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RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE MAIN AREAS OF RESISTANCE DURING
THE COUNTER-REFORMATION AND THE NAZI PUTSCH IN JULY 1934
IN UPPER AUSTRIA

Margarethe Haydter / Johann Mayr+

This article is the result of integrative teaching in high school subjects, which do not normally correspond well: mathematics and history. The educational aim was to gain sound general education besides specialised teaching in the respective subjects. Quantitative historical research offered us one possibility of application. We chose the following hypothesis by A. Wandruszka: Those Austrian regions where protestants were suffering most seriously during the period of the Counter-Reformation, were also the main areas of fighting during the Austrian Nazi putsch of July 1934. Collecting facts and characteristics of religious activities in the 18th century and of political behaviour in the 1930ies, we used ecological correlation and multiple regression to test the Wandruszka hypothesis. The result is: In the areas of our investigation, this hypothesis cannot be rejected.

As in other countries, in Austria, too, educational authorities quite frequently ask for teaching models in secondary education which jump the border between the classical subjects in schools and apply interdisciplinary cooperation to teaching. Being stimulated ourselves by the 3rd Quantkurs (September 16th thru 19th 1980 in Linz) which was organized to present interdisciplinary, or more specifically quantitative methodology to historians who had already completed their training on university, we tried to realize such a model at the school where we are teaching, the 3rd Bundesgymnasium in Linz. Trying to do so we taught cooperatively two subjects which in common understanding have few things in common - mathematics and history (1).

1. The pedagogic-didactic aims

The amount of knowledge in science is currently increasing exponentially. This is not true for the humanities, but here, too, knowledge increases constantly. This situation makes it constantly more difficult to fulfill the obligation to provide our pupils with a sound general education, as we should do according to Austrian Law (2). Looking for a way to overcome this problem and optimize the results of our teaching, we became convinced that the best one to do so would be to support the teaching of one subject by lessons taught in another one, to teach, with other words cooperatively. This is, indeed, already sometimes the case between subjects like german - history, geography - history, mathematics - physics or mathematics (physics) - biology.

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But we see the danger, that the pupil gets focused by that completely upon one part of the educational subjects, that is, limits his interest already very early to either science or the humanities, an attitude that usually is supported by his/her social environment. Stereotypes make it easy for most people to accept a deficiency in mathematics and physics being compensated by unusual skill in foreign languages and vice versa. So we thought it particularly important to try the cooperation between subjects which are seen as contrary to each other by very many people (3).

So we had two aims in our joint teaching of mathematics and history:

- to make it easier to teach without overburdening the pupils with the mass of knowledge presented,
- to work against the popular split between specialized interests in either science or the humanities.

During the regular teaching hours this was impossible by a simple reason: as no teaching aids exist for such a cooperative effort, we had to collect all data needed by ourselves - and that alone would have taken up all the hours provided for both our subjects. Besides this practical reason we considered our attempts as an experiment, which, first of all, should show, whether interdisciplinary teaching of this kind can be realized with reasonable effort.

2. The experiment

2.1 The topic

To develop a model for teaching in cooperation with our pupils, we had to find a topic which would make it possible for them to join us already in the stage where we collected our source material. That is: after some preparatory work by the teachers the necessary material had to be accessible for our pupils in Linz without more effort than could possibly be expected, given the time needed for the other subjects at school. So we had to select a topic related to the history of Upper Austria. Additionally we had to take care that it would be related to the regular teaching in the classes.

Statistics are touched by the mathematics taught in the 7th form (the pupils are approx. 17-year-olds). At the same time history covers the early parts of modernity. So we had to get our topic from that period, make it measurable and appropriate for the application of statistical methodology.

The Austrian historian Adam WANDRUSZKA has said that there is a relationship between those areas where the resistance of the Austrian protestants was stiffest during the Gegenreformation in the 17th century and those where the fighting with nazis after the assassination of Dollfuß in July 1934 was particularly intensive (4).

It is this statement - henceforth called the "Wandruszka hypothesis" - that we have tried to verify with the methods of correlation and regression.
2.2 The methodological approach

Three basic steps were needed to collect and prepare the data:

1. After some preparation by the teacher, the pupils searched the appropriate literature for information regarding the Gegenreformation (5) and the civil disturbances of July 1934 (6).

2. Now we had to check what would qualify an area as a "main area of resistance and refuge". As main refuges, we considered the localities which applied for protestant worship immediately after the "Toleranzpatent" of Josef II (7). Additionally, we included those places where the population has been evicted more or less completely during the transmigration under the Habsburg rulers in the 17th and 18th centuries as being protestant (8). To consider a locality as a place of active resistance during the peasants war, just because some fighting happened there, would have been inappropriate, as the peasants moved continuously around the country and the fights took place simply where the Bavarian troops and the insurgents met. Only in a small number of cases can we decide, if the original population of a community was engaged in the slaughtering, but, where we can do so, we find that all of those places were among the ones applying under the "Toleranzpatent" for protestant worship - save one community named Pindsdorf (9). The places where nazi uprisings took place we collected from the literature and the local newspapers from 27th to 29th July 1934 and one weekly paper (10). One place where the struggle was particularly intense - Kollerschlag in the Mühlviertel, immediately at the German border - we dropped, as it can be shown, that the fights there did not involve the local population but the "Österreichische Legion" which by some error in the line of command crossed the border fightingly to occupy the Mühlviertel (11).

3. Additionally, a questionnaire was distributed to the protestant and catholic parsons and the mayors of the communities concerned; if returned at all, they contributed scarcely any new information, though (12). After data collection in this style was finished (13), our main interest had to be to show our pupils how to operationalize our basic research interest - the verification of the Wandruszka hypothesis - as a set of questions, we could answer with the help of our two lists of places.
The following catalogue of operable questions was developed:

- is there any connection between the composition of the two lists?
- is there a relationship between the proportion of nazis living in those communities in 1934 and the disturbances that took place there?
- how far have the former refuges still an untypical proportion of protestants?
- how do the proportions of nazis and Protestants in the population compare?

As a first step in demonstrating the use of statistical methodology to answer questions like that, we had to convert our qualitative place names into measurable quantities. To do so, we looked at the distribution of those places in Upper Austria. A look at the map provided us first of all with a problem: borders changed. The Innviertel e.g., where a lot of our identified places are, was formerly part of Bavaria and was acquired by the Habsburgs after the War of the Bavarian Succession in 1779. This could have jeopardized our efforts, but we got finally convinced, that the treatment of the protestants during the Gegenreformation was similar enough on both sides of the border, to consider today's Upper Austria as one unit. (Indeed the Austrian emperor used Bavarian troops to enforce catholicism among his own subjects at some stages).

Besides this problem our look at the map provided us with three results.

a) The topic was now presented very vividly.
b) The two geographical distributions were close enough to provide us with a first, intuitive verification of the Wandruszka hypothesis.
c) The tendency of the places to cluster around a number of regional centers had to be taken care of.

To fulfill this final request, we looked for a way to divide Upper Austria into suitable geographical units, assigning to them several indicators for the relevant phenomena as proportions. (E.g. the proportion of smaller units that were engulfed by the fights of 1934).

To do so there would have been two ways: either we could have drawn a network onto our map, assigning every locality to one of the resulting squares, or we could base our further work upon some suitable administrative unit. The first solution being too much work for our pupils, we had to select a suitable administrative unit. The intuitive one would have been the political district, the administrative unit all Austrian countries are divided into. This would have left us with just 15 of them, and statistics based upon 15 entities are not satisfactory. So we selected the judicial districts as our unit of analysis. As 44 of them exist in Upper Austria, they provided us with a suitable number of cases – and as it turned out later, they were additionally quite useful entities to use with the official
statistical sources for composition of the population in 1934. (On the other hand one might say that they were a more realistic unit as the municipalities, as the historical events treated obviously have been cutting across local boundaries, while still being restricted to relatively small areas) (14). As a next step we had to measure the intensity of the fights in 1934. This could have been done by using the length of the struggle and/or by the number of casualties. As the last number was generally very low and the information about the time the fighting went on is ambiguous, we decided to restrict ourselves just to the fact that fighting had occurred at all. After this preliminary decisions our pupils computed for all judicial districts:

- the proportion of communities of every district being a center of fighting in the peasant war or a protestant refuge,
- the proportion of communities of every district being a center of riots in 1934,
- the proportion of protestants among the population of 1934, according to the census taken in that year,
- the proportion of nazis among the voters of that district in the Landtagswahl of Upper Austria in 1931.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DISTRICT</th>
<th>PARISH</th>
<th>WIDER</th>
<th>PROT%34</th>
<th>UNRUHE</th>
<th>PROT%34</th>
<th>NS%31</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ISCHL</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>42,86</td>
<td>20,17</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>71,43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Judicial districts

main areas of prot. resistance in 17th C. areas of political unrest in 1934
Now we could start with the statistical analysis and the graphical representation of the data thus collected. For that purpose we gave a short introduction into statistics for the pupils coming from the 5th and 6th forms - statistics being taught regularly in the 7th form. The computations afterward were performed by our pupils with the help of pocket calculators. The following results were gained by them:

2.2.1 Protestantism in the 17th century and in 1934:

This initial analysis of our data was used by us to explain the statistical methodology involved and the measures used. The graphic representation of this first example is given below.

\[
Y = 0.38X + 0.54
\]

\[
R^2 = 0.75
\]
The regression line we used to approximate the scattergram — and to explain its meaning to our pupils — could be expressed by the regression equation:

\[ y = 0.38x + 0.54 \]

\[ y \] in this context being used to denote the proportion of protestants in the population as of 1934, \( x \) standing for the proportion of communities being refuges in the 17th century. The linear connection of both measures can easily be derived from the graphic as well as the equation. The more disturbances took place in an area during the peasant wars and the more it represented a protestant refuge in that time, the higher the proportion of protestantism in 1934.

Logically next we had to check, if such a relation could have been caused by chance alone — this turned out to be beyond our skill with pocket calculators. A test at the computing center of the university of Salzburg did show that the results were significant at the 0.01 level; so we could explain to our pupils that it was extremely unlikely that such a relationship could originate from chance alone (15).

Furthermore, this example was a very good one to explain the difference between regression and correlation. It is quite obvious that the slope provided by the regression equation — useful as it may be — is not a complete description of 'what's going on' in the scattergram. Pearson's \( r \) being 0.87 we could show, that there indeed existed a considerable strength of relationship. From that it was a short step to the squared coefficient (\( r^2 \) square being 0.75). So 75% of the differences in the proportion of protestants among the population of Upper Austria can be explained simply by the strength of protestantism in those districts during the Gegenreformation.

2.2.2 Number of protestants in 1934 - political unrest in the same year

The regression equation in this case is

\[ Y = 2.7x + 1.01 \]

\( y \) standing for the proportion of communities involved in fighting, \( x \) for the proportion of protestants in the population. Pearson's \( r \) being 0.57 (\( r^2 \) Square: 0.33) one third of the amount of differences in the strength of the uprisings can be explained by the size of the protestant part of the population. (Our 44 cases are enough to make all coefficients still significant.)

2.2.3 Number of nazis in 1934 - political unrest in the same year
Pearsons $r$ being 0.16 the regression equation would only be of limited interest - no statistical hints for a causal relation between these quantities exist.

2.2.4 Number of nazis in 1934 - main areas of resistance and refuge in the 17th century

When one looks at the map it becomes immediately clear that there's no relationship. Pearsons $r$ supports this impression, taking a value of 0.0033.

2.2.5 Number of protestants 1934 - number of nazis 1934

Here, too, no relationship could be seen, $r$ being 0.09.

2.2.6 The Wandruszka Hypothesis

After becoming used to the statistical tools employed, our pupils now could look at the central question of our research: can the Wandruszka hypothesis be verified statistically? Indeed it can be. The regression equation for political disturbance in 1934 in dependency from the indicators for the strength of protestantism and resistance during the peasants wars is:

$$ Y = 1.34x + 1.07 $$

$x$ standing for the proportion of municipalities in a district being either a center of resistance or a refuge in the 17th century, $y$ being the proportion of communities being involved in the nazi uprising in 1934.
2.3 The pedagogic-didactic results of integrative teaching

As we hoped our test proved that it is possible to develop in secondary schools - at least in the higher levels - projects which imply the application of knowledge gained by pupils in different subjects. In our opinion this kind of teaching is a precondition for any attempt to teach truly general knowledge. We already stated this earlier.

2.3.1 Integration into the traditional curriculum

Theoretically no problems should arise - the intentions of the legislative being what they are, as we already quoted at the beginning. Practically though, the prescribed curricula contain only regulations specific to the different subjects and are too broad to provide guidelines for the teacher. This is very welcome, if one looks at it from the point of didactic freedom; still, to ease the problems created by attempts to realize interdisciplinary or integrative teaching, some frame by the ministry - as in Austria provided e.g. for "political education" - would be welcome. Beyond that, we would address the universities in their role as training places for teachers: to prepare students for such cooperation with colleagues which would improve their chance to receive well prepared students from the secondary schools - nothing to say about the help such a training could be in the struggle against overspecialisation during one's study.

2.3.2 Our project as example for integrative teaching

2.3.2.1 Quantification in Secondary School - Quantifiability of historical sources

The first question a pupil will raise in our model will be: "How can I compute with places and battles?" The transformation of historical facts into numbers and the selection of appropriate "cases" asks the pupil not only to deepen his historical knowledge but also to acquire a nucleus of exact knowledge about statistical methodology. We think it should be part of the role of a teacher to explain the stages of this transformations and help during its realisation. The pupil shall learn to formalize the description of a phenomenon turning this formalization into a mathematical model later.
2.3.3 Problems of Interpretation

The abstract results of the computations have now to be connected with the historical events and facts. The results of the that far more or less stereotypical mathematical examples, which seem to be unrelated on paper, can not be the end any more, but just the beginning of an understanding, which, owing to the complexity of the relations, could be reached only by those very formulas and equations so seemingly useless at the beginning.

After the translation of numbers back into living facts the circle is closed. The interpretation again requires the cooperation between science and humanities. Now at least the pupil will see, that no subject can stand alone, but becomes a meaningful entity only in the context of others - in our case providing deeper insights into historical events.

Directed by the teacher the juveniles can by themselves come "zu einem vertiefen Verständnis der Zusammenhänge der geistesgeschichtlichen Grundlagen mit dem mathematisch-naturwissenschaftlichen Beitrag zur Entwicklung der europäischen Kultur" as the Austrian Ministry of Education - hopefully - wishes them to do.

Our model wins additional pedagogic value as it more or less enforces the cooperation of the pupils in small working groups.

2.4 Teaching Aids

To further attempts like ours, one should in some cases change the present curriculum. To give just one example: Aristarch of Samos, as the first representative of heliocentrism, is introduced to the pupils in history in the 5th form (age 15) - his results (diameter of the earth) are discussed one year later in mathematics/physics. We do not want to imply that planning the curriculum of a subject, one should start looking at the other ones - still if the legislative asks for cooperation between the subjects one should at least try to make it possible when planning the curriculum.

The pocket calculator - meanwhile introduced at all schools - normally suffices; the use of computers might be nice but can of course only be envisaged at schools which have EDP working groups.

More pressing are the needs for teaching aids for the historians. To collect the necessary sources and figures is simply beyond the hours of regular teaching. What we did could be done during regular hours, though, if the history books of the appropriate forms (in Austria the 7th, when statistics is introduced in mathematics) would contain an appendix with suitable quantifiable facts and quantitative sources.
2.5 Aims of Integrative Teaching

The primary aim - as stated a number of times already - is to provide a really general education which is appropriate for our social realities. We don't think, that ours is the way to train a new generation of encyclopedists; but we do think that our method might improve the understanding of different subjects and the necessity of their cooperation. We just want prevent, that Karl Dieter OPP has to continue writing in the preface of his "Methodologie der Sozialwissenschaften": "Ein Sozialwissenschaftler, der an der Lösung der Probleme seiner Disziplin interessiert ist und der sich mit methodologischen Fragen der sozialwissenschaftlichen Theoriebildung befassen möchte, steht mehreren Schwierigkeiten gegenüber. Erstens ist der überwiegende Teil der methodologischen Literatur an den Problemen der Naturwissenschaften orientiert. Dies hat die Konsequenz, daß es für den Sozialwissenschaftler sehr schwierig ist, die Ergebnisse methodologischer Diskussionen in seiner Disziplin anzuwenden. Zweitens sind die - relativ wenigen - methodologischen Beiträge, die sich speziell mit Problemen der sozialwissenschaftlichen Theoriebildung befassen, häufig nur dann verständlich, wenn bestimmte Grundkenntnisse der Logik und Mathematik vorhanden sind".

Beyond that we think that the very complexity of the social realities (think about how the discussions about nuclear power would be influenced by more far spread knowledge in physics and biology) will make it necessary in the future to consider how far the "subjects" as they stand now, will have to be replaced by other integrated ones.
1. This could never have been done during the regular teaching hours - the reasons why not will be mentioned later. We would like to express our gratitude to those pupils of the 5th and 6th forms in the school year 1980/81 who were ready to work with us after the regular school hours. (Note of translator: the forms referred to are numbered according to the Austrian educational system. They represent the age group 15 - 16.) They were: Paul GAUGES, Richard GRIESFELDER, Thomas GRÜENBACHER, Heinz HIMMELBAUER, Dietmar KUTTELWASCHER, Christian MURAUER, Werner POLLHUBER, Gerhard PRANDSTÖTTER, Harald WINTERSTEIGER, Christoph HARTL and Rainer MOLTAS. Furthermore we feel obliged towards the director of our school, Mag. Dietmar KAGERER who took much interest in our attempt and made it possible for us to present it at the Historikertag 1981 in Salzburg. (Note of translator: the triennial national meeting of the Society of Austrian Historians.) Particularly grateful, finally, we are to Prof. Gerhard BOTZ for his suggestions and his support.


3. In an abstract way the Austrian law calls for this as well: "In diesem Sinne und entsprechend den Bestimmungen des Lehrplanes der betreffenden Schulart hat er (sc. der Lehrer) unter Berücksichtigung der Entwicklung der Schüler und der äußeren Gegebenheiten den Lehrstoff des Unterrichtsgegenstandes dem Stand der Wissenschaft entsprechend zu vermitteln, eine gemeinsame Bildungswirkung aller Unterrichtsgegenstände anzustreben, ... und durch zweckmäßigen Einsatz von Unterrichtsmitteln den Ertrag des Unterrichts als Grundlage weiterer Bildung zu sichern und durch entsprechende Übungen zu festigen." (Austrian Schulunterrichtsgesetz Paragraph 19). In a similar manner the Austrian Ministry for Education and the Arts states "Ein planvolles Zusammenwirken aller Lehrer ist anzustreben". (Grundsätzerläß Politische Bildung). This is expressed in more detail in the description of the general aims of teaching: "Allgemeinbildung kann nicht aus einem Nebeneinander von Einzelwissen oder von einzelnen Wissensgebieten entstehen. Die Herstellung von Beziehungen zu einer inneren Ordnung muß es dem Schüler ermöglichen, die vermittelten Kenntnisse zu einer Einheit zu verbinden". (Allgemeine Bildungsziele und didaktische Grundsätze der Lehrpläne der Unter- und Oberstufe der Allgemeinbildenden Höheren Schulen.) And, in the same document, speaking explicitly about the particular type of school, which we are teaching: "Das Realistische Gymnasium führt zu vertieftem Verständnis der Zusammenhänge der geistesgeschichtlichen Grundlagen mit dem mathematisch-naturwissenschaftlichen Beitrag zur Entwick-
lung der europäischen Kultur".


8 Julius STRNADT: Der Bauernkrieg in Oberösterreich, p. 199 sqq. and 138 sqq.

9 As above, p. 87 sqq.


12 Questionnaire and answers are available from the authors at request.

13 We got the following lists of "main areas of retreat and refuges" and "places with civil disturbances in July 1934" respectively. (In both cases the references in brackets in the first column are to the literature given above. The first column contains the communities in question operationalized by today's smallest administrative unit (village, town etc.). The second column contains the judicial district where those places are situated, the (large) administrative district being added in brackets. The need for this column will become clear later on.
Main Areas of Resistance and Refuges:

Altmünster (Strnad, 139 sq) — Gmunden (Gmunden)
Attersee (Zimmermann, 85) — Frankenmarkt (Vöcklabruck)
Eferding (ibid. 86) — Eferding (Eferding)
Goisern (ibid. 88) — Ischl (Gmunden)
Gosau (ibid. 88) — Ischl (Gmunden)
Hallstatt (ibid. 88) — Ischl (Gmunden)
Kirchdorf (ibid. 93) — Kirchdorf (Kirchdorf)
Neukamaten (ibid. 91) — Neuhofen (Linz)
Peuerbach (Strnad, 55) — Peuerbach (Grieskirchen)
Pöndorf (ibid. 107 sq) — Gmunden (Gmunden)
Rützenmoos (Zimmermann 91) — Frankenmarkt (Vöcklabruck)
Scharten (ibid. 92) — Vöcklabruck (Vöcklabruck)
Traunkirchen (Strnad 132) — Eferding (Eferding)
Vöcklabruck (Zimmermann 93) — Gmunden (Gmunden)
Wallern (ibid. 94) — Vöcklabruck (Vöcklabruck)

Places with major civil disturbances after the 25th of July 1934:

Ahorn (Litschel 111) — Gmunden (Gmunden)
Alkhoven (Slapnicka 191) — Eferding (Eferding)
Gmunden (ibid. 193) — Gmunden (Gmunden)
Gaspoltshofen (ibid. 193) — Haag (Grieskirchen)
Goisern (ibid. 193) — Ischl (Gmunden)
Gosau (ibid. 193) — Ischl (Gmunden)
Grünau (Slapnicka 189) — Gmunden (Gmunden)
Hallstatt (ibid. 193) — Ischl (Gmunden)
Hinterstoder (ibid. 191) — Windischgarsten (Kirchdorf)
Ischl (ibid. 193) — Ischl (Gmunden)
Kirchdorf (ibid. 191) — Kirchdorf (Kirchdorf)
Laakirchen (ibid. 191) — Gmunden (Gmunden)
Mattighofen (Litschel 111) — Mattighofen (Braunau)
Micheldorf (Slapnicka 189) — Kirchdorf (Kirchdorf)
Mitterndorf (Linzer Tagespost, 28th July) — Gmunden (Gmunden)
Nussensee (Litschel 111) — Gmunden (Gmunden)
Peuerbach (Slapnicka 193) — Peuerbach (Grieskirchen)
Phyrn (ibid. 189) — Windischgarsten (Kirchdorf)
Pöndorf (ibid. 193) — Gmunden (Gmunden)
Scharnstein (ibid. 193) — Gmunden (Gmunden)
Seewalchen (Neue Warte am Inn, 2nd August) — Vöcklabruck (Vöcklabruck)
Steeg (Slapnicka p. 193) — Ischl (Gmunden)
Wilhering (ibid. p. 189) — Linz (Linz)
Windischgarsten (ibid. p. 189) — Windischgarsten (Kirchdorf)
14 This attempt to base our results upon "realistic" units lead to the merger of the three cities of Linz, Wels and Steyr - which form judicial districts of their own - with the surrounding rural districts, thereby reducing the 47 judicial districts of Upper Austria to the 44 given above.

15 The computing center of the university of Salzburg generally provided assistance for computations we could not perform at school; not only for all significance tests, but additionally for a multiple regression, the equation containing all variables mentioned. We would like to say thanks here.

Translated by Manfred Thaller