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The Influence of Military Service on Political and Social Attitudes:

A STUDY OF SOCIALIZATION IN THE GERMAN BUNDESWEHR

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In recent years, one can observe a more intense interest on the part of the academic community and in the general public of the Federal Republic of Germany in questions concerning the Bundeswehr and about problems of the relationship between the military and society. One of the major reasons for the new scrutiny has been the drastic increase in the number of conscientious objectors to military service, occurring at the end of the 1960s. However, questions of the extensive defense-political aspects of the problem were less at the center of this interest than questions of educational and socialization processes in the Bundeswehr, particularly during the period of military service.[1]

The discussion of these questions continues to be controversial. There appears to be agreement only to the extent that the Bundeswehr is understood to be "the largest and, in many respects, the best functioning institution for adult education."[2] A leading Bundeswehr officer says of it: "For fifteen years training in citizenship has been carried on nowhere in Germany on a broader scale or with greater intensity than in the Bundeswehr."[3] And a group of authors critical of the Bundeswehr

states that "the influence of the military and its organization penetrates into the personal lives of the individual."[4] Considering the direction of the influence, one can describe, somewhat rudimentarily, two opposite positions:

(A) military behavior leads to accommodated, uncritical, authority-bound consciousness,

(B) military service develops and strengthens democratic awareness.

The first position, which will be summarized here and which is advocated in the Federal Republic, primarily by young social scientists, assigns military service a specific level of value within the context of a society described as "late capitalist." The most important function of the "total institution" (the Bundeswehr) is said to be an influencing of the draftees toward uncritical accommodation and standardization. Transference of soldier-like behavior to the interactions and decision structures of civilian life would guarantee conflict-free performance in the working world. Furtherance of individual personality development does not take place at all. The social situation of the draftee could be described as one of forcible removal from his previous social environment, an environment in which the youth develops independence and feelings of self-worth even in conflict with general patterns of behavior. Military service is said to intervene here in a significant phase of the socialization of the youth. In this context, one also speaks of political standardization according to the wishes of the ruling class: the military provides the appropriate means "not only to combat and to reverse the danger to obedient behavior in male youth, but also to make this obedience permanent. . . . Discipline in the military realm, strengthened by a practically impenetrable net of social controls, quickly leads the soldier to passive and apathetic behavior. He grows unsure of his former status of 'civilian' and can make his life psychologically endurable only through conformity."[5] Such uncertainty represents an important precondition for the "socialization of the subject'."[6]

Less far-reaching in its tendency, but similar in its assertions, is Koghman's accommodation hypothesis.[7] He begins with the assumption that the hierarchical structure, as well as the roles, and values of the military system, show a strong relationship to the structure of the authoritarian personality. For anyone holding a military position, this would automatically mean socialization toward the authoritarian posture.

A summary characterization of these positions asserts that military service leads to (a) a destabilization of social orientation systems, and (b) an accommodating, ultimately undemocratic awareness.

The second position, which in the present context is quantitatively significant, is advocated primarily by authors from the political and military leadership of the Federal Republic. This position also assumes that military service has a far-reaching influence on the social and political attitudes of draftees. Thus, for example, the final report of a reform commission of the defense ministry, which was concerned with the questions of military structure, states: "The requirement of service in the Bundeswehr creates a significant potential for democratic and civil awareness-not only for the soldier himself but also for his immediate surroundings, his family and colleagues."[8] And the white paper which the federal government published in 1973/74 mentions the following as one of four connections between the military and the civilian population: "Draftees acquire abilities useful in civilian occupations and gain democratic awareness through their service."[9]

The significance of the Bundeswehr as an instrument of education, of socialization, is thought to be particularly large with respect to democratic attitudes, because the other educational institutions do not adequately fulfill their roles. A retired general, Heinz Karst, writes along these lines: "Our young democracy is dependent on the Bundeswehr for civil assistance in a way that practically no other state in our history has been. One should consider that many draftees learn for the first time, from their officers, not only the meaning behind their duty, but also learn the basic concepts of democracy and the state and their functions and fundamental values. In an age of annoyance with the state and abstinence from political life, the officer becomes, practically, a champion of democracy." [10]

The fact that, in the literature, one frequently finds synonymous application of the terms "democratic awareness" and "civic awareness" is particularly important for our area of interest, for the period of military service. Civic awareness, however-again, according to the pertinent literature-presupposes a readiness to serve in the military. Thus, for example, Reichert believes "most of the draftees serve without civil awareness. A military motivation is alien to them."" And as defense minister von Hassel demanded, "The appeal to young people to share political

responsibility can and must not only exclude the deep meaning of military obligation. Whosoever succumbs to resentment here cannot function effectively in the area of civic education."[12]

If one does not wish to assume the identity of the terms "democratic awareness" and "military motivation," then the second position described here can be summarized as follows: the military service should and does lead to (a) democratic awareness and (b) a readiness for military service.

Previous Empirical Studies of Socialization in the Military

Proper assessment of the effects of socialization confronts significant methodological difficulties. Because of that and because of the rather problematic relationship between the military and the social sciences in the Federal Republic,[13] there were few empirical studies of the military's performance in socialization that were available at the time of the investigation report in this paper.[14] The few known studies are very different, both in their points of departure and in their execution.

A study by Hubert Treiber, derived essentially from participatory observation, suggests the conclusion that the Bundeswehr educates the draftee in behavior patterns of accommodation, that it reduces spontaneity and increases fear and uncertainty.[15] In contrast, the study by Wilfreid Laatz results in the assertion that service in the Bundeswehr promotes personality development and establishes civic awareness.[16] And according to Klaus Roghmann and Wolfgang Sodeur, authoritarian and intolerant attitudes are diminished during military service."[17] Further, Josef Leifert points out that the expectations of the draftees, particularly with respect to social relationships and to the superior- subordinate relationships, are disappointed during military service.[18] Finally, Hans Benninghaus comes to the conclusion that the attitudes toward military service are more dependent on personal facts (direct personal interests and considerations) than on ideological factors ("the general attitude toward national military obligation and toward the Bundeswehr").[19]

Hypotheses About the Influence of the Military

Hypotheses serve to organize scientific work. They have the function among others, of summarizing the theoretical point of departure and of

specifying the manner in which empirical data will be processed. Because of the functional nature of hypotheses, it is possible in one step to examine the two contradictory assertions about the formation of democratic or undemocratic awareness during military service.

According to positions which are encountered in the literature, there are two further hypotheses which must be answered by the empirical data. Thus, the three hypotheses central to the study are as follows:

(I) Military service leads to a destabilization of existing systems of orientation for the draftee.

(II) Military service develops or strengthens democratic awareness for the draftee.

(III) Military service provides the draftee with military motivation.

In order to evaluate the thrust of the investigation, it should be noted that the study primarily attempts to analyze the effects of military service. The military service itself and with it the different possible sources of socialization are largely considered as a "black box" for the investigation.

On the Problem of Operationalizing

A fundamental precondition for empirical social research is the operationalizing of the stated hypotheses. The problem of empirical examination is not, however, completely solved by naming the criteria with indicator value. In the present case, there must be appropriate instruments, which can describe the criteria available for the examination of socialization performance. If such instruments are not available, or if they cannot be specially developed, then one must generally be satisfied with questions on the level of opinion research. The disadvantage there lies in the less conclusive nature of the results because of the greater situational dependence of an opinion.

The Indicators for Hypothesis I. In this hypothesis it is assumed that military service leads to a destabilization of existing systems of orientation for the draftee. The examination of the first hypothesis should proceed according to four indicators on the level of attitudinal and personality criteria. These are the attitudinal and personality dimensions "anomie," "social isolation,"[20] "neuroticism,"[21] and "intolerance of ambigui-

ty."[22] "Anomie" describes the feeling of insecurity and impotence in the face of the general conditions of life, missing or inadequate possibilities for orientation in a society with rapid social change. If military service did destabilize existing social orientation systems, then a clear increase in anomie would have to be noticeable.

"Neuroticism" confronts the problem of coming to terms with one's environment under a more strongly personal perspective; psychic stability and capacity are measured. If the hypothesis is correct, then military service would lead to a "neuroticizing" of the draftee vis-à-vis "normal social relationships." The mechanism with which one describes uncertainty in the military clearly relates to the isolation of the individual from his previous social contacts, to feelings of loneliness and exclusion which represent a precondition for the acceptance of the new military patterns of behavior. For the hypothesis to be supported, the draftee would have to evidence, at the end of his service period, clearly higher values in the dimension of "social isolation," which includes the psychological processes described.

The fourth dimension, "intolerance of ambiguity," describes the ability for differentiated thought or for thinking in extremes, in black and white categories, and the degree to which one can cope with difficult situations. According to the hypothesis, adaptation to the "one-dimensional concept," of command and obedience and recognition of external determination would have to coincide with a reduction in differentiated ways of thinking, with an increase of thought in black and white categories, and with a feeling of insecurity in ambiguous situations.

The Indicators for Hypothesis II. In order to examine the hypothesis that the Bundeswehr develops democratic awareness in the draftee during his time of service, four attitudinal dimensions were analyzed as indicators. These are the dimensions "political involvement," "politics as a disrupting factor," "political alienation," and "non- political behavior."[23]

The important characteristics considered here touch on an axiom of democratic attitudes-the fact that political activity is not a matter of natural processes that are completed independent of human action and of established economic, social, and political structures.

Using the dimension "politics as a disrupting factor" one can examine how far ideas have been disseminated which consider political activity merely a disruption of natural processes. If one recognizes that it is not natural processes but rather human actions which can determine

political occurrences, then it is decisively important what form these actions take. In the overwhelming majority of democratic theories, those elements which describe the analytical dimension of democratic theories and those elements which describe the analytic dimension of "non-political" behavior are evaluated in the same way. These elements concern the acceptance of different interests within the population, the necessity of bringing these interests into effect, and the guarantee of peaceful political discussion by the opposition, by the critics. The concepts described by the scales "politics as a disrupting factor" and "non-political stance" include the fact that political activity is a matter of processes which include the necessity for com- promise, for sacrificing the complete realization of one's own interests.

The dimension "political alienation" transmits an attitude which concerns primarily emotional reservations about the persons and institutions which comprise politics. "Political alienation" touches to the same degree the question as to whether one judges concrete politics according to idealized concepts of democratic principles or if he is capable of perceiving that the shortcomings of human actions also apply, at least within limits, to the political realm. The fourth dimension, "political involvement," expresses the readiness to participate actively in the various levels of political life.

There is another precondition for a functioning system among the elements of democratic positions mentioned here-the various interests within the population also enter the political opinion and decision- making processes. And, so far as the individual is concerned, it is a question of his readiness to involve himself minimally when he perceives his own interests to be not at all or inadequately represented.

If the second hypothesis were true, then the draftee, at the end of his service period, would perceive politics less as a disruption of natural processes, he would be less politically alienated, his behavior would be less non-political, and he would show greater political involvement.

The Indicators for Hypothesis III. Whereas an examination of the first two hypotheses can be based on attitudinal scales and personality criteria as indicators, hypothesis III-according to which the soldier would be instilled with the meaning of military obligation-has essentially only indicators from the level of opinion at its disposal. There is, firstly, the direct question as to whether military service was felt to be personally meaningful. In the second place one can order non-commis-

sioned and superior officers in categories of professional prestige. Furthermore there are two opinion groupings on the theme "Bundeswehr." Methodologically these are factor-analytically secure item clusters. The factors-called Bundeswehr factor I and II-describe opinions about the position and function of the soldier and the Bundeswehr in society. The first factor represents an evaluation scale that analyzes the position of the soldier and that considers the relation- ship between politics and the military. The second factor represents diffuse rejection of the military. There the professional soldier is given little respect by the draftee. Military investment is criticized, one refuses to recognize any special qualifications for the profession "soldier," and the principle of hierarchy is called into question.

Finally we also observe the following structurally cross-cutting relationships as indicators with declarative value: the relationship between the question of the meaning of military service and

-experienced behavior of superiors,
-subjectively perceived "Gammelei,"[24]
-the two opinion clusters I and II,
-the abilities learned in the Bundeswehr that could be useful in civilian life.

To support the hypothesis the empirical results-in addition to a positive assessment of the period of service (that is, seeing it as meaningful) by at least a majority-would have to show that by the end of service in comparison with the beginning:

-the rank ordering of the military profession remains the same or improves,
-the median levels on the opinion bundles (scales) do not decrease,
-the meaning of military service that one perceives correlates positively to the behavior of superiors.

The Technical Data of the Underlying Empirical Studies in Short Form

The Process of Investigation

The examination of the hypotheses proceeded essentially with tested attitudinal scales. Where no such scales could be applied or developed, one worked at the level of opinion. A series of indicators was available

for each hypothesis, so that the empirical findings are based in each case on several results.

The Sample and the Execution of the Survey

The study was conceived as a panel investigation, that is, the same persons were analyzed at two different times with largely the same instruments. 1,288 draftees from training companies, who had already served two to three months, were questioned in the spring of 1972.[25] Data were collected by means of written questions under the super- vision and direction of social scientists. The second survey of the same persons took place in the spring of 1973. Data were collected partially in the same manner as in 1972 and partially by mail. 1,016 (78.8%) of the original test subjects were reached for the second survey, which is a comparatively high percentage. Those who dropped out do not diminish the significance of the results. At the time of the second survey an additional group of 281 draftees who had served two to three months were given the questionnaires of the first survey. By comparison of this group with the panel population at the time of the first survey one could control to what extent the attitudes could be attributed to social developments or to the influence of the period of military service.

The Control Group and the Survey Techniques

A comparison of the control group and the target group resulted in the conclusion that possible changes in attitudes or opinions of the draftees could be interpreted as the influence of Bundeswehr conditions. An examination of the different methods of collecting empirical data at the time of the second survey did not provide any convincing evidence that the different survey techniques had falsified the results of the investigation.

Results

The Empirical Examination of Hypotheses I and II

Reproducing the results of the empirical examination of hypotheses I and II is relatively simple. For both hypotheses there were indicators available which, methodologically, have the status of scales. Table 1

TABLE 1
Means of the Differences Between the Second and the First Survey (D) on Attitudinal and Personality Scales (mean scale increase or decrease), Standard Deviation of the Differences (s_D), and the Significance Test for Dependent Samples

		Difference 2nd-1st Survey			
Indicator for Hypothesis	*Scale*	*D*[1]	s_D[1]	*T*[2]	*P*
I	Anomie	.74	5.50	4.28	.001
II	Political Involvement	.58	3.85	4.79	.001
II	Politics as Disruptive Factor	–.69	4.40	5.00	.001
II	Non-political behavior	–.25	3.73	2.13	.05
II	Political alienation	–1.28	6.50	6.27	.001
I	Social isolation	–.25	3.54	2.25	.05
III	Bundeswehr Factor I	–1.60	6.18	8.23	.001
III	Bundeswehr Factor II	.79	3.55	7.06	.001
I	Neuroticism	–1.17	8.01	4.65	.001
I	Intolerance of Ambiguity	–.56	4.55	3.92	.001

1. D = mean difference, S_D = Standard deviation of the differences
2. df: according to each scale (because of differing amounts of missing data) between 1012 and 1015; T = values of T-tests for testing significant correlations; p = level of significance.

contains the means and standard deviations of the differences between the first and second surveys on the attitudinal and personality scales used, including the values of the significance tests. All of the mean differences are significant. In concrete terms, the draftees are less "socially isolated" and are less insecure and disoriented at the end of their period of service. They have lower scale scores on the scale "neuroticism" and show less "intolerance of ambiguity." All four indicators point in the same direction: against the assumption. After empirical examination one can state, with respect to hypothesis I:

Military service does ***not*** lead to a destabilization of existing systems of social orientation or to behavior insecurity.

The examination of hypothesis II also depended on four indicators, and here, too, all four point in the same direction-this time, however, in

support of the hypothesis. Taken individually, this implies the expressed political involvement increased; political alienation, non- political behavior, and the perception of politics as a "disrupting factor" decreased. Empirical examination of hypothesis II results in the following:

Military service develops or strengthens democratic awareness in the draftee.

If transferred to the area of personality and if related to one of the original positions mentioned in this study, these results are completely in agreement with a frequently verified conclusion: military service has no influence on the authoritarian attitude of the draftee.[26]

Consideration of the results using differentiated analysis of co-variance and including the socio-demographic variables brings the following indications:

-The greater the level of formal schooling (measured by the level of school completion) the more intensive the change in the attitudinal and personality criteria described.

-The affirmation of the Bundeswehr as an institution which supports the state is strongest with draftees from villages or village-like areas. However, taken as a whole, the size of one's home town has no influence on social and political orientations.

-There is no relation between the religious affiliation of those surveyed and the effects of military service. It is equally irrelevant whether the draftee was married or single when drafted into the Bundeswehr.

-Consent to further obligation (reenlistment) depends more on attitudes already formed before entering military service than on socialization influences on the soldier during his service. The same is true of the rank achieved by the end of service: here, too, the psychological disposition at the beginning of service has greater importance than experiences during service.

The Empirical Examination of Hypothesis II

The examination of hypothesis III also shows an unambiguous picture in that all the indicators point in the same direction. Thus, draftees reject the Bundeswehr as an institution which supports the state significantly more often at the end of their service than at the beginning (Bundeswehr factor I in Table 1). The draftees' evaluation of the Bundeswehr and of the military profession is clearly more negative at the end of their service than at the beginning (Bundeswehr factor II in

TABLE 2
Mean Rankings of 12 Professions

	Target group			
Profession	*R*[1]	*rank*	*R*[1]	*rank*
Physician	3.13	1	2.91	1
Farmer	4.34	2	4.20	2
Worker	4.70	3	4.58	4
Elementary School Teacher	4.76	4	4.48	3
Politician	5.38	5	5.79	6
Engineer	5.62	6	5.74	5
Policeman	6.15	7	6.57	9
Master Craftsman	6.57	8	6.27	7
Merchant	6.71	9	6.52	8
Clergyman	9.10	10	9.06	10
Captain	10.45	11	10.65	11
Sergeant	11.09	12	11.22	12

Directions: Please rank the following professions. Write the profession which is most important to us as a people on the first line, the second most important on the second line, the third most important on line 3, and so on.

1. R = mean rank

Table 1). And on a list of twelve professions, they place captain and sergeant at the end of the list, while the mean ranks on the scale at the time of the second survey tend to become even lower.[27]

When directly asked, on a seven point scale, whether the period of service was considered personally meaningful or meaningless, only 28% of those questioned indicated that military service had been meaningful for them. (Summary of the three positive scale positions.) 50.6% characterized their period of service as more or less meaningless, and the remaining 21.4% were unable to come to a conclusion about this question-they marked the neutral mid-position on the scale.

There is, additionally, a telling correlation between the evaluation of the period of service as personally more or less meaningless and the following factors: the amount of "Gammelei" experienced; a lower acceptance of the Bundeswehr as an institution which supports the state; the

relatively low opinion of the Bundeswehr and the military profession (Bundeswehr factor II); a relatively negative evaluation of the behavior of superiors; and a negative evaluation of abilities acquired in the military that might have been useful in civilian life. In other words, whoever experienced his service as more or less meaningless,

-also subjectively experienced more "Gammelei,"
-is more likely to reject the Bundeswehr as an institution which supports the state,
-has a relatively low opinion of the Bundeswehr and the military profession,
-did not learn much in service that would be useful in civilian life,
-and is more likely to evaluate the behavior of his superiors negatively.

On the strength of the results described, the result of the examination of hypothesis III is:

Military service does not adequately provide the draftee with an understanding of the meaning and purpose of his "serving."

Indications for Interpretation

The results of our empirical examinations of hypotheses I through III must first of all surprise those who presume an identity of "democratic" and "civic" awareness, wherein the willingness or the desire for military service figures as a significant criterion for civic awareness. Particularly given such a conceptual background, analysis of the empirical data makes clear that a differentiated view is necessary in order to appropriately understand one of the major indications of the empirical findings. This is the realization that no unified planned socialization takes place during the period of military service. While it is true that a "formation of democratic awareness" takes place relatively along the lines of the general objectives, this result can in no way be attributed to the influence of, for example civic instruction. Such a statement is supported by the empirical results, although the study does not expressly and directly concern itself with political education in the Bundeswehr. If the strengthening of democratic attitudes were the result of planned pedagogical measures, then the efforts for socialization-for example, with

TABLE 3
Multiple Regression Predictors
Difference Values of the Personality and
Attitudinal Scales and of a Few Opinion Items

	r^1	*Beta*	*Beta. R*	*T for Beta*	*Amount of Variance (abs)*
Dominance	–.14	–.027	.004	1.06	.001
Anomie	.09	.024	.002	0.85	.000
Political Involvement	–.08	.004	.000	0.14	.000
Politics as Disruptive Factor	.10	.040	.004	1.36	.001
Non-political behavior	–.17	–.029	.005	1.05	.001
Political alienation	.11	.052	.006	1.66	.001
Social isolation	.15	.001	.000	0.96	.000
Neuroticism	.09	.026	.003	1.01	.001
Intolerance of Ambiguity	–.10	.002	.000	0.07	.000
Bundeswehr Factor I	–.40	–.194	.078	6.51*	.022
Bundeswehr Factor II	.52	.191	.099	6.40*	.021
Useful skills learned for civ. life (1 = no, 2 = yes)	–.26	.102	.026	4.33*	.010
"Gammelei"	.57	.364	.201	13.86*	.100
Found friends (1 = no, 2 = yes)	–.14	.014	.002	0.57	.000
Re-enlistment (1 = no, 2 = yes)	–.32	–.129	.042	5.29*	.015

Criterion: Personal meaningfulness of military service.
1. Correlation coefficient; multiple r = .692, multiple r^2 = .478.
* Significant.

regard to political attitude and the evaluation of the meaning of military service-could not have had such differing success. It was also shown that the change in democratic attitudes relates neither to the evaluation of the personal meaningfulness or meaninglessness of military service nor to a positive or negative judgment of military superiors.

When considering the positive expectations for political education in the Bundeswehr, one should note that the assumption of successful directed formation of political awareness severely overestimates the possibilities of political education in the Bundeswehr, particularly if one considers the results of empirical social research in this area.[28] Civic instruction in the Bundeswehr occurs under conditions which are significantly worse than those of similar instruction in the schools. This is particularly true of the unequal educational background of the instructional group, of its large size, of the amount of time available, for the general conditions of instruction, and, to some extent, of the educational background of the instructors, particularly of non-commissioned officers.

In order to begin to explain the empirical findings, one must assume that the influences on the political and social attitudes of the draftees during the period of service result less from planned educational processes than from the general living conditions during military service. The degree and direction of the effects seem to be dependent on the social conditions which form the background for the draftees' experiences of military service. When one considers the strongly anomic characteristics of the developed industrial society, in which behavior norms and orientation patterns-to a significant degree rapidly changing ones-are transmitted via the media, then there are only a few personal points of orientation for the individual that remain valid over a long period of time. Thus, the comprehensibility of service, which is often planned to the smallest detail, can certainly lead to a greater behavioral security, within the context of perspectives of life that have been changed for the period of service. One must add to that that one of the definitive characteristics of society, the pressure for performance and success, does not exist in the Bundeswehr to any comparable degree. Secondly, the pressure takes a different form, in that it is less dependent on recognition by society than on concrete, comprehensible performance.

Because of the close correlations between the scale "anomie" and the other political attitudes[29] (correlations of .27, .43, and .47), positive changes in "democratic awareness" can be partly attributed to the same causes as the reduction in behavioral uncertainty. The remaining changes, certainly noteworthy, can, at least within limits, be attributed to five related sources. First, during military service there are social contacts between societal groups which otherwise are more strongly or are completely segregated. Secondly, there is virtually no opportunity to avoid more intensive communication. This is sometimes the only activity for overcoming waiting periods and free time, which, thirdly, are necessary despite strong regimentation. Fourthly, the interruption of a young man's life by military service results in numerous problems, which affect all draftees and which can best be resolved through communica-

tion. To what extent experienced or perceived "Gammelei" contributes to increased communication in the groups can only be conjectured; participants observation, however, largely supports such an assumption.

It should be of particular interest concerning the third hypothesis that the draftees answer the question of the personal meaning of military service far more seriously than one would expect from the general discussion and, to some extent, more seriously than one evidently demands. The draftees see and understand their time of service very pragmatically-hardly at all ideologically or emotionally. The evaluation of service as meaningful or meaningless is based on such criteria as whether abilities learned are useful in civilian life, whether friends were found, or, quite generally, whether it resulted in activity that was perceived as useful.

The fact that the Bundeswehr is unable to communicate its meaning and purpose to the draftees-at least not to the extent that is desirable or intended-can probably be explained largely by the low degree of respect for, and the overextension of, the instructors, especially the squad leaders. There are clear correlations between the draftees' image of the superior and the rejection of the Bundeswehr as measured by Bundeswehr factors I and II, the evaluation of service as personally meaningful or meaningless, and the degree to which "Gammelei" was experienced. According to the initial results of a study of non- commissioned officers, which was also carried out by the Armed Forces Institute for Social Research, a "neuralgic point" for the Bundeswehr, from the viewpoint of socialization effects, lies in the quantitatively and qualitatively inadequate pedagogical training of the young leaders and in their poor leadership practices.

NOTES

1. This essay is the shortened form of a study made at the Social Scientific Institute of the Bundeswehr. Cf., Ekkehard Lippert, Paul Schneider, and Ralf Zoll, "Sozialisation in der Bundeswehr. Der Einfluss des Wehrdienstes auf soziale und politische Einstel- lungen der Wehrpflichtigen." Number 25 of the series, "Innere Fiihrung," published by the Ministry of Defense, Bonn, 1976.

2. Bernhard Fleckenstein and Dietmar Schoessler, "Jugend und Streitkrafte," in Beitrage zur Konflicktforschung, Heft 3 (1973). p. 63.

3. Carl Gero von Ilsemann, "Probleme der politischen Bildung in der Bundeswehr," in Franz Poggler and Otto Wien, eds., ***Soldaren der Demokratie. Die Bundeswehr in Gesellschafi und Staat*** (Frankfurt1 Mein, 1973). p. 155.

4. Hanne Birckenback, Christian Wellman, and Elisabeth Wienemann, "Wehr- struktur und Ausbildung in der Bundeswehr," in Ulrich Albrecht and Joseph H. Thielen, eds., ***Anti- Wehrkunde-Busistexte zurpolitischen Bildung*** (DarmstadtINeuwied, 1975), p. 168.

5. Wilfried Manke, "Sozialisation der Bundeswehr als politische Normierung," in Albrecht and Thielen, eds., ***Anti- Wehrkunde,*** pp. 217 ff.

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11. Rudiger v. Reichert, "Die Bundeswehr in der sich wandelnden Gessellschaft" Wehrkunde 22 (1973): 397.

12. Kai-Uwe von Hassel, "Staatsbiirgerliche Bildung in der Bundeswehr," in ***derselbe, Veranrworrung fur die Freiheit*** (Boppard, 1965), p. 314.

13. See, Hans Heinrich Meise, "Die kritisch-dialektische Sozialwissenschaften in der Neuordnung von Ausbildung und Bildung," Europaische Wehrkunde 26 (1976): 622-629.

14. Morris Janowitz, "Basic Education and Youth Socialization in the Armed Forces," in Roger W. Little, ed., ***Handbook of Military Insritutions*** (Beverly Hills, Ca.: Sage Publications, Inc., 1971). The author points out that "The study of the impact of military service on personal controls and self-esteem requires panel data on a group of recruits as they pass through basic training and military service. For the United States no such data exists."

The recently published study by M. Kent Jennings and Gregory Markus ("The Effect of Military Service on Political Attitudes," in American Political Science Review 71 (1977): 131-147) would not appear to be generally applicable as it refers only to high school seniors. In addition, the results are strongly influenced by the Vietnamese war. Also, the time-frame for the panel extends over eight years, thus influences outside of the military could have become significant. See Tjarck Rossler, "Furht die allgemeine Wehrpflicht zu einer Militarisierung der Gesellschaft?" Paper presented at the colloquium, "Tradition et Changement dans les Systemes Militaires Occidentaux," Soreze, France, July 25-27, 1977.

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17. Klaus Roghmann and Wolfgang Sodeur, "The Impact of Military Service on Authoritarian Attitudes: Evidence from West Germany," American Journal of Sociology 78 (1972): 418-433.

18. Josef Leifert, "Zur Wirksamkeit der Innern Fiihrung in der Bundeswehr," unpubl. dissertation, Freiburg, 1969.

19. Han Benninghaus, "Einstellungen von Rekruten zum Militardienst," in Rene Konig, ed., *Beitrage zur Milifarsoziologie,* #I2 of *Kolner Zeitschrijifur Soziologie und Sorialpsychologie* (Koln, 1968).

20. The theoretical background and the conceptual limitations of these instruments can

be found in Thomas Ellwein, Ekkehard Lippert, and Ralf Zoll, *Politische Beteiligung in der Bundeswehr Deutschland(Goettingen,* 1975). A manual for these instruments is in preparation.

21. J. C. Brengelmann and L. Brengelmann, "Deutsche Validierung von Fragebogen der Extraversion, neurotischer Tendenz und Rigiditat," in Zeitschrift fiir exp. und agnew. Psychologie 7 (1960).

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23. Ellwein, et al., *Politische Beteiligung.*

24. "Gammelei," can be understood as a general term for dissatisfaction. It describes a general feeling of disappointment, anger, unhappiness. Also, boring, time-consuming or uninteresting routine functions are often described with this term. See Gerd Schmuckle, *Komiss a.d.* (Stuttgart, 1972); Heinz Kluss, "Ueberforderung oder das Problem des Gammelns in der Bundeswehr," Wehrkunde 16 (1966).

25. A survey was taken in the first week of military service, because the general orientation difficulties and frustrations of this time would be reflected in the reactions to the questionnaire. Consult, also, Benninghaus, "Einstellungen."

26. Zusammenfassung bei = summary in.

27. In a recent demoscopic representative survey of the West German population, the bookseller took the last place on a ranking list of sixteen professions. The officer, compared to earlier surveys, triumphed over the newspaper editor and occupied the third-to-the-last place. See Elisabeth Noelle-Neuman, ed., *Allensbacher Jahrbuch fur Demoskop~e, 1976* (Wien/Munchen/Zurich, 1976).

28. See an especially important study, Egon Becker, Sebastian Herkommer, and Josef Bergmann, *Erziehung zur Anpassung? Politische Bildung in den Schulen-eine soziologische Untersuchung* (Scwalbach, 1967).

29. "Politics as a disruptive factor," political alienation. "and non-political behavior."

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