Social situation and political orientation: students and professors at Giessen University 1918-1945; part 1
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Abstract: Based on an empiric research on 5,760 students from Gießen University (near Frankfurt on Main) the following questions shall be answered: the change in social origin of students, the political potentials among students before and after 1933, the social profiles of political student organisations, the effects of National Socialist university policy.

In a second analysis all professors of Gießen University between 1918 and 1945 (N = 299) were researched under the focuses of institutional changes, social background and political orientation. Some selected results from this study will be presented in part two.

i. INTRODUCTION

i.1. Preface

In my dissertation on "Gießen University and Fascism. Students and Professors 1918-1945" (i) I carried out - besides an analysis of archival documents and publications - a quantitative study of students and professors in that period. Both groups were analyzed by different methods, instruments and substantive focuses. In the following contribution the design and some selected results of the study in the students of Gießen university will be presented.

1.2 Remarks on Socio-Political Background

First of all we have to consider that Gießen (about 40 miles in the north of Frankfurt/Main) was the second smallest university in the period under study - only Greifswald university was smaller. Nevertheless Gießen was the only university of the "Volksstaat Hessen" (People's state Hesse, also called "Hessen-Darmstadt") other Hessian universities like Marburg and Francfort/M. in that time belonged to the Prussian province "Hessen-Nassau". The administrative borders of that time subdivided the "Volksstaat Hessen", into three provinces: "Starkenburg", with the state capital Darmstadt, "Rheinhessen" with its capital Mainz and "Oberhessen" with its capital Gießen. In opposition to the highly industrialized Rhein-Main area, which almost completely belonged to the neighbouring Prussian province Hessen-Nassau, the "Volksstaat Hessen" was a predominantly agrarian and provincial region - only Darmstadt, Offenbach and Mainz were considerably industrialized. So e.g. in 1925 37.3% of all inhabitants of "Volksstaat Hessen" lived in communities with less than 2,000 inhabitants and even 56.5% in communities with less than 5,000 inhabitants (1933: 34.8% respectively 53.2%). The greatest proportion of the secondary sector could be found in communities between 5,000 and 10,000 inhabitants (50.0%) (5), which underlines the predominance of middle class industrial and handicraft enterprises.

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As it is known from several investigations also religious confession is an important variable in political behavior of that period. In "Volksstaat Hessen" 1925 65.8% of the inhabitants belonged to the Protestant church. Corresponding to that socio-cultural structure a certain political and electoral behavior can be expected. In fact, the NSDAP gained - especially at rural communities and in small towns with predominance of handicraftsmen, employees and civil servants - in "Volksstaat Hessen" enormous electoral success before the "seizure of power". In Gießen the NSDAP obtained in the general election of July 1932 49.0%, in Gießen county (Landkreis) 55.0% of the votes.

Finally we also have to consider the socio-political context of German universities during that period:
- expansion, diversification and social opening of higher education, simultaneously public "deficit-spending" and pauperization of students and academic profession in Weimar Republic
- drastic abbreviations, selections and economic-political instrumentalization during National Socialism.

Gießen university as a small province university shows all of these phenomena, but the risk of being dissolved at a higher degree.

2. STUDENTS AT GIESSEN UNIVERSITY 1918-1945

2.1 Data Base

Fortunately the complete student card-index of Gießen university of winter semester (ws) 1918/19 to winter semester 1944/45 is preserved. The different political conditions also lead to different systems in recording student data: during the period of Weimar Republic only a relatively small set of data was recorded (cf. fig. 1):
- immatriculation/exmatriculation at Gießen university
- subject of studies
- confession
- date and place of birth
- nationality
- father's profession
- family's and student's place of residence
- education.

From summer semester (ss) 1934 the National Socialist administration created a new, very detailed student card-index (cf.fig. 2), recording additionally to the data set above:
- married since?
- number of children
- number of brothers or sisters (their profession/study)
- a-level annual set ("Abitur")
- genealogical certificate ("Ahnennachweis", to prove "Arian" or "Non-Arian" descent)
- studies at other universities before (name of university, date of immatriculation/exmatriculation)
- membership at student council on faculty level ("Fachschaft")
- membership at NSDStB (National Socialist German Student Union, date of entrance, members' no., function)
- membership at student organisation ("Korporation", date of entrance, function)
- membership at life-comradeship ("Wohnkameradschaft", National Socialist successor organisation of "Korporationen" and "Burschenschaften"; name of comradeship, date of entrance, function)
- membership at NSDAP (National Socialist German Workers' Party), SA (Stormtroopers), SS ("Safe squadron"), HJ (Hitler Youth), BdM (League of German Girls): date of entrance, members' no., function
- membership at paramilitary associations ("Wehrverbänden")
- membership at sporting clubs
- owner of Reichs Youth badge ("Reichsjugendabzeichen"), of Reichs Sport badge ("Reichssportabzeichen"), of SA-Sport badge ("SA-Sportabzeichen"): bronze, silver, gold
- membership at professional organisations
- knowledge in shorthand and typing
- ability of poster-writing and drawing
- knowledge in foreign languages
- ability of playing music instruments
- training in first aid
- owner of driver's licence (land, naval, aero)
- owner of a vehicle at semester residence
- participation in universitarian sport, paramilitary sport ("Geländesport"), labour service ("Arbeitsdienst"), in students' self-government ("Studentenschaft")
- punishment
- result of medical examination
- passed universitarian examinations
- practical activities before/during university studies.

This data set was yet different for female and foreign students (foreign students were additionally diversified into students of German and non-German ancestry). Later the rubric "father's profession" was further subclassified into academic education ("Hochschulbildung") and professional status ("Berufsstand"): self-employed or salary-dependent.

2.2. Data Collection

From these two card indexes (ws 1918/19 - ws 1933/34 and ss 1934 - ws 1944/45) I took a systematic random-sample of 33.3%. The following variables were transferred on computer-readable forms - altogether 5,169 cases:

- identification-no.
- sex
- subject
- year of birth
- place of birth:
  a) state of "Deutsches Reich" (in borders at dec. 31, 1937; e.g. Prussia, Bavaria, Volksstaat Hessen) or foreign state
  b) only for German students:
      community's size, diversified in 5 classes (15):
      - less than 2,000 inhabitants
      - 2,000 to 4,999
      - 5,000 to 19,999
      - 20,000 to 99,999
      - 100,000 and more
- nationality
  the following data were collected for German students only:
  - confession
- education  
- first/second immatriculation/exmatriculation at Gießen  
- from ws 1939/40: soldiers commanded to study  
- actual residence of parents:
  a) identical with student's place of birth?  
  if not identical:  
  b) state of "Deutsches Reich" (see above)  
  c) community's size, diversified in 5 grades (see above)  
- student's residence during semester at parents' residence?  
- father's profession:
  a) profession according to classification (cf. fig. i4)  
  b) academician?  
  c) self-employed?  
- number of brothers or sisters  
- membership and date of entrance at:
  - NSDAP  
  - SA  
  - SS  
  - HJ/BdM  
  - National Socialist comradeship ("Kameradschaft")  
  - Korporation, Burschenschaft etc.

Thus a "social profil" of Gießen students was obtained, which allowed - thanks to its large quantity - the construction of various sub-groups with acceptable confidence intervals (e.g. female medicine students before/after 1933).

In a second step all data of politically engaged students were gathered, in case they were not already recorded during the first collection of data. As being politically engaged were defined the following students:

1. members of political student organisations:
   a) NSDStB (National Socialist Student Union; N = 432 before 1933, N = 471 after 1933)  
   b) ANST (Association of National Socialist Female Students; N = 93, all after 1933)  
   c) Nationale Studentengruppe (close to "Deutschnationale Volkspartei", monarchistic orientated, belonged to the "Harburger Front" under leadership of NSDAP; N = 7, all before 1933)  
   d) Stahlhelm-Studentengruppe (close to "Stahlhelm" (steel helmet) political organisation of former "Frontsoldaten", which also belonged to the "Harburger Front"; N = 55, all before 1933)  
   e) Zentrums-Studentengruppe (close to catholic Zentrum-party which belonged to "Weimarer Koalition", N = 19, all before 1933)  
   f) DVP-Studentengruppe (close to "Deutsche Volkspartei", during the first post-war years anti-republican, under leadership of Gustav STRESEMANN gradual pro-republican, N = 14, all before 1933)  
   g) DDP-Studentengruppe (close to "Deutsche Demokratische Partei", which also belonged to "Weimar coalition", left liberal, N = 13, all before 1933)  
   h) Republikanische Studentengruppe (N = 14, all before 1933)  
   i) Sozialistische Studentengruppe (successor organisation of "Republikanische Studentengruppe"; N = 26, all before 1933)  
   j) Rote Studentengruppe (splitting from "Sozialistische Studentengruppe", close to KPD (Communist Party of Germany); N = 13, all before 1933).

2. members of Allgemeiner Studentenausschuß (AStA; student council; N = 132 before 1933 and 34 after 1933)
3. members of National Socialist "Kameradschaften" (comradeships; N = 63, all after 1933)

4. members of NSDAP (N = 156 before 1933, N = 499 after 1933)

5. members of SA (stormtroopers; N = 337 before 1933, N = 478 after 1933)

6. members of SS ("Safe squadron", N = 40 of "Allgemeine SS" and N = 34 of "Waffen-SS")

7. sympathisers or members of "Bekennende Kirche" (Confessional church, an opponent current in Protestant church, who collectively refused e.g. to pass theological examinations under National Socialist presidency. Most famous representative: Martin NIEMÖLLER. N = 12, all after 1933).

These dates were recorded on the basis of membership files (group 1), personal files of Gießen university (group 2, 3), on the basis of the student card index (group i.a, 4, 5), and university or NSDAP records (group 3, 6). Members of HJ and BdM also were examined, but will not be presented in this contribution. Because of quasi obligation for membership these party organisations do not allow conclusions on more or less free political motivation and behaviour.

By anonymization of all informations the needs of data protection were fulfilled. After recording the data sheets were processed by a data entry machine, type KAISER omr 40. Next step was formatting the data with SPSS: VAR LABELS, VALUE LABELS and RECODE. SPSS also served to create crosstabs and - with some difficulties - construct time-series. For more perceptual presentation of selected variables I also intended printing of plotter-diagrams with FORTRAN. Unfortunately this task could not be realized. the plotter produced mixed right and wrong diagrams without any error system recognizable.(16) So I was forced to draw the graphics myself.

2.3 Some selected results

Before presenting some results, the central research hypotheses shall be formulated. Of special interest in this case study were the following considerations:

1. Particularly during the Weimar republic the social background of German students changed: the share of students of traditional (academic) bourgeoisie diminished while simultaneously "new" student strata increased of coming from the (non academic) lower middle-class. My case study was designed to research if such a small province university like Gießen participated in that secular trend.(17)

2. The period of economic crises lead to a separation between education and possession (Bildung und Besitz)(18) which caused particularly among the "new" student strata a student movement from about 1925 on.(19) This process of a new politization can be interpreted beside its economic roots as an attempt to establish a new population at German universities. For example Wilhelm Tempel, one of the first NSDStB-leaders, reported in a letter that "almost 90% of the early members were recruited "from workers- and middle-class families".(20)

The trend to a politization of sciences, to partizipation in universitarian institutions, to living in politic-orientated communities could not be realized within the traditional "fraternities" (Korporationen)
with their highly ritualized life-style. Severing this purpose of establishing a new population completely new forms of politic publicity at universities came into existence: party-orientated student organizations, election campaigns for the student councils (Allgemeiner Studentenausschuß, Asta), public debates, pamphlets etc. One aim of investigating the Gießen study was to find out, from which social strata these political potentials (also after 1933) came from.

3. Further the social differences between left and right orientated students were to be examined statistically. The reasons for that enormous right-orientation also among Gießen students are dealt with in more detail in the non-empirical parts of my dissertation.

4. Finally we included to investigate, in how far the National Socialist education policy after 1933 realized the promise to advance each child regardless of its social original - if it was only talented. For a specific social segment the continuity of elites (after 1933) or the influence of short-termed control mechanisms on a long-termed process should be verified.

2.3.1 Development of immatriculations 1918-1945 (fig. 4 u. 5)

The enormous fluctuation of immatriculated students at Gießen university follows more or less the general trends in Germany: the share of Gießen students on German (university) students swings before 1933 between 1.88% (ss 1929) and 2.65% (ss 1919) and diminishes gradually until 0.94% in ss 1941. The average shares of Gießen university amount 2.21% before ss 1933 and 1.57% after ss 1933.

The first drastic reduction of immatriculated students between ss 1919 and ws 1926/27 is caused by different facts:
- during the first phase (until about ss 1923) thousands of returned soldiers finished their studies and left university after short time.
- the climax of inflation in autumn 1923 and the following pauperization, of lower middle-class families lead to a temporal retrogression of students from these "new" strata.

The increase of Gießen student figures after ss 1927 corresponds to the relative economic stabilization in Germany between 1924 and 1928. This trend continued (not only at Gießen university) even during the economic crisis from 1928 on - in spite of miserable social conditions for the greater part of students and in spite of bad job opportunities after having finished their studies. One explanation for this different behaviour - compared to the period of economic crisis on 1923 - was the new function of university studies as a "refuge".

The rapid decline of Gießen student figures after ss 1933 relates to National Socialist education policy:
- drastic reduction of a-level examinations by decreed quota,
- aggravated entrance to university study by obligation to "Reichsarbeitsdienst" (26.6.1935) and military service (for male students) 1935,
- exclusion of Jewish students,
- exclusion of "marxist" (SPD or KPD) orientated students (34),
- maximum figures for university students and each university,
- displacement of female students from universities (until ss 1939X36),
- intensification of studies to sustain study duration.

The declining share of Gießen university (1.57% after 1933, 2.21% before 1933) is interesting in face to Nazi's propaganda to prefer small, "healthy"
provincial universities instead of "degenerated" large city universi-
ties^), which - in this ideology - represented the contempted "Asphalt-
Kultur" of "Weimar system". Because of - after 1933 only renewed - plans to
reduce Gießen university or to completely close it^9>, conflicts between
Gießen university and regional NSDAP on one side and centralized administra-
tion on the other side were unavoidable.
Representative may be the grievance of Reichsstatthalter and Gauleiter
Sprenger to the minister of science Bernhard Rust, on three cases of removed
professors (Prof. Hermann Hoffmann, Prof. Hellmut Becher, Prof. Erich von
Guttenberg).^10^

The rise of student figures after ws 1939/40 depends on the function
of Gießen university during World War II:
- preference and extension of medicine (particular improvement of soldiers
and members of Waffen-SS)
- admission of female students (mostly for medicine study), contrary to the
displacement policy before 1940 (cf. fig. 5.)
This function was accompanied by general measures^11^;
- drastic reduction of study subjects which were not regarded as necessary
for war,
- acceleration of studies by a temporary establishing of trimesters (1940/41)
- obligated engagement ("Einsatz") also during semesters in factories, on
farms or in civil service.

2.3.3 Study Subjects 1918-1945 (fig. 6)

Distinguishing subjects between tendential growing resp. diminishing shares,
one can observe the following trends:
- male students particularly chose during the period investigated subjects
like medicine, law (before 1933), veterinary science (after 1933), grammar
school teacher (before 1933) agriculture and political science (before
1933)
- female students especially preferred grammar school teacher and medicine.

From which social strata did these students come?
An analysis of their fathers' professions shows the following results:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>before 1933</th>
<th>after 1933</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>male students</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medicine:</td>
<td>higher civ.servant (14.7%)</td>
<td>teacher (18.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>physician/apoth. (14.3%)</td>
<td>higher civ.serv. (15.3%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|          | teacher (14.0%) | physician (n.o%)
|          | merchant (10.7%) | merchant (9.4%)
|          | low/inter med.civ.serv. | low/inter m.civ.serv. |
| N = 523 | (9.6%) | N = 544 (8.6%) |
| law:    | higher civ.serv. (17.1%) | teacher (15.1%) |
|          | teacher (15.1%) | merchant (13.4%)
<p>|          | merchant (13.4%) | Low/inter md.civ.serv. |
| N = 636 | (12.3%) | (N = 162) |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>Before 1933</th>
<th>After 1933</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>farmer</td>
<td>(21.9%)</td>
<td>(27.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low/interm.civ.serv.</td>
<td>(13.5)</td>
<td>(14.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>higher civ.serv.</td>
<td>(11.3%)</td>
<td>(8.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>merchant</td>
<td>(11.3%)</td>
<td>(8.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>Before 1933</th>
<th>After 1933</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>farmer</td>
<td>(25.1%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low/interm.civ.serv.</td>
<td>(11.1%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>higher civ.serv.</td>
<td>(10.0%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teacher</td>
<td>(9.2%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>Before 1933</th>
<th>After 1933</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>farmer</td>
<td>(18.9%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low/interm.civ.serv.</td>
<td>(12.5%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>higher civ.serv.</td>
<td>(10.0%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teacher</td>
<td>(10.0%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>entrepreneur</td>
<td>(8.9%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>Before 1933</th>
<th>After 1933</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>teacher</td>
<td>(17.9%)</td>
<td>(23.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low/interm.civ.serv.</td>
<td>(14.3%)</td>
<td>(8.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>merchant</td>
<td>(11.9%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>higher civ.serv.</td>
<td>(10.7%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>Before 1933</th>
<th>After 1933</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>physician</td>
<td>(16.4%)</td>
<td>(19.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teacher</td>
<td>(16.4%)</td>
<td>(18.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>higher civ.serv.</td>
<td>(15.1%)</td>
<td>(16.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>merchant</td>
<td>(9.6%)</td>
<td>(10.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>entrepreneur</td>
<td>(9.6%)</td>
<td>low/interm.employee (9.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Striking about these figures is the extreme decline of some study subjects among male students after 1933: law (from 636 students before 1933 to 162 after 1933), grammar school teacher (316 to 72), agriculture (271 to 62), political/economic sciences (281 to 58). Even regarding the fact, that the National Socialist seize of power divides the time continuum of this study into two asymmetric parts (31 semesters before 1933, 24 semesters after 1933) the decline of this subjects is evident. Quite in contrast to the Nazi ideology of "Blut und Boden", also a study subject like agriculture was reduced - the policy of "rationalization" and concentration in German universities prevailed.
Worth mentioning is the effect of these reductions: particularly concerned were subjects with high portions of children from lower middle-class (see above), the "new student strata". To clarify if these reductions resulted in a re-establishing of traditional elites in universities^) may serve another variable: among the study subjects concerned the share university trained fathers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Before 1933</th>
<th>After 1933</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>medicine</td>
<td>32.6%</td>
<td>31.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>law</td>
<td>24.7%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vet.med.</td>
<td>18.7%</td>
<td>17.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gram.school teacher</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agriculture</td>
<td>23.0%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polit./econ.sciences</td>
<td>16.0%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>average share among</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male Gießen students</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gram.school teacher</td>
<td>35.7%</td>
<td>39.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medicine</td>
<td>52.3%</td>
<td>51.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>average share among</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female Gießen students</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This comparison yields a rather stable proportion of academian descent among male students on a relative low level and an increase on higher level among female students. But as it was shown, the general proportion among male students covers the changes (decline) of several subjects. On the other hand the evidently growing proportion of university trained fathers of female students results particularly from the expansion of medicine after 1939. That means that a substantial interpretation of the re-establishing of older elites in universities under National Socialist rule needs very differentiated analyses, e.g. of study subjects before/after 1939, share of female students, provincial or large city university. Based on the results presented the interpretation as a selective and temporary re-establishing of traditional elites seems to be more justified (cf. fig. 18).

2.3.4 Regional Descent (fig. 7 and 8)

The predominance of students (male and female) from the "Volksstaat Hessen" is evident - in spite of several fluctuations. The increase of male students from the "Volksstaat Hessen" during economic crisis after about 1925 may result from financial problems of their families and less opportunities for "Werkarbeit" during semester. The decline of this student group after 1933 (interrupted by a phase of re-provincialization between 1937 and 1939) was caused by the National Socialist policy of centralization in the educational sector. Disregarding the general predominance of the "Volksstaat Hessen" there are differences between male and female students dependent on community's size (place of birth): while male students from this region come overwhelmingly from villages (45.9% from communities less than 5,000 inhabitants before 1933), female students often come from middle sized towns (45.8% from communities between 20,000 and 100,000 inhabitants before 1933). Under German fascism the share of male students (born in Hessen-Darmstadt) from these villages diminishes to 38.4% to the favour of greater cities: the quota of communities between 20,000 and 100,000 increases from 31.1% to
36.5%. This trend also continued among female students: the portion of communities between 20,000 and 100,000 grows to 55.0%.

2.3.5 Confession (fig. 9)

Because of the high quota of regional recruitment too the share of Protestant students is markedly high (for the confessional structure of the "Volksstaat Hessen" see chapter 1.2). The average share of Protestants at German universities amounts e.g. in ss 1930 to 66.9% (43) The figures of Jewish students will be interpreted in chapter 2.3.12.

2.3.6 Education (fig. 10)

The quota of male students with Gymnasium education tended to diminish to the favour of the Realgymnasium (reformed secondary school), among female students the share of "humanistic" education is evidently smaller. The high proportion of other education among female students results in most cases from additional studies of primary school teachers (qualification for Gymnasium). A crosstabulation between school examination and study subject confirms more or less the results presented in chapter 2.3.3:

the quota of students with non-humanistic education among growing subjects amounts in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Before 1933</th>
<th>After 1933</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>medicine</td>
<td>49.9 %</td>
<td>39.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>law</td>
<td>50.3 %</td>
<td>45.7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vet.med.</td>
<td>39.5 %</td>
<td>34.9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gram.school teacher</td>
<td>28.1 %</td>
<td>30.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agriculture</td>
<td>31.4 %</td>
<td>18.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>politic/econ. sciences</td>
<td>36.1 %</td>
<td>27.8 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Before 1933</th>
<th>After 1933</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gram.school teacher</td>
<td>17.9 %</td>
<td>18.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medicine</td>
<td>21.6 %</td>
<td>17.9 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Education crosstabulated with father's profession shows the following results:

fathers's profession among ex-pupils in a 'Gymnasium'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Before 1933</th>
<th>After 1933</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>higher civ.servant</td>
<td>15.9 %</td>
<td>15.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teacher</td>
<td>15.0 %</td>
<td>21.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low/inter m.civ.serv.</td>
<td>10.4 %</td>
<td>9.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>merchant</td>
<td>9.6 %</td>
<td>5.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>farmer</td>
<td>8.8 %</td>
<td>10.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>physician/apothecary</td>
<td>8.1 % N=1277</td>
<td>5.1 % N=490</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Before 1933</th>
<th>After 1933</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>teacher</td>
<td>19.1 %</td>
<td>25.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>entrepreneur</td>
<td>12.8 %</td>
<td>10.2 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The declining quota of (male) students who came from other universities to Gießen results from different reasons:

- **1918 - 1923**: return of soldiers who finished their pre-war studies
- **1923 - 1933**: consequences of economic crisis and desolate situation of students during Weimar Republic
- **1933 ~ 1939**: compulsion to stay during the first semesters at the same university

The increase of those students who came from another university after 1939 depends on centralization and predominance of soldier students (esp. medicine). On the part of female students, the almost continuous higher share of this student group may result from their "more academic descent" (cf. chapter 2.3.3) and a greater proportion of students coming from middle-towns (cf. chapter 2.3.4).

### Regional Mobility (fig. 12 - fig. 14)

Presumably depending on the different social background (high: share of academic fathers, often born in middle-towns) regional mobility in female students' families is higher than in male students' families. Further investigations (fig. 13 and 14) showed that parents of female students "emigrate" somewhat more to regions out of the "Volksstaat Hessen", esp. to other Prussian provinces and to the Prussian province Hessen-Nassau. Destinations preferred are cities between 20,000 and 100,000 inhabitants (share about 35% among male students, about 45% among female students).

### Student's Residence during Semester at Parents' Residence (fig. 15)

This variable should give information about "social cohesion" between students and their families: the share of students who live also during semester in their families is higher among women than among men. Probably traditional expectations of role-conform behaviour are responsible for this result. Regarding the great share of male students coming from villages (45.9% from communities less than 5,000 inhabitants before 1933, cf. chapter 2.3.4) this result means that many male students lived separated from their families although they lived relatively near to Gießen (cf. fig. 12).

### Father's Profession (fig. 16 - fig. 19)

The cumulated social profile of Gießen students is characterized by following trends:

a) male students before 1933 particularly came from families of lower/intermediate civil servants, higher civil servants, teachers, merchants and farmers, that means a high representation of lower middle-class children (lower/intermediate civil
servants, teachers, merchants and farmers are summed - beside others like craftsmen - to this social category; cf. fig. 17).

after 1933 the proportion of children of lower/intermediate civil servants and of merchants slightly diminishes while the position of children of teachers and low/intermediate employees increases. This development indicates a redistribution within the same social strata. A process of re-academization or return of traditional elites cannot be inferred from these figures (cf. fig. 18).

b) female students before 1933 approximately show the same social background like their male colleagues: they were predominantly recruited from families of teachers, higher civil servants, merchants and low/intermediate civil servants. The share of daughters from teachers' families is still greater than among male students, the share of daughters from craftsmen families is evidently smaller.

after 1933 the rate of children of teachers and higher civil servants rests relatively stable, the proportion of children from low/intermediate employees and physicians grows (the latter depends on the high self-recruitment rate among physicians which is relevant during expansion of medicine after 1939). Relative decline is to be mentioned for children from merchants and low/intermediate civil servants.

The social background of Gießen students according to status-groups shows among male students an almost continuous increase of children from lower middle-class which is interrupted only after 1933.

In the same pattern the proportion of children from upper middle-class after 1933 is growing - particularly during World War II (cf. fig. 17). Among female students an increase of children from upper middle-class can be stated which is interrupted after 1939 (cf. fig. 17). Both developments (for male and female students) correspond with similar fluctuations of descent from academic families: Among male students the proportion of non-academician origin is continuously growing until 1933 and is interrupted by the National Socialist seizure of power. Among female students the proportion of university trained fathers falls until 1939 and grows during war (cf. fig. 18). That means that female students before 1939 often originated from non-academic upper middle-class families.

The variable "father's profession: self-employed?" shows the following trends:

a) male students

Rather in the same pattern as the increase of children from lower middle-class families the proportion of self-employed fathers diminishes until 1933 and grows under National Socialist rule (cf. fig. 19).

b) female students

Because of extreme oscillations an interpretation is very different. Nevertheless one can observe four different phases: from 1918 to 1925 a declining quota of daughters of self-employed fathers, increase between 1925 and 1933, new decline from 1933 to 1940 and new increase from 1940 to 1942. The first decline and increase (1918-1933) may depend
on general economic development, the second change (1933-1942) with its internal conversions (about 1938) needs further investigations (cf. fig. 19).

2.3.11 Number of Brothers and Sisters (fig. 20)

The examination of this variable should provide evidence of the real effects of National Socialist university policy which claimed to promote underprivileged children (cf. hypothesis 4 at the preface of this chapter). Under the condition that the number of brothers and sisters is an indication of less privileged status in National Socialist Germany we can interpret the time-series of male students as follows:

2 children families: increase from 1933 to 1937, after a reduction resp. stagnation
3 children families: decrease until 1939, during World War II stabilisation on some higher level
4 children families: increase to 1939, then decrease
5 children families: increase to 1939, then decrease (and more)

Disregarding the specific situation of 1939, male Gießen students predominantly came from 2 and 3 children families. Considering that students from worker families under fascist rule continued to be underrepresented (cf. fig. 16 and 17) only middle class families could profit from this development. (For further effects of National Socialist education policy cf. fig. 6,10,16-19).

2.3.12 Jewish Students (tab. 21 - tab. 24)

Students with Jewish confession prefer law, medicine and political/economic sciences, that means study subjects leading to "free" professions with probably low share of careers in civil service. As mentioned before (cf. chapter 2.3.3) these study subjects expanded before 1933. Female students studied predominantly classic philology, German literature and history. An analysis of father's profession shows the following results: A high proportion of children of merchants and entrepreneurs (male and female students), among female students also a remarkably high proportion of physicians/pharmacists (cf. fig. 22). Correspondingly the portion of students originating from academic families is relatively small among male students: 8.9%; among female students the quota amounts 33.3% (presumably influenced by a higher portion of physicians). Finally the portion of self-employed fathers is also high: 91.3% among male students and 91.7% among female students.

2.3.13 Members of Political Student Organisations before 1933 (fig. 25, 28 and 29)

A comparison between students in left-wing and right-wing organisations during Weimar Republic shows the following trends:

a) left-wing and democratic orientated students
   children of low/intermediate civil servants, merchants, teachers, higher civil servants, craftsmen, farmers and skilled workers
b) right-wing students
children of low/intermediate civil servants, higher civil servants,
teachers, farmers, craftsmen and merchants.

In both camps students of "new social strata" are highly represented (cf. chapter 2.3.10). Compared to this social composition the proportion of fathers with university education is relatively small (about 12%, cf. fig. 28). The quota of self-employed fathers is higher than among other students (cf. fig. 29 resp. fig. 19).

2.3.14 Members of Asta, Korporationen and NS-"Kameradschaften"
(fig. 26, 30 and 31)

Members of these organisations particularly recruited from

a) before 1933
families of low/intermediate civil servants, teachers, farmers, higher civil servants, craftsmen and merchants

b) after 1933
families of low/intermediate civil servants, higher civil servants, teachers, farmers and physicians/pharmacists; the portion of children of craftsmen and merchants decreases while the professions increase as mentioned above (cf. fig. 26)

Before 1933 among members of the "Asta" sons of university trained fathers were three times more frequent than among members of the Korporationen (cf. fig. 30). After 1933 this portion is evidently smaller among Asta-members and increasing among corporated students and the newly founded National Socialist "Kameradschaften" (cf. fig. 30).

Before 1933 we find self-employed fathers among Asta-members and Korporationen on a level approximately corresponding to other students. After 1933 among Asta-members this share declines while this quota among corporated students rests stable; the share of self-employed fathers among students of "Kameradschaften" amounts about 32% (somewhat lower than among students of Korporationen, cf. fig. 31).

These facts refer to some interesting developments:
- at least at Gießen university Korporationen before 1933 became more and more organisations of children of non-academic families ("new student strata"). In spite of a high membership level (e.g. in ss 1932 66.9% of Gießen students were corporated) "revolutionary" National Socialism was more attractive to these social strata (cf. chapter 2.3.15).

- after 1933 Korporationen seem to become a "refuge" for children of university trained fathers, but presumably also National Socialist successor organisations ("Kameradschaften") had this function.

- after 1933 among politically active students (members of Asta) students from "new social strata" (non-academic, salary-dependent fathers) are more highly represented than before 1933.
2.3.15 Members of Fascist Organisations (fig. 27, 32 and 33X44)

Social origin of these students is composed as following:

a) before 1933
  predominantly children of low/intermediate civil servants, teachers, craftsmen, higher civil servants and farmers

b) after 1933
  particularly children of teachers, higher civil servants, low/intermediate civil servants, farmers and physicians/pharmacists

The relatively low portion of university trained fathers (about 12%) before 1933 grows remarkably after 1933 (about 25%, cf. fig. 32). The share of children of self-employed fathers rests relatively stable before and after 1933 (about 35%, cf. fig. 33).

A comparison between different fascist organisations shows the following results:

a) before 1933
  NSDAP, NSDStB and SA had very similar social profiles: predominance of children of low/intermediate civil servants, teachers, craftsmen, higher civil servants (among NSDStB-members higher than among NSDAP-members) farmers (among SA-members higher share than among NSDAP and NSDStB) and merchants (cf. fig. 2).

b) after 1933
  drastic decrease of children of craftsmen and of low/intermediate civil servants (highest losses among NSDAP-members). Profiteer of this development were children of teachers, higher civil servants and physicians/pharmacists (cf. fig. 27).
  Members of the "Arbeitsgemeinschaft nationalsozialistischer Studentinnen" (ANSt, at Gießen founded 1933) particularly originated from families of teachers, higher civil servants, merchants, physicians and low/intermediate civil servants (cf. fig. 27). Members of SS after 1933 show a distinct tendency to be recruited from traditional elites: higher civil servants and physicians, (cf. fig. 27).

Before 1933 the portion of university trained fathers is relatively similar among members of NSDStB (highest rate), NSDAP and SA (lowest rate), generally the rates correspond to other Gießen students (about 15% between 1930 and 1933) cf. fig. 8). After 1933 the portion of university trained fathers reached the highest rate among SS and NSDAP-members, while NSDStB and SA-members counted less children of academic descent (cf. fig. 32). The same portion of university trained fathers was to be found among (female) ANSt-members (cf. fig. 32). Before 1933 children of self-employed fathers were as frequent among members of NSDAP, NSDStB and SA as among other Gießen students. Compared with the increasing portion of children of self-employed fathers after 1933, the rates among NSDAP, NSDStB, SA and SS are slightly under average. Only members of ANSt had a rate according to the general mean (cf. fig. 33 and 19).
2.3.16 Some Comparative Social Data for Members of Political Student Organisations 1918-1945

In addition to the variable "father's profession" some comparative results shall be reported:

a) study subjects
remarkable differences between left- and right-wing students: predominance of future grammar-school teachers among left-wing students, prevailing medicine and veterinarian medicine among right-wing students; high proportion of law-students in both camps. That means: high shares of "growing" subjects in both "camps".

b) regional origin
the proportion coming from the "Volksstaat Hessen" equals other Gießen students. Among students in National-socialist organizations a higher share of communities with less than 5.000 inhabitants can be observed, whereas among members of other organizations no certain tendencies prevail.

c) confession
evident predominance of Protestant students in right-wing organisations, mixed composition (also Jewish students) in left-wing organisations.

d) education
among members of rightist and leftist organisations the proportion of ancient pupils in a "gymnasium" was lesser than among other students.

e) study mobility
members of fascist organisations show less study mobility than members of organisations of the left.

f) regional mobility
there were no significant differences in parents regional mobility between members and non-members of political organizations.

g) student's residence during semester at parents' residence before 1933
members of political organizations live more often with their parents than other students of Gießen university.

2.4 Resume

Based on the data presented here we can state a growing share of students from "new social strata" also at Gießen university between 1918 and 1933. These strata were also highly represented among students engaged in political organisations during the same period. Further the different effects of National Socialist university policy could be shown: the increase of students originating from upper middle-class families after 1933 and particularly after 1939, the increase of children of self-employed fathers after 1933 etc. The social composition of male and female students developed in different directions before and after 1933 (share of upper middle-class children, different cesures). Finally the problem of the re-establishment of "traditional elites" under National Socialist rule should be examined more deeply, considering different study subjects before/after 1939, differences between male and female students, provincial and large city universities.
Finally some methodological problems shall be mentioned:

- the problem of inferences from social to political background and behaviour. That means: not the students investigated were civil servants, physicians or craftsmen, but their fathers.

- the problem of inferences from membership in political organisations, in Asta or corporations to political attitudes and behaviour. That means: is membership in a certain organisation a valid indicator of a certain state of consciousness? For example the biographical meaning of such a membership for an individual life cannot be recorded by statistic measures.

- nevertheless statistic procedures disclose unknown sectors of social reality and show new connections. The most successful way of handling the problems of inference and validity seems to combine statistical methods with social and biographic research - in a dialectic between individual analyses (45) and collective biographies (46).

FOOTNOTES

1 The dissertation - supervised by Prof. Dr. Heinz-Josef Varain, Gießen University, Department of Political Sciences - will be finished in its empirical parts in 1986.

2 The following archives were consulted:
- Archive of Gießen university (records of institutes, students' card-index)
- Archive of the Gießen university's president (records of administrations, professors and students)
- Community Archive Gießen (relations between university and town, daily newspapers)
- Hessian Main State Archive (Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv) Wiesbaden (acts of NSDAP Gießen and "Gau-Hessen-Nassau", GESTAPO, denazification)
- Hessian State Archive Darmstadt (records of former department for education destroyed by bombing-raid)
- Hessian State Archive Marburg (documents on closing and re-opening of Gießen University: Marburg was residence of American University officer for Greater Hesse after 1945, Edward Y. Hartshorne)
- Archive of Hessian Ministry for Education, Wiesbaden (records on denazification, closing and re-opening of Gießen university)
- Archive of former Reichs students' leadership (Reichsstudentenführung) and National Socialist German Student Union (NSDStB), Würzburg
- Archive of Institute for University Science (Institut für Hochschulkunde), Würzburg (documents on student council and other political groups at Gießen university)
- Federal Archive (Bundesarchiv) Koblenz (records and documents on corporations and students' policy, on science policy after 1933)
- Berlin Document Center (personal files of NSDAP members from Gießen university).

Thanks to all employees of these institutions who supported me in my research!
3 E.g. in summer semester 1933 at Giessen university 1,996 students were immatriculated, at Frankfur t/Main 2,724, at Berlin 10,017, at Greifswald i. 801 students (fig. from Giessen university cf. Vorlesungsverzeichnis. Personenbestand der Hessischen Ludwigs-Universitaet zu Giessen WS 1933/34, p. 44; other figures cf. Deutsche Hochschulstatistik, vol. 12, Winterhalbjahr 1933/34, Berlin 1934, p. 20).


5 op.cit., p. 31.


7 Hessen in Wort und Zahl (cf. note 4), p. 23.

8 For example two results of the six "Landkreiss (county) who composed province "Oberhessen": at elections for Reichstag in July 1932 in Landkreis Lauterbach 72.7% and in Landkreis Schotten 77.4% of votes fell to the NSDAP (Schön, Eberhard: Die Entstehung des Nationalsozialismus in Hessen, Meisenheim am Glan 1972, p. 201).


Gedanken zur Hochschulreform. Leipzig 1919.
Becker was 1921 and 1925 to 1930 Prussian minister for education (Kultusminister).
Lundgreen, Peter: Hochschulpolitik und Wissenschaft im Dritten Reich, in: Lundgreen, Peter (ed.): Wissenschaft im Dritten Reich, Frankfurt/Main 1985, P. 9-30.
Rust was from 1934 to 1945 Reichsminister for Science, Education and People's Education (Volksbildung).
13 The existence of Gießen university was in question several times: 1923/26, 1930/32, 1936/37 and 1949/40. After the National Socialist regime Gießen university was closed - as unique German university - by the American military government. The re-opening was realized in three steps: 1946-1950 considerbale reduced "Hochschule" (not university) only for two disciplines (agriculture/Bodenkunde and veterinary science), 1950-1957 extension by natural sciences and medicine, 1957 completition by arts to university.
14 Based on Deutsches Gemeindeverzeichnis, Frankfurt/Main 1972 (= reprint from 1930).
16 Many thanks to Mr. Wolff and Mr. Ritter - employees of Hochschulrechenzentrum Gießen (University Computing Center) - for their patient assistance. Processing of data was carried out at (a Computer), type AEG 80-20 resp. CYBER 174.
(on social descent of German students).


19 In February 1926 the National Socialist German Student Union (NSDStB) was founded at Leipzig University by Wilhel Tempel; during the next three years almost all German universities followed.


Kater, Michael H.: The Nazi Party (cf. note 6), p. 44.


The early student movement for democratization of universities 1919/20 can here only be mentioned without ambition to analyze its sources and its disappearing.


Leisen, Adolf: Die Ausbreitung des völkischen Gedankens in der Studentenschaft der Weimarer Republik, Phil.Diss. Heidelberg 1964

20 "Fast 90% aus Arbeiter- und Mittelstands­familien" (letter to "Parteige­nosse Gunia", presumable 1926, Archiv der ehemaligen Reichsstudentenführung und des NSDStB, Würzburg, II-47 b, fol. 4).

21 Conservative-monarchistic, republican, catholic or communist student organizations often were founded in reaction to the growing NSDStB. For example at Gießen university end of January 1929 a group of NSDStB was established (letter stud.jur. Hans Körbel to Reichsleitung der NSDAP 4.2.1929 (Archiv der ehem. RSF und des NSDStB, Würzburg, II-4), the constitutional meeting of the Republikanische Studentengruppe took place at 23.1.1929 (letter "Vorstand für das Wintersemester 1928/29", Archiv der Präsidialabteilung der Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen [- PAG], act no). The other political student organisations were admitted by the "Engerer Senat" of Gießen university:

- Hochschulgruppe des "Stahhelm": 4.11.1929 (letter Rektor Brüggemann to stud.med.med. vet. Gerhard Heim 4.11.1929, PAG 110)
- Deutscher Demokratischer Studentenbund: nov. 1929 (letter Rektor Brüggemann to Deutscher Demokratischer Studentenbund 2.12.1929, PAG 98)
- Sozialistische Studentengruppe: dec. 1929 (letter Rektor Brüggemann to stud. (jur.) Karl Delp 23.12.1929, PAG 110)
- Politische Studiengemeinschaft der Zentrumspartei: end of january/begin of february 1930 (letter Rektor Brüggemann 3.2.1930, PAG 100)
- Hochschulgruppe der Deutschen Volkspartei: febr. 1930 (letter Rektor Brüggemann to Hochschulgruppe der DVP 27.2.1930, PAG 98)

22 As far as I know there are no studies to this question - at least on German students between 1918 and 1945.

23 For example the NSDStB gained 1930 at first stroke in elections to Allgemeiner Studentenausschüß (Asta) at Gießen 36.9% of votes, the alliance of (conservative) Korporationen received 47.4% (figures from Nachrichtenblatt der Gießener Studentenschaft Nr. 13 (24.2.1930), p. 15). At second candidature (1931) the NSDStB became the greatest student organisation at Gießen (55.5%; figure from Mitteilung der Studentenschaft Gießen 5.2.1931, PAG 96). The republican-democratic or communist student organisations at Gießen gained about 10 and 15% of votes. The quota of participation were: 42.3% (22.2.1929), 64.4% (12.2.1930), 78.7% (4.2.1931) and 80.0% (4.2.1932).

For similar trends at other German universities during that period cf.: Kater, Michael H.: Studentenschaft und Rechtsradikalismus in Deutschland 1918-1933 (cf. note 11), p. 212-217.
Faust, Anselm: Der Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Studentenbund (cf. note 19), vol. 2, p. 140-149.

24 Already in the NSDAP-programme from 25.2.1920 was formulated: "20. (...) Wir fordern die Ausbildung besonders veranlagter Kinder armer Eltern ohne Rücksicht auf deren Stand oder Beruf auf Staatskosten." (We demand education of talented children of poor parents without regard of their rank or profession on state's cost.) (Das Programm der NSDAP, München 1920.
Cf. also: Kater, Michael H.: Studentenschaft ... (cf. note 11), p. 114.

25 For Gießen university: all figures based on.
ws 1918/19 - ws 1929/30: Personenbestand der Hessischen Ludwigs Universität zu Gießen, Gießen 1918 ff.
ws 1939/40 - ws 1944/45: own empiric research based on student card-index

For German universities:
ws 1918/19: Statistisches Jahrbuch für das deutsche Reich, 41. Jg., Berlin 1920, p. 150
ss 1936 - ws 1943/44: Statistisches Handbuch von Deutschland 1928-1944, ed. by Länderrat des Amerikanischen Besatzungsgebiets, München 1949, p. 622
For the period after ss 1933 the extreme small share of 0.43% in ws 1939/40 should not be considered because of the conversions at all German universities on war conditions.


Cf. fig. 17. Cf. also Kater, Michael H.: Studentenschaft , p. 44 ff, 57, 67.

The extent of pauperization even at a provincial university like Gießen may illustrate two indications:

1923 about 75% of Gießen students were depend from services of "Gießener Studentenhilfe" (founded in July 1921) which offered mensa (gratuitous meals: ("Freitische"), student appartments (Wohnheime, established 1924 and 1930), sick funds etc.


According a medical investigation from ss 1923 to ws 1924/25 (quota of researched students amounted 75.2, 58.9, 70.3 and 54.4%) 62.2% of Gießen students were underweighted and 1.9% were tubercular - the highest rate among German universités!


E.g. 1934 only 15,000 pupils (= less than 50% of annual number) were allowed to receive a-level; this measure was based on the "Gesetz gegen die Überfüllung deutscher Schulen und Hochschulen" (25.4.1933), Reichsgesetzblatt 1933, Teil 1, p. 225.

By "Verordnung zur Durchführung des Gesetzes gegen die Überfüllung deutscher Schulen und Hochschulen vom 25.4.1933" the share of Jewish students was limited on 5.0%, in new immatriculations on 1.5% (cf. Reichsgesetzblatt 1933, Teil 1, p. 226).

At Gießen university in ss 1933 25 German and 8 foreign Jewish (or "semi-jewish") students were immatriculated. According to "Gesetz gegen die Überfüllung deutscher Schulen und Hochschulen" only children of Jewish veterans were admitted to study. So still during ss 1933, after publication of "Gesetz gegen die Überfüllung ...", from Gießen university the "non admitted" students were exmatriculated and only 10 male and 2 female ("semi"-) Jewish students remained. From ws 1933/34 no Jewish student was newly immatriculated at Gießen.

(Cf. letter of Rektorat Gießen university 5.7.1933 (PAG 71), "Verzeichnis der nichtarischen Studierenden der Universität Gießen, die im Sommersemester 1933 immatrikuliert waren, weil jeweils der Vater Frontsoldat war", anonymous, without date, PAG 71).

KPD were relegated in ss 1933 (letter Rektor Jess, 18.8.1933, PAG 103). in ws 1933/34 three exmatriculated students were relegated from all German universities because of communist activities before 30.1.1933 (letter Rektor Bornkamm, 1.2.1934, PAG no).

35 Cf. "Gesetz gegen die Überfüllung deutscher Schulen und Hochschulen" (cf. note 32).


37 Face to a growing deficiency of academicians, the German Rektorenkonferenz discussed on 11.5.1937 shortening of study duration as a remedy (cf. decree (Erlaß) of Reichs und Preußischer Minister für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung WJ Nr. 2050/37 (a), 11.6.1937). In the following time each university had to suggest certain measures for each faculty (statements of Gießen faculties in PAG 75). Prevailing a shortening of second phase of academic education (Referendariat) for students of law and teachership was suggested, the Medicine faculty recommended removal of several courses in semester holidays (cf. PAG 75).


Cf. also Adam, Heinz-Jürgen (Studentenschaftsführer Gießen): Das Studium im nationalsozialistischen Staat, in: Das Studium in Gießen, (see above), p. 8 f.

39 The first rumours concerning a planned dissolution of one of the universities Frankfurt/M., Gießen or Marburg are object of a letter from Gießen Studentenschaftsführer Heinz Jürgen Adam to Reichsstudentführer (Oskar Stäbel), 3.3.1934 (RSF Ix 03 (phi) 253/III).

Fears of an imminent dissolution of Gießen university were strengthened by removals of professors from Gießen and by overproportional reduction of student figures. For example the reduction of student figures at Gießen amounted 49.25% between ss 1933 and ss 1935, the average rate of reduction amounted 38.27% (in large cities 41.59%) (all figures cf. Deutsche Hochschulstatistik. Mit einer textlichen Darstellung. Ed. by Reichsminister für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung, vol. 14: Winterhalbjahr 1934/35, P. 9).

Beside these measures also institutional changes were feared: dissolution of faculty of law 1935 (cf. letter Studentenschaftsführer Gießen, Hans Stenger, to Reichstudentenführer Andreas Feickert, 10.9.1935, RSF Ix 03 (phi) 13/2). In this letter also rumours on planned dissolution of theological faculty and faculty of arts are mentioned.
- deprivation of competence to examine economists (Diplom-Volkswirte) 1937 (deprivation was reversed because of protests by Erlaß from 8.6.1937, cf. PAG 76).
- dissolution of veterinary faculty (1939/40, cf. letter of veterinary faculty (Prodekan) to Rektor Gießen, 7.3.1940, PAG 78).
- dissolution of Geologic Institut (cf. letter director Geologic Institute to Rektor Gießen, 12.8.1941, PAG 71).

None of these measures was realized (because of protests of National Socialist Rektors, deans and professors and esp. of Gauleiter Sprenger), but even an ardent National Socialist like Prof. Karl Hummel (member of NSDAP since 1925!), director of Geologic Institute (see above!) and activist of NS-Dozentenbund at Gießen, criticized that large city universities were preferred in any regard (cf. letter Prof. Karl Hummel to Rektor Gerhard Pfahler 13.11.1936, personal act Hummel, PAG).

40 Letter Reichsstatthalter Jakob Sprenger to Reichs- und Preussischer Minister für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung, Bernhard Rust, 23.4.1936 (Bundesarchiv Koblenz, R 21 (Rep. 76)).


43 Dahrendorf, RALF: Society and Democracy in Germany, Garden City/N.J. 1969, P. 381 ff.

In autumn 1986 a biographic and content analysis of private letters (about 2.500 pages) of an activist from National Socialist "euthanasia" will be finished; provisory title: "Friedrich Mennecke - Innenansichten eines medizinischen Täters".


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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ausweisnr</th>
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<th>Gelmortsort:</th>
<th>Provinz:</th>
<th>Land:</th>
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<tr>
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<th>Gymnasium zu:</th>
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<td>Möde</td>
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<th>Nr.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Möde</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

fig. 1: student card-index us 1918/19 - ws 1933/34
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name: Johann</th>
<th>Studentenbuch Nr.: 7577</th>
<th>Vorname: Johann</th>
<th>Studentenbuch: Medizin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Staatangehörigkeit: Deutscher</td>
<td>Fach: Medizin</td>
<td>Darin tätig ab:</td>
<td>1. 12. 18</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sektor:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bevorratung:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schulvorbildung: Realgymnasium</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Abrechnungsjahr: 1936</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Immatrikuliert am: 29. 10. 1935</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Enthüllt:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vater: Johann</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beruf:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anschrift des Vaters: Karlasse 12</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Heutige Anschrift:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Vater: Johann</td>
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<td>Beruf:</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Vater: Johann</td>
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<tr>
<td>Beruf:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anschrift des Vaters: Karlasse 12</td>
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<td></td>
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</table>
FIG. 4
STUDENTS OF GIESSHÜ UNIVERSITY 1915/19 - 1944/45
NUMBER OF ENROLLED STUDENTS
fig. 5

STUDENTS OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY WS 1918/19 - WS 1944/45
FEMALE STUDENTS

- share of female students on Giessen students
- share of female students on German students
STUDENTS OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY WS 1918/19 - WS 1944/45: SUBJECTS

- 69 -

a) male students

- --- theology
- --- jurisprudence
- --- medicine
- --- veterinary science
- --- classic philology
- --- grammar-school teacher (Gymnasium)
- --- mathematics

N = 5090
Fig. 6 (pursuit)
STUDENTS OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY WS 1918/19 - WS 1944/45: SUBJECTS

(b) female students

N = 604
fig. 7

STUDENTS OF GIESENE UNIVERSITY WS 1818/19 - WS 1944/45
PLACE OF BIRTH: REGION

a) male students

\[ N = 4893 \]

b) female students

\[ N = 596 \]
STUDENTS OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY WS 1918/19 - WS 1944/45
PLACE OF 3MTH: COMMUNITY'S SIZE

(a) male students
- 1999
- 2000- 4999
- 5000-19999
- 20000-99999
- 100000-

(b) female students
- 1999
- 2000- 4999
- 5000-19999
- 20000-99999
- 100000-
fig. 9
STUDENTS OF GIessen UNIVERSITY US 1913/19 - WS 1944/45
CONFESSION

a) male students

- Protestant
- catholic
- israelite
- others
- without confession

N = 3973

b) female students

- Protestant
- catholic
- israelite
- others
- without confession

N = 332
STUDENTS OF GIessen UNIVERSITY WS 1919/20 - WS 1944/45
EDUCATION

- 74 -

fig. 1a

STUDENTS OF GIessen UNIVERSITY WS 1919/20 - WS 1944/45
EDUCATION

a) male students

- Gymnasium (grammar school)  
| N = 4576 |
- Realgymnasium (reformed secondary school) |
- Oberrealschule (reformed secondary school) |
- others |

b) female students

- Gymnasium |
- Realgymnasium |
- Oberrealschule |
- others  
| N = 565 |
fig. 11
STUDENTS OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY WS 1918/19 - WS 1944/45
IMMATRICULATED BEFORE AT OTHER GERMAN UNIVERSITY

- male students \( N = 3531 \)
- female students \( N = 471 \)
fig. 12
STUDENTS OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY WS 1918/19 - WS 1944/45
PARENTS' RESIDENCE IDENTICAL WITH STUDENT'S PLACE OF BIRTH

- male students  N = 4522
- female students  N = 537
STUDENTS OF GIessen UNIVERSITY WS 1918/19 - WS 1944/45
NEW RESIDENCE OF PARENTS: REGION

N = 1870

a) male students

N = 276

b) female students
STUDENTS OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY WS 1915/16 - US 1944/45
NEW RESIDENCE OF PARENTS: COMMUNITY'S Slid

N = 1667

-2,000 inhabitants
5,000 - 10,000
20,000 - 99,999
100,000 -

N = 274

-2,000 inhabitants
2,000 - 4,999
5,000 - 10,000
20,000 - 99,999
100,000 -
fig. 15

STUDENTS OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY US 1916/19 - US 1944/45
STUDENT'S RESIDENCE DURING SEMESTER AT PARENTS' RESIDENCE

male students  \( N = 4434 \)
female students  \( N = 557 \)
STUDENTS OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY US 1918/19 - US 1944/45
FATHER'S PROFESSION

a) before 1933

- male students N = 3144
- female students N = 252

b) after 1933

- male students N = 1355
- female students N = 312
the following professions were comprehended to strata:

workers*: unskilled worker, skilled worker

lower middle class*: craftsman, lower/intermediate employee,
lower/intermediate civil servant, farmer, merchant/innkeeper, teacher

upper middle class*: entrepreneur/manufacturer, manager (salary-dependent), higher civil servant, professor, clergyman, physician/apothecary, soldier (professional), pensioner/without profession, artist/writer, lawyer/notary, veterinarian
fig. 17 (pursuit)

STUDENTS OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY WS 1918/19 - WS 1944/45
FATHER'S PROFESSION: STRATA

b) female students

- workers
- lower middle class* ("petite bourgeoisie")
- upper middle class*

WS 18/19  WS 20/21  SS 1923  WS 25/26  SS 1928  WS 30/31  SS 1933  WS 35/36  SS 1938  2. Tim. 4a  SS 1942  WS 44/45
### Table 18

**Students of Gießen University WS 1918/19 - WS 1944/45**

**Father's Profession: Academician**

#### a) Male Students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>COUNT</th>
<th>NVL</th>
<th>ROW PCT</th>
<th>IVOR 1933/34</th>
<th>ROW</th>
<th>COL PCT</th>
<th>IVOR 1933</th>
<th>TOT PCT</th>
<th>IVOR 1933</th>
<th>TOT PCT</th>
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<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>6.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>NEIN</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2079</td>
<td>987.1</td>
<td>3066</td>
<td>56.3</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>72.0</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>72.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NICHT DEFINI</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>74.1</td>
<td>537</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| COLUMN | 3158 | 10959| 100.0

**Raw Chi Sq:** 87.62852 with 2 D.F., Sig. < .0000

Kendall's Tau B = -.10423, Sig. = .0000

Kendall's Tau C = -.00999, Sig. = .0000

#### b) Female Students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>COUNT</th>
<th>NVL</th>
<th>ROW PCT</th>
<th>IVOR 1933/34</th>
<th>ROW</th>
<th>COL PCT</th>
<th>IVOR 1933</th>
<th>TOT PCT</th>
<th>IVOR 1933</th>
<th>TOT PCT</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>JA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>6.6</td>
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<td>6.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>NEIN</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2079</td>
<td>987.1</td>
<td>3066</td>
<td>56.3</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>72.0</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>72.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>NICHT DEFINI</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>74.1</td>
<td>537</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| COLUMN | 3158 | 10959| 100.0

**Raw Chi Sq:** 18.90055 with 2 D.F., Sig. = .0004

Kendall's Tau B = -.1493, Sig. = .0001

Kendall's Tau C = -.16044, Sig. = .0001
fig. 19

STUDENT OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY US 1918/19 - US 1944/45
FATHER'S PROFESSION : SELF-EMPLOYED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNT 1</th>
<th>ROW PCT IVOR 1933 AB 1933</th>
<th>RAW CHI SQ</th>
<th>D.F.</th>
<th>SIG.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V44</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>JA</td>
<td>1211 466 1677</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>NEIN</td>
<td>1872 800 2752</td>
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<tr>
<td>NICHT DEFINI</td>
<td>85.6 11.6 1.8</td>
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<td>COLUMN TOTAL</td>
<td>3121 1353 4509</td>
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ROW CHI SQ = 17.53176 WITH 2 D.F., SIG. = .0002
KENDALL'S TAU B = .63610, SIG. = .0206
KENDALL'S TAU C = .32731, SIG. = .0206

TABLE 19

STUDENT OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY US 1918/19 - US 1944/45
FATHER'S PROFESSION : SELF-EMPLOYED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNT 1</th>
<th>ROW PCT IVOR 1933 AB 1933</th>
<th>RAW CHI SQ</th>
<th>D.F.</th>
<th>SIG.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V44</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JA</td>
<td>1 32 98 160</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEIN</td>
<td>1 164 212 376</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NICHT DEFINI</td>
<td>50.0 50.0 1.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COLUMN TOTAL</td>
<td>258 314 564</td>
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</table>

ROW CHI SQ = .29122 WITH 2 D.F., SIG. = .0645
KENDALL'S TAU B = .38140, SIG. = .0645
KENDALL'S TAU C = .01323, SIG. = .0645
STUDENTS OF GIESENN UNIVERSITY: SS 1919/19 - WS 1944/45
NUMBER OF BROTHERS AND SISTERS

a) male students

b) female students

N = 544

N = 163
### Table 21

Students of Jewish Confession: Subjects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Male Stud.</th>
<th>Male Stud. (%)</th>
<th>Female Stud.</th>
<th>Female Stud. (%)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theology</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jurisprudence</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>44.9</td>
<td></td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vet. Science</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class- Philol.</td>
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<td>2.9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammar-School Teacher</td>
<td>&gt; 3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biology</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forestry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Political Sc.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11.11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmacy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
unskilled worker
skilled worker
craftsman
low/intermediate
employee
entrepreneur
manager (salary
dependent)
higher civil serv.
professor
teacher
clergyman
physician/apothecary-
solair (profession)
pensioner/without
profession
artist/writer
lawyer/notary
veterinarian

---

Students of Jewish Confession: Father 30.4.1982
Students of Christian Confession: 18.4.1982
### Table 23
STUDENTS OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY US 1918/19 - US 1944/45
STUDENTS OF JEWISH CONFESSION: FATHER'S PROFESSION
ACADEMICIAN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>male stud.</th>
<th>male stud. (%)</th>
<th>female stud.</th>
<th>female stud. (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>33.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>79.1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>50.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Not definable</td>
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<td>11.9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Table 24
STUDENTS OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY US 1918/19 - US 1944/45
STUDENTS OF JEWISH CONFESSION: FATHER'S PROFESSION
SELF-EMPLOYED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>male stud.</th>
<th>male stud. (%)</th>
<th>female stud.</th>
<th>female stud. (%)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>91.3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>91.7</td>
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<td>No</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
fig. 25

STUDENTS OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY US 1318/19 – WS 1944/45
MEMBERS OF POLITICAL STUDENT ORGANISATIONS BEFORE 1933
FATHER'S PROFESSION

Rote Studentengruppe N=12
Sozialistische Studgr. U=20
Republikanische Studgr. N=12
DDP-Studtntengruppe N=12
fig. 25 (pursuit)

STUDENTS OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY US 1918/19 - US 1944/45
MEMBER'S OF POLITICAL STUDENT ORGANISATIONS BEFORE 1933
FATHER'S PROFESSION

- NSDStB N=427
- DVP-Studentengruppe N=14
- Zentrums-Stud.rjr. N=17
- Stahlhelm-Stud.gr. N=52
STUDENTS OF GIESEN UNIVERSITY 1918/19 - 1944/45
MEMBERS OF ASTA, CORPORATIONS AND NS-"KAMERADEN" FATHER'S PROFESSOR

\( \text{\# before 1933} \)
- members of Asta (student council) \( N = 121 \)
- members of Korporationen, Burschenschaften etc. \( N = 276 \)

\( \text{\# after 1933} \)
- members of Asta \( N = 32 \)
- members of Korporationen etc. \( N = 273 \)
- members of National Socialist "Kameradschaften" \( N = 62 \)
STUDENTS OF GIESELE UNIVERSITY WINTER 1941/42 - WINTER 1943/44
MEMBERS OF POLITICAL STUDENT ORGANISATIONS BEFORE 1933

fig. 28
FATHER'S PROFESSION: ACADEMICIAN

- father academician
- not definable

fig. 29
FATHER'S PROFESSION: SELF-EMPLOYED

- father self-employed
- not definable
a) FATHER'S PROFESSION: ACADEMICIAN

before 1933

father academician
not definable

after 1933

b) FATHER'S PROFESSION: SELF-EMPLOYED

c. before 1933

father self-employed
not definable

after 1933
STUDENTS OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY YEARS 1918/19 - 1944/45

EWERS OF FASCIST ORGANISATIONS

fig. 32

a) FATHER'S PROFESSION: ACADEMICIAN

- father academician
- not definable

![Diagram showing father's profession changes before and after 1933 for academicians.]

fig. 33

b) FATHER'S PROFESSION: SELF-EMPLOYED

- father self-employed
- not definable

![Diagram showing father's profession changes before and after 1933 for self-employed.]

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