ARTICLE

How the Fascist and Non-Fascist Self May Develop:

Else Frenkel-Brunswik's qualitative analyses in *The Authoritarian Personality* and their comparison to studies on resisters

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Abstract

In the context of several authoritarian regimes around the world, there is growing interest in explaining these processes of change. This article follows the tradition of the social sciences in striving to understand the social mechanisms of motivational structures of the self in interaction with societal contexts. The author draws on the qualitative contributions to the studies on fascism by the Berkeley University Group, published in 1950 as 'The Authoritarian Personality' by Theodor W. Adorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswik, Daniel J. Levinson and R. Nevitt Sanford (1950). This article analyses the qualitative sections of the Study presented by Else Frenkel-Brunswik and compares these with the results of selected studies on resisters. Based on this analysis, the article discusses the results of the comparison and the relevance of Frenkel-Brunswik's contribution, as well as the implications for further research.

INTRODUCTION

This article[1] follows the tradition of the social sciences in striving to understand the social mechanisms of motivational structures of the self in interaction in societal contexts (Darowska 2012). This explanatory approach recognises the crucial contribution made by Else Frenkel-Brunswik to the understanding of the authoritarian personality and the conditions of its development as prerequisites

of fascism. Furthermore, it shows the possible lines of continuation of these attempts by combining them with other research fields. In an exploratory study I relate some central findings of the qualitative part of the Authoritarian Personality Study (AP Study) by Else Frenkel-Brunswik to selected research on resisters. To date there has been a lack of this kind of study (cf. Fahrenberg and Fahrenberg 2021). The article is structured as follows: Firstly, I reconstruct some aspects of the qualitative analysis by Frenkel-Brunswik in the AP Study. In the second section, her findings are related to certain dimensions of the research on resisters to the Nazi regime. References to other relevant researchers in the field of psychoanalysis and individual psychology, above all Erich Fromm and Alfred Adler, are included. Finally, I draw conclusions and reflect on the theoretical and methodological findings.

The research interest behind the AP Study can be expressed in general terms through the question: Is there an authoritarian and fascist personality,[2] and what are its constitutive elements? The general concern refers to the societal and individual origins of fascism.[3] Several aspects were relevant here, among others antisemitic and racial attitudes, the manifestation of antidemocratic tendencies, and the readiness to be obedient.

In the meantime, a broad spectrum of research has been carried out on perpetrators of National Socialism that takes a variety of approaches. These include the following key phases and areas: *intentionalism,* functional *structuralism*, and research referring to the '*normalisation*' thesis[4] (e.g. Pohl 2011; Gross 2012; Wiedemann 2019; Browning 1992; Welzer 2007), as well as several biographical studies and publications of archive material containing considerable quantities of narratives by emigrants, NSDAP members, speeches and conversations (for a thorough overview see Fahrenberg and Fahrenberg 2021). Although not propagated as such, the underlying assumption of the AP Study was that the fascist personality can be captured not only in Germany (or Italy) but in the United States as well, a society in which fascism did not emerge to the extent of forming a significant political party.[5] Thus, the contribution of the society—in its supportive function as a basic constitutive factor of fascism and as the basis for recruitment for the regime function holders—was considered significant. Through her reporting from the Eichmann trial in 1961, Hannah Arendt is probably the most well-known author to bring the 'normalisation' thesis into public discourse. The thesis, famous for its keyword the 'banality of the evil' ('Banalität des Bösen', Arendt 1986), represents a decisive contribution to the perspective on the perpetrators as ordinary men and women, anchored in the broad social strata, who under certain conditions turn into mass murderers or their supporters. Arendt realised that Adolf Eichmann, who was the organiser of the extermination of the Jews, appeared

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[2] Erich Fromm made an essential contribution to the thesis on the authoritarian personality with his concept of the 'social character' and his works 'Escape from freedom' as well as 'Die Arbeiter und Angestellte am Vorabend des Dritten Reiches' (2019 [1980]) ('The workers and employees on the eve of the Third Reich') (cf. Fahrenberg and Steiner 2004).

[3] The article follows the approach of the AP Study and does not have its own definition of fascism. However, it refers to National Socialism as the context experienced by the authors of the AP Study: Else Frenkel-Brunswik, Theodor W. Adorno, Maria Hertz Levinson, and Max Horkheimer (who wrote the preface).

[4] Several other approaches were also developed, for example 'malignant narcissism' (Reuleaux 2011 cited in Pohl 2011: 33ff.)—a pathologisation thesis, with a complex personality disorder (on the part of the perpetrators)—as the consequence of a trauma experienced in childhood. Another approach is the modernity thesis (Baumann 2021 [1992], in continuation of Horkheimer and Adorno 2013 [1969]).

[5] The aim of the AP Study was to contribute to explaining antisemitism and fascism and to strengthening democracy. The general assumption was of the multilayered structure of the individual, which could be accessed especially in the unconscious dimensions with the application of the psychoanalytical approach (Adorno et al. 2019; cf. also Fahrenberg and Steiner 2004: 6).

during the trial not as monstrous but rather as a common and unimpressive man.[6] Arendt also assessed Eichmann as lacking the ability to think, referring here to her philosophical and moral concept of thinking (Arendt 2020). Her thesis was understandably highly controversial since it bordered on being understood as the trivialisation of the Holocaust. Further research draws explicitly or implicitly on this understanding of perpetrators as normal people from the middle strata of society (e.g. Browning 1992; Mann 2000), while others point out certain aspects such as e.g. socialisation into violence (Mallmann and Paul 2013). Harald Welzer (2007) stresses the role of societal context as the 'moral framing', which changed over a short period of a few years with the emergence and consolidation of the Nazis' power. The moral framing became the reference point for the masses who, within this 'new' frame of moral rules, changed their individual moral beliefs, adjusting them to the elite and then to the majority of the population. Welzer's thesis makes a significant contribution to research on fascism, drawing on the role of collectiveness, but it does not explain the deeper mechanisms of this collective shift, also in light of the continuities (Pohl 2011). Furthermore, it does not provide any response to the question of why some people experiencing the same societal shift in moral rules resisted the Nazi regime. It might, therefore, be reasonable to ask how individuals in the same society differ with respect to adjustment to the moral shift, cooperation with the regime, and the rejection of the 'new moral'. If we assume that the general societal conditions on the macro level are the same, then where are the differences located? When viewed in this way, the analyses of the AP Study are a contribution to the theory of the mechanisms of the emergence and functioning of fascism and authoritarian regimes, in the tradition of critical sociology and (social) psychology. In its qualitative sections, the AP Study worked out the patterns of the individual personality structures of prejudiced and less prejudiced persons. Beyond this, the study also discussed subjective ideologies, including racial and antisemitic attitudes and prejudices against minorities. The theory is conceptualised as a dynamic model that reconstructs the self[7] in several elements and, furthermore, family interactions in the context of the society and ideological beliefs.

FRENKEL-BRUNSWIK'S QUALITATIVE CONTRIBUTION TO THE AUTHORITARIAN PERSONALITY STUDY

Frenkel-Brunswik's contribution in the AP Study is based on psychoanalytical theory, the theory of science, a sociological approach, and quantitative and qualitative methodology. The parts of the AP Study by Frenkel-Brunswik cover the themes 'Parents and Childhood' (chapter X), 'Sex, People and Self' (chapter XI), and 'Dynamic and Cognitive Personality Organization' (chapter XII). Two further chapters authored by her cover introductory methodological notes and the summary of the results. The approach is based on the assumption that in addition to the quantitative results of the scales, further explanations are needed, which will be gained through the analysis of qualitative interviews. The quantitative data was used to select people who scored high or low on the applied scales.[8]

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[6] Hannah Arendt's thesis was based on her observations during the trial. She did not refer to the protocols of the interrogations of Eichmann. Therefore, her impression that Eichmann was not deeply antisemitic—the image he attempted to create in the court—must be revised. Eichmann was deeply rooted in Nazi racial and antisemitic ideology (Lang 2001). However, her thesis that Nazi ideology and antisemitic attitudes were not the preserve of a few monsters but were ideologies and attitudes held by 'normal' people from the middle strata of society is still valid.

[7] The notion of 'self' in the sociological sense refers to the subject and its consciousness of itself.

[8] The AP Study contains the A-S scale (Anti-Semitism scale) and the E scale (Ethnocentrism scale) featured in chapters III and IV by Daniel J. Levinson and in chapter VI by R. Nevitt Sanford. The E scale in fact reveals racial views and attitudes (referring to Black, Japanese and German people), nationalistic ideology, anti-democratic, anti-immigrant and anti-

Frenkel-Brunswik's qualitative contribution was based on semi-structured interviews with people who scored high or low on the Anti-Semitism and Ethnocentrism (A-S and E) scales. The results[9] show that people who score high or low for prejudice differ in their personality structure[10] in relevant elements, notably 'judgement on people', 'punitiveness', 'conception of human relations' (of the societal order), 'attitude toward people' and 'attitude toward present self' (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019c: 405ff.).

The qualitative interviews and their analyses were carefully considered. That the main analysis was carried out without knowing how the interviewees were placed on the scale (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019a: 295) is of critical value in the study. Furthermore, it should be emphasised that the interviews, which lasted from one and a half to three hours (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019a: 301), were carried out by people trained in psychology for this task. A particularly innovative characteristic of the interview schedule is that it encompasses 'manifest' and 'underlying' questions. The manifest questions served as a guide for the interviewing person and were developed on the basis of the underlying questions. In turn, these were derived from social and personality theory and the explanatory interviews (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019a: 303). The—general and particular—value of the qualitative parts of the AP Study by Else Frenkel-Brunswik is the psychoanalytical approach, which was possible thanks to her profound knowledge of the field of psychoanalysis and how it is entangled with sociological factors (Frenkel-Brunswik 1996; 1996d). In the psychoanalytical approach, the personality traits formulated by Frenkel-Brunswik are manifestations of the unconscious layers of the personality (see also Frenkel-Brunswik 1996a). These do not so much display the presence or absence of e.g. aggression, weakness, faults, dependence, imagination, desire etc., but rather the mechanisms for handling them.

> In the framework of these dynamics, defence mechanisms are the instruments of rejection of those tendencies which the subject is not ready to face and to incorporate. (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019d: 442)

Although the institutions, ideology and morals of 1950s society in the United States differed greatly from that in Nazi Germany after 1933, the results are remarkable.

The '*moralistic condemnation of other people*', '*extrapunitiveness*', meaning '*lack of insight into one's own shortcomings* and the *projection*[11] of one's weaknesses and faults onto others', '*hierar-*

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foreigner attitudes, sexism, societal racism, crimino-biological and eugenic concepts, but also a hierarchy- and submission-oriented thinking (Adorno et al. 2019: 102ff.). Furthermore, the AP Study includes the F scale (the Fascism scale) presented in chapter VII by R. Nevitt Sanford, T. W. Adorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswik, and Daniel J. Levinson, and the PEC scale (the Politico-Economic Conservatism scale) presented by Daniel J. Levinson in chapter V.

[9] In the following I will focus on the particular aspects that are comparable with the research on *resisters*. My qualitative data for the comparison is based predominantly on historical documents and publications referring to the past. This means that some dimensions which require a deep access to the subject—such as sexual life, the image of man and woman, and attitudes towards material objects—cannot be applied, or only marginally so because they are not accessible in this data.

[10] 'Personality structure' and its 'elements' are not the original terms used in the AP Study. I prefer to refer to the 'authoritarian structure' of a subject as a way of indicating complexity and dynamics.

[11] We can assume that the mechanism of *projection*—formulated as a psychoanalytical concept by Sigmund Freud, confirmed by child developmental psychology for the age of one and a half years and older (Stern 2020, Dornes 1997, 2004), and earlier already commented on and corrected by Erich Fromm—is crucial to the research on the authoritarian personality. Frenkel-Brunswik's element of 'extrapunitiveness' within the structure of authoritarian personality is based on this psychoanalytical concept.

chical conception of human relationships' as well as '*dependence on people as means for advancement*' and '*self-deception*'[12] ('self-glorification') are elements of the authoritarian structure formulated by Frenkel-Brunswik in her qualitative research. In general, these elements are more strongly expressed among persons who scored high on the A-S scale and the E scale, which means among individuals whose attitude towards minorities—Jews, Blacks and other minorities—are considerably prejudiced, antisemitic or racist. In contrast, the low scorers are characterised more by '*permissiveness toward individuals*', '*impunitiveness*' i.e. '*the tendency to refrain from blaming altogether, be it others or oneself*', '*equalitarian mutuality*', '*love-oriented dependence*' and '*objective self-appraisal*' (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019c: 405ff.; 2019e), as well as *principled independence* (the opposite of submission) (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019b) and '*tolerance for ambiguity*' (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019d: 451f.; cf. also Frenkel-Brunswik 1996b; 1996c: 216ff.). The reconstruction of the family structure and significant childhood events reveals subjects' attitude towards their parents. Among the high-scoring persons this shows the following elements: the '*idealization of the parents*' (glorification), '*blocked affects*' and '*submission to parental authority*', ultimately also '*victimization*' (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019b: 340ff.). The reconstruction of what kind of parental discipline was used shows that high-scoring persons often report having experienced violence from their parents. However, when the pain had become internalised and was seemingly no longer a burden for the subject, narratives referring to the parents were positive, although generally more focused on convention and appearance or recognition by the environment than on references to love. In the analysis, the narratives of low-scoring people show a more consistent, differentiated and critical picture of their parents and deeper (self-)reflection. High-scoring subjects often focus more on things and do not exhibit a high level of dependence on love.

COMPARISON: FRENKEL-BRUNSWIK'S QUALITATIVE CONTRIBUTION TO THE AP STUDY AND RESEARCH ON (RESCUE)[13] RESISTANCE

This article assumes that a meaningful comparison can be made between Frenkel-Brunswik's findings, particularly those referring to the low-scoring persons, and research on resisters in the German context. The argument is not self-explanatory due to the fact that the analyses by Else Frenkel-Brunswik were concerned with the structures of the personality and the family, and that they were based on the findings which classified the interviewed subjects according to their specific attitudes to others. In the case of low-scoring people, these attitudes were less prejudiced, less racist, less ethnocentric and less nationalistic. However, information about the behaviour of these subjects was missing. Thus, one may ask what kind of insights are offered by bringing together the personality and family structures of people whose *attitudes* are displayed in the AP Study (behaviour: unknown) and resisters and anti-Nazis whose *actions* are known. This is the narrow pathway pursued by the

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[12] Some of these concepts are italicised by Frenkel-Brunswik, but not all. I use italics to mark all concepts in this and the next paragraph.

[13] Rescue resistance is a type of the resistance against National Socialism that was recognised very late in public discourse and research (see e.g. Lustiger 2011; Darowska 2012). In the context of this article, the discussion on the definition of resistance is not essential. Worth mentioning is, however, that for many years after the Second World War, 'resistance' was associated with political motives and an intention to overthrow the regime. It was only in the 1980s that the understanding of resistant actions was gradually enlarged and also entered into scientific discourse—help, support, rescue and other activities were recognised as forms of resistance. Whether political issues in the narrow sense are at stake or not, a certain amount of non-conformity with the political regime can be assumed by all these activities. Furthermore, it is difficult to draw the line between political and not political; it is dependent on the concept of political action applied as the basis.

research in this paper, the intention being to continue with the study of the authoritarian personality by going beyond the level of attitudes and also addressing the level of behaviour. Data in regard to behaviour is obtainable only on one side—on the side of the resisters and anti-Nazis, but not in the AP Study. Yet these two research perspectives provide us with partially comparable data on family structures and personality structures. It should be noted that resistance requires a certain political situation, which triggers a specific kind of behaviour. Furthermore, a certain kind of behaviour is not a determined causal effect of certain attitudes. These can be one of the factors which are needed to act in a certain way and not in another way. However, this is a theoretical assumption, according to which it is highly likely that a connection between personality and family structure, attitude and behaviour exists or can be found.[14] The AP study itself made a similar argument, albeit the other way round: the researchers mainly examined the attitudes of subjects whom they then interviewed in the second step, thereby generating data on the personality and family structures in their sample. From the subjects' attitudes they inferred the fascist personality, which, in the context of a growing fascist movement, could have the potential to result in fascist actions:

> We may be able to say something about the readiness of an individual to break into violence, but we are pretty much in the dark as to the remaining necessary conditions under which an actual outbreak would occur. (Adorno et al. 2019: 972)

The authors were aware of the fact that research on action should be the next step.[15] Thus, I compare the data on less prejudiced subjects in the AP Study as potential anti-Nazis with the data on anti-Nazis and resisters (particularly those not rooted in nationalistic identifications).

There are various other methodological challenges. One of them is the choice of the studies for the comparison. This paper is located in the field of qualitative research; therefore the comparison method is also descriptive and, due to the length of the article, focuses on four studies, one of which is the qualitative contribution by Frenkel-Brunswik to the AP Study. The guiding principle here is to achieve a variety of approaches and methodologies. Below I comment on the specific criteria underpinning my choice of each of the additional three studies and on their methodology.

Another challenge is the use of different terminology in the studies. Thus one dimension of this comparison is to search for similarities in the meaning of the terms. Furthermore, some of the analyses in the research on resisters and on perpetrators carried out after 1950 apply—either consciously or not—the concept of the Authoritarian Personality of the AP Study or a psychoanalytical approach in general. Hence it is not surprising if the results of these studies show similarities with the results of the AP Study. However, it can be assumed that even given the impact of the theory of the authoritarian personality on the analytical perspective of the other studies, there are still other personality traits, trait constellations and attitudes to be found. Furthermore, the studies are different in design and they focus on different theoretical assumptions, which are the basis for determining fascist, non-fascist or anti-fascist attitudes. They also make assumptions about possible prerequisites for the development of the fascist and non-fascist self. The analyses of Else Frenkel-Brunswik were based on

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[14] Another possibility would be longitudinal studies including war, dictatorship or similar circumstances.

[15] 'There is, in other words, still plenty of room for action research. Actually such additional research is necessary for all practical purposes. Outbreaks into action must be considered the results of both the internal potential and a set of eliciting factors in the environment. No action research can, however, be complete without analysis of the factors within the individual, an analysis to which this volume endeavors to contribute, so that we should be enabled to anticipate who would behave in a certain way under given circumstances.' (Adorno et al. 2019: 972).

a psychoanalytical approach, which is the common basis for the studies in this paper. However, each of the research projects described below includes other additional factors that are also significant.

My research question in this section is:

How does the personality structure of low-scoring persons in the AP Study relate to the personality structures of resisters? In order to answer this question, I examine the following data:

(a) The personality structures of the low-scoring persons in the AP Study as elaborated by Frenkel-Brunswik (Adorno et al. 2019 [1950]). The categories from the study by Frenkel-Brunswik serve as a basis for and the structure of the comparison. Further categories that were not applied in Frenkel-Brunswik's analyses will be added. For the methodology of Frenkel-Brunswik's research, see section 1 of this paper.

(b) The personality and motivational structures of the resisters—non-Jewish rescuers of Jewish persons under the National Socialist regime in Nazi Germany and in occupied countries, as formulated in the analyses of in-depth psychological interviews conducted by the psychoanalyst Eva Fogelman (1995). Eva Fogelman is a psychotherapist and social psychologist (also filmmaker and author), Senior Researcher Fellow at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, and co-founder of the Jewish Foundation for Christian Rescuers. She herself is the daughter of a rescued Jewish person—Simcha Fagelman (Fogelman 1995: 9ff.). Her research is based on more than 300 in-depth interviews with rescuers in the USA, Israel, and various Western and Eastern European countries. Fogelman's research project was supervised in Social Psychology at the Graduate Center CUNY, where she wrote her doctoral thesis. Several researchers, among others Stanley Milgram, and a vast network of supporters, supervisors and volunteers were involved in the project, which she led. The project was supported financially by the John Slawson Fund of the American Jewish Committee, the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies. The Jewish Foundation for Christian Rescuers was founded by Fogelman and Harold Schulweis in 1986 (Fogelman 1995: 17) with the aim of searching for rescuers, who were then supported by the foundation (Fogelman 1995: 299ff.). Fogelman's research questions focused on the motivation for the rescue action, and attention was paid to moral issues, altruistic motifs, common personality traits and parental discipline. Fogelman applies the term 'humanistic values' and 'altruism', although she is conscious of a certain devaluation of the meaning of this terminology in the modern age (Fogelman 1995: 17). The project assumes the presence of several factors which are required for altruistic action. Personality traits play a role alongside various situational factors. The interviews were recorded, and sometimes written reports and archive materials were provided in addition. The material was only partially anonymised if requested by the interviewee (Fogelman 1995: 16ff.). To my knowledge, commentary on the methodology of the analyses is missing, and I understand the study to be basically qualitative.

I chose this study although little information on the underlying methodology is given in the publication. However, the strength of this research lies in its sample, consisting as it does of the impressively large number of 300 interviewees who were directly involved in the consequences of the Nazi regime. A further strength is the timing of the research—the rescuers themselves were interviewed—as well as the researcher's own qualification as a psychoanalyst. The project's involvement in the process of getting recognition for the rescue-resisters, among others in Yad Vashem, and its work to raise their visibility and provide support for them is a remarkable example of combining research and action.

(c) The results of the biographical qualitative case study by Lucyna Darowska (2012) on Prague journalist Milena Jesenská, who resisted the National Socialist regime and was involved in rescue actions of Jewish and non-Jewish persons threatened by the Nazis in occupied Prague. In addition to this, Milena Jesenská was active in an underground newspaper and in rescue actions in the Ravensbrück concentration camp (Darowska 2012). The choice of this study is motivated by the depth of the analysis, which makes a single case study possible. Moreover, there is a wide variety of analytical approaches taken in the study, including among others philosophical, psychoanalytical, educational and pedagogical approaches. This study considers the biographical development of the individual under the aspect of 'resistance' and, furthermore, takes into account the historical, political and milieu contexts. The research question focuses on how Milena Jesenská became a resister. The question and the approach are inspired by Stephen Greenblatt's analyses of Shakespeare's literary greatness within the New Historicism approach.

The study of Milena Jesenská explores the subjective motivations for resistance and examines the biographical and societal factors which possibly contributed to the motivation to resist. Methodologically, on the basis of theoretical, empirical and biographical (biographies of resisters) literature, the study develops a substantial analytical tool consisting of several theoretical approaches. Attention is paid to resistance-sensitive biographical moments such as disobedience, dialogicity, hierarchy of values, courage and risk, engagement, empathy, reflection and others. Applying this tool to the analyses of the historical material and biographies on Milena Jesenská (for references to the biographies on Milena Jesenská included in the study by Darowska see Darowska 2012), attention is paid to the subject, milieu, society and political situation. Interviews with Joachim von Zedtwitz, the co-organiser of the rescue actions, and Miloš Černý, one of the husbands of Milena Jesenská's daughter, and expert interviews with Marie Jirásková were also analysed. The study also includes archive research and an analysis of Jesenská's journalistic works.

(d) The results of a study by David M. Levy (1948), one of few analyses undertaken immediately after the capitulation of the Nazi regime. In it, psychiatrist David M. Levy summarises 21 case studies carried out with selected persons who underwent political screening by 'American investigators, through questioning of details submitted on official forms, checking the names against available records in police, party and civil service files, and also investigations of references and neighbors' (Levy 1948: 125). The screening of anti-Nazi German individuals (men) for cooperation with the U.S. Military Government (MG) was thorough and consisted of several measures. The subjects were selected for the MG School in Bad Orb by means of a formal entrance procedure. They were exposed to several tests, among others an intelligence test and the Rorschach Test. Similar to my approach in this paper, Levy's choice of the 21 interviewees for the sample was based on the principle of variety, and with the exception of gender and age, 'educational, cultural, and vocational levels' differ (Levy 1948: 126). Like the two other studies I have chosen for comparison and the AP Study itself, Levy's research considers parental discipline, family relationships and communication as well as the expression of emotions in the family. These are the overlapping interests of all the studies selected here. But beyond this, it also pays attention to the incentives for self-reflection and for political development, similar to the case study by Darowska (2012). In Levy's study, the incentives come from other people, the subject's own experiences, sojourns abroad and access to the free press there, people of other nationalities in the family, religion or different religions of the parents, party membership and books (Levy 1948: 125).

Methodologically this—in my understanding mixed-methods—study pursues the aim of examining the subjects in the sample by looking at 'criteria of differentiation' between Nazis and anti-Nazis, and

it was planned as a series of psychological studies (Levy 1948: 125). The interviewees, all 'male non-Jewish Germans', were informed that the study was 'research into German personalities—Nazis and others' (Levy 1948: 126f.). The criteria of differentiation were six factors that produced 'deviation data', where each factor scored 1 point: paternal discipline (if the father was not '"disciplinary"', 'authoritative' or had died) (Levy 1948: 160), 'demonstrative maternal affection' (Levy 1948: 160) (assumed as not typical for the German family at that time), 'crossing' (in regard to religious affiliation of the parents), 'position' (of the subject as a child in the family, e.g. favourite or only child) (Levy 1948: 162), 'influence' (person of influence or particular influence), 'travel and reading' (Levy 1948: 163). The differentiation criteria between Nazis and anti-Nazis were tested in a study in which three Nazi groups participated (respectively 13, 8 and 14 cases). For these groups, the results showed scores of 0-2 for Nazis, with the exception of one case scoring 3 (Levy 1948: 160).

The method for generating the personal data in the form of a case study was not a formalised interview. However, direct questions were put to the subjects in order to enable comparison when it came to the differentiation criteria. The data was recorded and controlled 'chiefly to ensure the consideration of the selected topics' (Levy 1948: 126). The '"deviation data" [was] recorded at the end of each case study' (Levy 1948: 127). The results of the comparative study show that in 'all but 3 of the 21 cases, the number of factors, or score, is 3 or more' (Levy 1948: 158). The three cases are discussed in the article. Here I apply the study by Levy in a broader perspective: I am interested not only in the comparison to Nazis within Levy's study, but also in comparing the 'criteria of differentiation' and other relevant factors visible in the narratives with the studies I have selected.

The methodology of comparing the four studies:

My analytical tool consists of the categories that represent the elements of personality structure worked out by Else Frenkel-Brunswik in her qualitative research. Using this, in the first phase I look for similar or overlapping semantic categories in the three reference studies. At the same time, I register other elements of personality structure which Frenkel-Brunswik does not mention or which play a minor role in her findings. Thus, I follow the broad understanding of personality by Frenkel-Brunswik and, in my research, apply a broad and open conception of personality structure or the 'self', one that includes attitudes to self and others as well as moral norms, values and political views (for discussion see e.g. Roiser and Willig 2002). In the second phase, the passages on resisters in the three studies are examined with regard to the findings of the AP research on family structure, parental discipline, child–parent relations etc. In this context I reflect on the categories and on the biographical material in the studies, on the methodology, and comment on the historical and political context of the examined subjects. The second phase also includes a discussion of further relevant aspects in the material of the three studies but not given in or not central to the study by Frenkel-Brunswik. These are described in the following sections *Break and escape – 'rescue of self'* and *The political influence and role of other persons or factors*.

Personality structure

Eva Fogelman, who is familiar with the research on authoritarianism, characterises rescuers as persons with '*humanistic intrinsic values*' who are '*tolerant*' with regard to people whom they

perceive as 'other' (Fogelman 1995: 247). Tolerance and humanistic values[16] relate closely to the egalitarian conception of human relations in Frenkel-Brunswik's analysis in the AP Study—'equalitarian mutuality', as well as 'permissiveness', 'impunitiveness' and 'objective appraisal' (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019c: 405-428).

In Frenkel-Brunswik's sample, the low-scoring subjects are significantly

> permissive and tolerant towards individuals (although not necessary towards institutions). Or at least they make an attempt to understand behaviour from a common sense (if not professional) psychological or sociological point of view; and they show generally more empathy. Whenever rejection of individuals occurs, an attempt is usually made to explain or to rationalise this rejection on the basis of violation of fundamental principles and social values rather than for surface reasons.[17] (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019c: 409)

In Eva Fogelman' study, the rescuers' attitude towards others is a dynamic concept. A tolerant (and also more egalitarian) concept is shaped by parents' remarks and reflection on the part of the child. Fogelman stresses the incentives given by parents to reflect on their arguments (see below) in the childhood of the rescuers; thus, a sort of a 'reflective self'[18] can be assumed as the result of these interactions. This seems to come close to 'impunitiveness' (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019c: 409), or at least to an impulse to reflect on one's own perception of others and of the self. Frenkel-Brunswik determined that low-scoring persons show more 'objective appraisal' (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019c: 423ff.)—a more critical view of the self, which demands the ability to engage in reflection (a 'reflective self') and an openness to (self-)critique. Fogelman illustrates this kind stimulus for reflection given by parents, citing Floris Vos, a father who explains to his son that God created a wide variety of people. In an appeal to him he says:

> If you gossip about other people, you violate God's will und you cause them pain. […] Do me a favour. Think about it and stop it. (Fogelman 1995: 251)

Generally, however, with regard to rescuers[19] it seems important to differentiate between impunitiveness on the one hand and the ability to take a decisive stand on political issues on the other, which means respect for human beings, rejection of the norm of exclusion, and a refusal to accept the crimes of the regime. The rescue actions alone indicate a strong ability to make a political statement and distance to the regime. Subsequently, Fogelman identified '*self-confidence*' (Fogelman 1995: 87) as a trait of the rescuers as well as an ability for 'independent' judgement (Fogelman 1995: 252ff.), and Frenkel-Brunswik found that low-scoring people show more '*principled independence*' (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019b: 351). She reported that eight out of 15 low-scoring women (and none of the 25

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[16] Fogelman applies the term 'humanistic values'. The concept experienced a certain devaluation in the context of the Holocaust and reflections on the disparity between the aspirations and self-image of so-called 'western cultures' and the reality of violence, war and suppression, and extermination of others. In this paper, however, the concept is implemented in the sense of Eva Fogelman's study.

[17] Under surface reasons or 'external', 'conventional set of values' in the AP Study are understood justifications for condemnation such as 'absence of good manners, uncleanliness, "twitching the shoulders", saying "inappropriate" things (inappropriate, as will be seen, on a superficial level only)' (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019c: 406) or being polite, having 'a set of rules' or following 'church dogma' (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019c: 408).

[18] The term 'reflective self' was coined by the author of this paper.

[19] Most likely there will be a difference between rescue-resisters and resisters in a more conventional sense, particularly if the latter are motivated by nationalistic and racist ideologies. However, this cannot be confirmed or refuted in the comparison with the study by David M. Levy (1948) in this paper due to the data and methodological limitations.

high-scoring women), 10 out of 20 low-scoring men (and two out of 20 high-scoring men) displayed 'principled independence' (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019b: 351). Moreover, '*tolerance for ambiguity*', which is characteristic of the low-scorers in Frenkel-Brunswik's analyses (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019d: 451f.; cf. also Frenkel-Brunswik 1996b; 1996c: 216ff.), presumably requires a certain amount of self-confidence. It is quite obvious that the rescuers, as Fogelman has found out, do not comply with the (Nazi) norm (Fogelman 1995: 29)—with the 'new moral' (cf. Welzer 2007)—in at least one ideological point: attitude towards Jewish persons and their exclusion and extermination. Fogelman's research shows that this stability of the moral norm has to do with children's moral education received from their parents. In addition, 'altruism' is (almost) self-evident, i.e. altruistic attitude or an ability for altruistic action, although as Fogelman mentioned, this motivation for highly altruistic acts is often mistrusted by the public (Fogelman 1995: 37) and by research. Fogelman found that for an over-whelming majority of rescuers (89 per cent), a parent or other person acted as an altruistic role model (Fogelman 1995: 257). 'Altruism', but also 'compassion' and political thinking are central traits of the personality structure in the case study on Milena Jesenská. Moreover, a significant ability to 'reflect' can be identified, as well as 'emotionality' in relations and interactions with others and a 'close relationship to nature' (Darowska 2012). One other element in Fogelman's study, empathy, is a strong trait (Fogelman 1995: 261), whereas Frenkel-Brunswik only mentions 'empathy' in passing: 'show more empathy' (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019c: 409).

Altruistic attitude and altruistic action on the part of Milena Jesenská constitute a strong feature of her personality. She helped people in need, motivated by her political attitude but also by a particularly pronounced empathy. As far as tolerance for ambiguity is concerned, at first glance it would not appear to be one of Milena Jesensá's stronger features due to the often decisive socio-political positioning conveyed by her emotional and expressive communication style. However, looking in detail at her development, I would interpret several moments in her biography as admissive of ambivalence, with some of these resulting in her revising her position. I pinpoint three such moments. One was a change in her attitude towards her father[20] as a close attachment figure of her childhood and youth, who expanded her world through long walks (developing a close relationship with nature) and social contacts, through knowledge and adventure, and who offered social protection, giving her wealth, education and status. Another moment was her dramatic change of attitude towards the Communist Party and Communism. Jesenská, a woman of upper middle-class origin, developed a sensitivity to issues of social justice. The Communist movement was a suitable context for her political engagement and her development of ideological independence from her father. Although not a member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, she worked hard as a (managing) editor for Communist journals. She left the political community after she realised the authoritarian and unjust practices within the Czechoslovak Communist Party and after the crimes of Stalin in form of the 1937/38 show trials (which led to the deaths of many prominent Bolsheviks from the Russian Revolution) were revealed. Similarly, she admitted the breakdown of her two marriages, although she had married for love in both instances. She separated from her partners but was ready to help in difficult circumstances (which also indicates permissiveness). The revision of her decisions in all these cases points to phases of ambivalent feelings to which she responded. Her own reflection on her ambivalence regarding the German soldiers in occupied Prague, which lacks moralistic condemnation, is courageous in the political context of the time. In her feuilleton published on March 15, 1939, she wrote the following about a soldier on Wenceslas Square who was eager to explain his situation to a young girl:

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[20] For details of this change see *Break and escape – 'rescue of self'*.

> He had a German face with a few freckles, slightly reddish hair and wore a German uniform. Apart from this he did not differ from our soldiers—he was also an ordinary man devoted to his homeland. And so they stood on opposite sides "and could do nothing about it …".[21]

Thus far, we can draw the conclusion that although the personality traits in these three studies are labelled differently, their meanings are similar and they describe overlapping phenomena. 'Permissiveness' and 'impunitiveness' correspond with 'tolerance'; the 'equalitarian conception of human relations' overlaps with 'humanistic values' and 'altruism'. 'Objective appraisal' and 'principled independence' have a close relation to 'independent judgement' and 'self-confidence'. These elements also relate to tolerance for ambiguity. These corresponding elements can be discerned in Frenkel-Brunswik's low-scoring persons and Fogelman's rescuers. In the case of Milena Jesenská, 'permissiveness' should be understood in its interplay with decisive moralistic positioning, and 'equalitarian conception of human relations' is interrelated with authoritarian features. Differences are found with regard to the relevance of 'empathy', which is a crucial element for rescuers according to Fogelman and one of the central features of Milena Jesenská's personality, but only a marginal aspect in the analyses by Frenkel-Brunswik.

In David M. Levy's study, in some cases it would be more or less possible to identify '*permissiveness toward individuals*', '*impunitiveness*' (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019c: 405ff.), '*objective self-appraisal*' (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019b) and '*tolerance*' (Fogelman 1995: 247). However, personality traits are not the object of research in Levy's study. Levy focuses not so much on the personality of the interviewees as on the factors in the family structure and some other impact factors which led to passive or active resistance. 'Altruism' (Fogelman 1995: 37) can be claimed in some cases in which direct help to other people was practiced, such as case no. 13 ('he helped a number of Jews', Levy 1948: 146) or case no. 16 ('sending money, food, and clothing to destitute workers in Germany', Levy 1948: 152). However, these activities were embedded in general active or passive[22] resistance to the Nazi regime and, as in case no. 16, were done mostly within the context of engagement in the Communist Party, here specifically in the 'Internationale Arbeiterhilfe' (Levy 1948: 151). Empathy as a dimension of a personality structure is not focused on, but the empathy-driven protective role of the mother is a specific criterion. In individual cases we are given information about sensitivity to brutality, like in case no. 13, and while this can overlap with empathy, in general I would regard it as a separate feature. There are, however, valuable findings with regard to 'principled independence' (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019b: 351), which comes close to Fogelman's 'self-confidence' (Fogelman 1995: 87). The 21 subjects in Levy's study vary in their ability to undertake independent positioning. However, their non-conformity to the Nazi regime and non-compliant behaviour proved that they all had had a high level of independence. Certainly for all those individuals who ranked in the study as active anti-Nazis, who

[21] 'Er hatte ein deutsches Gesicht mit ein paar Sommersprossen, leicht rötliche Haare und steckte in der deutschen Uniform. Ansonsten unterschied er sich durch nichts von unseren Soldaten – auch er ein einfacher Mann, seiner Heimat ergeben. Und so standen sich die beiden gegenüber "und konnten nichts dafür …".' (Jesenská 1996: 241; 15.3.1939; trans. by Darowska).

[22] This differentiation is taken from the study. Levy makes clear, however, that 'so-called passive anti-Nazis in their noncompliance may, in special instances, show more courage and suffer severer penalties than those active anti-Nazis, whose activities were limited to sporadic outbursts of criticism in public places.' (Levy 1948: 126). Moreover, in his theoretical framing Levy differentiates between the passive and active anti-Nazis who opposed the regime and so-called 'non-Nazis' who were not members of the NSDAP 'though not opposed to Nazi-doctrine' (Levy 1948: 126). The 'non-Nazis' are not included in the study. The term '"passive" anti-Nazi' refers to those 'who opposed the regime by resistance in the form of refusal to join the Nazi party and general noncompliant behavior', whereas the term '"active"' anti-Nazis applies to people who 'opposed by organized or individual aggressive acts, ranging from public utterances and the spreading of leaflets, to sabotage' (Levy 1948: 126).

undertook resistance actions with the consequence of being imprisoned, sent to a concentration or other camp and tortured, they had enough self-confidence to demonstrate their independence from the regime's ideology, even at the risk of their own life. Surely, independent judgement is always socially embedded and the term does not assume an autonomous individual. Rather, it is the ability to defend minority moral norms where these do not comply with the powerful regime. These moral norms can be identified as the 'equalitarian conception of human relations' and as 'humanistic values'. Eight of the 21 persons in the study exercised an active response to a regime that propagated an extremely hierarchical racial ideology. The activities of these eight people were embedded in the collective (though minority) political rejection of the entire ideology of the regime.

An 'assimilable', 'non-egodestructive' type of discipline

Whereas three of these selected studies analyse the structural elements of the personality, all four studies refer to the question of the origins of this inner structure. Discipline 'is of particular importance' for the 'general theory concerning the genesis of the prejudiced personality' (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019b: 372). Frenkel-Brunswik's research in the AP Study and Fogelman's study show similarity in how they perceive the relevance of the different types of discipline, and they seem to share a theoretical basis. Again this is expressed differently in each study but both seem to imply a non-violent, non-threatening type of discipline. The rescuers in the Fogelman study[23] report having had 'understandable rules' of parental discipline, even when that discipline was strict. Furthermore, they recall not having been exposed to corporal punishment (Fogelman 1995: 249). 'Understandable rules' seems to correspond to what Frenkel-Brunswik terms 'rules', or having a kind of moral reference, in contrast to her understanding of 'principles' practiced for adjustment to conventions (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019b: 372). The absence of corporal punishment reported in Fogelman's study elicits scepticism (see below), meaning I would prefer to use Frenkel-Brunswik's term of 'assimilable discipline'. The narratives of the low-scorers in the AP Study by Frenkel-Brunswik more frequently describe 'assimilable, and thus non-egodestructive discipline' (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019b: 372) rather than non-assimilable discipline. The assimilable type of discipline is defined in opposition to 'threatening, traumatic, overwhelming discipline'. This differentiation is crucial to Frenkel-Brunswik; thus each of the two types has a very different effect. The latter type of discipline 'forces the child into submission and to surrender his ego, thus preventing his development'. The first type 'contributes to the growth of the ego' and seems important for the 'establishment of an internalized superego' and 'crucial for the development of an unprejudiced personality' (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019b: 372). The analyses by Frenkel-Brunswik show that 13 of 20 high scoring men experienced the '"threatening"' and 'none the "assimilable", type of discipline'[24] (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019b: 372). None of the high-scoring men had been exposed to assimilable discipline. The assimilable type of discipline was experienced by (at least) nine of the 20 low-scoring men (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019b: 372).

Both studies, i.e. by Fogelman and Frenkel-Brunswik, differ however in the consequences of the loss of the mother or the reference person. Seven of the 20 high-scoring men recounted having lost their mother (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019b: 382). But a dramatic biographical experience often reported by the rescuers in Fogelman's study was the loss of someone close to them, their own severe illness or

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[23] However, Eva Fogelman also includes studies by Eli Sagan (1988), David M. Levy (1948) and Frances G. Grossman (1984), which enlarge her own study but at the same time blur the boundaries between her own findings and those of the others.

[24] Seven 'received a neutral rating due to lack of data' (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019b: 372).

the severe illness of other people close to them,[25] which induced an intensive sense of empathy (Fogelman 1995: 261, 247). In the case of the Prague journalist Milena Jesenská, it is highly likely that the severe illness and the loss of her mother resulted in an enhancement of her ability to experience empathic feelings. 'Empathy', in addition to her particular ability for reflection, seems to have played a crucial role in the development of Jesenská's social sensibilities and in her rescue activities (Darowska 2012).

The study by David M. Levy confirms the significance of the assimilative, non-egodestructive type of discipline exercised by parents or other reference persons. It shows, moreover, that the father's absence most likely resulted in the lenient discipline of the mother[26] and more freedom and independence for the subject, as in case no. 19. Here the father died of tuberculosis when the subject was five years old and the mother, although strict and not allowing him to 'talk back', did not use corporal punishment. The subject 'thinks of his childhood as a happy time'. '[A]s a boy [he] would advise her when to buy coal, how much to pay, and so on' (Levy 1948: 155). Levy also considers the possible protective role played by the mother with regard to harsh or corporal punishment by the father. This occurs only a few times because the mothers administered corporal punishment themselves. In case no. 21 (active resistance), the subject was exposed to corporal punishment from his father. However, the mitigating factors were that he was, as the oldest of three children, the favourite child of both parents and always felt 'sure of his mother's love' (Levy 1948: 157). The mother often prevented the father from carrying out corporal punishment and she explained her intervention very convincingly: 'You must not punish a child too much. You will put hate into him. He will grow up to hate you.' (Levy 1948: 157).

However, the study also revealed how 'normal' corporal punishment was; it was commonly used as discipline in average families.[27] In fact, 10 out of 21 families of the resisters interviewed in Levy's study used corporal punishment as a form of parental discipline. At the same time, the study shows that corporal punishment was not generally a factor that excluded the possibility of resistance, since all the men in the Levy study were resistant to the Nazi regime. Importantly, considering the findings of Levy's study, Frenkel-Brunswik's term 'assimilable' discipline seems more substantial. In the biographical material produced by Levy's study, the absence of corporal punishment and a loving or demonstratively loving[28] mother, father or other reference person were factors that enabled subjects to develop self-confidence and 'greater individuality' (Levy 1948: 165). The feeling of being loved or protected by the mother, father or grandparents, or feeling free, or having had a happy childhood is

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[25] Such a dramatic biographical event appears, however, in many narratives of that time. Put simply, this was due firstly to the much greater danger posed by infectious and other serious diseases than nowadays and, secondly, to a larger number of children in the average family.

[26] However, there are cases in the sample (nos. 5, 8 and 20) in which the father was passive and the mother exercised the discipline, was strict and used corporal punishment. In spite of this, for this historical period it is not possible to confirm the revision called for by Christel Hopf (1990) of assumptions about the typical roles of the father and mother—assumptions made by Levy and Frenkel-Brunswik. Rather, it seems important to note the variety of family constellations. There are cases in which the father died (nos. 15, 17 and 19) or the mother died (no. 18) or the stepfather and the mother were the reference persons or the subject grew up at their grandparents' or grandfather's house (nos. 1 and 4) (Levy 1948).

[27] In some cases (e.g. case no. 9), the discipline is less clear than in cases where the corporal punishment is stated explicitly. The analysis in this study is based on the interview material and as such relies on the statements of the interviewees and their memory. We must take into account that the narratives are subjective reminiscences. In those cases where the father died in early childhood, the information is limited or not available.

[28] The study differentiates between a 'loving mother' or other person of reference and 'demonstrative loving', meaning the display of love in the form of kisses and embracing in public.

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reported by almost all (18) of the 21 resisters in Levy's study.[29] The low-scorers and the rescuers refer to their parents' love (Fogelman 1995: 248) or to their mothers as 'similar to "warm, sociable, lovable"' persons (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019b: 367). This can also be confirmed for the biographical case study by Darowska (2012: 176f.).

If the absence of corporal punishment was not a necessary criterion for resistance, it seems that not only is the question of the presence or absence of corporal punishment crucial, but also how severe the corporal punishment was, how it was integrated into the development of the personality, and how it influenced the person's understanding of justice. Overall, it is a constellation of several factors which are, however, not arbitrary, but identifiable. For example, in case no. 14 'neither parent ever used corporal punishment' but still, the father 'never said an unnecessary word' and at the table 'everybody had to be quiet. If anyone talked the father would say furiously, "Pay attention to your food"' (Levy 1948: 148). These retrospective moments indicate inhibited communication and a power relation that promotes submission. This is the opposite of the family in case no. 13, where corporal punishment was used but '[a]t the dinner table it was always like a holiday. There were many jokes. The children laughed.' The subject's mother 'was also gay. She sang often' (Levy 1948: 147). Of the 21 case studies in Levy's material, there were eight anti-Nazi subjects who were (probably) not exposed to corporal punishment from either one or both parents. In one of these cases (no. 15), '[t]he children revered the father, had confidence in him and talked to him freely', the mother was loving, demonstrative and she was '"too good"' (Levy 1948: 149). It seems, however, that the feeling of a 'happy childhood', the feeling of freedom, the possibility to make one's own decisions, and being loved and protected are decisive for 'principled independence' and depend on the type of discipline, which in turn consists of several factors, (genuine) parental love and situational factors.

Disagreement and critical attitude

In the analysis by Frenkel-Brunswik, the low-scoring subjects are likely to express their disagreement with their parents 'more freely' since they do not perceive their parents as 'frightening' and do not ascribe to them more power than they have (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019b: 346). Moreover, Frenkel-Brunswik stresses that these persons have 'the strength to follow their own way' (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019b: 346). Besides this, they are even ready to take risks and accept disadvantages, namely to experience conflict or feel guilty (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019b: 345f.). An important side effect seems to be the process of learning about a more equal relationship through rebellion as an alternative to strong hierarchical order and submission to repression (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019b: 346).

In line with this critical attitude towards the parents, when talking about their parents and other people, the low-scoring persons in Frenkel-Brunswik's analysis show significantly greater 'dependence' on the love of the mother, parents, family members or other persons than the high-scoring people (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019b: 353ff.). The latter show greater dependence on things, 'power' or 'material benefits' (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019b: 355). This goes hand in hand with the articulation of genuine affect (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019b: 346f.). The depiction of the parents—the sort of narrative in which it is portrayed combined with the articulation of feelings and comments on the discipline experienced—allows conclusions to be drawn about the parental love that these individuals either enjoyed or were denied as children. In Levy's (1948) sample of 21 anti-Nazi persons, he assumes that

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[29] On the basis of the available data, it is not possible to identify glorification of the parents or of childhood.

the typical power relation in the family between the father and the mother in Germany during that time period was one in which the father was dominant, threatening and punishing. This correlates with the tendency discussed in Frenkel-Brunswik's analyses (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019b: 370ff.). Levy shows that the anti-Nazis break this pattern (Levy 1948: 164). For Levy

> it appears clear that as a group the anti-Nazis, in comparison with typical Germans, have escaped the conventional and rigid family structure. They have been brought up with more affection and less restraint. Their world is a broader one, less limited in terms of religious, social, and intellectual boundaries. They have attained a more critical attitude. They are freer from conventional, stereotyped thinking. (Levy 1948: 164)

However, the sample shows the heterogeneity and complexity of family relations, as well as ambivalences in the quality of attachment to the reference persons and in the feelings of freedom and independence.

Break and escape – 'rescue of self'

This complexity is displayed in the biographical material on Milena Jesenská. We can assume that Jesenská (in the case study by Darowska 2012) was not free from authoritarian personality elements. But, in connection with a high level of reflection, she developed a feeling of being forced into submission, a sensitivity to being hurt and strove for her own individual emancipation from her authoritarian family and social structures. These two elements seem to constitute a sort of 'reflective self' (cf. Darowska 2012), which does not reproduce a typical authoritarian pattern (cf. also Fromm 1995: 64ff.). According to Frenkel-Brunswik's analysis, the authoritarianism of the parents might go hand in hand with the child's acceptance of their violent and cruel punishment, which results in an idealistic image of the parents (see also Hopf 1992). The prominent example by Frenkel-Brunswik is M58, a high-scoring subject who recounts:

> Well, my father was a very strict man. [...] His word was law, and whenever he was disobeyed, there was punishment. When I was 12, my father beat me practically every day for getting into the tool chest in the back yard, and not putting everything away. (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019b: 374)

The same person also appears in Adorno's part as M352[30]:

> But, you know, I never hold that against my father—I had it coming. He laid the law down, and if I broke it, there was punishment, but never in uncontrolled anger. My father was a good man—no doubt about that. Always interested in boys' activities. (Adorno 2019: 761)

On the basis of empirical data, Frenkel-Brunswik describes this kind of inner conflict between the experience of massive violence and a seemingly positive attitude towards the parent: 'the prejudiced subjects show little evidence of genuine love toward their parents' and are more likely to show 'stereotyped, rigid glorification' of them, occasionally complemented by 'feelings of victimization'.

> The underlying hostility has to be kept ego-alien for several reasons: it is too strong to be fully admitted; and it interferes with the desire to be taken care of by the parents. This conflict

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[30] Frenkel-Brunswik and Adorno refer to the same interview but they use different numeration.

leads to a submission to parental authority on the surface and a resentment underneath which, although not admitted, is the more active under the guise of mechanisms of *displacement*.[31] (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019b: 357)

It might be surprising that the subjects mentioned above refer to clear, understandable rules, which Fogelman identified among the parents of the rescuers. However, the rescuers in Fogelman's study recounted being disciplined but not physically or emotionally punished or hurt. Some were even subjected to strong discipline, particularly under the impact of religious and patriarchal structures, without any possibility of contradicting the parents. Fogelman found that the rescuers suffered under such subordination and, as young people, they seized the opportunity to 'flee' (e.g. to another city or country in order to study). In this way they were able to free themselves (Fogelman 1995: 25f.). In his study, David M. Levy concludes

> [...] that the stronger the emotional bond to the child the less likely is the mother to yield to the harsh discipline exacted by the father. Revolt against the father, especially in the adolescent period will be theoretically a more likely occurrence among the anti-Nazis. (Levy 1948: 165)

Although there is little information about Milena Jesenská's relationship with her parents, one citation by Margarete Buber-Neumann indicates that Jesenská was hurt physically by her father (Buber-Neumann 1996: 30; Darowska 2012: 176). However, the reference is vague. On the other hand, we know that Jesenská was loved and protected by her father, although considerable tension occurred in the relationship in her youth. At the latest she was profoundly hurt when her wish to marry a Jewish person was not accepted by her father and she was forced into psychiatric care by her father (a dentist) for breaking norms and resisting her father's will. She rebelled and was able to enter into the marriage on condition that she move away from Prague to Vienna. The relationship between Jesenská and her father was, however, destroyed (Darowska 2012). Compared to M58 (or M352), she suffered pain on the emotional and mental level and realised, on the cognitive level, that there is no need to accept all the norms imposed by adults and that some are simply not justified. This realisation seems to have been the beginning or reinforcement of her emancipation towards 'independent' judgement. Other people (e.g. one of her teachers) and milieus (literary and philosophical 'café discourses') played a significant role in this emancipation (as is relevant in the approaches of Fromm and Adler). Her ability for 'independent' judgement is manifest not only in her personal life but also in her attitude towards the Nazi occupation and, at the same time, in her break with Communism. In the consequences she drew from this—distancing herself from her father (for years)—there appears to be a central difference to the acceptance of the justification of being hurt. Thus, in contrast to the case of M58 (M352) in which priority is given to the rule as set down by the authority, for Jesenská there are other cognitive and emotional criteria such as '*being hurt*' (feeling) and '*reflection of the justification of the rule*' ('reflective self'). These made it possible to take the risk of renouncing paternal love and thereby gain greater independence.

Similarly, the subject in case no. 14 in Levy's study left the parental home immediately after he finished school. Although his parents never used corporal punishment, still 'he could make no decisions of his own. As soon as he was through, he could be his own boss'. In another town he 'made his own

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[31] Italics added here for emphasis.

plans' and 'had his independence'; he was very happy. Although his parents 'wanted him to come home [...] he stayed away until he was 22' (Levy 1948: 148).

The political influence and role of other persons or factors

The strength of Levy's analyses in the context of the AP Study is the inclusion of factors that expand the psychoanalytical perspective, going beyond the impact of the family on the individuals. It is noticeable that in eight cases, the father, grandfather or another close person was politically active as a member of the SPD (Social Democrat Party of Germany), in one case the Zentrum (German Centre Party), and in two cases the BVP (Bavarian People's Party). Furthermore, it is noticeable that even when the father was not a member of a political party but was anti-militaristic or when the grandmother propagated a democratic attitude, the interview subject was against the war. There is a certain contradiction between 'principled independence' and adopting the father's political attitudes, which could be interpreted as an inability to position oneself independently. However, in the case of resistance to the Nazi regime, from the ethical perspective the consequences (not joining the NSDAP or HJ) of this paternal influence are to be wished for. They imply an independent attitude towards the majority Nazi norm. But this consequence points to the general dependence of the individual on paternal or family attitudes. The opposite case would be that if a subject grew up in a fascist family, he would adopt fascist views. This shows a great deal of dependence on the political attitudes of the family and is something that should be considered in further research. One point is that the SPD or KPD (Communist Party of Germany) was the ideological background needed for opposition to the regime. But how independent was this standpoint in the context of the paternal attitude? The subject in case no. 12 expresses this paternal influence in the following way: 'All in all his father had a tremendous influence on him, brought him up with anti-Nazi and anti-militaristic ideas. He "brought him up in the [Socialist] party"' (Levy 1948: 145). Similarly, in case no. 9, the subject recalls: 'When it came to joining the Nazi party, his stepfather wouldn't let him join. His stepfather also prevented him from signing up for twelve years with the Wehrmacht' (Levy 1948: 141f.). In case of Milena Jesenská, it can also be seen that her political consciousness with regard to Czechoslovakia as an independent nation was raised by her father. Insofar she was influenced by her father in her political standpoint. However, Milena Jesenská rejected her father's antisemitic attitudes and struggled to find her own viewpoint (Darowska 2012).

More evidence for 'principled independence' demonstrates the subjects' development during their younger years under the influence of other persons or experiences. According to Levy, such factors include contacts with Jews or people of another nationality, religion, mixed marriages with regard to religion or nationality, reading books (e.g. Marxist literature), longer stays in another country (e.g. Holland, Switzerland), and having access to foreign newspapers and anti-Nazi discussions. The subject in case no. 2 was astonished to see the democratic practices followed at schools in Switzerland when he was working there between the ages of 26 and 28: '"Why, the school teachers were all friends of the children!"' (Levy 1948: 132) The subject in case no. 16 felt really free attending the Free Waldorf School (Levy 1948: 151), and the subject in case no. 14 experienced a 'real "training in politics"' as a 25-year-old from his landlord, Mr. D., learning about freedom, SPD activities and news in foreign newspapers (Levy 1948: 148). Presumably, such influences are more consciously chosen and show more independence in their adoption. However, the openness to role models, opportunities to learn new ways of doing things, certain interpretations of events and the feelings experienced are

also interlaced, to a certain degree, with parental influence as regards discipline and political attitudes, as well as positioning in the society. In case no. 3, the subject 'witnessed "brutalities"' at the age of 17—'Jews being mishandled, their homes robbed'. However, in this case too, the parental value of 'respect for people' plays a crucial role in the empathy experienced. 'He always had respect for people. That's the way he was brought up', he says (Levy 1948: 133). The subject in case no. 15, who had an anti-militaristic attitude, was asked by his father—who 'disciplined "only with kind words"'— to 'put away a cork gun he received as a present from his aunt', with the comment 'it was not a toy, but a weapon' (Levy 1948: 149).

With regard to the question of independence, the relationship to the KPD can be relevant. In most cases, the fathers or grandfathers of the interviewees were either members of the SPD, or propagated SPD ideas. Some sporadically adhered to the ideas of the Zentrum or BVP parties. Four of the interviewees, however, became members of the Communist Party. Three of them explain their motivation in joining the KPD: it was their critique of SPD politics, its passive role and the contrasting solution-oriented programme of the KPD and the party's active role against fascism. An interesting point in this study is that three of the four are, at the time of the interview, distancing themselves from Communism in the same way as Milena Jesenská had already done in the 1930s, with one (in case no. 17) of the interviewees leaving the KPD after one year. For the subject in case no. 11, the reason for rejecting the KPD was the hierarchical and anti-democratic way of running the party:

> Now he feels differently, he says. The Communist Party became too intolerant. He thinks the dictatorship of the proletariat and the demands of uncritical obedience are mistaken ideas. (Levy 1948: 144)

The subject in case no. 17, who has an SPD background, comments on his membership and withdrawal from the KPD after one year in the following way:

> Fascism was getting stronger, and the Communist Party was the only one really doing something against it. [...] Once in the Party, though, he was never active. He had to work with people whose ideas he couldn't take. They were always brawling about everything. (Levy 1948: 153)

SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS – A NON-FASCIST PERSONALITY IN A FAMILY AND SOCIAL CONTEXT

This examination of studies shows that personality elements and the type of parental discipline were both considered and both played a role in the explanation of the non-fascist attitude and resistance to the Nazi regime. The comparison of personality structures allows the conclusion that low-prejudiced persons or persons resisting the regime are more 'permissive', more 'tolerant', less blaming ('impunitive') and more equal in their attitude towards other people. These individuals are possibly more 'self-confident' and show more 'principled independence'. At the same time they also show 'tolerance for ambiguity', even if they may also display authoritarian elements in their personality, and they take a clear position against the regime (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019a-e; 1949; Fogelman 1995; Darowska 2012). Some of them must fight for their freedom and independence (Levy 1948; Fogelman 1995; Darowska 2012). A crucial aspect, however, seems to be a desire for independence, which is not compensated by power over other people (Adler; see e.g. Hannich 2018), but is rather manifested as efficacy in the form of help and resistance (Darowska 2012; Levy 1948; Fogelman 1995).

As far as parental discipline is concerned, a loving parent or other reference person seems fundamental (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019b; Fogelman 1995; Levy 1948; Darowska 2012; Fromm 1995). Punishment was practiced in many families, including corporal punishment. Decisive in these cases is how it was embedded within the family situation on the whole. Love, the mitigating role of (clear) rules, moral rules rather than constraints for adjustment to convention, the harshness of the punishment, a feeling of justice or a feeling of injustice followed by the rejection of submission—these appear constitutive here (Levy 1948; Fogelman 1995; Darowska 2012). 'Assimilable', 'non-egodestructive' discipline seems an appropriate term for the more favourable constellation (Frenkel-Brunswik 2019b).

Not only did affective attitude and discipline play a role, but the social, political and religious views and moral norms of the family or the reference person seem very important for (rescue) resistance. In the cases of (several) resisters and many rescuers, the political attitude (Levy 1948) and moral norms (Fogelman 1995), respectively, of the parents are adopted. But the political views and norms can be also transcended or rejected (Levy 1948; Darowska 2012). Other people in their lives, e.g. grandparents or stepparents, and more generally the immediate milieu can have a great influence in this regard. Travel, reading, and distinctive experiences are further factors (Levy 1948; Darowska 2012). Generally speaking, a reflective self, empathy and a feeling of injustice (with regard to self or others) appear central (Darowska 2012; Levy 1948; Fogelman 1995).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The comprehensive research project on the Authoritarian Personality contributed a great deal to the understanding of fascism and authoritarian regimes. The quantitative survey laid the foundation for the qualitative in-depth analyses. The qualitative analyses by Frenkel-Brunswik reported in the AP Study are, in many regards, relevant from the perspective of (current) studies on resisters. Her contributions followed a differentiated design and were well reflected in terms of methodology. The concepts of 'moralistic condemnation of other people' versus 'permissiveness toward individuals', extra- or impunitiveness, the hierarchical or more equal conceptions of human relations, submission versus principled independence and tolerance for ambiguity, the glorification of the self and the parents versus objective appraisal, the focus on conventions and things or on love, and surface adjustment versus deeper reflection are all key categories. When compared to the research on resisters acting against the National Socialist regime the findings are, for the most part, comparable or they intersect. Some of the findings by Frenkel-Brunswik are more likely to be found in one study on resisters, some in a different study. Not all findings could be applied due to the limited data of each study arising from its design. The three studies referred to in relation to Frenkel-Brunswik's research emphasize the significance of her psychoanalytic approach. Drawing on research by Erich Fromm, Frenkel-Brunswik thereby laid the foundations for a psychoanalytical approach to the explanation of fascism and authoritarian regimes. Current research on child development confirms the relevance of the parent–child interaction and the loving attitude of the parent (or close person) for the psycho-emotional and cognitive development of the individual (Stern 2020; Dornes 2004). The three studies referred to in this paper confirm the significance of the role of the parents or other reference persons, their interactions with the child and their discipline methods. Several findings in these studies overlap with the personality structures and the reconstruction of parental discipline by the low-scoring persons in the AP Study. In that sense, they confirm the unique importance of the work of Else Frenkel-Brunswik. Assimilable parental discipline and (genuine) parental love are of particular significance for principled independence.

However, several open questions remain which should be the object of further research. A thorough investigation of the relation between, on the one hand, the factors that can be approached through psychoanalysis and, on the other, the influence of (unconscious and chosen) role models and further life experiences within social structures (as indicated in the theoretical approaches by Fromm and Adler and biographical research on resisters) is needed. Acquisition of political knowledge in the family through reading, education and travel and the ability to reflect on this are crucial and must be investigated in relation to other factors as well. Seipel et al. (1995: 74) show that the (already) developed authoritarian personality is a prerequisite for right-wing political attitudes. However, the study by Levy (1948) underlines that young people's first political leanings are tied up with familial influence and remain quite stable. The studies carried out by Darowska (2012) and Levy (1948) indicate, furthermore, that political orientation can radicalise or change under the impact of the milieu and the situation.

When we talk about a subject's orientation to a role model, we must first refer to Bob Altemeyer's (1981, 1988) quantitative research (applying Albert Bandura's theoretical approach 1977, 1986). Fogelman's findings confirm the significance of the role model, particularly with regard to altruism. However, Altemeyer's research discards the deep psychoanalytical insights into personality structures that make Frenkel-Brunswik's research so insightful. As quantitative RWA (Right-Wing-Authoritarianism) scale-based research,[32] Altemeyer's work does not try to investigate these learning processes empirically in order to determine the relationship between an authoritarian or democratic family structure, personality and the influence of certain other persons or experiences. Altemeyer (1981) cited several follow-up studies to demonstrate that the main thesis by Frenkel-Brunswik—locating the origin of the authoritarianism in childhood and the family structure—is not well-founded in scientific terms. Yet these cited studies are (small) quantitative scale-based studies, with the majority of them carried out in the 1950s and 1960s. The controversial discussions on the methodological issues of Altemeyer's study and other relevant studies and their underlying theoretical constructs—predominantly authoritarianism, prejudice, dogmatism (Rokeach 1960), and right- and left-wing authoritarianism (Eysenck 1956)—reveal many theoretical and methodological problems without providing satisfactory answers or solutions. Therefore, it cannot be assumed that Altemeyer's decision to dispense with this part of the theory is scientifically well-founded. From the perspective of child development research—including both (classical) attachment theories (Bowlby and Ainsworth 2005) as well as current research (Stern 2020, Dornes 1997, 2004)—there are strong indications that social character and learning processes are considerably influenced by parent–child interactions in early childhood. This research supports the psychoanalytical approach and indeed, Christel Hopf (1990) points out the limitations of quantitative data and calls for further qualitative research integrating the research on authoritarianism with theoretical approaches in socialisation and child development research. Hopf makes links to the important study by Nathan W. Ackerman

[32] Altemeyer reduced the original AP Study F-scale to the three constructs 'authoritarian submission', 'authoritarian aggression' and 'conventionalism'. He responded to the early critiques of the AP scales by using both the negative and positive items in his scale. Altemeyer (1981) sharply criticised the F-scale and other scales in the AP Study. One of the several major points of criticism about the quantitative part was the unclear stimuli in the items. In my opinion, however, we can unfortunately observe the same problem in the Altemeyer RWA scale, e.g. the item 'It's always better to trust the judgment of the proper authorities in government and religion than to listen to the noisy rabble-rousers in our society who are trying to create doubts in people's mind' interfuses trust in democratically elected authority (government) with faith-based religious authorities. Moreover, it does not make clear who the 'noisy rabble-rousers' are, so we might ask whether these are e.g. conspiracy preachers, as has been the case recently with the anti-coronavirus protest movement. Could it be that the first and third part of the item measure trust in democracy, the second measures authoritarian submission or conventionalism, and the third measures trust in democracy or authoritarian aggression? (see also Lederer 1995: 38).

and Marie Jahoda (1950) 'Antisemitism and emotional disorder', which Altemeyer does not mention. The solution is not the renouncing of the psychoanalytical approach, but theoretical integration and a mix of methodologies.

A further question is the development of 'principled independence'—one of the central elements of the less authoritarian personality structure in Frenkel-Brunswik's study, which is confirmed in this exploratory research by the personality structure of the resisters. However, critical investigations are still needed to determine to what extent a 'reflective self' or 'principled independence' enables the subject to develop 'humanistic' values (reflected in their inconsistencies and dilemmas) and to distinguish between science-based (or plausible) information and ideology-based knowledge and, moreover, to act according to these insights. In this regard, the relation between parental and others' influences in particular should be discussed further. The 'Dogmatism scale' by Rokeach (1960) is an interesting step in this direction, as it allows the measurement of the intensity of (principled) ideological dependence. Shearman and Levine (2006) make a significant contribution to the improvement of Rokeach's scale. However, a 'reflective self' is broader than open-mindedness. This personality structure element certainly presupposes a mind open to new knowledge, observation and reflecting on experience. But beyond this, the 'reflective self' assumes the ability to make moral judgements and subsequently transform these into action, even under conditions of social isolation (resisters and anti-Nazis in my study).

'Principled independence' and 'reflective self' as the opposite of the authoritarian and dogmatic self could be investigated in further research through qualitative observation and narrative interviews and tested via quantitative measurement on the basis of a scale. This would require the continuation of research on left-wing authoritarianism despite the critical discourse following the controversy around the study by Eysenck (1956) (see e.g. discussion in Roiser and Willig 2002: 87). In this regard too, Altemeyer's position of maintaining there is no left-wing authoritarianism is based on research that is methodologically problematic. If the scales cannot separate the constructs exploring racism, prejudices, ethnocentrism, sexism etc. from authoritarianism (and dogmatism), they are not adequate instruments for measuring left-wing authoritarianism. Scores referring to these constructs will always be lower. Conway et al. (2018) developed an approach which they call the 'parallel' approach, replacing the wording in the item that refers to right-wing ideology with references adapted to left-wing ideology. Although the idea is a step forward, it is not enough to replace the words in the item wording. So here too, qualitative research is needed to comprehensively develop the structure of left-wing authoritarianism. From the historical perspective we can assume that in general, left-wing attitudes do not provide much support for the fascist ideology of inequality as regards race, gender, social class, religion etc. Instead social hierarchy derives from the conviction of possessing the 'right awareness' and 'moralistic condemnation of other people'. The justification of violence of the authoritarian communist regimes under the slogan of social justice, an incoherent attitude to the state as a repressive body and, at the same time, as the paternalistic addressee of all political claims are only three hypothetical components to be investigated. Frenkel-Brunswik's categories of the authoritarian personality structure offer researchers more suitable instruments for approaching these questions.

The studies by David M. Levy, Eva Fogelman and Lucyna Darowska show the importance of including all potentially significant factors and of attempting to clarify how they interact in various constellations. One conceivable next step would be to compare Frenkel-Brunswik's psychoanalytical findings with the research on perpetrators, and to analyse this in relation to the findings in this paper.

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Appendices

Table 1: Personality Structure of Low-Scoring Persons and Resisters That Occur or Can be Interpreted in the Four Examined Studies

Frenkel-Brunswik (1950)	Fogelman (1995)	Levy (1948)	Darowska (2012)
Qualitative analysis on low-scoring subjects in the AP Study	Qualitative study on rescue-resisters	Mixed-methods study on anti-Nazis	Qualitative case study on resister Milena Jesenská
permissiveness towards individuals	*humanistic intrinsic values altruism*	*humanistic intrinsic values*	*humanistic intrinsic values altruism*
impunitiveness			*impunitiveness (to a certain extent)*
equalitarian mutuality	*rejection of racial hierarchy*	*rejection of racial hierarchy*	*rejection of racial hierarchy*
tolerance towards individuals	*tolerance towards 'others', not in relation to the regime*	*respect, tolerance towards 'others', not in relation to the regime*	*tolerance towards 'others', not in relation to the regime*
objective self-appraisal	*objective self-appraisal*	*objective self-appraisal*	*objective self-appraisal*
principled independence	*principled independence -rejection of the majority's exclusive norm*	*principled independence, -rejection of the majority's exclusive norm*	*principled independence, -rejection of the majority's exclusive norm*
deeper reflection	*reflective self*	*reflective self*	*reflective self*
	striving for independence/emancipation from submissive family structures	*striving for independence/emancipation from submissive family structures*	*striving for independence/emancipation from submissive family structures*
tolerance for ambiguity	*tolerance*		*openness for ambiguity*
	self-confidence, particularly in political issues	*self-confidence, particularly in political issues*	*self-confidence, particularly in political issues*
empathy (to a certain extent)	*empathy as a central element*	*empathy/sensitivity to brutality*	*empathy as a central element*
focus on love, not things			*focus on love, not things*
	awareness of injustice and harmful actions	*awareness of injustice and harmful actions*	*awareness of injustice and harmful actions*
	political interest, ability to take political action and overcome fear	*political interest, ability to take political action and overcome fear*	*political interest, ability to take political action and overcome fear*
			compassion
			close relationship to nature

Table 2: Family Structure, Parental Discipline and Parent-Child Relation of the Low-Scoring Persons, (Rescue-)Resisters and Anti-Nazis in the Four Examined Studies/Integration of Other Factors

Frenkel-Brunswik (1950)	Fogelman (1995)	Levy (1948)	Darowska (2012)
Qualitative analysis on low-scoring subjects in the AP Study	Qualitative study on rescue-resisters	Mixed-methods study on anti-Nazis	Qualitative case study on resister Milena Jesenská
assimilable non-egodestructive discipline *-more affection, less restraint* *-discipline based on rules*	*assimilable non-egodestructive discipline* *-more affection, less restraint* *-incentives for justice, moral norms and reflection* *-discipline based on rules, no corporal punishment*	*assimilable non-egodestructive discipline* *-more affection, less restraint* *-less limitation in religious, social and intellectual terms* *-discipline with or without corporal punishment*	*assimilable non-egodestructive discipline* *-more affection, less restraint,* *incentives for justice, moral norms and reflection, intellectual incentives* *-discipline without corporal punishment*
love-oriented dependence	*love-oriented dependence*	*love-oriented dependence*	*love-oriented dependence*
warm, sociable mother	*love of the parents/feeling of being loved and protected*	*love of the/one of the parents, grandparents/feeling of being loved/having a happy childhood*	*love of the parents/feeling of being loved and protected*
disagreement possible/critical attitude	*disagreement possible/critical attitude* *-if not possible - escape*	*disagreement possible/critical attitude* *-if independence not possible - escape*	*disagreement possible/critical attitude* *-if not possible – escape, negotiation, break off the relationship*
	loss of a parent or other close person or severe illness – as enhancer for empathy, resilience and efficacy	*loss of a father – more freedom, fewer restrictions*	*loss of a parent and severe illness – as enhancer for empathy, resilience and efficacy*
	altruistic parent		
		political, democratic or anti-militaristic influence of father or grandparents	*political influence of father*
	influence of others	*(political) influence of others*	*(political) influence of others*
		reading, travelling, longer stays abroad	*reading, (humanistic) education*