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The Swiss and Southern German Lower-Middle Class: An Ethno-psychoanalytic Study

When we speak here of typical differences between Swiss and southern German subjects, we assume that these differences are what we call "acquired" ones. Over a long period of time all reputable research had felt it necessary to dissociate itself from questions of national differences in order to obviate any danger of being badly misunderstood. For, as we know, a good many medical researchers and biologists had succumbed either to pressure of some kind or to the allure of a deliberate mystification fostered for political purposes and, under the influence of irresponsible demagogues, had gone so far as to demean themselves by characterizing national differences as the overt expression of race, thus stylizing slight anatomical variations in ectodermal tissue structure as a kind of psychophysiology not only of the mind, but of the soul as well. Comparative psychiatry and its basic research discipline, comparative psychoanalysis, have recognized meanwhile that congenital differences which may be of importance in comparing individuals have no significance whatsoever, or-as the mathematicians put it-become negligible quantities in a broader generalization. We are all the more interested in the relationships existing among educational customs, traditions, and life styles on the one hand, and psychical idiosyncrasies, character traits, behavior patterns, etc. on the other hand.

The methods employed in comparative psychoanalysis were first developed during investigations of peoples living outside the Western

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culture area. Here we discovered significant correlations between psychical idiosyncrasies and social institutions of all kinds. Soon we began to compare our own psychological structures with those of our subjects. And now we are attempting to re-apply the comparative (or ethnopschoanalytical) method to phenomena of our own culture area. This implies above all two specific points of view: one of them has to do with psychical development during childhood and adolescence, expanded to what we term the process of socialization, and the other with the functions of the ego, i.e., the dynamic aspect of the apparatus responsible for the adaptation of the individual to the outside world and for his handling of internal or internalized demands (by the id and the super-ego).

In this article we undertake a comparison of members of the same social class in two neighboring and, in many respects, very similar ethnic groups. The subjects are individuals who underwent psychoanalytical treatment in our offices in Zurich, Switzerland during the fifties and sixties. (1) Although the investigative sample is necessarily random, it offers a definite advantage from the point of view of method.

In developing the ethnopsychanalytical method, it had proved advisable to study members of those cultures manifesting the greatest possible differences from our own. Under these conditions, the entire process of socialization, beginning with the birth of the child and progressing through nursing and weaning customs to interactions with the geographical environment and to the integration of the individual into the process of production, is completely different for the subject under investigation than for the investigator himself. As a result, not only the course of psychical development, but -more important-also its outcome, in other words the personality, with all its idiosyncrasies, is clearly differentiated from that of the investigator. This forces him to correlate carefully every single developmental step and behavioral manifestation with the interactions experienced by the subject, with the habits of the persons making up his environment, with family structure and with other institutions and social conditions, and to derive his culture-specific psychoanalytical model from these correlations.

In contrast, when we apply the ethnopsychanalytical model to the Western culture area, to the society of the capitalistic industrial nations, we can expect to profit from the fact that the cultural differences are extremely small, that the deviations in respect to life styles and social situation among the subjects to be compared are insignificantly slight. We must realize, of course, that we shall not find any conspicuous differences-after all we, as investigators, are part of the same environment-but to make up for it we are all the surer in applying an investigative technique with which we are thoroughly familiar. Above all, to begin with we can accept the socialization factors (both in the more narrow personal sense and in the wider, social context) as given and can

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disregard any differences in them. We are spared the necessity of describing minutely, for each step of our interpretation, the varied and intricate network of interactions and social interrelationships in our so complexly structured society and of classifying their influences. The culture-specific psychoanalytical model evolves by itself during the course of psychoanalytical investigation. We are justified in waiting until the model has been derived and described before we go into detail on the genesis of certain conspicuous or typical differences and determine their

functions. The culture-specific psychoanalytical model can be defined as the course and outcome of psychical development. We call it "psychoanalytical" because we do not set up a new theory of personality, but make use of established psychoanalytical theory, whether we are reconstructing psychical development or describing the adult individual whom we regard as the outcome of a complex process of development. Naturally, as a developmental "model," it also includes learning and adaptation processes of all types. The fact that the model is specific to the structure of the ethnic group, stratum, or subculture concerned, thus that it differs from all other models, is explained by its origin. On the basis of the relevance and the range of application of the information which it provides, one can make assumptions as to the extent to which it may be regarded as typical; these assumptions can then be verified by recourse to other methods. Our model serves as a working hypothesis for other procedures—for comparative psychiatry, for example. The present report defines the relationships among a small number of typical phenomena and reconstructs their psychogenesis. Two parameters must be applied here. First: partial models such as this are derived from more comprehensive ones, thus in principle require supplementation, and they must contain nothing contradictory to any other theoretical point of view. Genetic derivation, for example, must be in keeping with the economic laws of instinctual energy and dynamics, even though no specific mention of them may be made. Second: such models can be considered typical only when they contribute to the elucidation of other psychological traits and social phenomena in the individuals studied and in other individuals as well. Statistical preponderance of a type described by the completed model among members of the social structure under investigation is not, however, a prerequisite for referring to that type as characteristic.

The study reported here is based on the classical psychoanalysis, over a period of several years, of six adults, three male and three female, between the ages of 20 and 40, coming from various areas in the south of the Federal Republic of Germany, all of them from urban environments. The fathers were doctors, pastors, school teachers, administrative employees, or businessmen. The patients themselves had all completed secondary

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school, and most of them had attended a college or university as well. (2) The comparable group of German-speaking Swiss were selected from among a large number of patients; the criteria used in selecting these subjects were intended to provide a group as similar as possible to the German one from the standpoints of social status, origins, (3) and educational level.

No distinction was made between patients who had undergone analysis "out of curiosity" and those who had come seeking help for personal disturbances or difficulties. This initial, conscious motivation on the part of the patient soon lost its subjective importance during the course of analysis; it was found to have no significance whatsoever for our comparative study, since the differing reasons for having submitted to analysis in the first place could not be correlated in any way with other differences. None of the patients displayed psychotic symptoms, either during the therapy period or prior to it.

There are three psychological traits which differ conspicuously in the two groups of subjects and which provide the basis for our conclusions:

1. The Germans have a better command of the spoken language than the Swiss. Their active vocabulary is larger and their fluency of expression greater; their communication is more discriminate, and their ability to verbalize internal processes and emotions is better developed. A temporary inhibition or blockage of language communication in the German group, once eliminated, is followed immediately by discriminate verbalization. In the Swiss group, inhibitions occur more frequently and often for more trivial reasons. Their speech becomes blocked in various ways, communication becomes awkward, and after a period of silence they often need time to recover their original level of fluency. (4) In illustration of this difference, we might mention that for many years psychiatrists in Zurich regularly made the mistake of assessing the intelligence of German patients under treatment for a large variety of disorders as much higher than was subsequently shown by exhaustive tests. Their well-developed ability to verbalize suggested that their intelligence level was higher than that of the Swiss patients.

This phenomenon reflects differences in an important ego function.

2. All twelve subjects came from families whose psychological structure corresponded to what Adorno et al. have found to be typical of the family environment of the "authoritarian personality." And the German subjects, to a marked extent, also display one feature of this personality: an extremely severe, "authoritarian" super-ego, which can also be described as sadistic-in other words a thoroughly internalized, only partially conscious instance containing injunctions and prohibitions as well as ideals. Every infringement is requited with anxiety of conscience or with agonizing guilt feelings. A need for punishment reflects the submission of the ego to the dictates of the super-ego. This explains why these individuals incline to inflexibility and strictness, why they submit easily to

authority and behave in an authoritarian manner themselves. The Swiss, in contrast, reveal super-ego forms that -while they impress the observer as no less severe-manifest themselves in other ways. The subject's own aggressive impulses are often inhibited and are projectively attributed to other persons. The injunctions and prohibitions of the super-ego, though their content is approximately the same as in the case of the German group, are frequently experienced as "external controls"; when the desire to violate them arises, the resultant guilt feelings are often replaced or overlaid by a feeling of being watched or threatened by other people. The result, analogous to the anxiety of conscience, is a paralyzing feeling of social anxiety, akin to a feeling of shame. We have used the term "erythrophobic character type"-even for persons who do not suffer from fear of blushing-to describe the combination of inhibited exhibitionism and paralyzing shame. A typical German-speaking Swiss, a respected, socially well-adjusted medical specialist, made the following statement during his first psychotherapy session: "My neighbor infuriates me because he often parks his car so that it blocks the driveway to my garage. I would have killed him long ago if I hadn't been sure of being watched and exposed."

This second difference lies in the relative status of ego and super-ego; in other words, in the different formation of the super-ego.

3. We find the most conspicuous difference to be the fact that the members of the German group remain capable of carrying out the tasks required by their professions as well as the practical tasks of daily living even when they may be suffering from severe neurotic symptoms. Anxiety, the physical symptoms of hysteria, compulsive behavior, and in fact even serious ego regressions accompanied by depersonalization symptoms, the loss of ego boundaries or grave depressive moods obviously leave intact other ego functions which serve the needs of external performance. Swiss subjects with comparable complaints feel-and are-seriously ill, incapable of functioning. A female (german patient, who during her first two interviews had described in vivid detail her phobias which had intensified into panic over the years, had carried out two exacting jobs during all that time. "I can always function," she declared. "You can't imagine how awful it is when you simply can't give in." Swiss subjects, on the other hand, in spite of their often uncommunicative and inhibited personalities, are usually diagnosed as more seriously disturbed than they really are because numerous ego functions are disrupted the moment their egos have to deal with an activated conflict. The above-mentioned doctor, for instance, cancelled all his appointments for the next two days after a night during which he was able to sleep only four hours, because he was afraid he would not be able to cope with his patients adequately. To make up for it, to be sure, he went to his offices as usual and closeted himself in his study with bookkeeping: chores and administrative work. His

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explanation: "I didn't want anyone to see that I wasn't working. I didn't sleep, either," he added, "because you don't sleep during working hours. But how are you supposed to work when you haven't been able to sleep?"

There are significant differences between Germans and Swiss as regards the organization of the ego-or the relationship of the ego to the demands of the external world and the super-ego. The Germans have an achievement-oriented ego: that is, their ego identifies with the demands of the "normal"-i.e., expected-ability to perform, thus with a demand of the super-ego. The Swiss succumb to a general inhibition of ego functions as soon as neurotic conflicts become manifest. Projective identification with external instances or persons who might require or demand achievement, as well as identification with the social role concerned, can stabilize to a certain degree or even restore the ability to perform.

The psychological triads can be summed up as follows: well-developed communicative function, internalized, sadistic super-ego, and achievement-oriented ego in the case of the Germans; inhibited communicative function, externalized, "persecutory" super-ego, and inhibition of ego performance in the case of the Swiss.

In a dual sense we have made assertions which still require documentation. In the first place, of course, documentation is needed to determine whether such individual findings are or can be really representative. Many readers may recall patients or acquaintances who do not reflect the above triads, or even individuals who seem to refute them entirely-for example Swiss with highly-developed communicative fluency, or south Germans whose performance efficiency is sadly deranged. In order to illustrate the wide distribution and the persistence of these differences, we would have preferred to present not just individuals, but rather social situations occurring in the stratum being studied-possibly in the form of short films

of scenes at the family dining table, in an office, a conversation over a cup of coffee, or in a bar. (Incidentally, we should like to stress once again that the extent to which such syndromes can be considered typical can be determined only on the basis of a continued and expanded investigation of whether the hypothetical formula gains or loses in credibility when it is integrated into new contexts.)

In the second place, documentation is needed to explain how we have arrived at these particular triads, in other words how they were derived from our psychoanalytical observations. A number of detailed case presentations would be required for this. Instead, we shall try to outline the most

important developmental steps from which we derive the dynamics and the psychological structure of the individuals who display these psychological triads as adults.

Our reconstruction centers on the third and fourth phases of individuation as described by Margaret Mahler, on the "psychological birth

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of the human child" in infancy. (5) The fourth phase, which often culminates at the end of the third year (occasionally earlier, frequently later), is characterized by the child's attempts to try out his newly acquired abilities. He explores the world by moving out into it; he not only possesses independent impulses, but also makes use of independent planning and a will of his own. Not only does his muscular apparatus now permit more complex actions; his speech, too, suddenly becomes more finely differentiated in the use of grammar and in the expression of emotion and begins to replace other modes of communication. And, finally, he acquires voluntary and automatic control of his sphincter muscles. The intense and lasting significance of the emotional processes accompanying toilet training and the fact that the erogenous zone of the anus is often highly cathected as a source of sensuous pleasure have combined to establish the term "anal phase of development" as the designation of this period. The term "Trotzalter" (age of defiance) is derived from the social responses typical of the child during this phase.

During this phase, however, the child is not yet so independent as he himself sometimes feels or as the persons making up his environment sometimes think. Depending upon the individual case, at fairly long or fairly short intervals he feels the need to turn to the person mainly concerned with his care (we shall refer to this person in future as the mother) for warmth, consolation, in short for empathic response to all his needs. Quite probably we are dealing here with the mobilization of an actual symbiotic feeling of fusion. Unless the child has a sufficiently empathic and affectionate mother from whom he can "refuel," as Mahler terms it, with the reassurance and love that he needs in early childhood, later disturbances are inevitable. (6) And experience has shown that these disturbances have lasting psychological consequences. Any variations in maternal behavior which lead to specific deviations in the interactions of this period have a specific influence on the formation of the child's character .

In both the groups being discussed here, the child's need for "emotional refueling" is routinely used for training purposes.

(Pathological, nonempathic mothers who disregard or respond inadequately to the needs of their children are not considered here; their emotional inadequacy at this stage will normally result in pathological distortions of the later steps in ego development in both Germans and Swiss.)

The German mother in the social stratum we are concerned with here habitually talks with her child during the fourth phase of individuation. Regardless of whether the child is trying out his exploratory capabilities or whether he has reached a point at which he needs greater attention from his mother, the mother's communication with him is by language: tell me what you're doing, tell me what you're going to do, what you've done, tell

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me above all-in a complete and politely worded sentence-what you want. Advice, instructions, praise, blame, everything is presented first in verbal form. Under these conditions, emotional refueling can take place properly-i.e., in keeping with the child's needs at this stage of development-only when the child has established verbal communication with the mother. Appeals in the form of behavior-gestures or mimicking alone-are no longer sufficient; the desired end (i.e., refueling, being mothered) can be achieved only when the child has done his share in establishing verbal communication. The importance of the resultant incentive to improve and perfect his fluency of expression cannot be overestimated .

The mother's role as a restricting, socializing instance also finds expression first in the form of speech. The granting and withholding of affection for pedagogical reasons during this period inevitably provokes a polemic response on the part of the child, resulting in the confrontation of will characteristic of the so-called age of defiance and deriving from the "necessary" sphincter training. It should be noted that the mother's efforts, beginning at this stage, to restrain the child's tendency to give in freely to his instinctual needs and his impulses towards the external world stem exclusively from her attitudes, which are the result of her own socialization and the behavioral regulators (social pressures, value systems, etc.) that have influenced her, and are not specific to the developmental phase being experienced by the child. In the case of both Germans and Swiss, the mother's pedagogical efforts at this stage are directed primarily at training the child to comply with the socially desirable performance norms of neatness and cleanliness. The only factor that is specific to the child is his response to pedagogical pressures during a stage at which his emotional dependence on the mother is intermittent but not yet dispensible. Therefore the German mother achieves a deep emotional anchoring of performance and behavior norms, which are organized verbally, in compliance with secondary process laws. The more violent the polemic confrontations are, the more often they are decided by the mother's threatening to withhold affection or administering corporal punishment, and the greater will be the ambivalence of the child's feelings towards her: an intense desire for her love on the one hand, and polemic aggressiveness on the other. It would seem to be specific to the German variant that the results of

the socialization achieved during this period normally must be internalized (or rejected) by the child in their entirety, cathected with ambivalent feelings. Only with difficulty can a sensible mother, relying on reasonable argumentation and consistent in her training of the child, be split into a good and a bad mother, the one to be projected externally as a witch figure, and the other to be internalized as a good ideal object. The effectiveness of the secondary process reaction (contrary to the primary, instinctual one of refueling) is just as responsible

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for this as is the consistency of maternal training, which makes it impossible to split the object-representation "mother" into a good, loving component and a bad, dangerous, hated one and thus to relax the tension of ambivalence. To put it another way: the "anal" injunctions and prohibitions are internalized as a whole; the result is a homogenous introject, bound to more abstract word representations and ambivalently cathected, i.e., rewarding and punishing. Because of the specific quality of its genesis, the minus-ambivalent cathexis of the introject must be described as anal-sadistic. The normal escape for the ego-since sustained rebellion is not feasible at this stage-is submission to internalized injunctions. The course of this development has a number of consequences for later developmental phases, consequences that manifest themselves in the relationship between ego and super-ego and in the individual's behavior towards external authority figures. The phallic phase is characterized by confrontation with several highly cathected objects, one of which, at any given time, is the love-object, while the other one, associated with situations of rivalry, is feared and hated. Whereas stable reaction-formations have usually become established in the ego during the dissolution of the Oedipus conflict, the introject derived from training during Mahler's fourth phase has undergone a special development. In the Oedipus conflict, it has been internalized in its entirety, as a "cluster" of meanings which are attributed to the intrusive major figure of the rivalry conflict. Laden once again with aggressions, it remains ambivalently cathected, encapsulated like a foreign body, a fairly abstract structure, which Freud equated with "paternal authority" and to which he gave the name super-ego. It is just as impossible for the ego to force through its own objectives in the face of the super-ego's opposition as it is for the ego to dispense with the approval of the super-ego.

This need for the approval of the super-ego can be derived from the "refueling" of the earlier phase and is comparable to it in emotional intensity. This development forces the ego to follow the super-ego compulsively. When the super-ego demands achievement, the ego has the advantage of experiencing affection, love, and approval from its introject; after having refueled, it will function better as a whole. Even when the super-ego demands renunciation or imposes a

prohibition, the ego has no choice but to obey. In short, the secondary identification of the ego with the super-ego in the form of an introject sharply delineated from the ego itself, a super-ego which imposes abstract, impersonal demands, is a logical solution. A modicum of relief for the ego can be obtained, however, if the superego can be transferred to an external authority figure as a whole; partial transference is not possible. The external figure is suitable for such transference only if it possesses direct power over and is stronger than the individual, and if submission to it brings immediate advantages. While

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conflicts with the super-ego express themselves in guilt feelings and a need for punishment, submission leads to a diminution of guilt feelings. Aggressions can then be directed outwards, as long as the goals of the external authority coincide with those of the "anal"-phase training, as long as the ego carries out the required performance.

We have described the way in which the verbal form of the training provided by the mother, under the specific conditions of the fourth phase of individuation, promotes the formation of a uniform introject which one can term an achievement-oriented super-ego. In harmony with it, or secondarily identified with it, the ego remains efficient. Conflicts between the ego and the super-ego give rise to internal constraints and anxiety, which can be mitigated by the achievement expected by society. Even after transference of the super-ego to external authoritarian instances or persons, which leads to submission but at the same time relaxes internal ambivalence, compliance with the norms of expected performance remains one of the most important ways for the ego to assert itself both internally and externally. In this way it can "refuel", from the abstract requirements of the super-ego and the very concrete ones of the social environment, with the same approval which was given by the mother under the highly specific conditions of the final phase of individuation.

The members of our German group can and must achieve a great deal, regardless of whether they happen to be feeling mentally relaxed or are suffering from inner tension, guilt feelings, or anxiety. They learned at an early age and under extreme emotional pressure to articulate their ideas and feelings and, prior to the onset of the Oedipus conflict, they had established the beginnings of a coherent super-ego with which they either had to identify or to which they had to submit.

The pedagogical goals of the Swiss mother in the corresponding social stratum are similar to those of her German counterpart, but the Swiss mother employs different means to accomplish them. Verbal communication with the child plays a different role. Only rarely does the Swiss mother

allow herself to be drawn into a protracted dialogue with the child: she tends to respond to his behavior rather than to his words; she talks *to* the child, but not *with* him. Emotional refueling is frequently triggered by the realities of the extralinguistic situation (the goodnight kiss, for example) or by non-verbal signals given by the child-and not even consistently as a reward for "good behavior" as defined by the performance expectations of the mother. Restrictions, instructions, and prohibitions are, to be sure, communicated verbally. But when they lead to polemic confrontation, the mother immediately stops talking with the child. At this point her strongest weapons become accusing looks and emotional withdrawal. If she is consistent in her pedagogical methods, she does, of course, give the child signals adequate to let him know what he may or may not do, but she does not transmit to him the feeling that he

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has it in his power to secure from her the loving attention that he needs by no means does she make it clear to him that he can gain or regain her affection by verbal means.

It is clear that the acquisition of verbal fluency during this phase is not encouraged in Swiss children to the same extent as in German children. The Swiss child finds it easier simply to obey quietly, to protest in silence, or to withdraw into a pout without hope of eliciting a response than to engage in a verbal confrontation.

Since the performance and behavior norms are similar, and since in Switzerland, too, the need for affection is exploited just as much as pressure and compulsion for pedagogical purposes, this phase of the socialization process is accompanied by a high degree of ambivalence towards the mother in Swiss children as well. But the rules transmitted remain more concrete, emotions are less subject to the secondary process of verbal abstraction; the child's feelings are directed towards a mother whom he can hardly hope to influence directly, who is sometimes good and sometimes bad. Frequently the child is unable to predict how the mother will behave, even though-subjectively-she may consider her behavior perfectly consistent: her consistency is directed solely to the result to be achieved and not to the emotional response of the child.

Very often the mother's demands are not inherently her own; she herself may be subject to real or imagined requirements imposed by her broader environment: what the neighbors, her mother-in-law, or her husband will say or think about her if her child does this or does not do that. As a result, her behavior may become even more inconsistent and even more contradictory-both objectively and from the point of view of the child than if she followed her own norms, no matter how strict.

Typically, the child relieves the tension created by his ambivalent feelings by splitting the mother into a good, loving component and a bad, silently watchful rather than overtly punishing

component. At best, the bad, thwarting, or restricting mother is externalized; she remains outside, as it were. Since no system of emotionally and verbally integrated experience has established itself in any case, it is an easy matter for the child to internalize certain rules and to delegate others by projection to external instances (from which they have often come in the first place). Frequently, projectively externalized instances, external pre-forms of ideal representations, are found side by side with internalized super-ego precursors. It depends upon secondary factors whether the ego is paralyzed by shame and anxiety or governed by identification with externalized ideals and requirements.

By the time the Oedipus conflict has been resolved, lasting reaction-formations to aggressive strivings and the control of anal strivings, often in the form of retentiveness, have usually established themselves in the Swiss child, too. But the result is not a coherent, internalized super-ego. If

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the demand for achievement has been internalized, the projected, watchful eye of the mother, a mother who is impervious to influence, always paralyzes from without. If, on the other hand, docility and obedience have been established in the ego, the externalized instances demand independent achievement. The Swiss super-ego is not stricter than the German one, but it is more difficult to please. The ego tries to rid itself of its ambivalent feelings by splitting and projection. At best, fairly stable requirements are internalized, which the ego at least obeys. Nevertheless, every new impulse and every conflict brings the externalized observers into play, and these are often cathected with expectations which are vague because they are non-verbal. Shame and anxiety can also appear when the individual follows the dictates of his conscience, but is uncertain whether he is really permitted to do independently what he feels he ought to do.

Expansive behavior and spontaneous verbal expression especially are subject to paralyzing controls of this type. In fact one can escape control more easily by retentive behavior and by the repression of all expression of emotion. (7) Submission to an external instance does not help to resolve ambivalence because the split into internal and external persists. One can deal with external demands by re-internalizing them; this is termed projective identification.

The result is a strangely adapted type of behavior, which releases a low degree of aggressiveness, civic courage, and uninhibited speech activity; at the same time, distrust and defiance continue to exist unchanged.

The ego can never achieve full harmony with a super-ego that is so heterogeneous. It has no choice but to do its best, to deliver the expected performance, but it continually runs the risk of

succumbing to agonizing guilt feelings or paralyzing anxiety and shame whenever its precarious relationship to internal and external demands undergoes the slightest shift. It is precisely the expansive performance demanded by the job which is frequently accompanied by a constant, nagging feeling of shame. The individual performs the tasks expected of him, but has no idea of how his achievement is assessed, of what consequences it may have for him.

During the last steps towards individuation, the child learns that it is advisable to exercise restraint; in this way he avoids provoking anyone. Even when he performs what is demanded of him, circumstances may still require him to be ashamed. He begins to think that everything depends on the moderation of his behavior. Loud speech is suspect, submission does not help. Anyone who wants to advance in life must be afraid of failing just like the child who demands attention and love in too loud a voice even though he may be using methods he has learned to recognize as acceptable.

Later on, in school, for both groups, the character traits we have described are supplemented and modified by reciprocal identifications within the peer group, by identification with ideals, by identificational

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adaptation to the value systems and role distributions specific to the social class concerned. We assume nevertheless that the developmental steps in the anal phase are of decisive importance for the psychological traits and differences which we are concerned with here. During the analyses it was not only possible to reconstruct clearly the differing speech habits, the contrasting attitudes towards performance typical of the ego under strain, and the specific approaches to the handling of aggressions, and to derive them from their genesis in that particular, crucial period. In addition, they seemed to constitute a syndrome that is permanently and deeply anchored in the psychical structure. For this reason, we shall refrain here from dealing with later psychical development in greater detail. Instead we shall try to outline briefly how the differing pedagogical customs can be derived from the historically different situation of the educated lower-middle class in Switzerland and in southern Germany, and to determine the possible function of our two triads. We present the following considerations as a hypothesis. Many of the premises leading to them are subject to testing by the methods of historical sociology and ought to be verified. The educated lower-middle class of this generation was recruited from a different social background in southern Germany and in Switzerland. Though the social class was the same in both cases, its economic situation in the two countries was quite different at the time our subjects were children. After all, during the crucial period there were vast differences with respect to potential social mobility,

specifically as regards the need for consolidating the status achieved and for social advancement-a need whose importance for the lower-middle class cannot be overestimated. Consequently, within the framework of a similar class ideology and a more or less similar Protestant-Puritan tradition or-on the fringes of Catholic regions-a more or less militant Protestantism, there exist significant differences. Of the twelve parents of our German subjects, one father had made his way up from the worker class. The rest came from the nonacademic, a few from the educated lower-middle class. The grandparents had belonged to the same class. The economic situation, taken as a whole, was less favorable than that of the Swiss group-above all, less secure. Nevertheless, the German subjects seemed to be more radical in their identification with the values of the Establishment, far more sure ideologically of their membership in the governing class, and more firmly convinced of the excellence of the positions they had achieved. There are two factors responsible for this. First, all of them lived in urban environments and shared the privileges of a broad sector of the middle-class intelligentsia, with whom they had much in common both professionally and socially and with whom they regularly associated. Second, the needs of large urban

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centers of industry and the necessity of constantly recruiting new members for a vast urban civil service actually did offer this class opportunities for advancement-if not exactly into the capitalist upper-middle class, then at least into schools, universities, and hospitals, and into the administrative sector. These broad strata were characterized by fairly strict vertical hierarchies, thus by a strict system of selection and by intense rivalry-not in the form of free competition, but institutionally bound-to attain the higher rungs on the hierarchical ladder. Social demotion threatened only those who made themselves conspicuous by rebelling or by displaying a lack of cultivation. In the experience of this generation, money and property could provide a modicum of ease and pleasant living, but it could not guarantee economic security in the long run.

Let us now recall the behavior of the mother in training her child. Achievement, neatness, cleanliness are of no use unless they are supplemented by fluency of verbal expression.

Membership in the educated lower-middle class provides protection against the economic dangers that plague the uneducated and opens the way to social advancement. The child must become independent, he must know what is expected of him, as early as possible and as precisely as possible. He must experience reward and punishment directly, as he will have to do later on in life. When he does his duty and achieves what is required of him, he feels adequately rewarded. If he delegates the lead to an external, higher-ranking instance-later on, for example, to his supervisor in the bureaucratic hierarchy-he will have enough aggressiveness left to compete

successfully with his own kind. Even when he is tortured by inner conflict, the expansive, performance-oriented behavior so useful in the lower-middleclass hierarchy can continue to function. At a very early age, the child begins to apply the Puritan ideals of internalization and renunciation; it is not difficult for him later on in life to behave in conformance with accepted ethical norms .

About half of the parents, or at least grandparents, of the Swiss subjects came from the small-farmer class and about half from the small-town artisan class; only rarely did they include small-town white-collar workers. The ideology of these parents stressed the value not of education and verbal fluency, but of achievement, neatness, and cleanliness. There was no clearly defined, closed Establishment, no governing class whose members set an example for them, but only the rich and the city people, both very different from them and quite inaccessible. Taciturnity, a Puritan-like rejection of external prestige, distrust towards all that was alien, and withdrawal into their own small communities were the factors that preserved their system of values, typical as it was of a rural population. They remained isolated, marginal figures of a society split up into small communities, estates, and professional groups, a society which had no room for an educated lower-middle class within its boundaries. The

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services of teachers, doctors, pastors, and clerks were desired, provided that their purveyors quietly-each one for himself, and certainly not in the form of a cohesive power block-adjusted inconspicuously to the group which employed them. The almost paranoiac anxiety of the mothers to train their children in exact conformity with the norms espoused by their neighbors had its roots in the economic conditions of that period. Since there was neither a closed community of civil servants nor an urban-type, numerically cohesive lower-middle-class intelligentsia to provide any really class-specific chances for advancement, education never came to be regarded as a guarantee of advancement, let alone of economic security. What good does it do to be able to communicate fluently? It is much better to live quietly, in the seclusion of the immediate family and, always ready to adjust, on the fringe of the more affluent groups, to conserve what has been handed down to you and what you have achieved on your own. There was no need to prepare the children of this class for a competitive struggle; they were expected to live and function in a situation in which competition played no role. Normally, there were no contacts with the educated class beyond those which were unavoidable at the professional level. Intellectual occupations were chosen for the children, usually upon the advice of a teacher or of an "educated" relative, purely on the basis of the financial security they promised and the aptitudes of the child concerned. No

value was attached to either subordination within the hierarchy or social poise. While social advancement clearly depended on the individual's efficiency in his own chosen field of activity, the achievement of economic security, too, seemed to be the responsibility of the individual, since there was no power group to secure it for him. Thrift, abstention from economic ostentation, and self-restraint, even for persons with relatively small incomes, promised a degree of lasting protection against the danger of social demotion such as German parents of this century could not have conceived of for their children even in their wildest dreams.

The price that our Swiss subjects and their families had to pay in terms of individual isolation, of internal and external control, is a high one. To the outside observer, their neurotic misery was reflected only in suicide rates and in psychiatric and psychosomatic morbidity. And even this misery was concealed whenever possible. Since intellectual pursuits did not bring either prestige or privilege, at least it was imperative that the individual appear not significantly less efficient than his environment, which was willing to pay for achievement. Loud speech and moral courage represented an acute danger to one's position, dependent as it was on hundreds of instances and individuals.

We must concede that the connections we have outlined between the differing historical development specific to the stratum studied in the two countries and the functional value of our triads of psychological idiosyncrasies have not been clearly defined. How much of what the

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mothers did in training their children was consciously directed towards making them into men and women adapted to and capable of functioning in their specific social situations? How much is the accidental result of persisting traditions? And how much actually represents adjustment to genuine pressures, within the family and later in professional life? In every people, and in every social class, certain important developmental steps in early childhood seem to correspond remarkably closely to psychosocial realities, at least when one concentrates on the "correspondences" and disregards the contradictions, the confrontations of the individual with his social environment. We are firmly convinced, however, that a more detailed representation would succeed in revealing the complex dialectic between the culture and class-specific process of socialization and actual social and economic conditions. One question suggests itself. Did the parents of our German subjects follow the "authoritarian" pedagogical pattern because they followed Hitler, or vice versa? Or were the Swiss parents preserved from succumbing to such a "Führer" mystique by their tension-laden socialization in the final pre-Oedipal phase? We are unable to provide an answer. From the psychological point of view, one would expect the tendency to achieve internal relief by accepting

external leader ideals to be stronger in the German subjects than in their Swiss counterparts. Whether the parents of our German subjects supported Hitler or were personally opposed to his policies seems to have had no appreciable influence on the way in which they trained their offspring in early childhood. On the other hand, the organization of political activity in Switzerland is inhibited by such massive built-in institutional obstacles-in the form of regional and vertical hierarchies and power-distribution patterns-to mass movements that the individual inclinations of a single population stratum can hardly make themselves felt. Psychologically, our Swiss subjects have a stronger tendency than their German counterparts towards the projection of evil to an external group, towards the outgroup-scapegoat reaction. A female Dutch psychoanalyst of Jewish origin, who was interned during the war in a refugee camp in Switzerland, once asked the woman in charge of the camp, a secondary school teacher who had become notorious for the particularly cruel tricks she delighted in playing on the internees, why she had accepted this post in the refugee camp when she hated the Jews so intensely. Her reply: "It's not true that I hate the Jews particularly. We hate all strangers!" A comparative psychoanalytical study such as we have presented here must be regarded as a working hypothesis. It gives rise to numerous questions in the fields of psychopathology, psychiatric endemiology, nosography, and therapy. The most important of these questions become apparent when one thinks in terms of a broadly based prophylaxis. Much could be accomplished by thoughtful educational guidance, free of

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traditional class-specific value concepts. We do not, of course, believe that educational patterns can be basically changed unless the social situation and the ideology evolved out of it also change. Once this happens, however, comparative psychiatry ought to be in a position to explain just what takes place in a specific process of socialization and what effects this process has on the formation of personality.

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Revision of a paper delivered at the Symposium on Questions of Trans-Cultural/Comparative Psychiatry in Europe, Kiel, West Germany, April 8, 1976.

(1) The most important task of comparative psychoanalysis in the Western world would presumably be the study of differences among members of the various strata, castes, classes, and subcultures of one and the same ethnic group. From the standpoint of epidemiology, the problems

faced by class-oriented or class-specific psychiatry in defining pathogenesis and pathoplastics are just as great as those concerned with elaborating suitable prophylactic and therapeutic approaches. The assistance of an ethnologically oriented comparative psychology of the subcultures concerned would surely be welcome as a basis for theory and practice alike. However, the ethnopschoanalytical study of the strata that are less well-educated and whose members are engaged in blue-collar industrial occupations and thus belong to the worker class is still in its infancy.

(2) The term "lower-middle class" is taken from the economic theory of social classes. Members of this class have no control over selfreproducing capital, but they do share some of the privileges of the governing class and tend to accept its ideology. "Educated" refers to a specific stratum within this class and corresponds to the American term "white-collar /high educational level."

(3) As we discovered, the members of the educated lower-middle class in Switzerland come from different population strata than in southern Germany. Our Swiss subjects came from various areas of northern and eastern Switzerland; subjects coming from Basel, from some parts of Grisons (Graubünden), and from the German-speaking cantons in the interior ("Inner Switzerland") were excluded from the study because their language habits are substantially different.

(4) The southern Germans spoke High German during therapy sessions, while the Swiss (with the exception of one patient, who also used High German) spoke the Swiss German dialect in the local variations characteristic of the areas from which they came.

Since we were concerned solely with the *use* of language as a medium of expression and communication, the findings and theories related to class-specific speech codes were not applicable to our study. An

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individual may use *any* code either skillfully or awkwardly; he may make sophisticated use of a primitive pattern of signals, or he may utilize a highly differentiated pattern to express himself in a primitive fashion or in an inhibited manner .

(5) Margaret S. Mahler, et al., *The Psychological Birth of the Human Infant*, footnote 2, page 200: "Follow-up glimpses have shown us that the consolidation of the individual child's ego and drive constellation in the second part of the third year remains in many respects characteristic of his subsequent development; that is to say, it has a kind of historic continuity from that point on. Later examinations, especially psychological tests, show that whereas, of course, the phallic-oedipal phase and its resolution may substantially alter the vicissitudes of the 3-year-old's basic

personality characteristic in their adaptive and defensive aspects, the 3-year-old as we knew him at that stage would shine through the subsequent layers of development.”

(6) As is known, the four characteristic phases of individuation (according to Mahler) are not absolutely sequential in the sense that each one is completed in its entirety before the next one begins; instead, there is a certain amount of chronological overlap. For example, the first subphase, "differentiation and the development of the body image," extends into the second subphase, "practicing." Among other factors, the interactions between mother and child during an earlier phase help to determine the course of the following one.

Both our German and our Swiss subjects reflect an overlapping of the typical (i.e., "regressive") behavior of the third subphase ("rapprochement") far into the fourth subphase ("on the way to self and object-constancy"). This is presumably due to the fact that the mothers in both groups behave differently during the second subphase than the majority of mothers observed by Mahler. There is no doubt that in Swiss and southern German children the need to refuel still occurs frequently and with intensity even during the fourth subphase.

(7) We have confined ourselves to the reconstruction of the processes taking place during Mahler's "fourth subphase" because they seem to us to play the most decisive role in the development of the two triads described above. In order to perfect this reconstruction model, one would also have to describe the typical developmental steps from the standpoint of the vicissitudes of the drives (in the anal and phallic phases of classical libido theory) and of ego formation (anal and phallic ego properties). Reduced to an extremely simplified formula, the conclusion would be as follows: the training given by the German mother tends to encourage anal-aggressive, phallic-expansive, and rivalry-oriented attitudes, while that given by the Swiss mother promotes anal-retentive, but suppresses or inhibits phallic-expansive attitudes. Proper derivation of this formula would require a detailed consideration of the role and the significance of the father for children of both sexes.

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