— —
341 (religious affiliation)	5057	Free-thinker.
	9307	None
	6312	Evangelical
	5792	None
	7681	None
348 (anything particularly proud of)	5057	Our fatherland, 'the Soviet Union'.
	9307	Yes, battles in 1918-19 against police (Eichhorn).
	6312	—
	5792	When I can with success help to revolutionise the workers, which is unfortunately difficult and rare (and above all not very visible).
	7681	Communist party. Russian Revolution.
349 (decisive event)	5057	The war opened my eyes as a Social Democrat to realising that my true fate lies with the Communist International.
	9307	No, nothing can shake me, although I deserted in France in 1917.
	6312	The early death of my father and the War (serious war injury).
	5792	What is 'fate'? Too metaphysical.
	7681	The War.
423 (responsibility for fate)	5057	No; 1) through wrong education by par- ents and 2) through one-sided education at school in the capitalist state, where workers' children only learn as much as is needed to exploit them as workers.
	9307	No, man is the product of current power relations between capital and labour and upbringing.
	5792	Insofar as the individual does not suffer from a genetic disease or is somehow abnormal, his being is determined by his environment.
	7681	Yes. Lack of self-discipline.
424 (world improvement)	5057	Through the Communist social order.
	9307	Through a Socialist economy, compre- hensive schools, education for commu- nity enlightenment, but only after the seizure of power by the workers.
	6312	Through Socialism.
	5792	Socialism. As a first stage through the dictatorship of the proletariat under a Marxist, revolutionary leader.
	7681	Overthrow of capitalism. Establishment of a Socialist state.

- 425
(punishment for abortion)
- 5057 Rescinding of paragraph 218.
9307 Against abortion, but for contraception.
6312 No
5792 Against
7681 Hostile.
- 426
(personalities)
- 5057 Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Rykow.
9307 Marx, Engels, Lassalle, Lenin, Liebknecht (with the exception of wars also Napoleon), Singer, Bebel; (at present:) no-one discovered yet, perhaps Stalin.
6312 Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg.
5792 Marx, Lenin for Socialism; Mussolini for the bourgeoisie; all of these for the workers.
7681 Lenin, Karl Marx, Stalin.
- 429
(prevention of world war)
- 5057 Through the working class, whereby they turn the coming war against the Soviet Union into a civil war against the exploiters.
9307 Take up arms and fight against all the oppressors in one's own country.
6312 Through the action of the workers.
5792 Conquest of power by the proletariat.
7681 Through strikes, mass mobilisation of the international working class.
- 430
(German justice)
- 5057 One-sided class justice, worse than at the time of Bismarck.
9307 Class justice.
6312 Class justice. It always depends on who it is who is to be sentenced.
5792 One of the best functioning apparatuses of power of the ruling class and of the capitalist state apparatus.
7681 Class justice.
- 434/35
(lending of money or goods)
- 5057 I haven't any money—objects, yes.
9307 No, those who love their things, don't lend them. Lose money—or lose a friend.
6312 Yes. To help.
5792. Yes. Money only, if there is any, and the person taking it has a decent face.
7681 No, because I am without means.
- 436
(party membership)
- 5057 German Communist Party (since its foundation).
9307 German Communist Party since 1926, before that German Social Democratic Party.
6312 No, in order not to be disadvantaged at work (Voting: Communist).
5792 German Communist Party (Opposition).
7681 German Communist Party, since 1919.
- 446
(trade union)
- 5057 German Transport Association.
9307 Union of German printers, since 1913.
6312 Union of Railwaymen.
5792 Printers' Union.

	7681	German Textile Workers' Union Opposition.
616	5057	Out of the question.
(occupational training	9307	High school (according to ability).
under better	6312	High school.
circumstances)	5792	—
	7681	—
621	5057	Yes. Because one achieves more with sensible words than with blows.
(upbringing without	9307	Yes, by example, sometimes strict attitude.
corporal punishment)	6312	Yes. Because children of proletarians get beaten enough as it is.
	5792	No. Lack the educational qualification to correct a child without resort to these means.
	7681	One achieves one's goal better with children through kindness and love.
624	5057	We both believe we should enlighten our children before they leave school.
(sex education)	9307	Very necessary.
	6312	It is right. Children are then protected from illness and misfortune.
	5792	Necessary, to counteract dangers and exaggerated fantasies and to strengthen a sense of responsibility.
	7681	It is very important to enlighten children about sex in good time.

3. Ambivalent personality type

Question	Questionnaire No:	
106	5774	Typewriter, age 46.
(occupation)	5720	Typesetter, age 60.
	7252	Shop assistant, age 32.
	5750	Locksmith, age 37.
	7804	Printer, age 29.
508	5774	RM 90, weekly.
(income)	5720	RM 80, weekly.
	7252	RM 180, monthly.
	5750	RM 60, weekly.
	7804	RM 65, weekly.
144	5774	—
(how long	5720	—
unemployed)	7252	Yes, 4 months
	5750	5 months
	7804	14 months
150	5774	—
(previous occupation)	5720	—
	7252	—
	5750	Mechanic
	7804	—

154 (favourite alternative occupation)	5774 Employment by State, because entitled to a pension. 5720 None 7252 Kindergarten teacher, I like children very much, so that this profession would fully satisfy me. 5750 Businessman, more possibilities for upward mobility. 7804 —
216 (in whom can confide)	5774 In wife. 5720 In wife. 7252 In mother and girl-friend. 5750 Above all in wife or colleagues. 7804 Only in wife.
230/31 (allotment, pets)	5774 No — 5720 No — 7252 Yes. A dog. 5750 No. A cat. 7804 No.
233 (desire for furnishings)	5774 Piano and writing desk. 5720 — 7252 — 5750 Piano 7804 Complete bedroom and sitting-room.
241 (pictures hanging up)	5774 Pictures 5720 Souvenirs, diplomas, pictures of parents and children. 7252 2 prints by Böcklin, 1 etching, 2 silhouette pictures. 5750 Family pictures and pictures of nature. 7804 2 prints of oil paintings.
242 (modern suburban houses)	5774 Partly white good, only beyond reach. 5720 Good, because necessary. 7252 Partly good. 5720 Not up to much, but better than houses in old town centres. 7804 Very good.
244 (favourite books)	5774 From far-away continents, classical, antiquity. 5720 Scheffel; (owns:) Classics, encyclopaedia, literary stories. 7252 Jom Uhl von Frenssen and books by Felizitas Rose. 5750 No. 7804 Travel logs.
248 (newspapers)	5774 Reading group. 5720 SPD paper, <i>Printers' Correspondence</i> , <i>Workers' Gymnastics Paper</i> . 7252 Party paper (<i>Rheinische Zeitung</i>), trade union paper, Ullstein's <i>Blatt der Hausfrau</i> . 5750 <i>Frankfurter Generalanzeiger</i> 7804 None.

254 (harmful books)	5774	Yes, mass-produced books.
	5720	Trashy and serialised novels, because they present the young with an impossible fantasy world.
	7252	—
	5750	—
	7804	Romances (<i>Sittenromane</i>), which in our view do a lot of harm.
303 (Co-operative society)	5774	No.
	5720	Yes.
	7252	Yes, because it is alleged to be a Socialist undertaking.
	5750	Yes.
	7804	No.
308/09 (favourite plays and films)	5774	<i>Carmen, Tannhäuser, Lohengrin, Fidelio, Tosca, The Jewess</i> ; nature photographs.
	5720	—
	7252	<i>Tiefland, Chalk Circle, Trial of Mary Duggan, House of Three Girls.</i>
	5750	<i>Carmen, Peer Gynt, Freischütz</i> , Russian films.
	7804	<i>Lohengrin, Aida.</i>
311 (play musical instrument)	5774	—
	5720	—
	7252	Brother: guitar
	5750	Nobody
	7804	I play the mandolin.
318/19 (evenings and weekends)	5774	At home
	5720	In like-minded company. Woods and fields.
	7252	At home, outdoors in good weather; partly at home, partly on hikes.
	5750	At home with family. Excursions.
	7804	With family.
322 (conversational themes)	5774	Depends on time.
	5720	Political and union matters of the day.
	7252	Matters of the day, and travel experiences.
	5750	Art, sport, local events.
	7804	The good old days.
323/25 (women's fashions)	5774	Yes. No. <i>Bubikopf</i> is practical and hygienic; powder and lipstick is unnatural, resp. damnable.
	5720	No. All artifice in this regard is bad, particularly damnable are court shoes (with high heels).
	7252	Yes, if not exaggerated; (powder:) no, I think it is unhygienic and ugly to present a painted face to the world. I can understand that one uses perfume.
	5750	No. Perfume is alright, but not powder and lipstick. A women who uses these things does appear tarty.
	7804	No. No.

- 328
(employment of married women)
- 331
(sport)
- 334/37
(societies, games)
- 341
(religious affiliation)
- 348
(anything particularly proud of)
- 349
(decisive event)
- 423
(responsibility for fate)
- 5774 No, belongs in the home.
- 5720 No. To look after household is more important.
- 7252 No, a woman cannot be a complete mother and housewife, if she is also employed in a job.
- 5750 No. The household suffers.
- 7804 No. A married woman belongs in the home.
- 5774 Hiking.
- 5720 Gymnastics.
- 7252 Hiking.
- 5750 Swimming.
- 7804 —
- 5774 —; chess.
- 5720 Choral society; —
- 7252 No; no.
- 5750 Choral society. Cards. Hamburg lottery.
- 7804 —
- 5774 Free
- 5720 None
- 7252 —
- 5750 Evangelical
- 7804 Evangelical
- 5774 Wife and child, and that I can give my child a better childhood than I had.
- 5720 Founding member and 35 years of service as official in the workers' gymnastics movement, 42-year membership of trade union.
- 7252 —
- 5750 That I have worked honestly and fairly for a quarter of a century from morning to night, and have achieved nothing.
- 7804 When I was the only boy at school who was given a book on 15.6.1913, on the occasion of the 25th Jubilee of Kaiser Wilhelm II and with the dedication: given by the school as a distinction.
- 5774 —
- 5720 —
- 7252 —
- 5750 My youngest brother died in April 1911, my father died in June, and three months later my eldest brother died.
- 7804 —
- 5774 Yes: through oneself: no; because of economic conditions.
- 5720 Partly, but parental upbringing, education and economic crises can have a detrimental influence.
- 7252 No, circumstances are stronger than the individual, he usually has to adapt against his will.

	5750	Partly, yes. All the same, as a worker I can do little about this.
	7804	Yes. Some people run headlong and consciously towards ruin, and have to suffer for it for the rest of their lives.
424 (world improvement)	5774	Through Socialism; which wants to unite capital and labour and thus put men on an equal footing.
	5720	Through the actual and honest enlightenment of the masses.
	7252	First of all men must be dutiful and idealistic, without greed or selfishness.
	5750	An end to an economy based on profit instead of one based on need.
	7804	—
425 (punishment for abortion)	5774	To be rejected, if done for profit; to be supported, if done by doctor.
	5720	—
	7252	—
	5750	I am against punishment.
	7804	After the third child, abortion should be allowed through a doctor.
426 (personalities)	5774	Workers' leaders of the trade unions.
	5720	Dr Martin Luther, Briand.
	7252	Goethe, Marx, Bebel, Bismarck, Gandhi.
	5750	Bismarck, Liebknecht, Edison.
	7804	—
429 (prevention of world war)	5774	Through raising the masses, and understanding.
	5720	See Question 424, and heavy punishment of all warmongers, fraternisation of nations.
	7252	Through a policy of international understanding.
	5750	Unification of world proletariat.
	7804	Not to be avoided, as long as one nation is maligned by another (occurs already at school).
430 (German justice)	5774	Not much
	5720	Do not think much of it.
	7252	Not always fair. Still influenced by the dust of the Kaiser state.
	5750	Not just. Class difference. Man is man.
	7804	Good.
434/35 (lending money or goods)	5774	No. Have nothing.
	5720	No. Destroys the friendship.
	7252	No. I have nothing to lend.
	5750	No. On principle.
	7804	No. Am myself in bad circumstances financially because of being unemployed.
436 (party membership)	5774	German Social Democratic Party.
	5720	German Social Democratic Party (for 40 years).
	7252	German Social Democratic Party.

446
(trade union)

- 5750 None. Am in favour of works' organisation.
7804 —
5774 Printers' Union.
5720 Printers' Union since 1888.
7252 Central Union of German Employees.
5750 Left the Metal Workers' Union.
7804 Union of German Printers.

616
(occupational training
under better
circumstances)

- 5774 High school, to join Marines as wireless operator.
5720 —
7252 —
5750 High school to enter business. Do not have the financial means to realise this wish for my child.
7804 (Are still too small).

621
(upbringing without
corporal punishment)

- 5774 No. Up to a certain age, and not at every opportunity.
5720 Yes.
7252 —
5750 Yes. Disciplinary punishments are better.
7804 Yes. I have observed that a good word achieves more than a beating.

624
(sex education)

- 5774 Not much, since it is not the child's desire for knowledge which is satisfied but the desire to enter even more deeply into that secret world, and that is harmful.
5720 —
7252 —
5750 When a child leaves school it should have been fully enlightened.
7804 We think early enlightenment is good.

Appendix I

ERNST SCHACHTEL

Literary Style and Personality Traits

The psychological analysis of literary style can prove a fruitful approach, when one is conducting a written inquiry with the aim of obtaining information on the personality of respondents. In the present study, we made some use of this technique so as to be in a better position to put individual answers into the respective categories of our interpretation. On occasion, the wording of a reply may be psychologically more informative than the content. But the analysis of literary style is most meaningful when undertaken not in relation to single questions but in relation to the whole questionnaire; it is only in such cases that one can hope to gain information about the personality structure of a respondent.

It is generally accepted that a *relationship exists between personality and literary style*, that an individual's style is in some ways characteristic of him alone.* In French, this is expressed in the

*See F. H. Allport, L. Walker, E. Lathers, 1934. In this study about *Written Composition and Characteristics of Personality*, two of the authors—Walker and Lathers—undertook a comparative analysis of 630 student essays, in which they sought to assign each essay correctly to its author. While probability theory predicted an expected value of 1.6 for a correct assigning, and the highest possible value was 8, Walker/Lathers achieved a value of 4. Starting from the question as to how far the essays could be correctly identified or assigned, the study was above all concerned with the possible criteria for such an identification. The following characteristics were seen as promising in this regard: personality traits, the content of the essay, judgment about its style (e.g. expressive, good, developed, or literary style), the external form of the essay, type of mistakes, and the attitude of the writer towards the essay or its subject. The authors came to the conclusion that 'the precise nature of the characteristic upon the basis of which identification is made, is very elusive' (ibid. p. 24) and 'too elusive to be stated adequately in language' (ibid., p. 69). Another attempt to gain information about personality from essays derives from Martin Keilhacker (1936) who analysed

phrase '*Le style, c'est l'homme*' and we can often actually identify a writer or a friend by his style. With this in mind, our purpose was to try and establish how far the relationship between the individual and his literary style could be fruitfully brought to bear on the assessment of his personality. We thus wanted to discover the psychological connection between style and writer and to find out which personality traits were reflected in particular stylistic peculiarities.

There seem to be basically two ways in which style might tell us something about a person: one may find constantly recurring peculiarities of expression which give a piece of prose its respective unique colouring; or a particular emotion may be brought out by an individual remark at a particular point within the treatment of a given theme. Although the writer is probably not conscious of this emotion, he is stimulated by it in such a way that it finds expression in an unpleasant tone, a slip of the pen or something similar. In this way, an individual's general style can be examined in parallel with this general attitude, while the special features of an individual statement correspond to his attitude within a specific situation; for in general each situation acts to release certain emotions which may be reflected in spoken or written expression.

Normally, personality is more clearly revealed in speech than in written prose. The differing value of the spoken and the written word for an assessment of personality is largely based on the fact that the relationship between what a person writes and how he/she phrases it is usually less direct than the link between a talking person and the expressions used by him/her.* There are more people who speak than who write in a natural and spontaneous manner. Writing is an unfamiliar activity for many people, and for even more of them it is likely to appear as a kind of set task needing to be well mastered. No doubt these factors have a considerable influence on the manner in which a person writes. For a scientific assessment, however, a piece

numerous essays, mostly by final-year high school students, in his *Charakterologische Aufsatzuntersuchungen (Character Analysis from Essays)*. Keilhacker concentrated mainly on the content of the essays and only analyzed the 'linguistic aspect' from the viewpoint as to how far the writer is in command of language as a form of expression, and if language was a factor which hindered or helped intellectual production and into which direction language tended to push this production.

*This is only true on average, since there are cases where this difference does not exist or where even the opposite can be observed. In cases of serious nervous disorder, for example, oral expression may be so inhibited that apart from this fact, one can deduce nothing about the personality from the spoken word. In such cases writing may be a 'freer' form of expression: the lack of direct personal contact may release the writer from many of the inhibitions arising from such an interaction.

of writing has a technical advantage: it is easily accessible and represents a completely objective record. A similar record of the spoken word is much more costly to produce and necessitates the use of complicated technical equipment.

When analyzing a person's literary style, the consideration of those factors which influence the expression of personality, i.e. which contribute to what we call the *writing situation*, is of primary importance. (. . .) These social and individual factors vary according to the *purpose of the writing*: when a pupil composes an essay, or a person writes to a superior, or for a job, or hurriedly to a friend, or when he replies to a questionnaire—his literary style will vary according to each particular circumstance. Even in the situation in which we are particularly interested—namely, filling in a questionnaire—the psychological meaning of this for the individual is by no means clear-cut: the institutions which are to receive the questionnaire and their significance for the respondent, the purpose of the questionnaire and its subjective meaning as well as the degree of anonymity—all this makes for highly diverse situations as far as the respondents are concerned. Moreover, a questionnaire concerned with a general social inquiry places the respondent in quite a different position than would, for example, an intelligence test which creates an examination situation.

In addition to the above-mentioned factors one must take into account that the writing situations are *socially differentiated*. Especially in a questionnaire such as our own, writing skills and familiarity with the topic of the investigation are of the greatest importance. A journalist who writes daily about subjects similar to those posed by us is in a very different position to the peasant who seldom writes and who is far less familiar with the problems they refer to. A clerical worker or lower civil servant will perhaps take the same attitude towards filling in the questionnaire as they have when filling in a form—they will offer no answers to matters they are not sure about and will aim at mathematical exactitude in their statements. Finally, the well-informed urban worker may be familiar with the questionnaire topics but will usually have difficulty in formulating a written reply.

Only when one has taken these situational factors—the purpose of the writing and the social position of the writer—sufficiently into account can one move on to an analysis of *the personal factors of the writing situation* of each individual. Thus, for example, a shy person who is afraid each time he answers a question that he has replied incorrectly and worries about whether what he has written could be used against him, experiences the writing situation quite

differently to someone who has never given such matters any thought, but who is perhaps pleased to be able to offer his opinions.

In many instances, it is precisely because of the peculiarity of the writing situation that personality traits and the psychic mechanisms connected with 'one's feelings about oneself' (*Selbstgefühl*) are made particularly clear through the writing process. By *Selbstgefühl* (and without wishing to give a complete definition of this very complicated concept) we mean the particular manner in which a person evaluates himself in relation to others. This self-evaluation can range from the completely conscious to the completely unconscious. Conscious and unconscious self-evaluations can even exist side by side and in opposition to one another: for instance, it is possible for a conscious anxious modesty to conceal an unconscious imaginary sense of greatness; or by contrast to conscious arrogance to hide an unconscious feeling of extraordinary weakness. Sometimes, the *Selbstgefühl* seeks to compensate for an existing lack of confidence; occasionally an actual insecurity may also be mirrored in feelings of insignificance, inferiority and helplessness. The specific means which an individual uses to maintain or increase his *Selbstgefühl* are closely connected with his personality. *Selbstgefühl* thus in turn points to numerous psychic mechanisms which go into moulding the overall personality structure.

Normally self-evaluation is based on a comparison with others—a process which, being the essential basis of *Selbstgefühl*, can take different forms. It may take the course of an active comparison with others; but it may also assume passive forms. In the latter case, a person's *Selbstgefühl* will be influenced by his knowledge or his assumptions about what others think or might think of him. Because *Selbstgefühl* is ultimately based on a comparison with others, situations where a person comes into contact with others have a particular influence on this *Selbstgefühl* and its defence mechanisms. This influence is particularly important in situations where the person seeks to make a particular impression. Thus, one respondent might seek to impress the reader with his erudition when answering a questionnaire, while another might regard it as a form of test and therefore try to avoid making 'mistakes'.

According to the role which *Selbstgefühl* plays in the response-attitude, we can differentiate between *object-orientated* and *self-orientated types of expression*. If interest and purpose is totally concentrated on the object with which he is concerned, the form of expression will also be object-centred: in such cases, the style of writing is to be characterised as object-orientated, which does not however mean that it is not coloured by the individual manner of

seeing and thinking about things. On the other hand, a self-orientated form of expression does not imply egoism, but an attitude which is more concerned with self-evaluation than with the object—even the choice of words may in this case be determined by the defence mechanisms of the *Selbstgefühl*. We can find many examples of purely object-centred forms of expression, but hardly any of purely self-centred forms; the purpose of both spoken and written expression is to communicate something, so that self-centredness is only secondarily reflected in the specific choice of words. But just as a subjective presentation of the self can be formulated in an object-centred manner without regard to *Selbstgefühl*, an objective and neutral fact can also be expressed in a strongly self-centred form. All in all, therefore, we must expect many transitional forms and combinations between a self-centred and an object-centred style.

Perhaps the most usual form of a self-centred style is that in which the writer attempts to enhance his self-estimation through the value and importance of the words he selects. The way in which these words are used probably depends on the writer's social position as well as on his personal preferences: where one person may seek to express himself in 'cultured' terms, another may adopt a 'mannered' style, while a third will give his opinions in as profound and involved a manner as possible. Others will choose words which sound stilted in order to develop a pompous style in this way. Particularly 'poetic' or sensitive forms of expression can also help to strengthen the *Selbstgefühl*. Finally, there are also people who seek to demonstrate their 'culturedness' by using as many quotations as possible. All these forms of self-centred expression can be subsumed under the notion of a *narcissistic style*.

The different variations of the narcissistic style may be characterised as meaning that the speaker or writer, in adopting a certain formulation, is, so to speak, also hearing himself: a narcissistic person more or less consciously registers what effect his words have on himself, and is less concerned with the subject he is discussing than with a choice of words which might serve to present him in a good light. In the following, we shall select some examples of the self-centred style from our data. Several examples from each questionnaire will be given in order to show how specific psychic tendencies are repeated irrespective of the subject under discussion.

Questionnaire 309 is a good example of a style which aims to impress the reader and to enhance the writer's *Selbstgefühl* through the choice of particularly 'cultured' and stilted words:

Question 140: *How do you spend your annual holidays?*

- Response: 'All alone in the deep peace of the mountains or the forests.'
- Question 154: *Which occupation would you like best?*
- Response: 'My interest lies in *horticulture* [*Gartenbaukunst*].' (instead of saying 'gardening' he says 'horticulture' in order to show that he has 'higher' interests.)
- Question 232: *What furniture do you have?*
- Response: '... Divan'. (The more common word 'couch' would not be refined enough.)
- Question 318: *Where and how do you best like to spend the evening?*
- Response: 'At home with my spouse [*Gattin*].' (Instead of the usual 'at home' or 'at home with my wife'.)
- Question 336: *What do you think about the great increase in sports?*
- Response: 'Am a lover of sport.' (A 'mannered expression for 'am in favour' or 'think it is right'. As with the word 'horticulture' this serves his need to elevate his activities.)
- Question 348: *Is there anything in your life of which you are particularly proud?*
- Response: 'In my opinion, parents and one's health are the greatest things that man as man [*der Mensch als Mensch*] can possess.' (The meaningless repetition 'man as man' is meant to make a special impression.)
- Question 424: *How in your opinion can the world be improved?*
- Response: 'The world can be improved through the general good of international world economic transactions [*Weltwirtschaftshandels*].' (A meaningless combination of catchwords taken from the newspapers: he probably thinks they are particularly high-sounding words.)
- Questions 427/28: *What form of government do you think is the best?*
- Response: 'Personally experienced consequences of the War have taught me: to be human [*Mensch*] means being a democratic republic.' (Again a grammatically impossible and meaningless sentence which was probably meant to impress by its proverb-like character.)

Another respondent (Questionnaire 600) tried to increase the

significance of his words by inserting a dash in front of them. Its purpose was apparently to prepare the reader for a surprise or paradox which, however, never came; on the contrary, it was usually followed by a most banal reply:

Question 328: *Do you think it is right that married women should have a job?*

Response: 'She belongs—in the home.'

Question 349: *Was there an event in your life—whether good or bad—which was decisive for your fate?*

Response: 'The—nature of man: in addition, the World War.'
(It can be seen that the respondent also shows preference for a 'mannered' style.)

Question 331: *What sports do you do?*

Response: 'Collecting my thoughts, on long walks.'

Question 622: *Do you think that one can bring up children entirely without corporal punishment?*

Response: 'Opinions are not always comprehended just psychically.'

Question 641: *Last occupation of your mother-in-law?*

Response: 'Spouse of the owner of a gardening centre.'

A further group of stylistic phenomena can be traced to the particular attitude of the respondent towards authority: here the writer attempts to adapt his prose to that of an authority—whether it be an individual or an institution. Institutional authorities such as schools, public offices and the military are the source for a school-master-like style, for specifically bureaucratic language and for terse military forms of expression. The following answers from Questionnaires 390 and 418 are examples of identification with the authority of schools or the state bureaucracy:

Question 140: *How do you spend your annual holidays?*

Response: 'For years I have used what are termed 'holidays' [*Ferien*] for my trade-union courses.' (This formulation is typical bureaucratic German, and it is therefore not surprising that the respondent would most like to be a 'middle-grade official in the Prussian State service' (Question 154).)

Question 317: *Are the radio programmes to your liking?*

- Response: 'In the evening hours I wish to see the cultivation of the German language.'
- Question 324: *Do you like short hair (Bubikopf)?*
- Response: 'Remain as Nature made you, wear your hair short for health reasons.' (Schoolmaster-like, proverb-like character.)
- Question 327: *Do you think it right that married women should have a job?*
- Response: 'The mother belongs to her child.' (The same tone in a 'poetic' version.)
- Question 428: *What form of government do you think is the best?*
- Response: 'No radical government will be in a position to maintain itself unless it has the numerical strength of the voters behind it.' (Artificial, bureaucratic style.)
- Question 431: *Who in your opinion is responsible for the inflation?*
- Response: 'The crime of capital.' (Once again, schoolmaster- and proverb like.)

In the last two questionnaires the writers adopted a schoolmaster-like bureaucratic style, in which they identified with those authorities that they had once feared, and perhaps still feared, but which they admired at the same time. Psychoanalytically speaking, one can start from the assumption in such cases that school and bureaucratic authorities have helped to build up their super-ego and to maintain it. The style is also largely influenced by a specific attitude towards authority in the following questionnaires. We are not dealing here with an attitude of identification, but with a particular form of submission to authority and its rules; the respondent believes that his value as well as his security are increased by obedience and that he will thus rank above those who are less dutiful.

- Question 122: *Are you satisfied with your Works Council?*
- Response: 'Whatever they do is for the good of all the workers, in a way which none of the gentlemen had done before.' (The style of this judgement on the Works Council is that of a good child, when speaking of God or its parents.)
- Question 129: *Do you like the Works paper?*
- Response: 'It is full of informative things. Mainly stories which stimulate the intellect.' (A sentence which

makes the impression as if written to please the teacher.)

Question 147: *What occupational exams have you taken?*

Response: 'None. I had only the best reports.' (Again, the pride of a model pupil.)

Questions 251/52: *Do you read regularly? Why not? (too tired, too little time, not enough peace and quiet).*

Response: 'I make time for this.'

Question 306: *Which museums (exhibitions etc.) do you visit?*

Response: 'I have been to them all.'

Question 307: *Do you prefer classical or modern plays?*

Response: 'I like something old!' (The last three replies do not show any preference for anything specific, only an interest in things intellectual, for which the respondent may have been praised in school ('all' museums, 'something old').)

Question 427: *Which form of government do you think is the best?*

Response: 'Since I am a woman, I know very little about these things, and would rather not say anything.' (This timid, modest retreat reminds one of the rule learnt at school, *taceat mulier in ecclesia*. The same applies to the following reply.)

Question 443: *What prevents you from being (more) politically active?*

Response: 'It is not appropriate for a woman.'

However different the writing styles indicated above may be, they have in common the attempt at a defence against uncertainty, anxiety, and any threat to personal status. An exaggerated self-centredness as well as the various authority-orientated attitudes both contribute to a defensive attitude. But other psychic mechanisms can be brought into play, as for example an uncommitted or *dissociated attitude*. An uncommitted person who never wants to take a firm position always hopes by this to evade any possibly threatening dangers. Those, on the other hand, who keep their distance are guided by the precept: 'If one does not allow oneself to become involved, there is nothing one can lose.' Such a person believes that as a neutral, disinterested observer he stands 'above things' and that in looking at things from an objective point of view he is less vulnerable. A person who never offers a firm opinion and who keeps his distance can never be proved actually wrong and, should he ever make a mistake, is not so strongly

affected as if he had been more committed. As the following examples show, these processes are often reflected in specific forms of response: their form is conditional and subjective.

Question 424: *How in your opinion can the world be improved?*

Response: 'Everyone should adapt themselves to the world order.'

Question 429: *How in your opinion can a new world war be prevented?*

Response: 'Only if the will to prevent war would find general acceptance.'

Question 431: *Who in your opinion is responsible for the inflation?*

Response: 'No single individual can be made responsible for it.'

Question 622: *Do you think one can bring up children entirely without corporal punishment?*

Response: 'The science of education without corporal punishment must first become accepted by all nations.'
(This respondent hid behind every word that he wrote and so protected himself against defeat. The replies in Questionnaire 454 are also examples of this style.)
(. . .).

Question 139: *How long are your annual holidays?*

Response: 'Commensurate with my station.'

Question 423: *Do you think the individual is responsible for his own fate?*

Response: 'It depends on the situation.'

Question 425: *What do you think about punishment for abortions?*

Response: 'Paragraph 218 is a calamity for the lower classes.'

Question 427: *What form of government do you think is best?*

Response: 'Within the bounds of the possible, the Republic is the most suitable.'

Question 430: *What do you think of the German judiciary?*

Response: 'Everything has its negative side.'

This respondent commented at the end of the questionnaire on the destitutions of the working class: . . . *not to mention that of the unemployed and white-collar workers; these unbearable conditions ultimately lead to the regrettable street disorders*; and in the same comment, he remarked about his wife: *She is a state within a state*.

The questionnaire of this respondent is characterized by a mixture of all the styles we have noted so far: in the replies to Questions 423, 428 and 430 we find a careful differentiating, non-committal form of expression, but these are also inflated phrases serving to strengthen the *Selbstgefühl* as, for example, *commensurate with my station* in Question 139, or the phrase *a state within a state*. Through his non-committal formulations, the respondent tries to construct a secure position for himself so that, when he talks about *regrettable street disorders*, he can distance himself from the object of his pity. His stance as a neutral objective observer provides him with a feeling of superiority, which becomes clear when, for example, he distances himself from *the lower classes* who suffer under *the calamity of paragraph 218*. (It is interesting, incidentally, that this respondent was a unionized leather worker.)

A different stylistic phenomenon may be described as *word-parsimony* [*Wortkargheit*]: for the relevant person, words are objects which one must use as sparingly as gold, feelings and used wrapping paper. The most noticeable trait of monosyllabism is that all communication must be kept as short as possible; there is also a particular deficiency in those elements of speech which contribute towards an emotional bond with others. This style points to a withdrawal from the outside world and a systematic tendency towards isolation as well as the avoidance of all emotional contacts which are regarded as dangerous or superfluous. This characteristic may be connected with an exaggerated exactitude of expression as with a narcissistic style. In the latter case, *Wortkargheit* does not only signify a tendency to retreat. The writer assumes that a laconic form of expression will increase his prominence more than a communicative style and so enhance his own importance. A good example of monosyllabism combined with a narcissistic form of expression can be seen in Questionnaire 257, the replies to which we analyzed more thoroughly and which we shall make the basis for a personality study of a respondent.

An important stylistic feature, finally, is a *colourless form of expression*, although this is of limited use in the diagnosis of particular character traits. Such colourlessness, which is not to be equated with coldness, can also be described as a *conventional* style. Its origins can probably be traced to the fact that the writer is trying to achieve a 'good' style in a school-like or a socially conventional sense. In the attempt to adapt to conventional standards, as taught in schools and universities, the writer loses his uninhibited direct forms of expression, with all their faults, but also with their individual

colouring and liveliness.* This is supported by an interesting statistical finding in the previously cited study by F.H. Allport et al. (1934). Allport established that there is no relationship between 'academic merit (grade) of writing' and the expressive force of an individual's writing which enables one to identify the author through his style (op. cit., p.34). He correctly deduces from this that individualistic forms of expression are not encouraged in school, neither are they a sign of 'good' writing in the academically or socially accepted sense. The more a person adapts to conventional standards, the more their style becomes colourless with regard to personal nuances of expression, while typical differences in style between different social groups also arise from this factor: the longer the process of learning a good style lasts, the more marked will be the tendency to fall in with school standards and conventional stylistic means. Those sections of the population which have only attended secondary school, therefore, usually express themselves in a comparatively individualistic, forcible and naive manner. It follows that directness, spontaneity and an individual style tend to be reduced among the more *conventional*. The colourless form of expression thus acts as a filter, sifting out the many different types of people and ultimately allowing little to emerge about the individual's personality. It indicates, essentially, that such people belong to a social group which has been educated to use this style.

Nevertheless, a colourless form of expression is not entirely without value for an assessment of personality; just as there are few people who behave conventionally in every situation and at all times, so there are few who consistently express themselves in conventional terms. There will be places where a lighter or a darker note appears against the background of the neutral grey of a conventional style, where emotions break through and a change of tone or a slip of the pen reveals a greater openness. The more comprehensive the material and the more subjects it touches upon, the greater is the probability of encountering such a rupture in the conventional style. Here, it is not only the form and content of such spontaneous utterances which are important, but also the manner in which, and the place where, they

*In juxtaposing an uninhibited directness with a conventional colourless correctness, we in no way wish to imply that this is the ultimate dichotomy of forms of expression. Where a language is totally at one's command, as with great stylists, the total personality may be seen in the style. This style is then neither naive nor a model in the sense of school standards, but original and full of nuances which make the structure of the thought, vision and experience of this person transparent. Between these three types of written expression there are, of course, numerous in-between stages and combinations.

occur. In this, we are convinced that the different tone which erupts through the colourless style stems from a different personality sphere than the conventional form of expression.

As it is impossible, for reasons of space, to reproduce a complete questionnaire in order to show how and where these ruptures occur and what conclusions can be drawn from them about the writer's personality, we will confine ourselves to quoting the answers of several respondents to one selected question. In each case, one can clearly see how a particular emotion breaks through the writer's colourless style, in forms of expression ranging from vehement outbursts of feeling to carefully veiled emotion. Question 325 (*Do you like the use of powder, perfume, lipstick, by a woman?*) was particularly suitable in this connection, since it seems to have triggered off a strong emotional response even in respondents who were otherwise likely to be reserved in their reactions.*

Questionnaire 281: 'When I see such a lady on the street, I could be sick, I find it so repulsive; because she is terribly disfigured.'

Without doubt, this is a strong emotional outburst; the fury of the respondent hopes to hit the object through disdain. It is noticeable that the emotion is expressed in purely personal terms. In the following two examples, the emotion is hidden under a cloak of outraged morality and, severed from the personal, asserts a general validity:

Questionnaire 66 : 'Powder, perfume etc. belong in the dustbin.'

Questionnaire 608: 'After all, our women are not negroes or Red Indians.'

In contrast to the above replies in which the strength of feeling was directly reflected in the vehemence of expression the following examples are distinguished by the fact that the immediate emotional rejection of powder etc. has disappeared and has been rationalized by reference to hygienic and economic arguments:

Questionnaire 455: 'Simple food instead of powder, fresh air instead of perfume and a bottle of milk instead of lipstick generate natural looks, save time and money.'

*This is a case of 'emotional-displacement'. The energy of the feeling can hardly be thought to stem from such a harmless source, unless this is being supplemented from other sources.

Questionnaire 429: 'The *Bubikopf* is healthier and cleaner in the home. Powder and lipstick should not be stuck on a clean housewife.'

The emotions which were stirred up by this question did not entirely disappear behind the rationalization offered: their direction could be discerned indirectly through the dominant schoolmasterly manner in which the respondents, fully conscious of their male superiority, gave their advice, or rather orders. In the following replies this form of emotional expression has almost disappeared.

Questionnaire 274: 'Although I am not prudish, I believe that women today go too far in this respect.'

There is no passion discernible here. The formulation is neutral and mild. The respondent has curbed his misgivings in that he only talks of things going *too far*, and this is itself qualified by the words, *I believe*. The whole position of this careful respondent is toned down even further in that he prefaces his comments with the remark that he does not want to be regarded as prudish. But it is precisely through these precautionary qualifications that he unintentionally reveals the carefully veiled emotional origin of his viewpoint. This comes through despite his self-righteous, objectively neutral tone which in effect takes all colour and weight away from his reply.*

The examples given above do not only illustrate the various shades of expressive forms ranging from the conventional to spontaneous emotional outbursts; they also show the diagnostic value of single statements, since specific character traits of the writer become clear in the reaction to the emotional stimulus of the question: in Questionnaire 281, for example, one can recognize sadistic tendencies aimed at the humiliation of others; Questionnaires 429 and 455 show a schoolmaster-like tendency to lay down the law for others; Questionnaire 274 is characterized by an attempt at carefully self-justification.

The aim of the discussion so far has been to make a contribution to the methodology of analysis of written expression and to define and explain this methodology in respect of specific examples. Where one

*The examples given are incidentally also good illustrations of the advantages of open-ended questionnaires, since they show up individual differences in response attitude. In a pre-coded questionnaire, the respondent could at best tick one alternative about his feelings concerning the user of powder etc. from a range such as: 'Very good—good—average—undecided—not good—bad—very bad', which would tell one very little about his personality.

has a sufficient number of answers, such an analysis can help in the reconstruction of part of the basic personality structure. This is to be made clear through the following final example.

The respondent [Questionnaire 257] is a man in his early forties, a miner, trade-union official and member of the SPD. [A striking feature is his pronounced reticence (*Wortkargheit*): he economizes on every word and expresses himself as curtly as possible. In contrast with other reticent people, who are also not very communicative generally, he seems to relish his curtiness and to be very proud of everything he says. Hence his *Wortkargheit* is not related to the content of his replies, but to every word which he thinks is superfluous. Thus his answer to the question whether (and why) he would rather shop in department stores or specialist shops (Question 302) was, in relation to department stores: *On average cheaper*, leaving out the words 'they are'. Where others might have been content to write only 'Cheaper', he places great value on exactitude and therefore adds 'on average'. Something similar can be seen in his reply to the question as to why he is not a member of a consumer cooperative (Question 303); here he writes *Brother grocer*, leaving out the words 'my . . . is . . . '.

The general characteristic which underlies this form of *Wortkargheit* can be described as a tendency towards withholding not only money but the whole self. Every turn towards the outside world and towards other people is perceived as a danger. The solution is often a closing-up, which frequently results in an attitude of dismissive brusqueness. The replies 'on average cheaper' and 'brother grocer' sound as though he was thinking 'what business is it of yours? Concern yourself with your own affairs'. This tendency can be seen even more clearly in the answer to Question 325 (*Do you like the use of powder, perfume, lipstick by a woman?*): *Can't stand the smell*. Here he neither bothers to say 'I' nor does he try to formulate an opinion which is detached from an all-too-narrow concentration on his own feelings in order to offer an objective point of view. (...) This happy-go-lucky curtiness extends to the smallest details. It is, for example, to be seen in reply to Question 501 (*What does your daily food consist of in the main?*): whereas most respondents replied *Potatoes, meat, bread, vegetables, etc.* he replied *Staple diet*. His stress on exactness is shown in his use of the grammatically correct dative [in German], at the same time as avoiding the preposition 'of'; it would have been normal usage either to include the preposition or to use the nominative. Our respondent is miserly not only with words, but also in his attitude towards unnecessary information: it is nobody's business what his 'staple diet'

consists of. This superficial manner of response clearly accords with a brusque as well as a reserved attitude, as becomes clear in the reply to Question 434 (*Do you lend money or goods to friends?*). Here he writes *Have nothing to lend*, although, with a weekly income of RM 250, he belongs to the higher income groups. In parallel with his careful use of words is to be noted his deletion of letters wherever possible. He thus describes his army rank as *SM* (sergeant-major), and replies to the question about which religious group he belongs to: *ev.* (evangelical). Since he likes to be very correct, he prefers to use abbreviations which are customary in business or school or school maths: he writes *&* instead of *and*, and when asked how often he goes on hikes in a month, replies *1x* instead of *once* or *1*; equally when asked Question 502 (*How often do you eat meat in the week*), he answers *2x*.

Other traits are associated with this *Wortkargheit* which can be deduced from specific nuances in the responses. The respondent is, without doubt, orderly, regular in his habits, and conscientious in fulfilling his duties. He states that he would like to live long. But in reply to the question what he does to ensure this, he does not answer *live healthily or have the right diet*, but simply: *Live orderly*—a reply which has little to do directly with the problem of achieving old age. For him, rather, order is a value in itself; but we never discover what this order actually consists of. Thus in his view people are only responsible for their own fate because they lead *irregular lives* (Question 423). To a penchant for military order is added a schoolmaster-like attitude. The fact that he experiences everything as law, command, duty, or prohibition is made clear in his style: he speaks against married women's employment, but justifies this by reference to *household duties*. At this point one can almost hear the sharp commanding voice of the sergeant-major; but he does not consider himself to be gruff, unfriendly or bossy.

[His reply to the question whether he regularly gives his wife and children money is interesting (Questions 631/32). At this point our respondent notes that he] gives his total wage to his wife, but for an unusual reason: *A wife must regulate everything in the same economical way as her husband*. The trust in his wife and the freedom which he seems to offer her in handing over his weekly wage, actually serve to remind her of her duty to be parsimonious. A friendly, trusting and forthcoming gesture is thereby turned into a duty and a command. Nevertheless, he shows a latently progressive view in his answer to Questions 621/22: he advocates that children do not need to be caned. But he expresses his view as follows: *The educator must be capable of bringing up children without the cane*.

In contrast to other respondents he justifies his opinion not by contemplating the effect of corporal punishment on the child; nor does he emphasize the positive aspects of his attitude towards the child; the decisive emphasis is on the 'must' for the educator, which is exactly the same as in his relationship to his wife; when handing over money it was not his trust, but the 'must' of economy which was the crucial element. Because he himself experiences a compulsion to be orderly and dutiful, he in turn takes over command, since he cannot let the sergeant-major in him come to rest. He adopts an authoritarian attitude towards his wife as well in his role as educator, and this raises his self-esteem. This attitude is made clear in numerous examples revealing a schoolmasterly tone; it comes out in asides as well as in the answer to Question 236 (*What articles of clothing can you make at home?*): here, our respondent replied: *Gentlemen's outfits* instead of the usual *Underwear, suits, dresses, etc.* [In comparing both points of view] one discovers the same busy self-satisfaction in his replies that we found occasionally in other questionnaires when the respondent referred to his *spouse*, his *residence*, and his *divan*.

Appendix 2

The Questionnaire

I

101. Year and place of birth.
102. Sex: male—female.
103. Marital status: married—widowed—single—divorced.
104. Why are you not married?
105. Military service 1914 . . . 1918 . . .
106. Present occupation.
107. Position? White-collar: leading—middle-rank—ordinary.
Manual worker: foreman—skilled—semi-skilled—unskilled.
108. Branch to which your firm belongs?
109. Which department in firm?
110. How many personnel? Manual workers . . . White collar . . .
111. How many hours worked weekly? . . . hours
112. Work ends at . . . o'clock, Saturdays at . . . o'clock.
113. Distance of workplace from home? . . . minutes.
114. How often undertaken in a day? Twice—four times.
115. Do you also work regularly on the night shift? Yes—no.
116. How much overtime on average in the week? . . . paid hours, . . . unpaid hours.
117. Is there a wage agreement? Yes—no.
118. What is it?
119. Is there a Works Council (ombudsman) in your firm? Yes—no.
120. What is its political orientation? Stahlhelm—SPD—Democrats—Christian—Yellow.
121. Are you satisfied with the Works Council? Yes—no.
122. Why (not)?
123. Are most of the employees or workers in your firm members of a trade union? Yes—no.
124. Which unions predominate?
125. Is there a company union in your firm? (Working community together with employer)? Yes—no.
126. A Works paper? Yes—no.
127. Which?

128. Do you like it? Yes—no.
129. Why (not)?
130. Is there a Works Savings Scheme? Yes—no.
131. Do you take part in it? Yes—no.
132. Is there a Works sports organisation? Yes—no.
133. Do you take part in it? Yes—no.
134. Has rationalization been carried out in your firm? Yes—no.
135. What do you think of it?
136. How do you get on with your colleagues at work? [Cf. Chaps. 3e and 4c].
137. How do you get on with your immediate superiors? [Cf. Chaps. 3e and 4c].
138. With those higher up? [Cf. Chaps. 3e and 4c].
139. How long are your annual holidays?
140. How do you spend them?
141. Have you been unemployed since the end of the War? Yes—no.
142. In which years?
143. Why?
144. How long altogether . . . months.
145. Have you been on short time since the end of the War? Yes—no.
146. What occupational training have you had? Trade school: . . . years, commercial school: . . . years, apprenticeship: . . . years.
147. What exams have you passed?
148. Are you still attending courses to do with your occupational training? Yes—no.
149. Which?
150. In what other occupations were you previously engaged?
151. When?
152. As what? Manual worker—white-collar—civil servant—self-employed.
153. Why did you discontinue your previous occupation?
154. Which occupation would you like best?
155. For what reason?
156. Do you have a continuous—occasional—second job? Yes—no.
157. What?
158. Why?

11

201. Father's occupation: Manual worker—white-collar—civil servant—self-employed.
202. In what branch of trade?
203. Did your mother have an occupation? Yes—no.
204. What?
205. Did your father change occupations? Yes—no.
206. Earlier occupation?
207. How old is/was your father? . . . years; (died).
208. Mother . . . years; (died).
209. How many brothers and sisters do you have?
210. What are their occupations?
211. What schools did you attend? Lower—middle—high school.
212. How long for? . . . years.
213. Was your childhood happy? Yes—no [Cf. Chap. 3e].
214. Do you think your parents had a happy marriage. Yes—no. [Cf. Chap. 3e].
215. In case of need, could you turn for help to well-off relatives or friends? Yes—no.

216. If you have problems, do you discuss them with your wife or anyone else?
Friend—colleague—priest.
217. Do you live in a rented house—rented flat—suburban house—own house—
accommodation provided by firm?
218. Do you live in your own accommodation or are you a lodger?
219. With use of kitchen? Yes—no.
220. On which floor do you live?
221. How many living- and bedrooms does your dwelling have?
222. How many of these are heated?
223. Are your rooms large enough. (How many square metres in each room?)
224. How many people sleep in your dwelling?
225. How many beds or couches do you have?
226. How many rooms do you sub-let?
227. How many of these are heated?
228. With how many beds?
229. With use of kitchen? Yes—no.
230. Have you got an allotment? Yes—no.
231. What pets do you have?
232. What furniture do you have in your dwelling? Tables . . . chairs . . . arm chairs . . .
sofa . . . cupboards . . . book-cases . . . book-shelves . . . wash stands . . . chest of
drawers . . . sideboard . . . writing desk . . . grandfather clock . . . wall-clock . . .
sewing machine . . .
233. What furniture would you like to have?
234. How are you and your family off for clothes, underwear, shoes? Good—quite
good—insufficient.
235. Can you regularly buy new things for yourself and your family? Yes—no.
236. What can be made at home in your family? Children's underwear—clothes—
underwear for grown-ups—women's clothes.
237. How much bed-linen do you have? Sheets . . . pillowcases . . .
238. How often in the month is there a big wash?
239. What dress and underwear purchases would you make if you did not have to
restrict yourself?
240. How do you decorate your home? [Cf. Chap. 3c]
241. What pictures and photographs have you hung up? [Cf. Chap. 3c].
242. How do you like modern suburban houses? Low level, flat roof etc.
243. What books do you own?
244. Do you have any favourite books? Yes—no [Cf. Chap. 3c.]
245. Which? [Cf. Chap. 3c]
246. Do you read scholarly books? Yes—no.
247. Which?
248. Which newspaper and periodicals do you subscribe to?
249. Which before the War?
250. Do you also subscribe to periodicals with an insurance? Yes—no.
251. Do you read regularly? Yes—no.
252. Why not? Too tired, too little time, no peace and quiet.
253. Do you or your family use a library regularly? Reading room; public library.
254. Do you or your wife find certain books particularly bad or harmful?
(give reasons).

III

301. Do you or your wife prefer to buy in a department store or a specialist shop?
302. Why?
303. Are you a member of a co-operative society? Yes—no.
304. Why (not)?
305. How many times a year do you go to the theatre . . . concert . . . variety show . . . revue . . . cinema . . .
306. To which museums (exhibitions etc.) do you go?
307. Do you prefer classical or modern plays?
308. What are your favourite plays? [Cf. Chap. 3c.]
309. What are your favourite films? [Cf. Chap. 3c.]
310. Do you belong to a theatre society? (e.g. *Volksbühne*).
311. Who in your family plays a musical instrument?
312. What do they play?
313. Do you have a radio? Yes—no.
314. What type?
315. Built by you? Yes—no.
316. Loudspeaker? Yes—no.
317. Do you like the radio programmes on offer? Yes—no. Why (not)?
318. How and where do you best like to spend the evening?
319. The weekend?
320. With whom do you go on outings? Family, friends, club.
321. How often in a month?
322. What do you like to talk about best with friends?
323. Do you like present-day women's fashions (e.g. short skirts, silk stockings)? [Cf. Chap. 3c.]
324. Short hair (*Bubikopf*)? Yes—no. [Cf. Chap. 3c.]
325. The use of powder, perfume, lipstick by a woman? Yes—no. Give reasons [Cf. Chap. 3c.]
326. Do you think it right for women to go out to work? Yes—no. [Cf. Chap. 3d.]
327. Also those are married? Yes—no. [Cf. Chaps. 3d and 4b.]
328. Why (not)? [Cf. Chaps. 3d and 4b.]
329. Do you belong to a sports association? Yes—no.
330. Which?
331. What sports do you do?
332. Your wife?
333. Your children?
334. What social clubs do you belong to (e.g. bowls, choral society)?
335. What sports events do you go to? Football, wrestling, boxing, tennis tournament, swimming gala . . .
336. What do you think about the great popularity of sport?
337. Do you play cards—chess—*Dame*—(for money—lottery—slot machines?)
338. Do you like jazz? Yes—no. [Cf. Chap. 3c.]
339. Do you collect stamps? Yes—no.
340. Or anything else?
341. What are your religious or philosophical affiliations?
342. Have you left the Church? Yes—no.
343. Do you and your wife go to Church? Yes—no.
344. How often in a month?
345. Do you believe in God? Yes—no.
346. In eternal justice? Yes—no.

347. In prophecies? Yes—no.
348. Is there anything in your life of which you are particularly proud?
349. Has there been an event which has been decisive in your life, whether for good or ill?

IV

401. What serious illnesses have you had?
402. Have you any physical handicaps? Yes—no.
403. What?
404. From birth—through an accident?
405. How is your state of health at present?
406. What hereditary diseases are there in your family?
407. Do you have an occupational disease? Yes—no.
408. What?
409. Do you have a war injury? Yes—no.
410. What?
411. In which health insurance are you?
412. Are you satisfied with it? Yes—no.
413. Why (not)?
414. Do you prefer homeopathic doctors to other doctors? Yes—no.
415. Are you afraid of illness? Yes—no.
416. Why (not)?
417. Do you have a good digestion? Yes—no.
418. Do you sleep well? Yes—no. [Cf. Chap. 3e.]
419. Are you a teetotaller, non-smoker, health-food eater, vegetarian? (give reasons).
420. Would you like to live long? Yes—no.
421. What do you do towards this?
422. Do you think the individual has only himself to blame for his fate? Yes—no [Cf. Chaps. 3b and 4b.]
423. Why (not)? [Cf. Chap. 3b.]
424. How, in your opinion, can the world be improved? [Cf. Chaps. 3b, 4a and 4b.]
425. What do you think about punishment for abortion? [Cf. Chap. 3d.]
426. Who do you think are the greatest personalities in history? . . . In the present? . . . [Cf. Chaps. 3b and 5a.]
427. What form of government do you think is the best? Democratic Republic—Fascism—Monarchy—Soviet [Council] system? [Cf. Chap. 3a.]
428. Why do you hold this view? [Cf. Chap. 3a.]
429. How, in your opinion, could a new world war be prevented? [Cf. Chaps. 3a and 4a]
430. What do you think of the German judiciary? [Cf. Chap. 3a.]
431. Who, in your opinion, is responsible for the inflation? [Cf. Chap. 3a and 4a.]
432. Who, in your opinion, has the real power in the state today? [Cf. Chap. 3a.]
433. Would you invest your money, if you were wealthy? [Cf. Chap. 3e.]
434. Do you lend money or goods to friends? Yes—no. [Cf. Chaps. 3a, 3e and 4c].
435. Why (not)? [Cf. Chaps. 3a, 3e and 4c.]
436. To which party do you belong?
437. Since when?
438. Why (not)?
439. Do you read party literature? Yes—no. Which?
440. Do you regularly go to party meetings? Yes—no.

441. Do you hold a party office? Yes—no.
 442. For which party do you vote?
 443. What prevents you from (greater) political activity? Family, employer . . .
 444. What do you think about your party? Politics . . . leaders . . . organization . . . [Cf. Chap. 3a.]
 445. Do you belong to a defence organization? *Jungdo—Reichsbanner—Rotfront—Stahlhelm* . . .
 446. To which occupational association-(union) do you belong?
 447. Since when?
 448. Do you regularly attend union meetings? Yes—no.
 449. What do you think of your occupational association? Leaders . . . organization . . . literature . . . welfare provision . . .
 450. Do you read the union paper? Yes—no.
 451. Are you a union official? Yes—no.
 452. What prevents you from being (more) active in the union? Family, employer . . .

V

501. In what does your daily food mainly consist?
 502. How many times a week do you eat meat?
 503. What do you put on your bread? Margarine—butter—lard—jam.
 504. What do you mostly drink? a) alcoholic: beer, wine, spirits, cider; b) non-alcoholic: tea, coffee, malt coffee, cocoa, milk.
 505. How much do you smoke a day? Cigars . . . cigarettes . . . pipe . . .
 506. Do you eat regularly in a cafe or canteen? Yes—no.
 507. Do you prefer to eat at home or in a pub?
 508. *Total income (RM):* Husband Wife
 Basic weekly income, without deductions
 Basic monthly income, without deductions
 Regular monthly additional income without deductions
 Overtime
 Secondary job
 Public or union supplements
 Pensions
 Income from lodgers (how many? . . .) RM . . .
 Contributions from . . . children in household RM . . .
 Contributions from . . . children not in household RM . . .
 Other income RM . . .
 509. Do you have savings in a savings bank? Yes—no.
 510. House ownership? Yes—no.
 511. How many let dwellings?
 512. Did you lose capital through war or inflation? Yes—no.
 513. Or did you get rid of debts? Yes—no.
 514. About how much per week do you pay for:
 Tax and other deductions (for wage-earners) Husband: RM . . . Wife: RM . . .
 Transport to work: RM . . . Other fares: RM . . . Food for you and your family overall: RM . . . (of which in canteen or in pub: RM . . .) Smoking: RM . . . Alcohol: RM . . . Other expenditure in RM . . .
 515. About how much per month do you pay for:
 Tax and other deductions (for salaried employees) Husband: RM . . . Wife: RM . . .

Rent: RM . . . Electricity: RM . . . Paraffin: RM . . . Heating for kitchen and washroom: RM . . . Laundry: RM . . . Union and party dues: RM . . . Other dues to clubs: RM . . . Papers and periodicals: RM . . . Books: RM . . . Outings: RM . . . Theatre and cinemas: RM . . . Sports events: RM . . . Body-care: RM . . . Pocket-money for wife: RM . . . Pocket-money for children: RM . . . Wages for domestic servants: RM . . . Hire-purchase repayments: RM . . . Savings in savings banks: RM . . . Other expenditure in RM . . .

516. About how much do you spend annually on:

Clothes and underwear: RM . . . (for work clothes RM . . .) Heating fuel: RM . . . Conserving fruit and vegetables: RM . . . School books, tuition fees: RM . . . Life insurance: RM . . . Other insurance (e.g. burglary, voluntary health, etc.): RM . . . Courses for yourself: RM . . . For your wife: RM . . . Special expenditure for education of children: RM . . . Church tax: RM . . . Doctor, chemist, hospital: RM . . . Support of parents: RM . . . Support of children: RM . . . Support of others: RM . . . Presents: RM . . . Other annual expenditure in RM: . . .

517. What winter stores do you regularly lay in? (Coal, wood, potatoes, fruit, etc.).

VI

601. What age were you when you got married?

602. Year and place of birth of wife?

603. In what year was your first child born?

604. How many children do you have? . . . (How many under 14? . . . 14-18 years? . . .)

605. How many children still living in the household?

606. Did your wife have any miscarriages?

607. If yes, how many?

608. Do you have an opportunity to send your children to creches or kindergartens?
Yes—no.

609. What schools do your children go to?

610. Are you satisfied with your children's school (give reasons).

611. Do your children receive religious instruction? Yes—no.

612. What do you send your children to learn outside school? Piano, stenography.

613. What occupational training are your children following?

614. How many children are earning?

615. In what occupations?

616. What school and occupational training would you prefer for your children, given better circumstances?

617. What is your wife's opinion on this?

618. Do you want (any more) children? Yes—no.

619. Why (not)?

620. What youth groups do your children belong to?

621. Do you think one can bring up children entirely without corporal punishment?
Yes—no. [Cf. Chaps. 3d and 4b.]

622. Reasons . . . [Cf. Chaps. 3d and 4b.]

623. What does your wife think?

624. What do you and your wife think about early sex education for children (birth, procreation, sexual diseases)? [Cf. Chap. 3d.]

625. Does your wife have a physical complaint? Yes—no. What?

626. A nervous complaint? Yes—no. What?

627. What does she do about it?

628. Do your children suffer from anaemia or other complaints?

- 629. Have they ever gone away to recuperate? Holiday camp—to relations—foreign children's aid . . .
- 630. Do you give your wife household money, or simply your whole wage packet?
- 631. Do you give your wife/children regular pocket money?
- 632. Why (not)?
- 633. Is your wife in employment? Yes—no.
- 634. As what?
- 635. Was she in employment in the War? Yes—no.
- 636. As what?
- 637. Before the War?
- 638. As what?
- 639. Last occupation of father-in-law?
- 640. Previous occupation?
- 641. Last occupation of mother-in-law?
- Comments . . .

Appendix 3

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Appendix 4

WOLFGANG BONSS

Editorial Comments

The German edition was not based on a well-rounded manuscript, but on a number of versions of the text, some of which are in the nature of a first draft and are often preserved only in incomplete form. Given the state of these texts, it was found that several versions had, as a rule, to be combined. A simple translation was not possible in the absence of a final carefully written manuscript. There are, basically, two types of change between the printed version and the original: indecipherable or garbled passages and where evident repetitions were deleted; these places are marked by (. . .). Where, on the other hand, introductory or linking passages between various parts of the text or individual sentences were missing, these were inserted according to the original design, and all such additions indicated by [. . .]. For technical reasons all footnotes were integrated into the text wherever possible. The original texts on which the German version was based are to be found—though in a disordered state—in the New York Public Library.

Chapter I: Aims and Methods

Apart from some corrected fragments, there were basically two versions of this chapter which we shall subsequently call (a) and (b). Judging from a reference in an article by P. Lazarsfeld (1937) it is probable that both stem from the second half of 1937; the latest possible date would be the second half of 1938, since Fromm, by his own account, stopped work on the manuscript after he left the Institute for Social Research. If one takes note of dictation records and comments by third parties which have been preserved, it is clear that several people were involved in work on the text. Whether and to what extent these people actually wrote parts of the text side-by-side with Fromm can no longer be established. Judging from stylistic characteristics these contributions appear to have been minimal; and if one takes account of the uniform hand-written corrections, it is clear that the final editing was undertaken exclusively by Fromm. The correction signs also show that version (b) is later than (a), with several passages in (b) taken word for word from (a). Differences between the two versions are really differences in conceptual emphasis which may be roughly summarised as follows:

—In (a) the study is conceived as a comprehensive attitudinal survey, dealing with sequentially connected aspects of content ('Description of the Attitudes and

- Opinions of German Workers and Employees, Examination of Differences with regard to Occupational and Political Position, Analysis of the Causes of Particular Patterns of Attitude, as well as an Evaluation of the Weight and Consistency of Political Convictions'). In (b), however, the question regarding *political* attitudes was stressed, whereas other aspects, in particular those in relation to the economic situation, were given relatively less weight.
- Version (b), particularly in its last sections, is better organized and more strongly focused on the planned publication in the U.S.: reference to the German context at the end of the 1920s, as well as to early 'Critical Theory' is therefore deleted, whereas the latter aspect emerges from the first sentence in version (a): 'This study arose from the conviction that the *elaboration of a theory of social development* is crucially dependent on a general increase in empirical knowledge in which data on group-specific, individual attitudes and personality structures are of greatest significance'. (Italics added, W.B.)
 - In contrast with (a), nearly all the methodological comments, particularly those concerned with questionnaire construction, have been deleted in (b). Originally these passages were to have formed the basis for a separate chapter for which only an early draft has been preserved. In order to reconcile the complexity of version (a) with the alterations in version (b), both versions were combined in the German edition as follows:
 - In Chapter 1,a on the aims of the inquiry the much tauter version (b) with its different emphasis formed the basis for the German edition. Only where corresponding passages in version (a) were better worked out stylistically, were these used. In addition a section on the German research context, deleted in version (b), comes from the first version. All parts taken from version (a) are indicated by □. . □.
 - Version (a) was used exclusively in the translation of Chapter 1,b ('The Structure of the Questionnaire') and 1,c ('Distribution and Completion of the Questionnaire'), since this contained more detail and additional methodological material.
 - The basis for Chapter 1,d on methods of work preparation is also from version (a), but with additions from version (b) and without a long section on the classification of political groupings, since this is repeated almost verbatim in Chapter 2.
 - In Chapter 1,e ('Correlations') version (a) is supplemented by two additional sections from version (b), and also shortened by a section deleted in that version. The change from (a) to (b) is indicated by □. . □.
 - The translation of Chapter 1,f ('Syndromes') is based on version (b), with supplements in certain places from version (a). Not all the additional material from (a) could be included, however, since some of the arguments had already been presented in Chapter 1,a.
 - Chapter 1,g ('Refusals to Reply') is practically identical in both versions. The German edition is based on version (a).

Chapter II: The Social and Political Situation of the Respondents

For Chapter 2 there were also two clearly differentiated versions (a) and (b) as well as the remains of interim versions. Since the original plan had been to include a section on the historical situation of the Weimar Republic, none of which has been preserved, the text of version (b) is in principle referred to as Chapter 3. Compared with (a), (b) is more subtly set out, but only parts of it have survived; judging by the remaining fragments, the sections on 'Occupation' and 'Political Groupings' above all appear to have been very much longer. Since version (a) existed as a complete manuscript, it formed the basis for the whole German edition. However, the headings of the sub-sections derive

from version (b), and the following changes were made, indicated as usual by the sign □. . □.

- The introductory passage is taken from version (b), since version (a) is longer, but less precise.
- In Chapter 2,c ('Age, Income and Occupation') Tables I, II and III from version (b) were combined with the explanatory text; for Table II the text from version (b) was incorporated in addition.
- In Chapter 2,d ('Political Groupings') a section on the differentiation of the category 'non-voters' into 'sympathisers' and 'indifferent' in version (b) was deleted in view of the subsequent simplification in the statistical analysis. The section which followed concerned with the differentiation of party members into 'active' and 'passive' was supplemented by a section on the relationship between 'trade union orientation' and 'political' orientation taken from version (b).

Chapter III: Political, Social and Cultural Attitudes

For Chapter 3, entitled 'On the Analysis of Single Questions' in the original text, there existed no complete manuscript; twenty-seven of the presumed original forty-three analyses of single questions were available as well as the plan for the introductory section. It is clear from a number of sources that the grouping of the questions was altered several times in the course of the work: If one relies on the classification used by Hilde Weiss in the shortened version in *Studien über Autorität und Familie*, the following groups come about:

1. Political Convictions (Questions 121/22, 128/29, 131, 133, 134/35, 136/37/38; 248, 249, 250; 301/02, 303/04; 427/28, 429, 430, 431, 432, 436–52).
2. General Philosophy of Life (Questions 154/55; 326/27/28, 336, 341–49; 412/13, 414, 415/16, 419, 420/21, 422/23, 424, 425, 426; 610, 611, 621/22, 623, 624).
3. Questions of Taste (Questions 233, 240, 242, 243, 244/45, 246/47, 254; 307, 308, 309, 317, 323, 324, 325, 338).
4. Particular Character Traits (Questions 415/16, 417, 418, 433, 434; 507).
5. Family and Authority (Questions 121/22, 136/37/38; 216, 241, 243, 244/45; 345; 414, 422/23, 426, 427/28, 430, 431, 432, 443, 444; 610, 611, 612, 613, 616, 617, 618/19, 620, 621/22, 623, 624, 630, 631, 632).
6. Use of Leisure (Questions 251, 252, 253; 305, 306, 310, 311/12, 314/15/16, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 337, 339).

In a sheet of notes, undated but written in German, the following divisions are given together with the name of the author:

- I. Politics (Questions 432, 429, 430, 431, 428, 435, 426; author: Schachtel).
- II. Attitude towards Union, Party and Works Council (Questions 121/22, 444/49; author: Schachtel [Fromm crossed out]).
- III. Attitude to Cultural Questions (Questions 240, 241, 244/45, 308/09; author: Schachtel).
- IV. Philosophy of Life (Questions 345/47, 422/23, 424; author: Fromm).
- V. Modern Taste (Questions 338, 242, 323/24, 325; author: Schachtel).
- VI. Attitude to Wife and Children (Questions 326/28, 621/22, 624, 425; author: Fromm).
- VII. Attitude to Others (Questions 136/38, 434/35; author: Schachtel).

VIII. Attitude to Own Life (Questions 154, 213, 214, 348, 415/16, 418, 420/21, 433, 322; author: Fromm).

If one compares the proposals for structuring the material in the two versions, item 6 from the first version has been omitted in the second scheme, 1) has been divided (= I + II), 3) is also divided (= III + V) and items 2 (= IV), 4 (= VII) and 5 (= VI) have been moved; in addition, section VII is new, incorporating questions from items 1) and 4).

There is another sheet of notes, this time in English but unstructured, in which forty-three questions are mentioned as having been evaluated, but only twenty-seven of these have been preserved—of which one (Question 242, modern suburban houses) was disregarded for this volume because of internal inconsistencies. There are a few analyses which are tagged together and partly contain notes regarding the organization of the material; ultimately they amount to the following compromise between the first and the second proposal:

- a. Questions on Political Themes (1 and/or I + II).
- b. Questions on Opinions on Philosophy of Life (2 and/or IV).
- c. Questions on Cultural and Aesthetic Opinions (3 and/or III + IV).
- d. Questions on Attitude to Wife and Children (5 and/or VI).
- e. Questions on Attitude to Other and to Oneself (VII).

The assignment of individual questions to these categories was made according to the organisation previously sketched out. After a stylistic modification of each chapter heading, a general introduction as well as introductory comments to each section were composed in line with the structure of Chapter 4: for each sub-chapter an introductory commentary was written which is indicated by [. . .] and designed to clarify the significance of each section and the separate questions contained in it.

In so far as the degree to which separate analyses had been worked through was rather varied, with nothing but rough drafts available in some cases, certain passages in the text relating to individual questions had to be deleted or corrected; these passages are indicated as usual by (. . .) or [. . .]. A special problem was presented by the tabular analyses: these were not always complete and moreover frequently contained spelling or arithmetical mistakes, which were corrected as far as possible in the German edition.

Chapter IV: Personality Traits and Political Attitude

As with Chapters 1 and 2, there were two basic versions (a) and (b) of this chapter; in addition there were fragments of a German first draft to draw on, which had itself formed the basis for version (a). If one compares this German version with its English counterpart, it is clear that Fromm and his collaborators had some initial difficulty in expressing themselves in English. An attempt was made to improve these stylistic weaknesses in the re-translation. The starting-point for the edition of this chapter was the later version (b), which was however only marginally different from the earlier version; where additional information from version (a) has been included, the respective passages are marked as usual by □. . □. The arrangement of the separate sections accords with version (b), although the headings, as in Chapters 2 and 3, were sometimes partially modified stylistically. Section 4,g (Examples) presented a special problem: Judging from a supplementary note, ten questionnaires, ordered according to the various syndromes, were to have been reproduced here in their totality. Only

fragments of these were to be found in the extant material so that the examples published in *Studien über Autorität und Familie* were substituted in their stead (Cf. M. Horkheimer, 1936, pp. 250-70).

Appendix 1: Literary Style and Personality Traits (Ernst Schachtel)

Originally this was intended as an integrated chapter to follow those on personality traits and political attitudes. The reason for this ordering was apparently that Schachtel's work, with its planned 'personality studies', was marked by the greatest concentration on individuals and single cases. But according to a later outline, the analysis was supposed to be published as Part II of the methodological appendix, since Schachtel's methodological comments were actually more comprehensive than the 'personality studies'. In so far as Chapter 4 provides something of a conclusion to the general inquiry, Schachtel's work appears as an Appendix also in the present edition. While this implies something of a change in the organising principles which have guided us so far, in that the other methodological sections were not put together into a separate chapter, the absence of any connecting text made its inclusion at the end of Chapter 4 incongruous.

There were two versions, as well as additional fragments and drafts of the text, which itself throws light on the range of methodological procedures used. The earlier version (a), entitled: 'Analysis of Style and Handwriting' is seven pages longer than version (b) which is used here and includes two additional examples relating to handwriting and personality structure. Since these examples were only partially worked out and the original texts which have been interpreted have not been preserved, it was decided to omit this section.

Appendix 2: The Questionnaire

The text of the questionnaire did not have to be re-translated but was taken from *Studien über Autorität und Familie* (M. Horkheimer, 1936, pp. 240-48). However, in contrast to the version printed there, the numbering in the present version has been altered to correspond with citations in the text which did not use a combination of Roman and arabic numerals (for example I, 1) anymore, but only one of arabic numerals (for example 101). References in brackets to the questions dealt with in the analysis were added.

Appendix 3: Select Bibliography

Fromm and his collaborators produced a bibliography for the planned publication in the United States which, according to a remark in the manuscript, did not cover all the literature, but went far beyond the literature cited in the separate chapters. Where cited works were not mentioned in the bibliography, these have been subsequently included in the present edition, while standard English texts on German history have been excluded.

Appendix 5

List of Tables

Chapter I: Aims and Methods

1. 1: Refusals to reply to the question about favourite films, by age.
1. 2: Question on 'Russian films' by age.

Chapter II: The Social and Political Situation

c) Age, Income and Occupation

2. 1: Age
2. 2: Income
2. 3: Occupational status
2. 4: Occupational groups and income
2. 5: Occupational groups and age

d) Political Groupings

2. 6: Possible combinations (active/inactive)
2. 7: Political orientation and political activity
2. 8: Political orientation and age
2. 9: Political orientation and occupational group
- 2.10: Political orientation and income

Chapter III: Political, Social and Cultural Attitudes

a) Questions on Political Themes

- Question 432: Who, in your opinion, has the real power in the state today?
3. 1: Answers according to political orientation

- Questions 427/28: What form of government do you think is the best (Democratic

republic, fascism, monarchy, soviet [council]system? Why do you think that?

3. 2: Reasons according to political orientation

Question 430: What do you think of the German judiciary?

3. 3: Answers according to political orientation

Question 429: How, in your opinion, can a new world war be prevented?

3. 4: Non-replies in relation to political orientation

3. 5: Answers according to political orientation

Question 431: Who, in your opinion, is responsible for the inflation?

3. 6: Answers according to political orientation

Questions 134/35: Has rationalization been carried out in your firm? What do you think of it?

3. 7: Answers according to economic status.

Question 444: What do you think about your party (politics, leaders, organization?)

3. 8: Non-replies in relation to political orientation

3. 9: Answers according to political orientation

3.10: Critical opinions

b) Weltanschauung and Attitude to Life

Questions 422/23: Do you think the individual has only himself to blame for his fate?

3.11: Answers according to economic status

3.12: Answers according to political orientation

3.13: Distribution of replies according to 'Marxist' and 'authoritarian' groups.

Question 424: How, in your opinion, can the world be improved?

3.14: Non-replies in relation to political orientation

3.15: Answers according to political orientation

Question 426: Who do you think were the greatest personalities in history? In the present?

3.16: Answers according to political orientation

3.17: Rank order of historical personalities according to political orientation

3.18: Frequency of names mentioned by more than 10% of each political type

c) Cultural and Aesthetic Standards

Question 240: How do you decorate your home?

3.19: Answers according to economic status

3.20: Answers according to political orientation

- Question 241: What pictures and photographs have you hung up?
 3.21: Answers according to economic status
 3.22: Answers according to political orientation
- Questions 244/45: Do you have any favourite books? Which?
 3.23: Answers according to economic status
 3.24: Answers according to political orientation
 3.25: Answers according to age
- Questions 308/09: What are your favourite plays?
 What are your favourite films?
 3.26: Non-replies in relation to age
 3.27: Non-replies in relation to occupation
Theatre:
 3.28: Answers according to age
 3.29: Answers according to economic status
 3.30: Answers according to political orientation
Films:
 3.31: Answers according to political orientation
- Question 338: Do you like jazz?
 3.32: Answers according to age
- Questions 323/24: Do you like present-day women's fashions (e.g. short skirts, silk stockings)? Do you like short hair in women?
 3.33: *Women's fashions*—answers according to age
 3.34: *Short hair*—answers according to economic status
 3.35: *Women's fashions*—answers according to political orientation
 3.36: *Short hair*—answers according to political orientation
- Question 325: Do you like the use of powder, perfume and lipstick by a woman? Why/why not?
 3.37: Answers according to age
 3.38: Answers according to political orientation
- Questions 326/27/28: Do you think it right that women should have a job? Including married women?
 Why/why not?
 3.39: Answers according to political orientation
 3.40: *Married women*—answers according to political orientation
 3.41: Answers according to employment of mother
 3.42: Answers according to marital status
- Questions 621/22: Do you think one can bring up children entirely without corporal punishment?
 3.43: Answers according to political orientation

- Question 624: What do you and your wife think about early sex education for children (birth, procreation, sexual diseases)?
3.44: Answers according to political orientation-
- Questions 136/37/38: What relationship do you have with your colleagues at work? With your immediate superiors? With those higher up?
3.46: *Work colleagues* (compared with superiors)—answers according to economic status
3.47: *Superiors*—answers according to economic status
3.48: *Work colleagues*—answers according to political orientation
3.49: *Superiors*—answers according to political orientation.
- Questions 434/35: Do you lend money or goods to friends? Why/why not?
3.50: Answers according to political orientation
3.51: Number of negative replies to every 10 positive replies according to political orientation.
- Question 433: Would you invest your money, if you were wealthy?
3.52: Answers according to economic status
3.53: Answers according to political orientation
3.53: Answers according to income
- Questions 213/14: Was your childhood happy? Do you think your parents had a happy marriage?
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Chapter IV: Personality Types and Political Attitudes

a) Political Opinions

- Question 424: How, in your opinion, can the world be improved?
4. 1: Response category and classification
- Question 426: Who do you think were the greatest personalities in history? In the present?
4. 2: Response category and classification
- Question 429: How, in your opinion, can a new world war be avoided?
4. 3: Response category and classification
- Question 431: Who, in your opinion, is responsible for the inflation?
4. 4: Response category and classification
4. 5: Distribution of type of response according to political opinions

b) Attitude to Authority

- Question 327/28: Do you think it right for married women to go out to work? Why?
4. 6: Response category and classification
- Question 621/22: Do you think one can bring up children entirely without corporal punishment? Reasons?
4. 7: Response category and classification
- Question 422/23: Do you think the individual has only himself to blame for his fate? Why (not)?
4. 8: Response category and classification
- Question 424: How, in your opinion, could the world be improved?
4. 9: Response category and classification
4.10: Distribution of type of response according to 'attitude to authority'

c) Attitude towards Others

- Question 136/38: How do you get on with your colleagues at work? With your immediate superiors? With those higher up?
4.11: Response category and classification
- Question 434/35: Do you lend money or goods to friends? Why (not)?
4.12: Response category and classification
4.13: Distribution of type of response according to 'attitude towards others'.

d) Syndromes and Syndromes Formation

- 4.14: Response syndromes and political orientation

e) Authoritarian, Radical and Rebellious Attitudes

- 4.15: Radical and authoritarian-centered answers according to political orientation

f) Occupation and Origin

- 4.16: Responses syndromes and occupational groups
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4.18: A- and R-centredness among skilled workers in large and small enterprises
4.19: R- and A-centred syndromes and origin of respondent

Abbreviations

RM	Reichsmark
Paragraph 218	Criminal Code on Abortion
Hirsch-Dunkerschen (<i>Gewerkschaften</i>)	'Yellow' trade unions
SAP	Socialist Workers' Party
NSDAP	National Socialist German Workers' Party
NS	National Socialism
SPD	Social Democratic Party of Germany
USPD	Independent Socialist Party of Germany
KPD	Communist Party of Germany

