

ANGST AND THE MASSES: COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOR RESEARCH IN GERMANY*

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This article reviews the study of mass behavior (known as collective behavior in America) in Germany. The historical scope of this review is approximately one hundred years beginning with a discussion of the works of Marx, Weber, Tönnies and Simmel. This discussion is followed by an analysis of how the study of mass behavior dealt with the rise and aftermath of National Socialism. Finally the collective behavior research which has been done in the post war period is reviewed ending with a brief description of the work being done in the subspeciality of the Sociology of Disasters.

Until relatively recently the term "collective behavior" (kollektives Verhalten) was not widely used by German social scientists. It was only after the work of Blumer, Killian, Park, Smelser, Turner and other American sociologists was translated that this term became part of the working vocabulary of German sociologists, (Fischer Lexikon, 1971:174ff; Bernsdorf, 1972:525ff). This is not to say that those aspects of human behavior known as collective behavior in America have been ignored or neglected in Germany. In fact, these types of behavior have long been an important theme within German or, more generally, European sociology under the rubric of "mass behavior". Under this heading most scientific attention has been focused on:

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- a. The revolutionary potential of the masses
- b. The chaotic and destructive potential of the masses
- c. The loss of individuality within capitalistic mass societies
- d. The loss of individuality within socialist collective societies

To more fully understand why these themes and problems emerged, one must consider the historical and intellectual context within which they developed.

The Study of Mass Behavior in Germany before 1945

The question of mass behavior was of interest to the founders of sociology in every European country. The economical and political rise of the working class during the second half of the 19th century and the development of the middle class (Kracauer, 1930; König, 1971:9-37) during the 20th century began to change the political climate of every industrialized society. The new classes developed new social beings (Tönnies, 1931) with new lifestyles and new behavior patterns. Consequently, these changes in behavior simultaneously required new concepts of orientation and explanation (König, 1971a). Most of the early attempts at explanation were made by philosophers, psychologists, and anthropologists (LeBon, 1895; McDougall, 1920; Visser, 1920; Freud, 1921; Plessner, 1924; Ortega y Gasset, 1930; Gehlen, 1940). These three disciplines were already fully institutionalized and accepted and therefore capable of offering a sciencebased Weltanschauungen. Rereading the most prominent works of that era today (Sieber, 1918, Spengler, 1918, or Moeller van den Bruck, 1922) one might condemn them as ideological and one-sided, they do, however, reflect the hopes and fears of that time.

In contrast to the above, sociologists aimed less at a general criticism of civilization and more at an objective, perhaps "value free" (Weber, M., 1956) analysis of classes and the fear of the proletariat. Many sociologists of that time tried to discover the mechanisms, the social laws, which make a society move and change and which influence the behavior of masses and classes. In Germany, the works of Karl Marx, Max Weber, Georg Simmel, and Ferdinand Tönnies all incorporated aspects of the themes mentioned above and this was true in other European countries as well (Comte, and Sorel, 1922).

For Marx, of course, the stress was on the positive role of the masses, although he also recognized the negative role

of the masses through his conceptualization of the "Lumpenproletariat" (Marx, 1957:161).

Although Max Weber (1972:868), the adversary to Marx, was more interested in the idea of legal power and authority and how leaders are selected and legitimized, he did speak to the question of mass behavior, albeit in a negative sense. He writes of the emotional and irrational masses and of the rule of the mob, the "Strassenherrschaft".

Georg Simmel's (1957) social psychological studies of the effects of capitalism on individual behavior ("The Metropolis and Mental Life", 1957:227ff) show a concern with both the positive and negative aspects of the density created by modern life for the individual. We see in his work the nascent and dialectical form of the concepts, which would later emerge under the heading of "mass society" in the work of social scientists such as Ortega y Gasset (1930), Joussain (1937), Reiwald (1945), Aich (1947), Revers (1947), Ertel (1949), DeMan (1952), Ehrenstein (1952), Guillaume (1954), Pfaff (1954), Dewey (1956), Kornhauser (1959), Fischer (1961), Schenk (1962), or Marcuse (1964).

Beside the long tradition of heated arguments for or against capitalism, a very strong necessity for community and sociability produced a lasting impression on the sociologists of that time. The process of formation of European nations was permanently escorted by discussions of state, nation, and folk (Seipel, 1916; Spann, 1920). The topic of the German "Volksgemeinschaft" has a long and well known tradition of positive feelings and hopes. Volksgemeinschaft can be seen as a key word for the political and social integration of all German speaking people. This is the reason the work of the last of the founders of German sociology, Ferdinand Tönnies, must be included here. Although he rarely spoke directly to the theme of mass behavior except in those instances when he was engaged in research concerning, for example, strikes, consumer cooperatives of criminality (Tönnies, 1895; 1919, 1929; see also Oberschall, 1965), Tönnies' concept of Gemeinschaft describes many aspects of the positive feelings and expectations associated with the concept of Volksgemeinschaft. This was probably the reason his concept was exploited by two German social movements in the years between World War I and the end of World War II.

The first of these was the Wandervogel movement, a youth movement which was prevalent around 1920 and rejected the life of the city and the competition and personal isolation which came with capitalism. They basically saw in the phenomenon which Tönnies described as Gemeinschaft a justification for their own views and actions (Dombrowsky/Prahl, 1980:843ff).

The second, and by far more important, use of the ideal described as *Gemeinschaft*, came during the Nazi period of German history. Within the context of *Gemeinschaft* was found a justification for the glorification of the concept of "das Volk" (the folk), which was so important to the ideology of Fascism but completely rejected by Tönnies himself (Rode and Klug, 1981). Nevertheless, these ideas were to become the basis for the so called "volkische Soziologie" and "Volkstumssoziologie" (Lepsius, 1979:21ff).

The period of intellectual suppression by Fascism was to be so profound in its impact and consequences, it seems appropriate to delve a bit deeper into the Fascistic concept of the masses. Typical for the ideology of Fascism was the renaming and redefining of existing ideals and their symbols. Accordingly, the masses were exalted to the Volk, and the Volk could stimulate something very positive especially when it was operating with the guidance of the Führer. The preface to the 1938 edition of Gustave LeBon, written by the academic specialist for experimental mass psychology, W. Moede, gives a perfect illustration:

Present day Germany offers a convincing proof that a mass movement can bring to bear an especially valuable force if a cognizant and responsible mass leader, animated by moral benevolence, assists them to their deep, eternal, and unchangeable communality of blood, race, and ties to the soil of the homeland ... the mass becomes under these conditions an organic unit which in the deepest sense is bound with the leader by the communality of blood in thinking, feeling and will. They will therefore act according to the will of the leader. The views of LeBon are therefore no longer valid" (1938:X, translated by the authors).

What Fascism sought to accomplish, and indeed did accomplish, was the simultaneous control of the discontented masses and the protection of the economic status quo. Under Fascism the masses no longer sought to overthrow the society, as LeBon (1938:5) feared, but instead their energies were channeled in another direction by the Führer. Walter Benjamin (1974:506), writing in 1936, described this situation lucidly:

The growing proletarianization of present day people and the growing formation of the masses are two sides of one and the same process. Fascism seeks to organize the newly developed proletarian masses without affecting the distribution of wealth which (these masses) threaten. Fascism accomplishes its salvation by allowing the masses

to express themselves without giving them their rights" (translated by the authors).

Siegfried Kracauer (1963; 1947) also writing in 1936, developed his concept of the "Ornament of the Masses" as the melting or melding of the single bodies (individuals) into an ecstatic, regulated, stylized (ornamental) mass body; a union which represents the oneness of the Volk. This almost sexual but also religious drive for unison and transcendency which Kracauer thinks portrays the German people during the first period of Fascism was also described by the psychologists who were interested in mass behavior. They too focused on the expropriation of individual identity (for example, the work of Wilhelm Reich or Erich Fromm).

When one considers the rise of the Volk in the sense of Fascism, one has at least a partial answer to the perennial questions raised about the German masses. Namely, why haven't they organized themselves in strikes and revolution, or in civil disobedience and resistance? Whereas the first part of the question represents the Marxist tradition (Kautsky, 1911; 1914; Sternberg, 1926; Korsch, 1938; Lindner, 1962; Grunenberg, 1970; Schneider, 1971; Lenk, 1973;), the second part summarizes all those approaches which try to explain more than the role of the communist party and the revolutionary potential of people who are longing for socialism. The most notable attempts at explanations have been strongly influenced by social psychology. They all start with modifications of Benjamin's finding that the masses were only allowed to express themselves without getting their rights. Underpinned by many examples, Theweleit (1977) and Godde (1983) have demonstrated that the permanent mise en scene of feelings, emotions, and wants without their real satisfaction leads to deep frustrations and aggression. Being allowed to play the role of the master while in reality remaining a subject, produced a sort of sadomasochism which enabled most people to be submissive to the regime and intolerant and inhuman to the weak. Rolf Schorken (1984) illustrated all these effects with an analysis of the Hitler-Jugend (Nazi youth-organization).

When discussing the work being done before World War II, the study of Theodor Geiger (1926) is of sociological importance. His work "The Mass and its Action" focused on the ideological use of the term mass, on the controversies between Marxist and conservative interpretations, and on the discrepancies between the expectations of the masses and the societal realities. This line of thought was to influence later sociological work (especially Pross, Buss, 1984) aimed at understanding protests

as a result of the crisis created by rising expectations and the lack of political legitimization.

Thus far in our review we have shown how the founding fathers of German sociology dealt with the theme of mass behavior and how the Nazis used some of the same themes to mobilize the masses emotionally. With a few notable exceptions (e.g., Hans Freyer) sociologists were not accomplices in the mobilization of the masses for the purposes of the Third Reich. Indeed, for sociology the coming of Fascism meant the end of the discipline itself in Germany. Objective research was no longer possible and after 1934 all sociological journals had ceased publication (Lepsius, 1979:21ff). Most of the sociologists who were prominent before 1933, the year Hitler took power, were forced into early retirement or driven into exile. Among those who emigrated were Th.W. Adorno, N. Elias, H. Gerth, M. Horkheimer, R. König, L. Lowenthal, A. Lowe, K. Mannheim, and C. Mayer (Pross, 1955; König, 1971b). Alfred Weber was probably the most prominent sociologist forced into retirement (Lepsius, 1979:21).

The Study of Mass Behavior in Germany after 1945

The end of the war meant, for those sociologists who had returned from exile or who had come out of retirement, that objective research would again be possible. For those interested in collective behavior, it meant that the question of what made Fascism possible could now be raised. In fact German sociologists living in exile had already addressed these questions, for example Th. W. Adorno's and M. Horkheimer's work concerning the authoritarian personality and Fascism.

What soon occurred after the reestablishment of mass behavior research in Germany, was a split in the way the events leading up to and during the fascistic period were interpreted. On the one side were the Marxist sociologists, who tended to see Fascism as the most rigid form of bourgeois power (Kuhnl, 1971), on the other side the non-marxist sociologists, who tended to see Fascism as a form of totalitarianism, which, for example, could be compared with Stalinism (Kornhauser, 1959; Nolte, 1967). It was probably no accident that these two views emerged at a time when the Cold War in Europe was intensifying. These divisions were not unique to sociology but were also found among the psychologists, historians, and educators of that time, who were interested in collective behavior (Bitter, 1965; Möbus, 1965; Treue, 1965:6882; Borst, 1965; and Kroker, 1976).

The ideological questions aside, important theoretical

questions were also raised in the period after the war, for example: How can we distinguish the concept of collective or mass behavior from social behavior in the light of the experience of Fascism where mass behavior was seen as normal, legal, and desirable and if mass behavior is not defined as deviant within the society where it occurs is it nevertheless deviant? One solution to these problems is to label the entire society where the mass behavior takes place as deviant or even criminal. This is of course what was finally done by many in the case of Hitler's Germany (Schieder, 1976).

It is doubtful, however, that this solution could be widely applied. Very few historical situations are as clear cut as the case of Nazi Germany. Karl-Dieter Opp (1976) has pursued the question of the ways deviance is defined in a society by comparing the different paradigms which are used for the explanation of deviance. Reuband (1971) and Plum (1982), who analyzed voting behavior in West Germany, verified independently the findings of Opp: Deviance and conformity are the results of processes of interaction in which the desirable type of behavior is defined. The bigger the defining group the more desirable a specific type of behavior appears to be. Pappi and Laumann (1974) demonstrated that voting behavior and political attitudes are strongly influenced by value orientations which are defined on a local level. The value-commitments of the local elites stabilize the individual behavior and influence the people's general orientations. The question then is whether something like fascism is deviant when it is supported by the local elites and those groups which define the patterns of political meaning. These approaches undermine the notion of deviance as one of the hallmarks of mass behavior (Reiwald, 1946; Aich, 1947; Ertel, 1949; Canetti, 1960).

Relating to mass behavior during the fascist period continues to be an important theme in German sociology today (SchöpsPotthoff, 1984), however, social scientists have also focused on the various "new" forms of collective behavior, which have emerged since 1945.

After World War II, the perspective in the FRG (Federal Republic of Germany) became much more international and it bears the stamp of increasing economic, military, and cultural relationships with the United States of America and the other countries of Western Europe. An increasing concern developed within Germany that these relationships were leading to a loss of autonomy and increasing dependence for Germany. These concerns began to be expressed during the 1950's with the demonstrations against atomic weapons (Easter March Movement), against the rearmament of West Germany, and against

participation in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The political controversy surrounding rearmament and NATO are often said to be related to the banning of the Communist Party in Germany and the preparation of the Emergency Powers Law (Notstandsgesetzgebung, 1968). A law which gives the federal government the power under specific conditions such as political crisis, general strike, or war, to limit political and personal freedoms. This law led to a great deal of academic and student protest.

The 1960's were characterized by the Great Coalition Government under Kurt Georg Kiesinger, which effectively limited most formal opposition through approved political channels, since both major parties (CDU/CSU and SPD) were a part of the regime in power. This lack of formal opposition led to dissatisfaction among the critical and liberal parts of the society, especially among intellectuals and students and that along with the aforementioned Emergency Power Act, the Vietnam War, and the opposition against rearmament and atomic weapons led to growth and increased activities in the West German protest movements which were called "extra-parliamentary opposition (Ausserparlamentarische Opposition = APO).

Analyzing the political effects of the APO, it is quite difficult to draw very strict divisions between the different influential groups that formed this opposition in its whole (Brandes, 1980) and the different factors which have led to a political climate that induced protest. In fact, the most influential movement of that era was the student movement (Baier, 1968; Kadritzke, 1969; Schössler/Widmeier, 1971; Bauss, 1977). Its origin and evolution is intensively studied (Anger, 1960; Adam, 1965; Spiegel, 1967; Giese/Schmidt, 1968; Habermas, 1969; Werkmeister, 1975) as well as their "experimental satellites", the Sex-Pol movement, a sexual liberation movement with political overtones and a forerunner of both the Gay Movement and some fractions of the Women's Movement (Giese/Schmidt, 1968; Gente, 1970, 1972; Schwarzer, 1981), the Wohngemeinschaftsbewegung or Communal Living Movement and the Antiauthoritarian Education Movement (Neill, 1969; Breiteneicher a.o., 1970). In the beginning, all these movements propagated a change in the individual lifestyle. They hoped that the emancipation and liberation of sexuality would simultaneously lead to political emancipation (Reiche, 1971; Ottomeyer, 1977). But after the experience that permanent protest did not change the political conditions, the question of direct political action and the use of violence were discussed again (Beck/Gernsheim, 1971; Behr, 1982). Sven Papcke (1973) was one of the first who redefined violence and power

as "progressive", as revolutionary force, which should be used to overthrow "rotten and reactionary conditions" and who propagated the human right of resistance. During that period theories of violence, power, and revolution became very popular and influential in academia and the political avantgarde of the FRG (Beyme, 1972; Lindner, 1972; Lenk, 1973).

Consequently, the late 1960's saw the emergence of more radical groups. Most notably the Stadtguerilla (Schubert, 1972), the Baader-Meinhof-Gruppe, and the RAF (Rote Armee Fraktion). In general these three overlapping movements represent an attempt to confront capitalism through armed conflict and the RAF continues to do so to this day. The actions of these groups (which have never been movements) reintroduced the question of the legitimacy of the use of violence and they have given rise to countermeasures, which have often been perceived as too general and repressive. P. Bruckner and A. Krovoza (1972) criticized some of these measurements, especially the Berufsverbot, which placed occupational restrictions on certain politically active groups, and the widening of computerbased surveillance. Although the political dead end street of armed violence did not solve the internal problems which have lead to the APO, it intensified their discussion and the consciousness that alternatives in political participation and representation (Armbruster/Leisner, 1975; Brand, 1982; Brand a.o., 1983). The rapid rise of the Citizens Action Initiatives (Burgerinitiativen) (Karl, 1981; Kempf, 1978; Knirsch/Nickholmann, 1976; Mayer-Tasch, 1981; Rudiger, 1980) and strongly antinuclear power, pro environmental protection, and ecological fundamentalists and parties (Brun, 1978; Burklin, 1984; Kelly/Leinen, 1982; Peters, 1979) demonstrated this need.

Around the middle of the 1970's the so-called Alternative Movement, which includes the spectrum from anti-nuke and peace-groups to communes and cooperatives to health food and soft energy, grew in importance. The Peace Movement and the Women's Movement were also emerging simultaneously. All three are among the most important and powerful movements in the FRG. They often overlap in memberships and intention with the Greenparty (Burklin, 1984; Steinmann, 1979; Steinweg, 1982; Wustenhagen, 1974; Wustenhagen/Scheuthle, 1975).

Other groups and movements which have influenced the political culture of the FRG should also be mentioned, although they vary in their tradition, background, and importance. The most unique and autonomous movement is the Gray Panther Movement (Sieber, 1974), the "Hausbesetzer" (illegal occupiers of abandoned houses, see Aust/Rosenblatt, 1981; Brandes/Schon, 1981), and the punks and other subcultural groups which try

to provoke by styling, music or fashion like the rock'n roll era once did. Similar to that intention but in another political direction belong the neofascists (Neofaschismus, 1979) who want to reestablish an authoritarian society of one Volk and one Führer.

Just as the social movements themselves inside West Germany were increasingly influenced by developments in other Western countries so was the sociology of mass behavior also influenced by the social science developments in these countries (Heinz and Schöber, 1973). The greatest influence came from the work of the American collective behavior research (Marx/Wood, 1975) and it was at this time that the term "collective behavior" began to gain acceptance in Germany (Hartfiel, 1976:349), particularly in connection with the studies of the student movement (Allerbeck, 1973).

The second thing to note is that just as there was a wide diversity of groups and movements emerging in the 60's and 70's so was there a wide array of sociological subspecialties developing to examine the various forms of collective behavior. Rolf Klima (1979), in an examination of course offerings at West German universities, found very limited interest in the more general topic of mass behavior but a growing interest in related topics such as deviant behavior, social movements, social power and authority, and mass communications. There were, during the period of his study (1950-1975) no courses entitled "collective behavior", and indication that this term was not yet fully accepted within German sociology.

We turn now to a selective review of some of the research that we consider to be representative of the recent research in Germany. The first of these works is Ekkart Zimmermann's "Zur Soziologie kollektiven Verhaltens" (1974, "Toward a Sociology of Collective Behavior"). This is an analysis of the research that was done concerning the civil disturbances and riots in black neighborhoods during the 1960's in the United States. This article demonstrates the keen interest that German sociologists have had, not just in the events taking place in America, but also in the theoretical attempts American scholars have made to explain them. Zimmermann's article concludes with several methodological criticisms of the racial unrest research, most of which has also appeared in American critiques. He also is critical of the theoretical efforts made by American sociologists of collective behavior and argues that it is not surprising that the European mass psychological approaches to collective behavior basically failed to explain the racial unrest. However, it is astounding how little the traditional sociology of collective behavior as exemplified by Blumer, Killian,

Land/Lang, Smelser, and Turner, contributed to a clarification of this unrest. He finds the decisive criticism of the American research to be that it has tended to remain on the level of descriptive case studies.

Michael Greven (1975), writing about the ideological function of the theory of collective behavior (Conlon, 1978), is also a good representative of recent German work in the field. He begins by arguing that most of what is considered by social scientists to be collective behavior is behavior which does not correspond to societal institutionalized norms. He claims (1975:146), that if we are to look at the problem of collective behavior in this way we should probably call it the theory of collective deviant behavior. While making this classificatory adjustment in terminology, Greven attempts to demonstrate the ideological nature of a research approach which focuses only on the nonnormative aspects of collective behavior and ignores all which is not system oppositional, criminal, pathological, impulsive, or neurotic. He goes on to ask (1975:147) why is the starting point of collective behavior research often societal crisis and uncertainty and what would the scientific study look like if it did not limit itself to deviant behavior?

Beck and Gernsheim (1971) had already spoken to this problem of selectivity (1971:440) with respect to the connection of politics and science. This problem also affected which non-German research results were accepted. Greven mentioned in that context the length of time before Couch's work was accepted. And, lastly, it can be shown in the research of Pappi and Laumann (1974), and Plum (1982) that collective behavior can also lead to desirable social change.

The broadening of the concept of collective behavior to include not just deviance and oppositional but also reforming, purposeful, or even consumer behavior (Pappi/Pappi, 1983) has led to a discussion of the role of social movements in the process of social change (Rammstedt, 1978). Indeed Rammstedt's work is one of the few which has attempted to encompass social movements from fascism to religious and ecological protest. In contrast to him, much of the other work being done concerning contemporary social movements tends to be ahistorical. A major exception of course is Eric Hobsbawm's "Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movements in the 19th and 20th Centuries" (1962). According to Hobsbawm one needs to understand the social and historical context of behavior. What at first appear to be deviant behaviors, may in fact be seen as normal or desirable behaviors within certain societal contexts.

The question raised above is not just how do we define deviance but who defines it. It seems possible that sociologists

in the FRG and elsewhere in their attempt to define collective behavior as deviant and, therefore, to some extent ignore the positive (or even neutral) potential of collective behavior have as a result an intellectual and theoretical inclination to emphasize the status quo. Social change is seen as being acceptable only when it occurs within normatively defined boundaries; collective behavior falls outside of these boundaries or, to be more precise, it seems to fall outside of normative control and conduct--and is therefore deviant.

A very important and provocative study of the actual change process in a society as it is related to collective behavior is Hans Kepplinger's "Gesellschaftliche Bedingungen kollektiver Gewalt" (1981, "Societal Conditions of Collective Violence"). Using the example of five related societal communications processes between 1960 and 1972, he sought to discover the processes which led to riots, protests, revolution and terrorism. Kepplinger's thesis is that subcultures that approve or demand violence develop slowly in societies and that many different intentions contribute to this process. This contribution to a climate that approves violence is for the most part not intended or recognized by the contributors. With the help of his empirical findings, Kepplinger shows that every society has many potential committers of every potential act of violence. However, the decisive factor is the social climate which either motivates the potential committer or discourages him or her. He discovered further that societies have a behavior-legitimation-continuum which helps people to orient themselves. While the climate can either facilitate violence or hinder it, those who affect this climate very rarely do so intentionally. In the end the use of political violence is dependent according to Kepplinger on the political climate (compare with Hobsbawm's treatment of rebellion), this climate is at least in part created by the communication system in the society. We should therefore not speak of violent or non-violent societies, but only of those at various points on a violence-legitimation-continuum.

Another interesting paradigm, which has been applied to the study of collective behavior in the FRG is that of Karl-Dieter Opp (1978). He treats the themes of political apathy and political protest through the application of crisis theory, where a crisis is defined as a situation where there is a lack of socially necessary goods in a society. The term "good" is used in its broadest sense, including the good of social welfare, participation, or legitimation. F.X. Kaufmann (1979) and H.A. Schubert (1977) have demonstrated those lacks on the level of local politics. Claus Offe (1973) had argued similarly, when he wrote that crises in a society develop because the costs of reproducing

the same standard of living in the future will continue to increase due to the fact that the raw materials needed for this reproduction are becoming ever scarcer and more expensive. In this context, it is of political importance that most of the numerous analyses of the Student Movement also dealt with lacks of socially necessary goods. A. Adam (1965) and F. Werkmeister (1975) for example, examined the lack of moral integrity in the Vietnam policy that led to the student's protest.

While many of the German sociologists mentioned above have sought to better understand collective behavior by broadening the scope of study far beyond the event itself, some of the most recent research in the field has begun to narrow the scope of what is to be examined under the heading of mass behavior. The work of Helge Pross and Eugen Bass (1984), for example, has attempted to move away from the broadly defined collective behavior and mass behavior concepts to a conceptualization of the "mass in a more limited sense", (1984:9). This is defined as unstable, temporary groupings of large numbers of people, who are often excited and uncontrolled but who also see themselves as justified in their actions by a legitimizing belief (1984:1314). This definition that brings to mind the work of Geiger, removes the concept of mass from the concept of collective behavior, the latter is seen by them to be too broad to be very useful. The authors avoid being totally event-oriented or microsociological by incorporating Geiger's concept of the latent mass, or the facilitating predisposition which exists in the larger society.

That one of the hallmarks of collective behavior research in Germany has been the prominence placed on the social context of that behavior, should come as no surprise, when one remembers that this context includes two devastating wars in this century, Fascism, the Führer and the Holocaust. The Angst in the face of the masses was at the beginning of this century largely experienced by the upper classes, who feared the revolutionary mass. After the experiences of this century one can hypothesize that many Germans fear the societal context which allows a strong ruler or power figure to "mass" his followers more than they fear the mass itself. It is probably for this reason that the focus in German collective behavior research has come to be on the social context of mass behavior.

Mass Behavior and the Sociology of Disaster in Germany

To be complete, a very small and undeveloped subspecialty of German sociology should be added. It is the

Katastrophensoziologie (sociology of disaster) which is also concerned with mass phenomenon (Clausen/Dombrowsky, 1983). Although logically related to the field of mass behavior, Katastrophensoziologie has not relied heavily on the work in this area. One reason for that may be that military psychiatry has dominated so many studies in the field of evacuation, mass flight, shelter behavior, and the possible behavior of the population and of the immigrant labor force in Germany in the event of war.

The phenomena of mass behavior for example, helping behavior and solidarity between the victims of disasters, aspects of motivation, and problems of cooperation between the relief personnel and the laymen originally were not labeled as mass behavior. Similar to the ideological conceptualization of mass behavior as exclusively deviant, the officially used disaster research defined only those phenomena as mass behavior which seemed to be deviant. Panic, looting, rioting, disobedience, and the refusal to obey were the typical cases. As Quarantelli and Dynes (1953; 1975) have found for the USA, Dombrowsky (1982) has found that the German literature in mass behavior as it pertains to disasters has often overemphasized false stereotypes such as those mentioned above. Furthermore, those individuals who are employed as applied disaster specialists have tended to be more influenced by military and defense aspects than by the sociology of the masses or the sociology of disaster. They are often still operating within the framework of expectations provided by biology, medicine, and psychology, i.e., they expect animalistic, irrational, and uncontrollable behavior in the event of disaster or war. The title of our paper, Angst before the masses, also reflects this aspect of Angst. It is the Angst before those who possibly would not behave in the ways bureaucrats and planners have determined. It is perhaps ironic that the men and women responsible for the behavior of the citizens in Germany in extreme or disasterous situations exhibit this Angst as much as any other group in the society even though it contradicts much of the scientific evidence.

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