

How to Speak Up: Governed Transmissions

SPACE	UNLIMITED
TIME	FINITE
VALUE	DISTRIBUTED
PERSPECTIVE	STREET VIEW
NAVIGATION	TRACKING

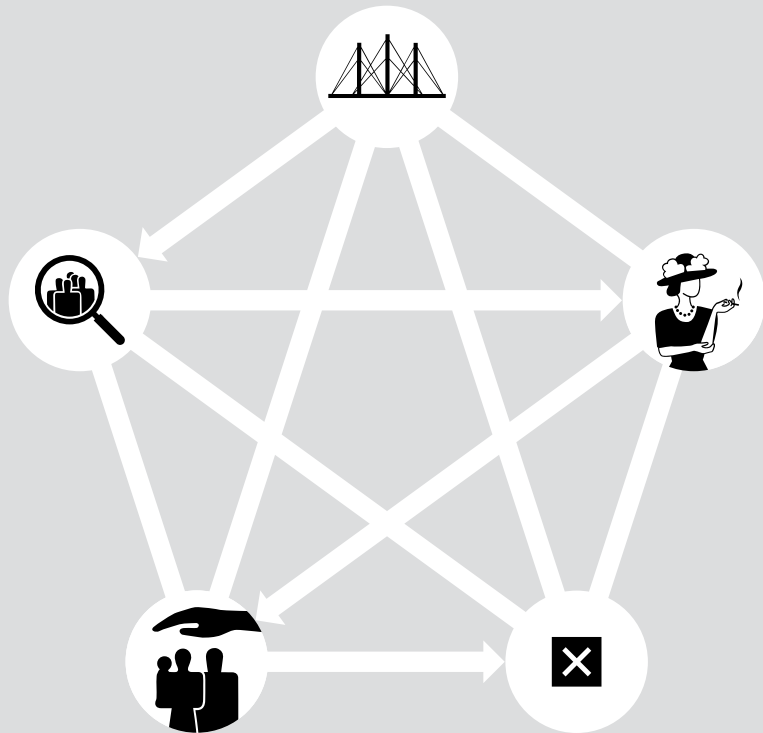
RADIO
3.1

The “Turks Deliverance Celebration,” held by the Austrian Homeland Protection in the gardens of Schönbrunn Palace on May 14, 1933, was aired on *Radio Wien* from 10:20 to 11:05 a.m. How did this live broadcast work in technical terms?

STATISTICS
3.2

The live broadcast of the “Turks Deliverance Celebration” on *Radio Wien* not only contradicted the guidelines of the Austrian Radio Verkehrs AG, but also went against the wishes of the audience as statistically surveyed by a research group under the direction of Paul Lazarsfeld in 1931/32.

Fig. 106: The distributed network of the mediation “How to Speak Up: Governed Transmissions” in the Topology module of the website *campusmedius.net* (version 2.0/2021), designed by Susanne Kiesenhofer and adapted for the book edition by Stefan Amann.



MARKETING

3.3

Is it a coincidence that the Vienna *Neue Freie Presse* printed an essay about Edward Bernays's public relations on the day of the “Turks Deliverance Celebration”? Probably so, but parallels between the political rally and his PR techniques are still discernible.

WELFARE

3.4

What were the Social Democrats doing on the weekend of the “Turks Deliverance Celebration,” that is, the political party that had been ruling Vienna with an outright majority since 1919? They organized “freedom celebrations” in the municipal housing projects, among them the Karl Marx Hof.

CANCELLATION

3.5

In protest against the live broadcast of the “Turks Deliverance Celebration” on *Radio Wien* on May 14, 1933, the Social Democratic Workers' Party arranged a “listener strike”: thousands of listeners canceled their license at the Austrian radio company.

3.1 Radio: Mikes, Cables, Transmitters



place	Schönbrunn Palace gardens
moment	Live broadcast on the radio
space	0
time	0

- Fig. 107, p. 251
- II.10 In the photographs and film recordings of the speeches held during the **“Turks Deliverance Celebration”** (*Türkenbefreiungsfeier*) in Schönbrunn Palace gardens on May 14, 1933, a row of microphones can be seen. Their stands, down which the connector cables coil, are arranged in a semicircle around a wooden podium on the garden terrace of the palace building. There are **six microphones** in total, two of which are mounted right above one another, and they are pointed at the speakers roughly at face level. Why half a dozen? While it is only possible to surmise which specific microphone was used for which purpose, their number is explained by the different transmission and recording channels. Besides being transmitted via public-address system in the palace park, the speeches were also recorded by two newsreel teams, broadcast live
- II.13 on **Radio Wien**, and probably also captured on records or in optical sound format by Austrian radio and by the Homeland Protection League (*Heimatschutzverband*).

- III.1.3 Clearly identifiable in the surviving pictures of the “Turks Deliverance Celebration” are two carbon microphones by Eugen Reisz from Berlin—the so-called Reisz microphone in a white marble block, which was used from the mid-1920s both for radio and for public addresses. Loudspeakers must have been in operation at the mass rally in the **gardens of Schönbrunn Palace** on May 14, 1933, because otherwise hardly any of the Home Guard (*Heimwehr*) members standing in the parterre or in the avenues would have been able to hear the speeches. In a brochure on preparing for the event, it says:



Fig. 107: Engelbert Dollfuss (at the microphones) and Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg (behind him) on the garden terrace of Schönbrunn Palace in Vienna at the “Turks Deliverance Celebration” on May 14, 1933 (numbers added): ① carbon microphone (model unknown); ② dynamic microphone (probably a Western Electric 618A); ③ carbon microphone (Reisz); ④ carbon microphone (Reisz) and above it a dynamic microphone (model unknown); ⑤ possibly a microphone by the Selenophon Licht- und Tonbild GmbH.
Source: Austrian National Library, 106.661 B

“All commands will be given via loudspeaker.”⁴⁷⁵ In addition, the Palace Captainship (*Schlosshauptmannschaft*) Schönbrunn subsequently invoiced the Austrian Homeland Protection as the event organizer thirteen kilowatt hours at fifty-seven groschen each, in other words a total of 7.41 schillings for the electricity used by the “loudspeaker system.”⁴⁷⁶ Furthermore, on the left edge of a **panorama** of the “Turks Deliverance Celebration,” part of a podium or truck marked “[Laut]sprecher” (“[loud]speaker”) has been captured.

Fig. 56, p. 143

475 Arthur Karg-Bebenburg: *Weisungen für die Türkenbefreiungs-Gedenkfeier am 14. Mai 1933 in Wien*, Vienna: Österreichischer Heimatschutzverband 1933, p. 9 [our trans.].

476 See letter incl. statement of costs from the Palace Captainship Schönbrunn to the Austrian Homeland Protection, dated April 29, 1933, in the Austrian State Archives (ÖStA/AdR, SHS 820/1933, Kt. 86) [our trans.].

Fig. 107, p. 251

What exact kind of public-address system was installed in Schönbrunn Palace gardens on May 14, 1933, is documented neither in archives nor by the media of the time. The New York company Western Electric had patented a centralized “Loud Speaking Public Address System” in 1922.⁴⁷⁷ It is quite conceivable that a speaker tower along these lines was set up at the “Turks Deliverance Celebration.” After all, the company in Vienna that specialized in electroacoustic tasks, namely Czeija, Nissl & Co., was a subsidiary of Western Electric.⁴⁷⁸ Moreover, a dynamic microphone **mounted on the speaker’s podium** closely resembles the models produced by Western Electric from the early 1930s, e.g., the moving-coil microphone 618A. The American company’s products were also used via Czeija, Nissl & Co. by Austrian radio, called Radio Verkehrrs AG (RAVAG),⁴⁷⁹ which equipped its reporters with buttonhole microphones by Western Electric in spring 1933, for example.⁴⁸⁰

Also strongly represented in Vienna were the German electric companies. Siemens & Halske sold a range of dynamic loudspeakers around 1930, including the large “Riesenblatt-haller,” which was primarily suited for transmitting public addresses centrally, from a single position.⁴⁸¹ In the early 1930s, Siemens and the Allgemeine Electricitäts-Gesellschaft (AEG) transferred their electroacoustic departments to their subsidiary Telefunken, which in this line of business specialized in decentralized public-address systems. In 1932, for example, Telefunken equipped Vienna’s St. Stephen’s Cathedral with dynamic microphones, as well as eleven loudspeakers mounted in the nave.⁴⁸² On May 1, 1933, the company was responsible

477 See Ralf Gerhard Ehlert: “Public-Address-Strategien von 1919 bis 1949,” in: Daniel Gethmann and Markus Stauff (eds.): *Politiken der Medien*, Zurich/Berlin: diaphanes 2005, pp. 319–340, here p. 324.

478 See Reinhard Schlögl: *Oskar Czeija. Radio- und Fernseh-pionier, Unternehmer, Abenteurer*, Vienna: Böhlau 2005, p. 36.

479 See Viktor Ergert: *50 Jahre Rundfunk in Österreich. Vol. I: 1924–1945*, Vienna: Residenz 1974, p. 56.

480 See “Der entfesselte Radioreporter,” in: *Radiowelt* (Vienna), 10/25 (June 17, 1933), p. 795.

481 See Ehlert: “Public-Address-Strategien von 1919 bis 1949,” p. 328.

482 See Karl Dobesch: “Lautsprecher im Stephansdom,” in: *Radiowelt* (Vienna), 9/20 (May 14, 1932), pp. 620–621.

for the public-address system used at the Nazi celebration for the “Day of National Work” on Tempelhofer Feld in Berlin, where echo effects disrupted the acoustic quality. Hence in the following year, Telefunken presented the “mushroom loudspeaker” (*Pilzlautsprecher*) which emitted sound uniformly in a circle and went on to be used at a number of future Nazi rallies with distributed-element circuits.⁴⁸³

Whereas at the “Turks Deliverance Celebration” on May 14, 1933, central speakers were presumably used to the left and right of the palace terrace, four months later Czeija, Nissl & Co. installed a multipart public-address system with forty-eight electrodynamic loudspeakers in the same venue, Schönbrunn Palace gardens, which were mounted on flagpoles in the Great Parterre, on trees in the avenues, and on the balcony of the palace itself. This electroacoustic installation facilitated a Catholic Mass with some 300,000 participants, which took place in the context of the General German Catholic Congress on September 10, 1933. The voices of the speakers and choir were transmitted from the altar on the palace terrace via dynamic and carbon microphones; the peals came from a phonograph attached to an amplifier, which played the bells of St. Stephen’s Cathedral on records.⁴⁸⁴

Due to the connections between Czeija, Nissl & Co. and Western Electric, it is therefore possible that the aforementioned moving-coil microphone captured in some photographs of the “Turks Deliverance Celebration” was part of the public-address system. However, the carbon microphones in front of the speaker’s podium would also have been suitable for this purpose, one of the two Reisz models, for instance, whose noise floor would have been less noticeable in the loudspeakers in the palace park than in the sound film recording, for which

483 See Ehlert: “Public-Address-Strategien von 1919 bis 1949,” pp. 330–332, and Cornelia Epping-Jäger: “‘Eine einzige jubelnde Stimme.’ Zur Etablierung des Dispositivs Laut/Sprecher in der politischen Kommunikation des Nationalsozialismus,” in: Cornelia Epping-Jäger and Erika Linz (eds.): *Medien/Stimmen*, Cologne: DuMont 2003, pp. 100–123, here pp. 106–114 and 117–118.

484 See Ferdinand Rakuschan: “Die Andacht der Dreihunderttausend,” in: *Radiowelt* (Vienna), 10/46 (November 11, 1933), pp. 1508–1509.

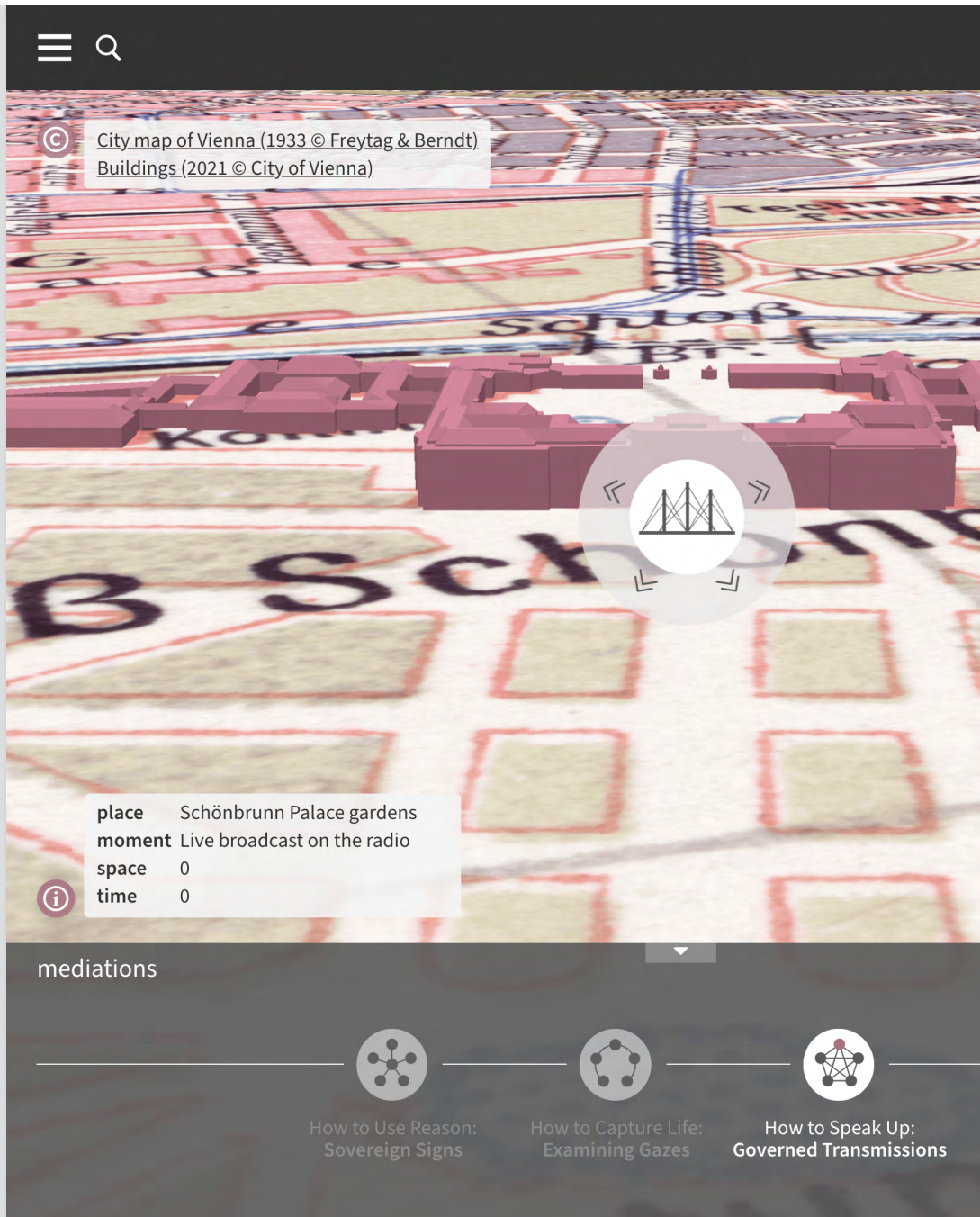


Fig. 108: Screenshot of the Topology module of the website campusmedius.net (desktop version 2.0/2021) showing the abstract of the mediator “Mikes, Cables,



How to Speak Up: Governed Transmissions

RADIO

Mikes, Cables, Transmitters

The "Turks Deliverance Celebration," held by the Austrian Homeland Protection in the gardens of Schönbrunn Palace on May 14, 1933, was aired on *Radio Wien* from 10:20 to 11:05 a.m. How did this live broadcast work in technical terms?

READ MORE

Transmitters" in the mediation "How to Speak Up: Governed Transmissions" (text: Simon Ganahl, code: Andreas Krimbacher, design: Susanne Kiesenhofer).

III.2.2

dynamic microphones were usually used.⁴⁸⁵ In any case, it is a fact that a piece in the *Fox Tönende Wochenschau* newsreel, whose American production company was also linked with Western Electric by patent law,⁴⁸⁶ covered the “Turks Deliverance Celebration.”⁴⁸⁷ The corresponding recording van stood between the Home Guard members in the parterre: a **35 mm film camera by Bell & Howell** was positioned on the vehicle’s roof and the apparatus for recording the optical sound was located inside the vehicle, from which a cable led to the microphone on the palace terrace.

A couple of steps away from this black sedan, which belonged to either *Fox Movietone News* or a freelance cameraman, stood the truck of Selenophon Licht- und Tonbild GmbH, whose film studio was located nearby, namely at Maxingstrasse 13a on the western edge of Schönbrunn Palace gardens. The Viennese company had developed its own optical sound method in the 1920s and had been producing newsreels since 1930, initially under the company name, then for Hugo Engel Film GmbH, and from spring 1933 the company was commissioned with the propagandistic *Österreich in Bild und Ton* (“Austria in Image and Sound”) by the Federal Chancellery.⁴⁸⁸ In contrast to the piece by Fox, these recordings of the “Turks Deliverance Celebration” from May 14, 1933, have not survived but the **photographed vehicle** is undoubtedly Selenophon’s “traveling sound film studio,” which was equipped with “all the feats of

Fig. 56, p. 143

485 See Alfred Koblmüller: “Über Mikrophone und ihre Besprechungstechnik,” in: *Radiowelt* (Vienna), 8/45 (November 7, 1931), pp. 1458–1461.

486 See Olaf Schumacher and Hans Jürgen Wulff: “Warner, Fox, Tobis-Klangfilm und die Anfänge des Tonfilms,” in: Joachim-Felix Leonhard et al. (eds.): *Medienwissenschaft. Ein Handbuch zur Entwicklung der Medien und Kommunikationsformen*, vol. 2, Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter 2001, pp. 1198–1207, here p. 1201.

487 See “Die Türkenbefreiungsfeier des österreichischen Heimatschutzes in Wien,” in: *Jahresschau 1933 der Bundespolizeidirektion in Wien. Eine Chronik im Laufbild*, 35 mm film, source: Filmarchiv Austria, JS 1933/8, and *Österreichische Film-Zeitung* (Vienna), 7/20 (May 20, 1933), p. 6.

488 See Armin Loacker: “Privater Staatsbetrieb. Anmerkungen zu einer Entwicklungsgeschichte der Selenophon,” in: Hrvoje Miloslavac (ed.): *Die Ostmark-Wochenschau. Ein Propagandamedium des Nationalsozialismus*, Vienna: Filmarchiv Austria 2008, pp. 46–69, here pp. 61–65.

modern sound film technology and electroacoustics.”⁴⁸⁹ The equipment also included a heptagonal microphone hung in a metal frame, which might be the same as the model **that stood between the two Reisz blocks on the palace terrace.**

Fig. 107, p. 251

Selenophon GmbH was founded in 1928 by Oskar Czeija, whose father had established Czeija, Nissl & Co. in the nineteenth century but had sold his shares in the early twentieth century.⁴⁹⁰ His son was never involved in this telephone and telegraph factory, but he played a key role at the Radio Verkehrs AG, which was constituted in 1924 and which he ran from the outset as its general manager.⁴⁹¹ The Selenophon optical sound system was developed by Czeija in collaboration with the Viennese physicist Hans Thirring and some RAVAG employees.⁴⁹² Therefore, it is unsurprising that the apparatuses produced by the company were used on Austrian radio. In the RAVAG’s recording van, which was set up in the early 1930s and was somewhat erroneously called “**transmitter car**” (*Übertragerauto*), it was not only possible to record the original sound on wax and gelatin records; it was also furnished with Selenophon’s professional **U7 tape recorder**, which could record and play optical sound on celluloid or paper film.⁴⁹³ After development, the six-millimeter-wide film—in contrast to records—could be cut and stuck back together at will, i.e., **edited as in the process of film production.** Consequently, this method was suitable not only for archiving sound, but above all for compiling longer audio features.

Fig. 109, p. 258

Fig. 110, p. 258

III.2.3

It is probable that the RAVAG’s recording van was present at the “Turks Deliverance Celebration,” though actual evidence is lacking. In the Österreichische Mediathek, an Austrian archive

489 “Wie die Tonfilmwochenschau entsteht,” in: *Mikrophon* (Vienna), 1/1 (February 1934), pp. 47–49, here p. 48 [our trans.].

490 See Schlögl: *Oskar Czeija*, p. 36.

491 See Wolfgang Pensold: *Zur Geschichte des Rundfunks in Österreich. Programm für die Nation*, Wiesbaden: Springer 2018, pp. 1–6.

492 See Josef Gloger: “Die österreichische Selenophon Licht- und Tonbildges. m.b.H.,” in: Michael Achenbach and Karin Moser (eds.): *Österreich in Bild und Ton. Die Filmwochenschau des austrofaschistischen Ständestaates*, Vienna: Filmarchiv Austria 2002, pp. 149–160.

493 See “Rundfunksendungen auf Tonstreifen,” in: *Radio Wien* (Vienna), 13/13 (December 25, 1936), pp. 2–3.

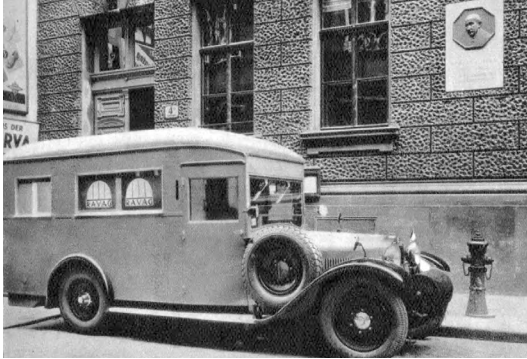


Fig. 109: Recording van of the Austrian Radio Verkehrs AG, called “transmitter car” (*Übertragerauto*), printed in *Radio Wien* (Vienna), 11/1 (September 28, 1934), p. 22. Source: Austrian National Library, 607949-C.

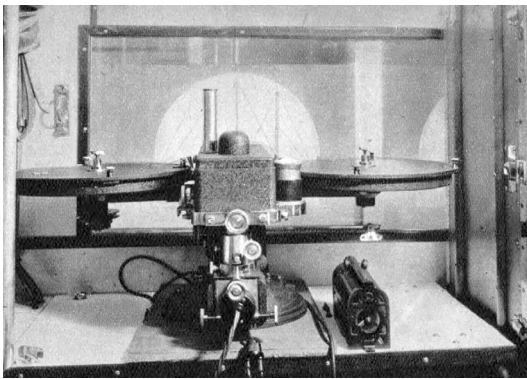


Fig. 110: The U7 device for recording optical sound, produced by the Viennese Selenophon GmbH, in the “transmitter car” (*Übertragerauto*) of the Austrian Radio Verkehrs AG, printed in *Radio Wien* (Vienna), 11/1 (September 28, 1934), p. 23. Source: Austrian National Library, 607949-C.

Fig. 107, p. 251

III.1.5

for sound recordings, a segment of the speech held by Federal Chancellor **Engelbert Dollfuss** at the rally in Schönbrunn Palace gardens on May 14, 1933, has been preserved.⁴⁹⁴ Assembled from an announcement, part of his speech, and the **national anthem**, the document’s origin is uncertain but it is congruent with the optical soundtrack of the aforementioned piece in the *Fox Tönende Wochenschau*, for which reason it can be presumed that the recording comes from this 35 mm film and not from a record or a cine film by the RAVAG. What is certain is that *Radio Wien* reported live from the event from 10:20 to 11:05 a.m. It appears to have been a spontaneous decision, because although the live broadcast was announced in some daily newspapers, it was not mentioned in the listings magazines

494 See “Engelbert Dollfuss anlässlich einer Feier zur Erinnerung an die Befreiung Wiens von den Türken” (Vienna, May 14, 1933), CD, source: Österreichische Mediathek, 8-29501_b02.

III.1.1

that were published weekly.⁴⁹⁵ Judging by the schedule of events at the “Turks Deliverance Celebration,” the speeches by Security Minister Emil Fey, by **Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg**, the federal leader of the Austrian Homeland Protection, and by Dollfuss were broadcast, and possibly also parts of the field Mass read from 10 a.m.⁴⁹⁶ It is also conceivable that a RAVAG reporter conducted interviews with the guests at the celebration or the Home Guard members in the Great Parterre in addition to moderating the event.⁴⁹⁷

Fig. 107, p. 251

Fig. 111, p. 260

How did this radio broadcast work from a technical perspective? Although the RAVAG also used ribbon and condenser microphones around 1933, the carbon microphone by Reisz had been in regular use at *Radio Wien* since 1925.⁴⁹⁸ It can therefore be assumed that one of the two models documented in the **photographs** of the “Turks Deliverance Celebration” served the live broadcast. In the **marble block of the Reisz microphone**, there was a hole filled with carbon granules, over which there lay a rubber membrane. Electricity was transmitted through the granules via electrodes, with the resistance changing due to speech hitting the membrane. The varying electricity caused by the sound waves could then be transmitted to an amplifier by a transformer.⁴⁹⁹ The microphone was connected to the tube amplifier by cable, but how did the voices that had been transformed into electricity reach the radio transmitter?

Fig. 112, p. 261

The RAVAG had owned a “**shortwave broadcaster car**” (*Kurzwellen-Senderauto*) since 1929, which unlike the later recording

495 See, for example, “Radio-Wochenprogramm vom 13. bis 21. Mai,” in: *Neue Freie Presse* (Vienna), May 13, 1933 (evening edition), p. 4, vs. “Sonntag, 14. Mai,” in: *Radio Wien* (Vienna), 9/33 (May 12, 1933), pp. 31–38, here p. 31.

496 See Karg-Bebenburg: *Weisungen für die Türkenbefreiungs-Gedenkfeier am 14. Mai 1933 in Wien*, p. 3, and a report by the Federal Police Headquarters in Vienna from May 15, 1933, in the Austrian State Archives (ÖStA/AdR, BKA-I, 148.459/33).

497 A newspaper article following the live broadcast mentions a “reportage by the RAVAG speaker,” see “Die Ravag mit dem Hahnenschwanz,” in: *Das Kleine Blatt* (Vienna), May 16, 1933, p. 9 [our trans.].

498 See Gustav Schwaiger: “Technischer Rück- und Ausblick,” in: *Radio Wien* (Vienna), 11/1 (September 28, 1934), pp. 19–25, here pp. 23–24.

499 See Horst Tischner: “Das Reisz-Mikrophon,” in: Fritz Fischer and Hugo Lichte (eds.): *Tonfilm. Aufnahme und Wiedergabe nach dem Klangfilm-Verfahren (System Klangfilm-Tobis)*, Leipzig: Hirzel 1931, pp. 170–171.

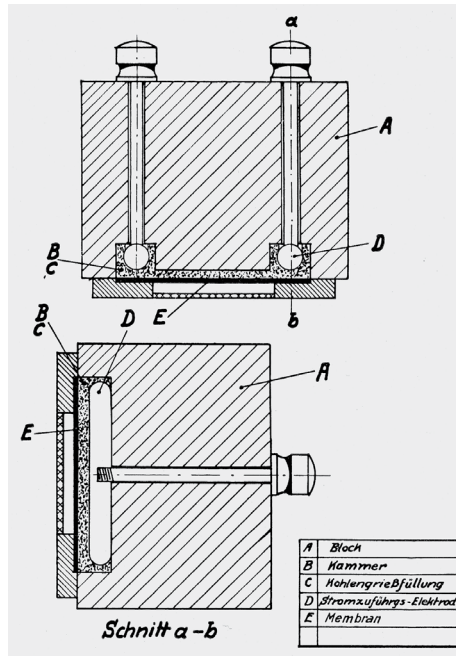


Fig. 111: Cross sections of the carbon microphone launched by Eugen Reisz in Berlin in 1924, printed in Fritz Fischer and Hugo Lichte (eds.): *Tonfilm. Aufnahme und Wiedergabe nach dem Klangfilm-Verfahren* (System Klangfilm-Tobis), Leipzig: Hirzel 1931, fig. 150. Source: Austrian Central Library for Physics (Vienna), 1755.

Fig. 113, p. 261

van, the “transmitter car,” was equipped for wireless radio transmissions. In this actual broadcasting van, called an OB van, a **shortwave transmitter** had been installed whose range theoretically covered the whole of Europe.⁵⁰⁰ In professional radio operations, however, it was only possible to guarantee a radius of ten to fifteen kilometers.⁵⁰¹ It would have been quite possible to wirelessly transmit the speeches held on the periphery in Schönbrunn to the RAVAG headquarters in Vienna city center via shortwaves in order to then transmit the broadcasts from there via radio cables. However, the shortwave broadcaster car was used from 11:05 a.m., i.e., immediately after the broadcast of the “Turks Deliverance Celebration,” for a live report on a relay race and **photographed doing so on the race track in the Prater park**.⁵⁰² As Schönbrunn is in the southwest of Vienna but the Prater in the northeast, the OB

Fig. 32, p. 89

500 See Gustav Schwaiger: “Die Bedeutung der Kurzwellen für den Rundfunk,” in: *Radiowelt* (Vienna), 9/23 (June 4, 1932), pp. 710 and 735.

501 See Ergert: *50 Jahre Rundfunk in Österreich*, pp. 109–111 and 116–117.

502 See “Radio-Wochenprogramm vom 13. bis 21. Mai,” in: *Neue Freie Presse* (Vienna), May 13, 1933 (evening edition), p. 4, and “Das Mikrophon berichtet,” in: *Radio Wien* (Vienna), 9/34 (May 19, 1933), p. 2.

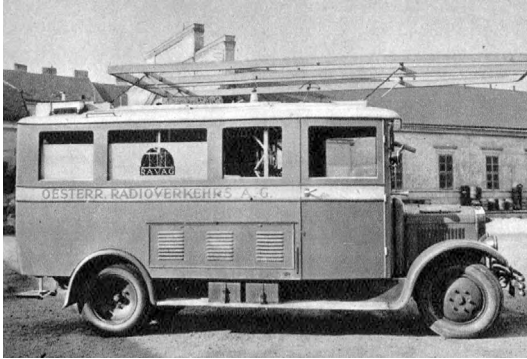


Fig. 112: The “shortwave broadcaster car” (*Kurzwellen-Senderauto*) of the Austrian Radio Verkehrs AG, printed in *Radio Wien* (Vienna), 11/1 (September 28, 1934), p. 22. Source: Austrian National Library, 607949-C.

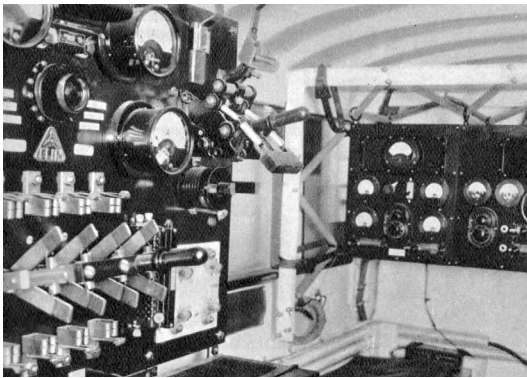


Fig. 113: The shortwave transmitter in the “broadcaster car” (*Senderauto*) of the Austrian Radio Verkehrs AG, printed in *Radio Wien* (Vienna), 11/1 (September 28, 1934), p. 22. Source: Austrian National Library, 607949-C.

van cannot have been used in both places as there was simply not enough time for it to travel from one location to the other.

Perhaps one of the transportable shortwave transmitters, which were also in operation at the RAVAG from 1929,⁵⁰³ was used to broadcast the “Turks Deliverance Celebration.” However, it is more probable that the live broadcast was simply transmitted via telephone cable from Schönbrunn Palace to Johannesgasse 4 in Vienna’s first district, where the broadcasting center had been located since 1926. In the two years prior to this, *Radio Wien* had been housed on the top floor of the army ministry on Stubenring. Initially the RAVAG also broadcast from there before erecting a radio transmitter by Telefunken on the Rosenhügel, a hill in the southwest of Vienna, in 1925 whose capacity was increased from seven to

503 See Ergert: *50 Jahre Rundfunk in Österreich*, pp. 109–111 and 116–117.

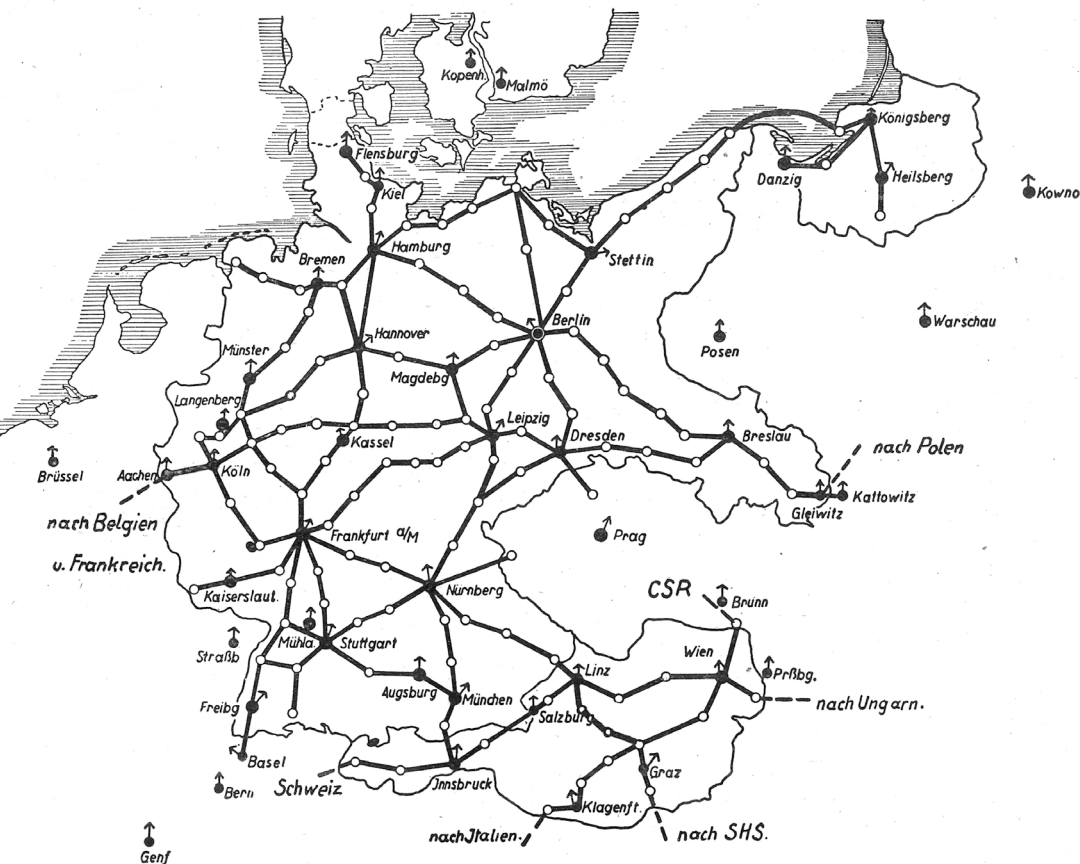


Fig. 114: The long-distance lines of radio broadcasting in Germany and Austria in 1932 (arrows = transmitters), printed in *Radio-Amateur* (Vienna), 9/7 (July 1932), p. 439. Source: Vienna University Library, I-458300.

fifteen kilowatts in 1927.⁵⁰⁴ Between the studios on Johannesgasse and the large transmitter on the Rosenhügel, an almost ten-kilometer radio cable produced by Siemens was laid that permitted transmissions without distortion at a frequency of up to 10,000 hertz, which covers the most important range of the human auditory field for speech and music.⁵⁰⁵

On May 28, 1933, two weeks after the rally in Schönbrunn, the RAVAG's new large transmitter with a 130-meter radio mast was officially put into operation on the Bisamberg in

504 See Gustav Schwaiger: "Die bisherige Entwicklung der technischen Einrichtungen der 'Ravag,'" in: *Fünf Jahre Österreichischer Rundfunk*, Vienna: RAVAG 1929, pp. 51–71, here pp. 52–55 and 56–59.

505 See Bernhard Kleebringer: "Was sind Rundspruch-Kabelleitungen?," in: *Radiowelt* (Vienna), 9/11 (March 12, 1932), pp. 338–340, here p. 339.

Fig. 114, p. 262

the north of Vienna. Again by Telefunken, this system had a transmitting capacity of one hundred kilowatts and had been in trial operation since early May.⁵⁰⁶ Due to Austria's elongated, partly mountainous terrain, even this transmitter was not capable of sending its radio waves to all parts of the country at the strength required for radio reception, and much less its predecessor on the Rosenhügel, which probably transmitted the "Turks Deliverance Celebration." For that reason, since the mid-1920s **radio cables** had been laid from the capital city in the far east to the west and south of Austria and several relay stations had been built.⁵⁰⁷ That means that the alternating currents in this specific case, the live broadcast from 10:20 to 11:05 a.m. on May 14, 1933, were not only relayed by radio cable to the Rosenhügel after presumably arriving at the RAVAG headquarters via telephone connection from Schönbrunn Palace, but also to the regional transmitters in Graz, Linz, Klagenfurt, Salzburg, and Innsbruck, which produced electromagnetic waves at the respectively assigned frequency or length and broadcast it in the provinces. To the chagrin of the residents of Vorarlberg, the westernmost part of Austria, who had complained about the poor reception of *Radio Wien* for a decade, the transmitter in the town Lauterach was only completed in late 1934.⁵⁰⁸

- 506 See "Probesendungen am Bisamberg," in: *Radiowelt* (Vienna), 10/19 (May 6, 1933), p. 582.
- 507 See Schwaiger: "Die bisherige Entwicklung der technischen Einrichtungen der 'Ravag,'" pp. 55–61.
- 508 See Pensold: *Zur Geschichte des Rundfunks in Österreich*, p. 57.

3.2 Statistics: RAVAG Studies



place	RAVAG headquarters
moment	Results of audience survey
space	5 km 2 m away
time	191 d 4 h 20 min earlier

- II.10 The “**Turks Deliverance Celebration**” (*Türkenbefreiungsfeier*), which was held by the Austrian Homeland Protection (*Heimatschutz*) in the gardens of Schönbrunn Palace on May 14, 1933,
- II.13 was transmitted on *Radio Wien* from 10:20 to 11:05 a.m.⁵⁰⁹ This
- III.3.1 **live broadcast** went against the programming guidelines of the Austrian Radio Verkehrs AG (RAVAG), which had been bound by political neutrality since its founding in 1924. From a legal perspective, it was a private corporation, despite the majority of the company’s shares being owned by state- or party-affiliated organizations. There was party-political proportional representation on the supervisory boards and in the workforce; in addition, an advisory council with representatives of the provinces, the professional chambers, the economy, and the amateur radio clubs was intended to ensure balanced programming.⁵¹⁰ In the role of general manager was Oskar Czeija, a trained lawyer and former civil servant who had been working toward the creation of an Austrian radio station since 1920 and knew how to pursue his entrepreneurial interests with ideological flexibility.⁵¹¹ The result of this party-political superstructure above the RAVAG was programming on *Radio Wien* that disregarded politics and religion in favor of education and sophisticated entertainment.

The “Turks Deliverance Celebration” was officially organized to commemorate the liberation of Vienna from its siege

509 See “Radio-Wochenprogramm vom 13. bis 21. Mai,” in: *Neue Freie Presse* (Vienna), May 13, 1933 (evening edition), p. 4.

510 See Viktor Ergert: *50 Jahre Rundfunk in Österreich. Vol. I: 1924–1945*, Vienna: Residenz 1974, pp. 45–46.

511 See Wolfgang Pensold: *Zur Geschichte des Rundfunks in Österreich. Programm für die Nation*, Wiesbaden: Springer 2018, pp. 1–6.

Fig. 107, p. 251

by Ottoman troops in 1683. However, these historical events merely served as a pretense for the speakers to discuss current political issues. This is clearly shown by a short excerpt of Engelbert **Dollfuss's address**, which is archived in the Österreichische Mediathek, an Austrian archive for sound recordings:

*When you celebrate this day and this period today, it is not an ordinary reminder of history. Foreign spirit and foreign ideas are in our people, have infected our people, and wreaked evil havoc. [Boos] In the fight for our homeland, in the fight for the improvement of our home country, we remain determinedly and devotedly united.*⁵¹²

III.3.4 With “foreign spirit,” the federal chancellor was referring to socialist ideology: on the one hand the politics of Austrian Social Democracy, which were implemented primarily in “**Red Vienna**,” and on the other the National Socialists, who had been ruling Germany since late January 1933 and were also threatening to take over power in Austria. Dollfuss had already declared on *Radio Wien* on March 13 that there was not a national crisis but a parliamentary crisis, and his government was implementing ongoing resolutions via emergency decree until a new constitution organized around professions had been finalized.⁵¹³ Subsequently, the members of the federal government were regularly given the chance to speak on *Radio*
III.1.5 *Wien*. From April the **national anthem** was played at the end of each day’s broadcasts, and the first program in the series “Homeland Hour” (*Stunde der Heimat*) on May 16—two days after the “Turks Deliverance Celebration”—was dedicated to the topic “1683 in the fate of Austria and Germany.”⁵¹⁴

General Manager Czeija and his employees submitted to this authoritarian course and designed a program of radio shows from spring 1933 that met the federal government’s

512 Cit. after the sound recording “Engelbert Dollfuss anlässlich einer Feier zur Erinnerung an die Befreiung Wiens von den Türken” (Vienna, May 14, 1933) [our trans.], CD, source: Österreichische Mediathek, 8-29501_b02.

513 See “Was jetzt? Rundfunkrede des Bundeskanzlers,” in: *Reichspost* (Vienna), March 14, 1933, p. 5.

514 See “Was gibt’s Neues im Äther?,” in: *Radiowelt* (Vienna), 10/14 (April 1, 1933), p. 423, and “Heimatsdienst im Rundfunk,” in: *Radiowelt* (Vienna), 10/19 (May 6, 1933), p. 582 [our trans.].

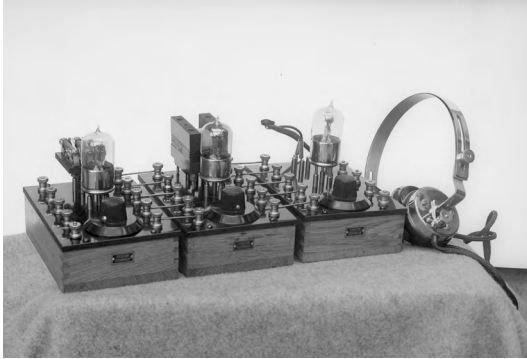


Fig. 115: Radio set with three tubes and headphones produced by the Viennese company Schrack around 1925. Source: Austrian National Library, L 15.914-C.

demands but in large part flew in the face of public wishes. In actual fact, the majority of listeners wanted to be neither intellectually nor politically educated by the radio, but rather above all to be entertained by it. As early as December 1924, three months after the RAVAG had started broadcasting, the Vienna *Radiowelt* asked its readers: “What do you want to hear?” and summarized the results of the survey in keywords in May 1925: “No politics, no stock market, no sermon!”⁵¹⁵ Three years later Franz Anderle, the editor of this radio magazine, wrote a leading article in which he called on the Viennese broadcaster to have a statistical study conducted of the wishes and composition of its audience.⁵¹⁶

In 1931 the RAVAG finally responded to the challenge—posed not only by *Radiowelt*—to investigate their listeners’ likes and dislikes with a series of surveys conducted in cooperation with the Department of Psychology at the University of Vienna. It started with a musical request program with almost 50,000 votes cast, which revealed that Johann Strauss was the most popular composer and his waltz *The Blue Danube* the most requested piece.⁵¹⁷ This was followed by an experiment whereby listeners had to guess the appearance and profession of nine men, women, and adolescents whose voices were

- 515 See “Was wünschen Sie zu hören?,” in: *Radiowelt* (Vienna), 1/41 (December 13, 1924), p. 7 [our trans.], and “Sie haben gesprochen!,” in: *Radiowelt* (Vienna), 2/19 (May 9, 1925), pp. 1–2, here p. 1 [our trans.].
- 516 See “Für wen sendet Radio-Wien?,” in: *Radiowelt* (Vienna), 5/17 (April 28, 1928), p. 1.
- 517 See “Das Wunschkonzert der RAVAG: Johann Strauss hat gesiegt,” in: *Radio Wien* (Vienna), 7/20 (February 13, 1931), p. 1.

broadcast over the radio.⁵¹⁸ Another survey, which focused on the reasons for canceling RAVAG licenses, came to the conclusion that almost half of the former listeners were obliged to do so for financial reasons.⁵¹⁹ When one considers that a factory worker in Vienna earned approximately sixty schillings a week at the time, the monthly radio license fee of two schillings may seem affordable. However, the simple crystal receivers with headphones from the first years of radio were followed by **tube sets with loudspeaker**, which had already become

Fig. 116, p. 267



Fig. 116: Radio set with six tubes and loudspeaker by the brand Berliner from 1933. Source: Austrian National Library, 223.153-B.

established around 1930 and whose entry-level models complete with accessories cost some hundred schillings.⁵²⁰

The series of studies culminated in a large-scale listener survey whose questionnaire was enclosed in radio magazines and displayed in tobacco shops in November 1931 and had to be returned to the RAVAG headquarters at Johannesgasse 4 in Vienna by December 1.⁵²¹ The scientific management of the project was once again taken over by the Department of Psychology at the University of Vienna, which was opened in 1922 and whose chair was held by Karl Bühler, who had doctorates in medicine and philosophy. At the department there

- 518 See Paul Lazarsfeld: "Was erraten wir aus der menschlichen Stimme?," in: *Radio Wien* (Vienna), 7/36 (June 5, 1931), pp. 9–11; Paul Lazarsfeld: "Was erraten wir aus der menschlichen Stimme?," in: *Radio Wien* (Vienna), 7/45 (August 7, 1931), pp. 4–5.
- 519 See Lotte Radermacher: "Warum Hörer ihre Teilnehmerschaft aufgeben," in: *Radio Wien* (Vienna), 7/47 (August 21, 1931), p. 3.
- 520 See Pensold: *Zur Geschichte des Rundfunks in Österreich*, pp. 11–12.
- 521 See "Hörerbefragung," in: *Radio Wien* (Vienna), 8/7 (November 13, 1931), p. 1.



Fig. 117: Flyer (ca. 1934) of the Center of Economic-Psychological Research, founded by Paul Lazarsfeld in Vienna in 1931. The text reads: “We have investigated” followed by products ranging from beer and coffee to radio and wool. Source: Paul F. Lazarsfeld Archive (University of Vienna), blue folders 131 WiFo-1.

Fig. 117, p. 268

were three research teams: experimental psychology run by Egon Brunswik; child and adolescent psychology by Bühler's wife Charlotte, who was appointed associate professor in 1929; and economic psychology, which was also responsible for the RAVAG studies.⁵²² After a start-up period, the latter group was officially founded by Paul Lazarsfeld as the **Center of Economic-Psychological Research** (*Wirtschaftspsychologische Forschungsstelle*) in 1931. Lazarsfeld had a doctorate in mathematics and applied his statistical skills in the late 1920s as an assistant of Charlotte Bühler (though he was not paid from university funds).⁵²³ He was born in Vienna in 1901 and grew up in a Jewish, liberal, Social Democratic household. His father

522 See Mitchell G. Ash: “Die Entwicklung des Wiener Psychologischen Instituts 1922–1938,” in: Achim Eschbach (ed.): *Karl Bühler's Theory of Language*, Amsterdam: Benjamins 1988, pp. 303–325.

523 See Christian Fleck: *Rund um “Marienthal.” Von den Anfängen der Soziologie in Österreich bis zu ihrer Vertreibung*, Vienna: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik 1990, pp. 150 and 160.

Robert was a lawyer, his mother Sofie a well-known individual psychologist who regularly hosted salons with leading Social Democrats like Friedrich Adler, Otto Bauer, and Rudolf Hilferding. Paul Lazarsfeld became involved in the socialist youth movement as a school student, which is also where he met his first wife, the future social psychologist Marie Jahoda.⁵²⁴

Although the Center of Economic-Psychological Research originated in the Viennese Department of Psychology, it was organized as a non-university association under the presidency of Karl Bühler.⁵²⁵ The group of young economic psychologists wanted to conduct market research in Austria in the American style and in the process create paid work for themselves. After all, the prospects of finding employment at the right-wing conservative oriented University of Vienna were slim for liberal-minded, methodically innovative social scientists and humanities scholars, and for Jews it was almost impossible. The research center carried out numerous analyses of sales transactions and product decisions, as well as of movie theater visits and leisure activities in general. However, its most famous study, initiated by Otto Bauer, the leading theorist of Austrian Social Democracy, addressed a sociopolitical problem: the severe unemployment in Marienthal in Lower Austria, which was analyzed in 1931/32 using a variety of qualitative and quantitative methods and according to the study's own results brought the village to not only an economic but also a psychological standstill.⁵²⁶

Published in 1933 and largely compiled by Marie Jahoda, the study report *Die Arbeitslosen von Marienthal* contains an appendix on the "history of sociography," which was written by Hans Zeisel, a lifelong friend of Lazarsfeld who had a doctorate in

- 524 See Marie Jahoda: "Paul Felix Lazarsfeld in Vienna," in: Jacques Lautman and Bernard-Pierre Lécuyer (eds.): *Paul Lazarsfeld (1901–1976). La sociologie de Vienne à New York*, Paris: L'Harmattan 1998, pp. 135–140. A profound analysis of Paul Lazarsfeld's intellectual socialization in Vienna can be found in the first part of the doctoral thesis by Eric Tapken Hounshell: *A Feel for the Data. Paul F. Lazarsfeld and the Columbia University Bureau of Applied Social Research*, University of California, Los Angeles: PhD diss. 2017, pp. 31–371.
- 525 See Fleck: *Rund um "Marienthal"*, pp. 159–171.
- 526 See Hynek Jeřábek: *Paul Lazarsfeld's Research Methodology. Biography, Methods, Famous Projects*, Prague: Karolinum Press 2006, pp. 70–85.

law.⁵²⁷ This essay traces the development of scientific methods for collecting data about populations, going back to the early modern period. Zeisel explains the emergence of “political arithmetic” in seventeenth-century England with the demise of the medieval social order and the growing possibilities for people and things to move more freely across territories. In an essay on the same topic published some three decades later, Lazarsfeld contrasts the British studies by John Graunt and William Petty, which he also associates with the emerging insurance industry, with the German statistics in terms of a comparative theory of the state, which was greatly influenced by Gottfried Achenwall in Göttingen in the eighteenth century.⁵²⁸

For the nineteenth century the historical perspectives of the texts by Zeisel and Lazarsfeld correspond, according to which the crucial progress in empirical social research resulted from Adolphe Quetelet and Frédéric Le Play. While the Belgian Quetelet attempted with his “social physics” and “moral statistics” to identify patterns in human behavior and define an “average man” on the basis of probability calculations, the French Le Play developed new methods to compile social data with his “family monographs.” Furthermore, Zeisel cites the lifestyle analyses of Max Weber and the *Middletown* study by Robert and Helen Lynd published in 1929 as being sociographically exemplary. Contemporary American social and market research with its clipping bureaus to collect newspaper cutouts and its standardized questionnaires, however, threatened to deteriorate into “survey machinery” amassing endless data. According to Zeisel, the Vienna Center of Economic-Psychological Research avoided this wrong track by systematically interleaving statistical analyses with concept formation.⁵²⁹

In point of fact, neither the study on unemployment in Marienthal nor the comprehensive listener survey for the

527 See Österreichische Wirtschaftspsychologische Forschungsstelle (ed.): *Die Arbeitslosen von Marienthal. Ein soziographischer Versuch über die Wirkungen langandauernder Arbeitslosigkeit mit einem Anhang zur Geschichte der Soziographie*, Leipzig: Hirzel 1933, pp. 89–123.

528 See Paul F. Lazarsfeld: “Notes on the History of Quantification in Sociology. Trends, Sources and Problems,” in: *Isis*, 52/2 (1961), pp. 277–333.

529 See Wirtschaftspsychologische Forschungsstelle (ed.): *Die Arbeitslosen von Marienthal*, pp. 106–123 [our trans.].

RAVAG can be accused of mere “nose-counting.”⁵³⁰ Whereas the social-psychological research project stands out for its original combination of methods, the survey on Austrian radio is striking for its then novel correlation between the collated data. After all, the form distributed in the radio magazines and tobacco shops entitled “What do you want to hear?” contained not only questions on fifty-four program categories, which were to be answered with “more (+), less (–), or the same amount (=),” but also on the listeners’ place of residence, age, gender, and occupation.⁵³¹ How welcome this survey was is expressed by the remarkable response rate: although there was not much time to answer the questions and postage had to be paid by the respondents themselves, the RAVAG received some 36,000 completed questionnaires, which had been filled out by slightly over three people on average. That means that almost every tenth of the 400,000 Austrian households who had a registered radio in late 1931 had taken part in the survey.⁵³² Statistically structuring the audience according to profession was already commonplace in Germany around 1930.⁵³³ However, the RAVAG study’s final report written in 1932 divided the 110,312 listeners who had recorded their wishes on the questionnaires not only into different social classes, but also correlated these listener types with program categories.⁵³⁴ In other words, the statistical

- 530 Paul F. Lazarsfeld: “An Episode in the History of Social Research. A Memoir” [1968], in: Patricia L. Kendall (ed.): *The Varied Sociology of Paul F. Lazarsfeld*, New York: Columbia University Press 1982, pp. 11–69, here p. 33: “At the time, American market research was based mainly on rather simple nose-counting.”
- 531 See the facsimile of the questionnaire in Desmond Mark (ed.): *Paul Lazarsfelds Wiener RAVAG-Studie 1932. Der Beginn der modernen Rundfunkforschung*, Vienna: Guthmann-Peterson 1996, pp. 67–70.
- 532 See Gertrud Wagner: “Die Programmwünsche der österreichischen Radiohörer,” in: *Archiv für die gesamte Psychologie*, 90 (1934), pp. 157–164, here p. 157.
- 533 See Franz Frühwald: “Rundfunkzahlen und ihre Wertung,” in: *Radio-Amateur* (Vienna), 9/2 (February 1932), pp. 73–78; Jacob Blauner: “Wer hört alles Rundfunk? Berufsstatistik der deutschen Hörschaft,” in: *Radiowelt* (Vienna), 8/46 (November 14, 1931), pp. 1477–1478.
- 534 See [Paul F. Lazarsfeld:] “Hörerbefragung der Ravag” (52-page typescript), Paul Felix Lazarsfeld Papers (Butler Library, Columbia University, New York), box 35, folder 26, published in Mark (ed.): *Paul Lazarsfelds Wiener RAVAG-Studie 1932*, pp. 27–66.

analysis by the Center of Economic-Psychological Research created specific target groups.

The hundreds of thousands of opinions expressed in the questionnaires had to be entered into tables by hand and analyzed using thousands of calculations. In order to portray the results intelligibly, the negative (–) votes were subtracted from the positive (+) ones. As the neutral (=) entries always accounted for roughly a third of the total, this “popularity coefficient”⁵³⁵ produced a clear picture of listener requests. For example, the calculated figure for topical scientific lectures among men living in Vienna amounted to +17, but among women from the provinces –11. Whereas the workers wanted to hear jazz more often on the radio (+28), this controversial genre was rejected in intellectual circles (–19). The statistical analyses also showed that workers’ spiritual interests increased with age, while the opposite trend was true for the bourgeoisie. Overall, the most popular programs included variety shows (+67) and comedies (+45), with chamber music (–66) and literary readings (–47), for example, being strongly disliked. Less popular were also ideological lectures (–14) and topical running commentaries (–14), which could be considered to include the transmission of the “Turks Deliverance Celebration.” In the appendix to the study report, the content of the numerous letters enclosed with the questionnaires was summarized and excerpts were quoted. One frequently expressed request was evidently to broadcast the entertainment programs before 10 p.m. in the evening and on the weekend, with a tailor from the Mühlviertel in Upper Austria even sending in a complete week’s program—adapted to his daily routine—to illustrate this wish.⁵³⁶

The complete study report on the listener survey was only published in 1996, after the fifty-two-page typescript had been discovered in Lazarsfeld’s papers.⁵³⁷ Nevertheless, a four-page article summarizing the results appeared in the magazine *Radio Wien* in early November 1932. The unnamed author assured readers toward the end of the text that the survey would have

Fig. 118, p. 273

535 Wagner: “Die Programmwünsche der österreichischen Radiohörer,” p. 158 [our trans.].

536 See [Lazarsfeld:] “Hörerbefragung der Ravag.”

537 See Mark (ed.): *Paul Lazarsfelds Wiener RAVAG-Studie 1932*.



Fig. 118: On November 4, 1932, the magazine *Radio Wien* reported on the results of the audience survey conducted by the Center of Economic-Psychological Research for the Austrian Radio Verkehrs AG. Source: Austrian National Library, 607949-C.

an impact on programming. For example, *Radio Wien* would be broadcasting more entertainment shows in the early evening, as desired by the majority of listeners. “Yet it must not be forgotten,” the article continues, “that alongside entertainment and distraction, radio must also offer instruction and improvement in order to merit its cultural significance.” Radio was capable of “increasingly raising the level of education of the broadest swathes” and it was down to the public not to listen “indiscriminately,” but to follow certain programs with the necessary “concentration.”⁵³⁸ Such admonitions were entirely in accordance with the RAVAG’s self-understanding as a public service broadcaster, which conceived of its program in terms of a wireless adult education center. From 1933, however, this mission to educate the people was put to the service of propaganda by dictatorial regimes in Austria and Germany alike.

538 “Die Hörerbefragung der Ravag,” in: *Radio Wien* (Vienna), 9/6 (November 4, 1932), pp. 2–5, here p. 5 [our trans.].

III.3.4

That the RAVAG study from 1931/32 nevertheless had an impact is related to Paul Lazarsfeld's career path. In his memoirs he emphasized that his interest in social classes had conceptual roots.⁵³⁹ In line with **Austro-Marxism**, the Austrian school of Marxist thought, the young social psychologist interpreted consumer and leisure behavior as part of political life: what, for example, characterized the proletarian lifestyle in Vienna around 1930? Moreover, he attempted to analyze decision-making processes to influence elections in favor of the Social Democratic Workers' Party. "Such is the origin of my Vienna market research studies," wrote Lazarsfeld retrospectively, "the result of the methodological equivalence of socialist voting and the buying of soap."⁵⁴⁰ In September 1933 he traveled to New York on a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation to study the American methods of social and market research.⁵⁴¹ His original plan was to return to Austria and apply his newly gained knowledge for the Center of Economic-Psychological Research. However, due to the political upheavals in Europe and the appreciably better career prospects in the USA, Lazarsfeld decided in 1935 to remain in New York, where he went on to become one of the most influential sociologists and communication researchers of the twentieth century.⁵⁴²

In a lecture in Salzburg in 1974, the by then emeritus professor of sociology at Columbia University said that the early survey of Austrian radio listeners became the foundation of "what was for many years the main feature of American audience research."⁵⁴³ In 1937 Lazarsfeld, at the recommendation of Robert Lynd, the author of the sociological study *Middletown* (1929), was appointed the head of an extensive research project

539 See Lazarsfeld: "An Episode in the History of Social Research," pp. 17–24.

540 Lazarsfeld: "An Episode in the History of Social Research," p. 19.

541 See Christian Fleck and Nico Stehr: "Einleitung. Von Wien nach New York," in: Paul F. Lazarsfeld: *Empirische Analyse des Handelns. Ausgewählte Schriften*, trans. Hella Beister, ed. Christian Fleck and Nico Stehr, Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp 2007, pp. 7–58.

542 See Thymian Bussemer: "Paul Felix Lazarsfeld und die Etablierung der Kommunikationsforschung als empirische Sozialwissenschaft," in: *Medien & Kommunikationswissenschaft*, 55/1 (2007), pp. 80–100.

543 Paul Lazarsfeld: "Zwei Wege der Kommunikationsforschung," in: Oskar Schatz (ed.): *Die elektronische Revolution. Wie gefährlich sind die Massenmedien?*, Graz: Styria 1975, pp. 197–222, here p. 204 [our trans.].

on radio use in the USA, which was officially connected with Princeton University but was initially carried out in Newark in New Jersey and from 1939 to 1944 at Columbia University in New York.⁵⁴⁴ Also involved in this project, which was largely financed by the Rockefeller Foundation, were a number of his colleagues from the Center of Economic-Psychological Research who had had to flee from Austria due to their political convictions or Jewish heritage, including Marie Jahoda, Hans Zeisel, Ernest Dichter, who would later become a famous motivation researcher, and Lazarsfeld's second wife Herta Herzog, who had completed a doctoral thesis under Karl Bühler in Vienna in 1932 on the aforementioned RAVAG experiment on voice recognition on the radio.⁵⁴⁵

At first the research group did principally the same as they had done in Austria, namely evaluating statistics on the radio audience's programming requests and social data in such a way that different types of listeners emerged. However, the main difference lay in the fact that in the USA these statistical analyses could be exploited for financial gain and were therefore in high demand. While Austria and Germany—like most European states—organized radio as public service broadcasting, the American radio stations were commercial enterprises from the outset and were not funded by licenses but by advertising. In the USA in the early 1930s, some seventeen million radio sets received the transmissions of over 600 radio stations.⁵⁴⁶ In order to use this new mass medium for targeted advertising, programs had to be sold on the stations and at the times that reached as many of the desired consumers as possible. This division of the radio audience

544 See Lazarsfeld: "An Episode in the History of Social Research," pp. 40–69.

545 See Herta Herzog: *Stimme und Persönlichkeit*, University of Vienna: PhD diss. 1932. This study, the results of which appeared in the *Zeitschrift für Psychologie* in 1933 (130/3–5, pp. 300–369), replicated an experiment from 1927 conducted by the British psychologist Tom Hatherley Pear: *Voice and Personality*, London: Chapman and Hall 1931, pp. 151–177.

546 See Hadley Cantril and Gordon W. Allport: *The Psychology of Radio*, New York/London: Harper & Brothers 1935, p. 37.

into different target groups was a financially valuable research achievement by the Office of Radio Research.⁵⁴⁷

However, the group of researchers did not limit themselves to statistical analyses but also conducted laboratory experiments.⁵⁴⁸ Back in Vienna Lazarsfeld had already had the idea to test the plus/minus evaluation of radio programs used for the RAVAG study in experiments. In collaboration with Frank Stanton, who ran the research department of Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and was the codirector of the Office of Radio Research, Lazarsfeld now developed this concept into the so-called “**program analyzer**” in 1937/38, which was used primarily in the 1940s. It was a polygraph to synchronously measure the program reactions of selected listeners. The test subjects sat together in a radio studio and listened to a certain radio program, which they could rate with a green (+) or a red (–) button. These reactions were recorded on a roll of paper as deviations upward (+) or downward (–). If the participants did not press either button, the line remained in the middle, which expressed a neutral attitude. On the basis of this timescale, it was possible to establish precisely which parts of the program met with approval and which were disliked.

As it was too expensive for the Office of Radio Research to repeat the experiment several times, Lazarsfeld and Stanton sold the use rights to CBS and the New York advertising agency McCann-Erickson, where Herta Herzog and Hans Zeisel worked as head market researchers from 1943.⁵⁴⁹ Another qualitative method was developed in connection with the program analyzer that is still used in empirical market and social research today. To interpret the results, the experiment was followed by lengthy group interviews in which the test subjects were asked to explain their spontaneous reactions to the program. Lazarsfeld’s colleague from Columbia University, the sociologist Robert K. Merton, made the technique famous as the “focused

Fig. 119, p. 277

547 See Paul Neurath: “Die methodische Bedeutung der RAVAG-Studie von Paul F. Lazarsfeld,” in: Desmond Mark (ed.): *Paul Lazarsfelds Wiener RAVAG-Studie 1932. Der Beginn der modernen Rundfunkforschung*, Vienna: Guthmann-Peterson 1996, pp. 11–26.

548 On the following, see Jeřábek: *Paul Lazarsfeld’s Research Methodology*, pp. 32–36.

549 See Lazarsfeld: “An Episode in the History of Social Research,” pp. 62–63.

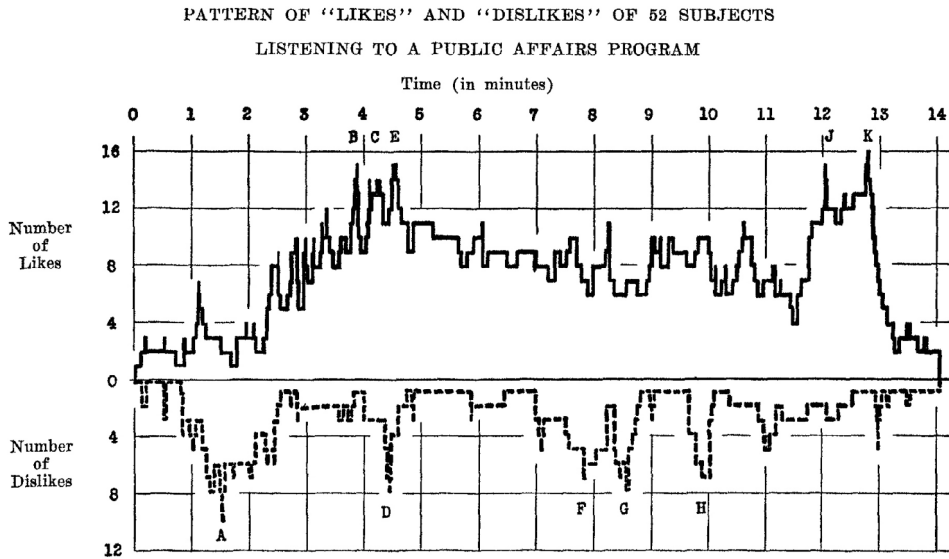


Fig. 119: Graph of fifty-two subjects rating a radio broadcast with Paul Lazarsfeld and Frank Stanton's "program analyzer," represented in Jack N. Peterman: "The 'Program Analyzer.' A New Technique in Studying Liked and Disliked Items in Radio Programs," in: *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, 24/6 (1940), pp. 728–741, here p. 733. Source: Vienna University Library, NEURATH-5387.

interview" and later as the "focus group."⁵⁵⁰ However, it has since been proven that this method was actually developed by Herta Herzog, who alongside Ernest Dichter became the most important advocate of the "Vienna school of motivation research" in American marketing.⁵⁵¹

550 See Robert K. Merton: "The Focused Interview and Focus Groups. Continuities and Discontinuities," in: *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 51/4 (1987), pp. 550–566.

551 It was Hans Zeisel who first spoke of a "Vienna school of motivation research" (*Wiener Schule der Motivforschung*) in an opening address at a conference for market and opinion research in Vienna in 1967. The text was published in Josef Langer (ed.): *Geschichte der österreichischen Soziologie. Konstituierung, Entwicklung und europäische Bezüge*, Vienna: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik 1988, pp. 157–166. On Herta Herzog and Ernest Dichter, see Elisabeth Klaus and Josef Seethaler (eds.): *What Do We Really Know About Herta Herzog? Exploring the Life and Work of a Pioneer of Communication Research*, Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang 2016, and Stefan Schwarzkopf and Rainer Gries (eds.): *Ernest Dichter and Motivation Research. New Perspectives on the Making of Post-War Consumer Culture*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2010.

3.3 Marketing: “Torches of Freedom”



place	<i>Neue Freie Presse</i> editorial offices
moment	Publication of “Humbug, Bluff, and Ballyhoo”
space	424 m away
time	191 d 0 h 0 min later

Is it a coincidence that the Vienna *Neue Freie Presse* published an essay on new American propaganda methods on May 14, 1933, the day of the “**Turks Deliverance Celebration**” (*Türkenbefreiungsfeier*)? While the Austrian Homeland Protection (*Heimatschutz*) was holding a rally in the **Schönbrunn Palace gardens**, on which numerous newspapers, *Fox Movietone News*, and *Radio Wien* reported, the bourgeois paper’s Sunday edition featured a long article about the “analyst of the mass psyche Edward L. Bernays,” who had developed “indirect advertising” in the style of the circus pioneer and businessman **P.T. Barnum** into a scientific service. The New York-based counsel on public relations, as Bernays himself termed his profession, may have seemed particularly interesting to the *Neue Freie Presse* because he was related to Sigmund Freud. “The uncle in Vienna reveals the subconscious in the individual’s instinctual life; the American nephew analyzes the unsatisfied desires of the masses,” the article’s author Arthur Rundt says of the familial and intellectual connection between the founder of psychoanalysis and this “expert in public opinion.”⁵⁵²

Fig. 27, p. 75

Presumably, it was a coincidence that the publication of the article entitled “Humbug, Bluff, and Ballyhoo” coincided with the “Turks Deliverance Celebration.” Although the *Neue Freie Presse* took a rather critical stance on the rally of the Home Guards (*Heimwehren*) in Schönbrunn in the leading article,⁵⁵³

552 Arthur Rundt: “Humbug, Bluff und Ballyhoo. Von Barnum bis Bernays,” in: *Neue Freie Presse* (Vienna), May 14, 1933 (morning edition), pp. 25–26 [our trans.].

553 See “Die Befreiung Wiens und die Gegenwart,” in: *Neue Freie Presse* (Vienna), May 14, 1933 (morning edition), pp. 1–2.

- it is unlikely that an association with the advertising techniques of Edward Bernays was intended. It is equally unlikely that
- III.1.1 **Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg**, the federal leader of the Austrian Homeland Protection and the initiator of the event, was familiar with the books and campaigns by the American PR counsel. Nevertheless, parallels can be observed. After all, Starhemberg had the anniversary of Vienna's liberation from the Ottoman siege in summer 1683 marked on May 14, 1933, even though a state "Turks Deliverance Celebration" had already been planned for the actual 250th anniversary of the relief on September 12, 1933.⁵⁵⁴ It was a gratuitous event that was intended to cause a public sensation and hence propagate the political idea of
- III.2.1 **Austrofascism**. This idea was communicated through a series of historical stereotypes: of the city of Vienna as a Christian stronghold, of Austrian Germanness, of the threat of barbarism from the East, of aristocratic war heroes.

Both strategies—the creation of pseudo-events and the targeted use of stereotypes—were part of Edward Bernays's PR arsenal. His family had emigrated from Vienna to the USA in 1892, the year after his birth. The agriculture graduate and former journalist had studied works on mass and social psychology by Gustave Le Bon and Wilfred Trotter, and later by Walter Lippmann, whose theories he translated into specific campaigns in his New York public relations agency from 1919.⁵⁵⁵ In his books *Public Opinion* (1922) and *The Phantom Public* (1925), Lippmann described among other things the criteria according to which journalists selected news stories and how public opinion could be influenced by emotional symbols.⁵⁵⁶ Bernays offered to the political and economic elites that, in exchange for a fee, he could apply this knowledge in order to steer the masses, who elected parties and chose products, in certain directions. To advertise his services in

554 See Silvia Dallinger: "Katholikentag & Staatliche Türkenbefreiungsfeier 1933," in: Johannes Feichtinger and Johann Heiss (eds.): *Türkengedächtnis* (2010), URL: www.oeaw.ac.at/tuerkengedaechtnis/home/feiern/250-jaehriges-jubilaeum-1933/katholikentag-staatliche-tuerkenbefreiungsfeier.

555 See Stuart Ewen: *PR! A Social History of Spin*, New York: Basic Books 1996, pp. 146–173.

556 See Walter Lippmann: *Public Opinion*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1922; *The Phantom Public*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1925.



Fig. 120: Screenshot of the Topology module of the website campusmedius.net (mobile version 2.0/2021) showing the mediator "Torches of Freedom" in the mediation "How to Speak Up: Governed Transmissions" (text: Simon Ganahl, code: Andreas Krimbacher, design: Susanne Kiesenhofer).

the 1920s, he published not only numerous articles, but also the books *Crystallizing Public Opinion* (1923) and *Propaganda* (1928), which reported on social-psychological findings and demonstrated using practical examples how they could be applied in everyday PR.

A campaign that is named by way of example in both books, as well as in the essay in the *Neue Freie Presse*, aimed to sell bacon by the Beech-Nut Packing Company.⁵⁵⁷ The company from the state of New York commissioned Bernays in the early 1920s with increasing demand for its sliced bacon. Instead of running advertisements that promoted the product as particularly good value or tasty, he asked a doctor friend of his if he could send letters in his name to physicians throughout North America. In the letter he asked whether it was healthier to eat a hearty meal of bacon, eggs, oats, and fruit in the morning or to start the day with coffee and toast. Bernays had the outcome, according to which three quarters apparently advocated a substantial breakfast, printed in a medical journal for which he had worked as a journalist:

*As the result of a nation-wide survey among the leading physicians of forty-six states, the Medical Review of Reviews has established the dictum that for brain workers the substantial breakfast, followed by a light luncheon, is the preferable regimen for health.*⁵⁵⁸

Already communicated beforehand through press releases, this “finding” was reported by several newspapers, including the *New York Times* and the *New York Post*, who proclaimed a comeback for old eating habits. It had looked as though the small European, so-called continental breakfast would also become established in the USA, commented the *Post*. Now, however, a return to the “traditional American breakfast” could be recommended.⁵⁵⁹

557 See Edward L. Bernays: *Crystallizing Public Opinion*, New York: Horace Liveright 1923, pp. 18–19; Edward L. Bernays: *Propaganda*, New York: Horace Liveright 1928, pp. 53–54; Rundt: “Humbug, Bluff und Ballyhoo,” p. 25.

558 Frederic H. Robinson: “The Hearty Breakfast Wins,” in: *Medical Review of Reviews*, 28/11 (November 1922), pp. 503–508, here p. 503 [emphasis in original].

559 Cit. after Robinson: “The Hearty Breakfast Wins,” p. 507.



Fig. 121: Advertisement for the Beech-Nut Packing Company from around 1930, contained in the archives of the Beech-Nut Packing Company. Source: Arkell Museum (Canajoharie, NY).

Bernays's campaign for the Beech-Nut Packing Company is instructive because it illustrates the basic principle of his public relations at the time. "Ballyhoo teaches that the masses are most surely steered when 'group leaders' are won over for the cause whom the lower-ranking group will gladly follow," reported Rundt in the *Neue Freie Presse*.⁵⁶⁰ Bernays emphasized this technique on several occasions in his book *Propaganda*: those who want to steer public opinion in a specific direction should influence the relevant target groups via their opinion leaders.⁵⁶¹ In the case of the bacon campaign, office workers' eating habits should be changed through the expert advice of medics. That means that it was not about advertising a particular article over the competition. Rather, Bernays aimed to create lifestyles that associated behaviors with commodities.⁵⁶² The "perfect breakfast" in this sense was truly American, comprising produce from Beech-Nut in Canajoharie, New York, as an **advertisement**—created around 1930—from the company archive illustrates: the caring wife serves her husband a hearty meal of eggs and bacon in the

Fig. 121, p. 282

560 Rundt: "Humbug, Bluff und Ballyhoo," p. 26 [our trans.].

561 See Bernays: *Propaganda*, pp. 28, 37, 40–41, 47–50, 53–54, 59, 92, 102.

562 On the history of public relations as a social apparatus for governing conducts, see Cory Wimberly: *How Propaganda Became Public Relations. Foucault and the Corporate Government of the Public*, New York: Routledge 2020.

morning, which not only tastes good, but is also medically recommended for modern daily life in the office.

Another example of this lifestyle marketing is the campaign for the American Tobacco Company that has come to be known as “torches of freedom.” From 1928 Bernays was hired by George Washington Hill, the president of the company who wanted to encourage more women to smoke Lucky Strike.⁵⁶³ The PR counsel did not follow the cigarette brand’s traditional advertising slogan, “It’s toasted,” which was intended to emphasize that “Luckies” tasted especially good and went easy on the throat due to their unique manufacturing process, but rather attempted to position cigarettes as a fashionable accessory. He had special cigarette holders sent to models and photographers, a tactic that was entirely consistent with the new advertising slogan: “Reach for a Lucky instead of a sweet!”⁵⁶⁴ Smoking reduced feelings of hunger, went the argument, and helped women to look slim and gamine, as was now fashionable.

As part of this campaign, Bernays staged a protest at the Easter parade in New York City on March 31, 1929. He convinced or paid roughly a dozen young women, who were supposed to look attractive but not like models and included his secretary Bertha Hunt, an employee of the fashion magazine *Vogue* called Nancy Hardin, and the women’s rights campaigner Ruth Hale, to smoke in public on Fifth Avenue on Easter Sunday and tell passersby that they were lighting up “torches of freedom.” After all, they claimed, it was a ridiculous taboo that it was considered indecent for women to smoke in public but not for men.⁵⁶⁵ In their reports on the traditional parade, the *New York Times* and many other newspapers mentioned the pointedly smoking women, who had walked back and forth between St. Patrick’s Cathedral and St. Thomas Church after the Easter Mass.⁵⁶⁶ Photographers, whom Bernays had

563 See Larry Tye: *The Father of Spin. Edward L. Bernays & The Birth of Public Relations*, New York: Crown 1998, pp. 23–50.

564 See Edward L. Bernays Papers, Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.), box I:84.

565 The campaign is well documented in the Edward L. Bernays Papers, boxes I:84–88.

566 See, for example, “Easter Sun Finds the Past in Shadow at Modern Parade,” in: *The New York Times* (New York City), April 1, 1929, pp. 1 and 3.

Fig. 122, p. 284

sent to the right place at the right time, provided the press with **pictures of the good-looking, well-dressed women** and their “torches of freedom” that were printed throughout the country.⁵⁶⁷

The staged protest demonstrates very clearly how Bernays created and dramatized events to attract public attention.⁵⁶⁸ While it is disputable just how much of an influence the campaign actually had on women’s smoking behavior,⁵⁶⁹ the dozens of newspaper articles in which the event was described or illustrated cannot be argued away. However, the press not only reproduced Bernays’s story of the feminists smoking as a symbol of liberty but also pointed out that the parade participants had hardly concerned themselves with

them because women smoking in public had long been commonplace.⁵⁷⁰ This means that it was in fact a pseudo-event, which only took place for the media and in the media, with the aim of associating smoking with emancipation in the public consciousness. According to this PR concept, a woman fighting



Fig. 122: Edith Lee walking on Fifth Avenue in New York at around noon on March 31, 1929, as one of the young women whom Edward Bernays hired on behalf of the American Tobacco Company to smoke in public at the Easter parade. Source: Library of Congress (Washington, DC), Prints & Photographs LOT 15019 no. 13.

567 See the corresponding collection of newspaper clippings in the Edward L. Bernays Papers, boxes I:519–522.

568 On pseudo-events and dramatization as PR techniques, see Bernays: *Propaganda*, pp. 25, 69–70, 93, 151–152.

569 See Tye: *The Father of Spin*, pp. 31–35.

570 See Vanessa Murphree: “Edward Bernays’s 1929 ‘Torches of Freedom’ March. Myths and Historical Significance,” in: *American Journalism*, 32/3 (2015), pp. 258–281, here pp. 273–275.



Fig. 123: Eugène Delacroix: *La Liberté guidant le peuple* (1830). Source: Musée du Louvre (Paris), Département des Peintures RF 129.



Fig. 124: The Statue of Liberty in New York's harbor, photographed around 1930. Source: National Archives and Records Administration (Washington, DC), 594414.

Fig. 123, p. 285

Fig. 122, p. 284

Fig. 124, p. 285

for her freedom no longer had to climb the barricades as Eugène Delacroix had depicted in his famous painting *La Liberté guidant le peuple* from 1830, but merely **walk confidently down Fifth Avenue**—in high heels and a matching hat, with a leather bag under her arm and a “Lucky” in her hand. The cigarette was supposed to be reminiscent of the torch of the **Statue of Liberty**, erected in New York's harbor in 1886, which embodies the Roman goddess of liberty, though without the revolutionary gesture of the *Libertas* by Delacroix.

According to his autobiography, the idea of marketing cigarettes as “torches of freedom” came to Bernays after a conversation with Abraham Brill, a psychoanalyst who had emigrated from Austria and was now practicing in New York.⁵⁷¹ That modern propaganda had to understand and influence the subconscious motives of human actions, for example by portraying smoking as an emancipatory act, was highlighted multiple times by Bernays in his writings around 1930.⁵⁷² He

571 See Edward L. Bernays: *Biography of an Idea. Memoirs of Public Relations Counsel Edward L. Bernays*, New York: Simon and Schuster 1965, p. 386.

572 See Bernays: *Propaganda*, p. 52; Edward L. Bernays: “Manipulating Public Opinion. The Why and the How,” in: *American Journal of Sociology*, 33/6 →

referenced the findings of depth psychology and never tired of mentioning his relative Sigmund Freud. Although Bernays emphasized that public relations had its origin in science, in truth his campaigns were based on intuition and personal relationships. Furthermore, his correspondence with Freud makes clear that his Viennese uncle thought little of his New York nephew's profession. When Bernays sent him the book *Crystallizing Public Opinion*, Freud responded disparagingly that it had interested him as being "truly American."⁵⁷³

While Bernays claimed for purposes of self-promotion that he was applying psychological methods in public relations, in Vienna there was a group of young scientists who really were conducting motivation research in this sense. This group of researchers emerged at the Department of Psychology at the University of Vienna, which was run by Karl and Charlotte Bühler, and operated as a non-university association under the name **Center of Economic-Psychological Research** (*Wirtschaftspsychologische Forschungsstelle*) from 1931.⁵⁷⁴ Although the plan to earn money with market research largely failed in Vienna, these sociologists and psychologists were laying the methodical foundations for their future success in the USA. The research center was founded and run by Paul Lazarsfeld, who had a doctorate in mathematics and who traveled to New York on a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation in 1933.⁵⁷⁵ There he wanted on the one hand to get to know new methods of social and market research and on the other to make known the techniques already developed by the Center of Economic-Psychological Research in Vienna. He summarized these findings in two papers, which

III.3.2 &
Fig. 117, p. 268

→ (1928), pp. 958–971; Edward L. Bernays: "Mass Psychology and the Consumer" (speech given in Boston on September 22, 1930), Edward L. Bernays Papers, Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.), box I:422.

573 Letter by Sigmund Freud to Edward Bernays, dated May 11, 1924, Edward L. Bernays Papers, Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.), box III:1 [our trans.].

574 See Christian Fleck: *Rund um "Morienthal." Von den Anfängen der Soziologie in Österreich bis zu ihrer Vertreibung*, Vienna: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik 1990, pp. 159–171.

575 See Christian Fleck and Nico Stehr: "Einleitung. Von Wien nach New York," in: Paul F. Lazarsfeld: *Empirische Analyse des Handelns. Ausgewählte Schriften*, trans. Hella Beister, ed. Christian Fleck and Nico Stehr, Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp 2007, pp. 7–58.

were published in the mid-1930s and went on to form the foundation of motivation research in American marketing.⁵⁷⁶

Lazarsfeld's article "The Art of Asking Why," which was published in an American Marketing Association journal in 1935, explores the formulation of questionnaires in market research.⁵⁷⁷ To find out why a certain product was being purchased, it was necessary to question selected consumers at length and in depth. This kind of survey could not be conducted using standardized forms but only with the aid of psychologically trained interviewers whose skillful and patient conversation techniques were capable of discovering the true motives of purchasing actions. The concept of "motive" is also at the heart of the article "The Psychological Aspect of Market Research," which Lazarsfeld published in the *Harvard Business Review* in 1934. Motives should not be confused with the queried reasons for buying an item but were to be understood as "concepts of connection" in the statistical analysis of the collected data.⁵⁷⁸ According to Lazarsfeld, the **act of purchasing** comprised a complex interplay of internal impulses (e.g., hunger), external influences (e.g., advertising), and attributes of the commodity (e.g., packaging). Applied economic psychology analyzed this relational setting, which differed from case to case, and advised companies how to find the appropriate advertising means for each product.

In both articles, Lazarsfeld criticized the then common practice in American market research of compiling masses of superficial data and basing their analysis on universal motives. Instead, he advocated the use of qualitative interviews and the development of consumer typologies. Hierarchies of needs were useless in this regard, says a typescript by the Center of

Fig. 125, p. 288

- 576 See Ron Fullerton: "The Beginnings of Motivation Research, 1934–1954. A Prequel to Fullerton 2013," in: *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing*, 7/4 (2015), pp. 509–523; Lawrence R. Samuel: *Freud on Madison Avenue. Motivation Research and Subliminal Advertising in America*, Philadelphia/Oxford: University of Pennsylvania Press 2010, pp. 21–53.
- 577 See Paul F. Lazarsfeld: "The Art of Asking Why in Marketing Research. Three Principles Underlying the Formulation of Questionnaires," in: *National Marketing Review*, 1/1 (1935), pp. 26–38.
- 578 Paul F. Lazarsfeld: "The Psychological Aspect of Market Research," in: *Harvard Business Review*, 13/1 (1934), pp. 54–71, here p. 70.

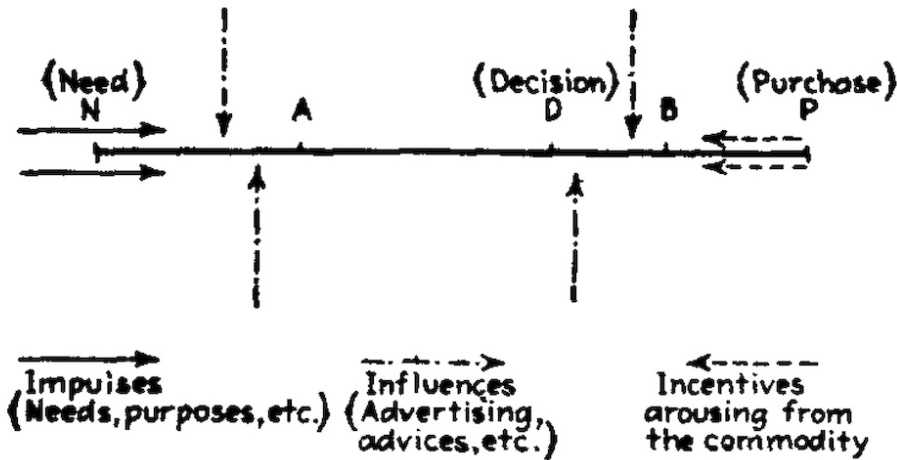


Fig. 125: Diagram on the structure of purchase actions, represented in Paul F. Lazarsfeld: "The Psychological Aspect of Market Research," in: *Harvard Business Review*, 13/1 (1934), pp. 54–71, here p. 65. Source: Bielefeld University Library, 990/0096739+01.

Economic-Psychological Research, because people's desires depended on social and cultural circumstances.⁵⁷⁹ After all, the text argues, a glass of water had a different value in the desert than in the city. To be able to generalize despite this, "worlds of needs" had to be formed: "According to the principle of environmental research, one constructs a world comprising a group of people and a real or spiritual object and attempts to identify the fundamental relationships (and potentially those most responsive to intervention): the vinegar market, the world of the boy, etc."⁵⁸⁰ What Lazarsfeld describes in these typescripts written in Vienna around 1930 corresponds to the lifestyle marketing known as public relations that had been practiced by Edward Bernays in New York since the 1920s.

In contrast to the intuitive approach of the PR counsel, Lazarsfeld and his colleagues created scientific methods to define and be able to influence psychological motives and social target groups. This development started in the Center of

579 See [Paul F. Lazarsfeld:] "Der Gegenstand der Wirtschaftspsychologie" (24-page typescript, here pp. 13–14), Paul Felix Lazarsfeld Papers (Butler Library, Columbia University, New York), box 35, folder 27.

580 [Paul F. Lazarsfeld: "Bedürfnis"] (20-page typescript, here pp. 12–13), Paul Felix Lazarsfeld Papers, box 33, folder 1 [our trans.].

III.3.2

Economic-Psychological Research and went via the **Princeton Radio Project** to the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University, where not only was target group and motivation research conducted, but the concept of opinion leaders applied by Bernays was also empirically proven.⁵⁸¹ In a study led by Lazarsfeld on the American presidential campaign of 1940, the results of which were published four years later under the title *The People's Choice*, it was verified by using the panel method, i.e., the repeated questioning of selected individuals, that the impact of media coverage on the population's voting behavior was not direct, but took place via "opinion leaders."⁵⁸² This model of a two-step flow of communication seriously called into question the notion of omnipotent mass media and conversely emphasized the importance of personal relationships and the activity of the audience.⁵⁸³

Lazarsfeld subsequently concentrated more on the quantitative methods of sociology, but the qualitative tradition of Viennese communication and motivation research was continued by some of his colleagues, above all Herta Herzog and Ernest Dichter, who had previously been active at the Center of Economic-Psychological Research. From 1943 Herzog worked as a market researcher for the New York advertising agency McCann-Erickson, where she applied in-depth interviews, focus groups, and projective methods like the Rorschach test to create commercial product images.⁵⁸⁴ Dichter opened his

581 See Paul F. Lazarsfeld: "An Episode in the History of Social Research. A Memoir" [1968], in: Patricia L. Kendall (ed.): *The Varied Sociology of Paul F. Lazarsfeld*, New York: Columbia University Press 1982, pp. 11–69. On the Columbia Bureau of Applied Social Research, see Eric Tapken Hounshell: *A Feel for the Data. Paul F. Lazarsfeld and the Columbia University Bureau of Applied Social Research*, University of California, Los Angeles: PhD diss. 2017, pp. 437–590.

582 See Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, Hazel Gaudet: *The People's Choice. How the Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign*, New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce 1944.

583 See Thymian Bussemer: "Paul Felix Lazarsfeld und die Etablierung der Kommunikationsforschung als empirische Sozialwissenschaft," in: *Medien & Kommunikationswissenschaft*, 55/1 (2007), pp. 80–100, here pp. 92–94.

584 See Elisabeth Klaus and Josef Seethaler (eds.): *What Do We Really Know About Herta Herzog? Exploring the Life and Work of a Pioneer of Communication Research*, Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang 2016.

own Institute for Motivational Research in New York in 1946, which also specialized in psychological marketing techniques and was extremely successful in the postwar period.⁵⁸⁵ He marketed products as extensions of people's personalities, supposedly enabling consumers to realize their full potential. In his book *The Psychology of Everyday Living* from 1947 Dichter predicted:

*Matters have come to such a pass that it may soon be customary to describe an individual's personality not by referring to him as one who is timid or self-conscious or characterized by any other traits, but rather, for example, as one who wears an Adam hat, drives a Plymouth car, drinks PM whiskey, and wears Arrow ties and shirts.*⁵⁸⁶

- 585 See Stefan Schwarzkopf and Rainer Gries (eds.): *Ernest Dichter and Motivation Research. New Perspectives on the Making of Post-War Consumer Culture*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2010.
- 586 Ernest Dichter: *The Psychology of Everyday Living*, New York: Barnes & Noble 1947, p. 213.

3.4 Welfare: Educating New People



place	Karl Marx Hof
moment	Freedom celebration
space	5 km 303 m away
time	4 h 0 min later

- In the afternoon of Saturday, May 13, 1933, the Vienna gau administration (*Gauleitung*) of the NSDAP welcomed a delegation of party members from Germany and that evening
- II.7 held a mass rally at the **Engelmann Arena**, where the case was made for Austria joining the German Reich under Adolf Hitler. The following morning, on Sunday, May 14, thousands of Home Guard (*Heimwehr*) members gathered in the gardens of Schönbrunn Palace for the “**Turks Deliverance Celebration**” (*Türkenbefreiungsfeier*) by the Homeland Protection League (*Heimatschutzverband*) to stand up for an independent, authoritarian Austria. But what were the Social Democrats doing on this eventful weekend, that is, the political party that had been ruling Vienna with outright majority since 1919?
- II.10

On Saturday a programmatic statement by the Social Democratic party leadership was published in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, according to which their line from fall 1918, when the Habsburg Monarchy had come to an end along with World War I, still applied in principle: (German-)Austria should become part of the democratic Weimar Republic. It continues that this tenet simultaneously meant joining the Nazi regime, which had been established in Germany since late January 1933, was out of the question. In contrast to the Christian Social Party, which wanted to reshape the country along Fascist lines together with the Home Guards, according to this statement, the Social Democratic Workers’ Party was advocating a democratic and republican, peaceful and neutral Austria, which had to offer

asylum to German freedom and culture until Germany had liberated itself from Fascism.⁵⁸⁷

- III.1.3 To turn this rhetoric into action, “festival concerts and sporting events” were held in all Viennese districts on the Sunday morning while the “Turks Deliverance Celebration” was taking place in **Schönbrunn**; these “freedom celebrations” were intended to promote “the ideas of liberty, the republic, and socialism.”⁵⁸⁸ One of the roughly fifty “freedom celebrations” occurred in the **Karl Marx Hof** in Döbling in the north of Vienna, where a protest march formed between the two inner courtyards and not only musicians but also artistic cyclists and jugglers performed. Between the acts, Social Democratic functionaries gave addresses on the idea behind the “freedom celebrations,” namely Member of Parliament Heinrich Allina, Vienna City Councillor Karl Reisinger, and Döbling District Councillor Oskar Passauer.⁵⁸⁹
- II.12

Viewed pragmatically, these events were a successful strategy by the party leadership to prevent violent conflicts. The Social Democrats responded to the centralized “Turks Deliverance Celebration” with a multitude of “freedom celebrations” distributed throughout Vienna. As a result, the clashes that day primarily occurred between the police and those National Socialists who were protesting against the **Home Guard parade** from Schönbrunn into the inner city.⁵⁹⁰ This caring attitude was just as typical of the politics of “Red Vienna” as the venue of the rallies—communal public housing—and the concept of a socialist counterculture, which found expression in the “freedom celebrations.”⁵⁹¹

Fig. 31, p. 87

III.2.1

587 See “Österreichs staatliche Zukunft und die Sozialdemokratie” and “Weder Hitler noch Habsburg!,” in: *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Vienna), May 13, 1933, pp. 1–2.

588 “Heute Freiheitsfeiern,” in: *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Vienna), May 14, 1933, p. 1 [our trans.].

589 See “Die Freiheitsfeiern in den Wiener Bezirken,” in: *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Vienna), May 15, 1933, p. 1.

590 According to the ministerial *Wiener Zeitung* (May 16, 1933, p. 4), 530 people were arrested during the day, among them 409 National Socialists and 58 Social Democrats.

591 An extensive collection of source texts on “Red Vienna” from 1919 to 1934 is offered in this edited volume by Rob McFarland, Georg Spitaler, Ingo Zechner (eds.): *The Red Vienna Sourcebook*, Rochester: Camden House 2020.

Since the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, which was signed in 1919, had forbidden Austria from joining Germany and the Social Democratic Workers' Party had withdrawn from the Austrian federal government the following year, the capital city was the only place left where the party, which had been founded in 1889, could implement its policies. Vienna, the longstanding seat of the Habsburg Monarchy, was to be transformed into a model socialist region, which would neither become trapped in petit bourgeois reformism nor emulate the Bolshevik revolution in Russia. "Austro-Marxism," wrote its most important idea generator Otto Bauer in a leading article in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* in 1927, was the unification of sober realpolitik and revolutionary enthusiasm.⁵⁹² In the Viennese model, this synthesis was realized primarily in an interconnected welfare program and in communal public housing, which served as infrastructure for the formation of a socialist population.

Fig. 126, p. 295

"New People" was not just a slogan in the "**New Vienna**" of the 1920s, but also the title (*Neue Menschen*) of a book by Max Adler published in 1924, who was another key theorist of Austro-Marxism. Unlike Historical Materialism, according to which human consciousness is defined by economic structures, this manifesto on socialist education expressed the Enlightenment ideal that through self-education people can change the society in which they live. What then is education in the socialist sense? Adler writes: "The spiritual disengagement of children from the old world of capitalism in which they were born and preparation for a new world that they will build, for the world of communism."⁵⁹³ The focus was on children and adolescents as the "builders of the coming world," as it said in a Viennese workers' song.⁵⁹⁴ Paternally instructing and maternally caring was, however, the nature of

592 See [Otto Bauer:] "Austromarxismus," in: *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Vienna), November 3, 1927, pp. 1–2.

593 Max Adler: *Neue Menschen. Gedanken über sozialistische Erziehung*, Berlin: Laub'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung 1924, p. 63 [our trans.].

594 The lyrics of the song *Die Arbeiter von Wien* ("The Workers of Vienna") were written by Fritz Brügel (probably in 1927), the melody taken from the Russian march *White Army, Black Baron* (1920), here cited after a sound recording in the Österreichische Mediathek, 11-00983_b02 [our trans.].

the party leadership's relationship to all comrades who were to be raised toward a classless society.

Similarly typical of the educational ideal of Austro-Marxism is the final chapter of Adler's book, which focuses on the "national education" of the German philosopher Johann Gottlieb Fichte. In his *Addresses to the German Nation* from 1808, "German" was not a matter of lineage or language, but of character and mindset, according to Adler.⁵⁹⁵ Fichte's national education aimed at the "creation of an empire of reason, a social state, but by the people whom he considers qualified to do so, by the German people."⁵⁹⁶ Red Vienna, where people with diverse cultural backgrounds lived, should anticipate this "empire of reason" on a small scale. For Adler—whether in the sense of Fichte or not is another question—this was certainly not about racial supremacy. However, the educational concept of Austrian Social Democracy, whose spokesmen like Max Adler and Otto Bauer were often of Jewish descent, was unequivocally aligned with the bourgeois ideal of German high culture, as taught in grammar schools.⁵⁹⁷

This Enlightenment attitude may have been rooted in the socialization of the party chairmen, but emphasizing the cultural revolution increasingly served as a replacement for political influence. Austrian federal policy was defined by the Christian Social Party from 1920, and in Vienna the scope for action was limited to those areas that the federal constitution declared to be the responsibility of the provinces (e.g., construction law and social security). Alongside mass rallies like the annual celebration on Labor Day, which was not allowed to take place in 1933 due to the parade ban, the Workers' Party commanded a dense network of cultural organizations, which were coordinated by the Socialist Education Center (*Sozialistische Bildungszentrale*) and the Social Democratic Arts Authority (*Sozialdemokratische Kunststelle*). While the Education Center was in charge of publications, libraries, talks, and the workers' college among other things, the Arts Authority established in

595 See Adler: *Neue Menschen*, p. 183.

596 Adler: *Neue Menschen*, p. 192 [our trans.].

597 See Helmut Gruber: *Red Vienna. Experiment in Working-Class Culture 1919–1934*, New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press 1991, pp. 26, 35–36, 85–86.

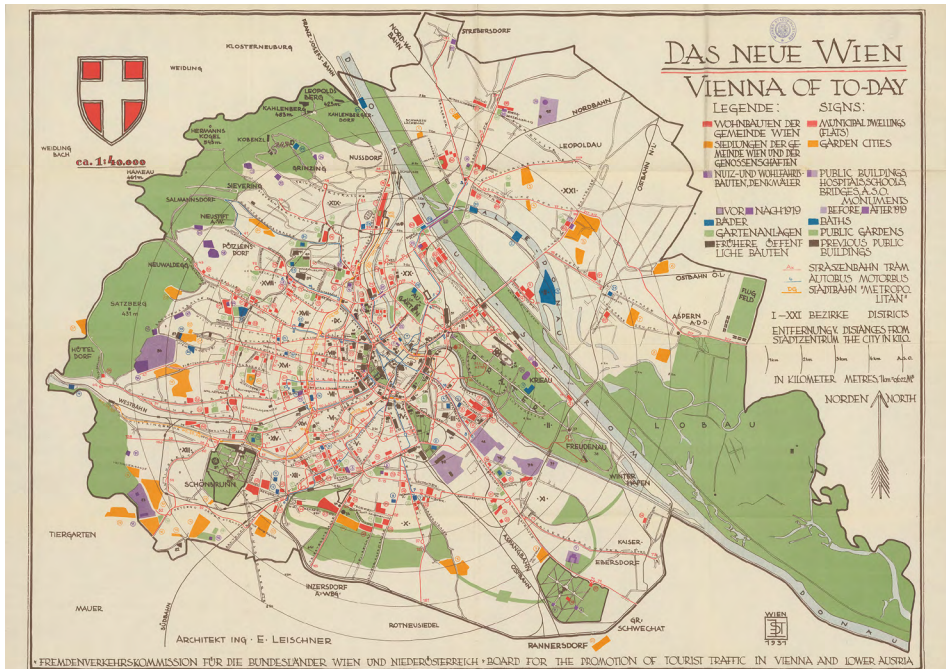


Fig. 126: City map of Vienna from 1932 showing the municipal housing projects (red) and settlements (orange), printed as an appendix to the book *Das Neue Wien. Ein Album mit Plan*, Vienna: Elbemühl 1932. Source: Vienna City Library, A-79091.

1919 built on initiatives like the workers' symphony concerts and the Freie Volksbühne (Free People's Theater) to enable the city's poorer residents to visit the theaters by providing them with reduced admission tickets.⁵⁹⁸ Furthermore, in 1924 the Austrian Labor Association for Sport and Physical Culture (*Arbeiterbund für Sport und Körperkultur in Österreich*, ASKÖ) was founded, whose numerous members were supposed to participate in sport as a communal experience that united body and spirit. Once Julius Deutsch, the chairman of the paramilitary Republican Protection League (*Republikanischer Schutzbund*), took over the presidency of the ASKÖ in 1926, however, it became clear that the Social Democratic sports organization not only wanted to train fit and healthy workers but also "party soldiers" in the literal sense.⁵⁹⁹

598 See Gruber: *Red Vienna*, p. 82.

599 See Gruber: *Red Vienna*, pp. 105–106.

Fig. 126, p. 295

With their mixture of concerts, sport performances, and addresses by party functionaries, the “freedom celebrations” of May 14, 1933, fit seamlessly into the festival culture of Red Vienna. That instead of one central mass rally some fifty local events were held was related to the aforementioned parade ban, which the federal government had only suspended for the “Turks Deliverance Celebration” that was happening at the same time.⁶⁰⁰ With the **communal public housing** that had been built across the entire city since 1919, suitable infrastructure was available to form a decentralized counter-public. Opened in 1930 and roughly a kilometer long, the Karl Marx Hof with its almost 1,400 apartments for approximately 5,000 people was one of the largest municipal housing projects in Vienna.⁶⁰¹ Its two courtyards in which the “freedom celebration” was held are connected by an over 10,000 m² square, which to the east is delimited by a façade with six superstructures in the form of red-plastered towers. Seen from the Heiligenstädter Strasse, this forecourt resembles a cour d’honneur, which in Baroque architecture served to prepare visitors for the central power, the divine majesty of the prince or princess.⁶⁰² In the case of the Karl Marx Hof, however, the cour d’honneur does not lead to a princely residence, but from the Heiligenstadt train station in the east through the **triumphal arches of the central wing** to the Hohe Warte stadium located roughly 500 meters to the west, which in the 1920s was one of the largest sports grounds in Europe and regularly attracted thousands of soccer fans.

Fig. 127, p. 297

Architectural critics pointed out that the façade design of the Karl Marx Hof came at the expense of housing quality. After all, in exchange for the machinery aesthetics of the **tower superstructures** with their flagpoles and passageways, reminiscent of Italian Futurism and Russian Constructivism, narrow,

Fig. 127, p. 297

600 See “Kein Aufmarschverbot für die Hahnenschwänzler!,” in: *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Vienna), May 14, 1933, p. 3.

601 See *Der Karl-Marx-Hof. Die Wohnhausanlage der Gemeinde Wien auf der Hagenwiese in Heiligenstadt*, ed. Wiener Stadtbauamt, Vienna: Thalia [1930], p. 5.

602 On the cour d’honneur of Schönbrunn Palace, for example, see Richard Kurdiovsky: *Die Gärten von Schönbrunn. Ein Spaziergang durch einen der bedeutendsten Barockgärten Europas*, St. Pölten: Residenz 2005, pp. 12–19.



Fig. 127: The forecourt and central tract of the Karl Marx Hof in Vienna around 1930.
Source: Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, 3.3.2.FC1.2961M.

poorly lit, and badly ventilated rooms had to be accepted.⁶⁰³ The brochure to accompany the opening quoted a maxim of Otto Wagner, whose architectural principles left a formative mark on the design of municipal public housing (*Gemeindebau*) in interwar Vienna: “artis sola domine necessitas, necessity is the only master of art.”⁶⁰⁴ Yet the “zeitgeist architect”⁶⁰⁵ Karl Ehn, who was a student of Wagner and spent his entire professional career at Vienna’s municipal planning and building office, heeded the advice of this principle when designing the Karl Marx Hof, named after the founder of Marxism, in a contradictory way. For example, while the large green spaces of the courtyards were deemed “necessary” for the communal life of its inhabitants, the “necessity” for the monumental central wing and prestigious cour d’honneur consisted in the propaganda effect on passersby. This part of the building is

603 See Helmut Weihsmann: *Das Rote Wien. Sozialdemokratische Architektur- und Kommunalpolitik 1919–1934*, 2nd ed., Vienna: Promedia 2002, pp. 398–401.

604 *Der Karl-Marx-Hof*, p. 5 [our trans.].

605 Friedrich Achleitner: “Bauten von Wagner-Schülern in der Zwischenkriegszeit” [1987], in: *Wiener Architektur. Zwischen typologischem Fatalismus und semantischem Schlamassel*, Vienna: Böhlau 1996, pp. 44–51, here p. 50 [our trans.].



Fig. 128: The bronze “Sower” by Otto Hofner in the forecourt of the Karl Marx Hof in Vienna, photographed in 1930. Source: Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, 3.3.2.FC1.2564M.

relatively unimportant and dysfunctional as housing, but as a symbol for Red Vienna it continues to serve its purpose up to the present day.

Also politically significant are the sculptures in the forecourt, in the middle of which a bronze “**Sower**” by the sculptor Otto Hofner is positioned. What this muscular young man is sowing in the Karl Marx Hof are the seeds of a classless society. “We are the field, the sower, and the seed” says the second verse of the aforementioned Viennese workers’ song by Fritz Brügel.⁶⁰⁶ This “we” implies the workers who were to be raised as New People in line with Austro-Marxism. What this education comprised is clarified by the four allegorical ceramic figures by Josef Franz Riedl, which are mounted above the round arches of the central wing: “**Freedom**” is a prisoner who has broken his chains; “**Enlightenment**” a woman with short hair cut in the then popular pageboy hairstyle and books in her hands; “**Physical Culture**” a female track and field athlete in a tank top and cape who is holding a discus; and “**Welfare**” a young mother with an infant in her arm. These expressive sculptures embody not only the self-image of Red Vienna but also represent the social infrastructure of its public housing.

Fig. 128, p. 298

Fig. 129, p. 299

Fig. 130, p. 299

Fig. 131, p. 299

Fig. 132, p. 299

606 Cit. after “Die Arbeiter von Wien” [our trans.], DAT cassette, source: Österreichische Mediathek, 11-00983_b02.



Figs. 129–132: Josef Franz Riedl's ceramic figures on the central tract of the Karl Marx Hof in Vienna, photographed in 1930. From left: "Freedom" (fig. 129), "Enlightenment" (fig. 130), "Physical Culture" (fig. 131), "Welfare" (fig. 132). Source: Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, 3.3.2.FC1.2141M, 3.3.2.FC1.2142M, 3.3.2.FC1.2140M, 3.3.2.FC1.2143M.

Fig. 104, p. 243

In interwar Vienna, public housing was intended to liberate workers from the **tenements** of the age of monarchy, in which several generations of the same family had to live squeezed together in overpriced apartments without their own water supply or their own toilet. However, the newly built housing complexes structured this attained freedom in line with the beliefs of the Social Democratic city government, which for economic reasons supported small young families.⁶⁰⁷ In contrast to Marxist objectives, life in the municipal public housing—with the exception of some community facilities—was not arranged collectively but rather in a petit bourgeois way. The municipal apartments comprised an anteroom with WC, an open-plan kitchen with gas oven and a sitz bath, as well as one or more rooms. The anteroom served to shield the family from the outside world and create privacy, the fitted kitchen

607 See Reinhard J. Sieder: "Wohnen und Haushalten im Gemeindebau. Politischer Diskurs, Repräsentation, Praxis, kulturelle Folgen," in: Werner Michael Schwarz, Georg Spitaler, Elke Wikidal (eds.): *Das Rote Wien. 1919–1934*, Basel: Birkhäuser 2019, pp. 234–241, here p. 235.



Fig. 133: A show room in the Advice Center for Furnishings and Domestic Hygiene of the Austrian Association for Housing Reform at the Karl Marx Hof in Vienna, photographed in 1930. Source: Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, 3.3.2.FC1.2973M.

was designed according to ergonomic principles, and the dining table was intended to be a hub of communication.⁶⁰⁸

At the southern end of the Karl Marx Hof, on the corner of Heiligenstädter Strasse and Geistingergasse, the Advice Center for Furnishings and Domestic Hygiene (*Beratungsstelle für Inneneinrichtung und Wohnungshygiene*, BEST) of the Austrian Association for Housing Reform (*Österreichischer Verband für Wohnungsreform*) rented a space. Exemplary furniture and household appliances were exhibited there across three floors, including a fully furnished **show apartment** on the ground floor. Furthermore, there were regular consultation hours and lectures, which focused on diverse housing issues (e.g., how to decorate or clean an apartment).⁶⁰⁹ The Advice Center was intended to instruct renters how to make the best of their municipal apartment or row house by means of the “right” furniture and use. That living had to be learned anew was an intensive discussion that had been ongoing in Red Vienna since the early 1920s.⁶¹⁰ As the head of the Vienna

Fig. 133, p. 300

608 See Susanne Breuss: “Neue Küchen für Neue Frauen. Modernisierung der Hauswirtschaft im Roten Wien,” in: Werner Michael Schwarz, Georg Spitaler, Elke Wikidal (eds.): *Das Rote Wien. 1919–1934*, Basel: Birkhäuser 2019, pp. 242–245, here pp. 243–244.

609 See, for example, “Vorträge und Führungen der BEST im Jänner und Februar 1931,” in: *Die Wohnungsreform* (Vienna), 2/1 (January 1931), p. 7.

610 See Eva-Maria Orosz: “Wohnen lernen,” in: Werner Michael Schwarz, Georg Spitaler, Elke Wikidal (eds.): *Das Rote Wien. 1919–1934*, Basel: Birkhäuser 2019, pp. 246–253.

Settlement Office (*Siedlungsamt*), the architect Adolf Loos demanded that European citizens forget their rental apartments and learn from farmers and Americans how to live in a single-family house with garden.⁶¹¹ Whereas Loos strictly rejected any kind of ornament, Josef Frank, who was also a supporter of the settlement movement and was a member of BEST's advisory board, took the view that playful forms that went beyond the necessary were more human than the then fashionable plainness.⁶¹²

Whether settlement or perimeter block, modern or traditional, what was common to all these housing ideas was a clear division of roles within a family. The ideal way of life was embodied by the nuclear family, comprising an employed husband who was involved in politics and culture during his leisure time, and his wife who saw to the household and the children. Red Vienna positioned the mother as the interface of a comprehensive welfare program that was intended to care for people from the cradle to the grave. The person in charge of Viennese welfare was City Councillor Julius Tandler, who also taught as a professor of anatomy at the University of Vienna. His population policy aimed to improve public health by replacing private and church casework with a series of preventative health-care facilities. That Tandler's measures were partly motivated by eugenics is demonstrated, for instance, by the Marriage Advice Center (*Eheberatungsstelle*) established in 1922, where engaged couples were examined for their medical suitability for conceiving and raising children.⁶¹³ For extramarital, orphaned, or neglected children, guardianship lay with the child protective services of the City of Vienna until the age of fourteen. At the Child Adoption Center

611 See Adolf Loos: "Wohnen lernen!," in: *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* (Vienna), May 15, 1921, p. 8.

612 See Josef Frank: "Der Gschnas fürs G'müt und der Gschnas als Problem," in: Deutscher Werkbund (ed.): *Bau und Wohnung*, Stuttgart: Wedekind & Co. 1927, pp. 48–57.

613 See Gottfried Pirhofer and Reinhard Sieder: "Zur Konstitution der Arbeiterfamilie im Roten Wien. Familienpolitik, Kulturreform, Alltag und Ästhetik," in: Michael Mitterauer and Reinhard Sieder (eds.): *Historische Familienforschung*, Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp 1982, pp. 326–368, here pp. 330–331.

WOHNHAUSANLAGE -XIX.-HEILIGENSTÄDTERSTRASSE - HAGENWIESE

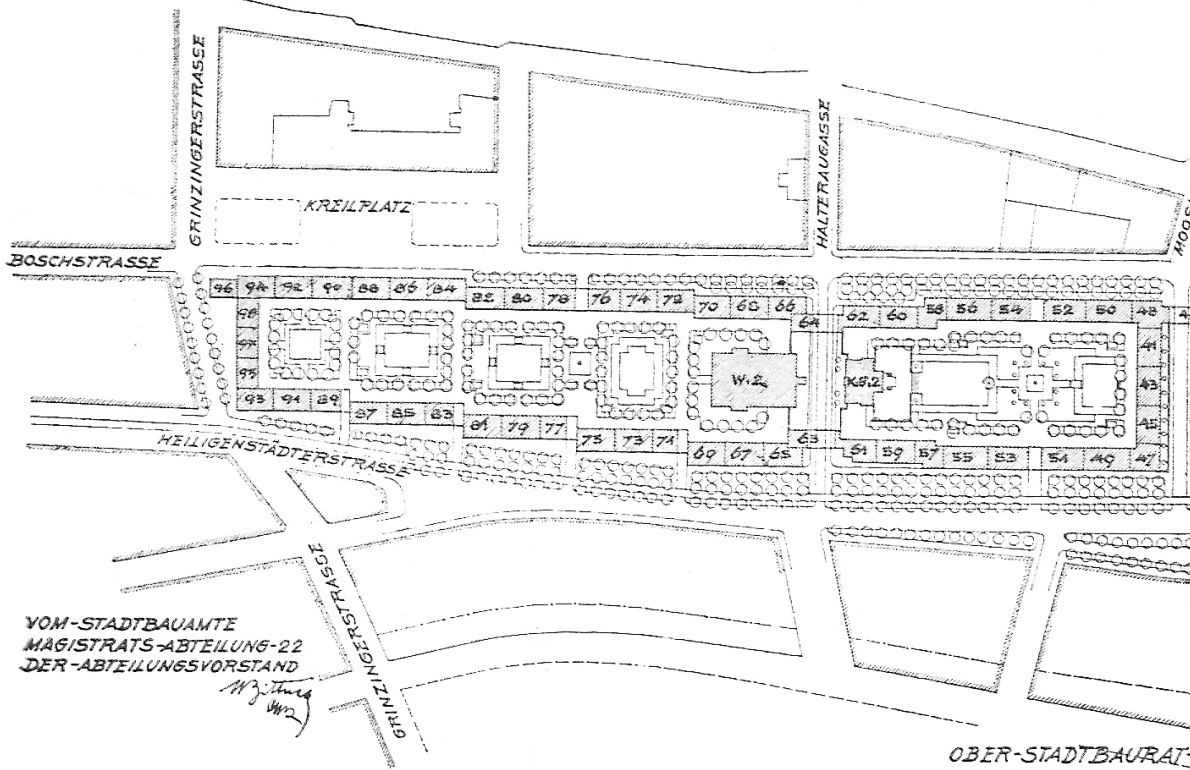


Fig. 134: Ground plan of the Karl Marx Hof in Vienna at the time of its opening in 1930, printed in *Der Karl-Marx-Hof. Die Wohnhausanlage der Gemeinde Wien auf der Hagenwiese in Heiligenstadt*, ed. Wiener Stadtbauamt, Vienna: Thalia [1930], p. 8. Source: Vienna City Library, B-344322.

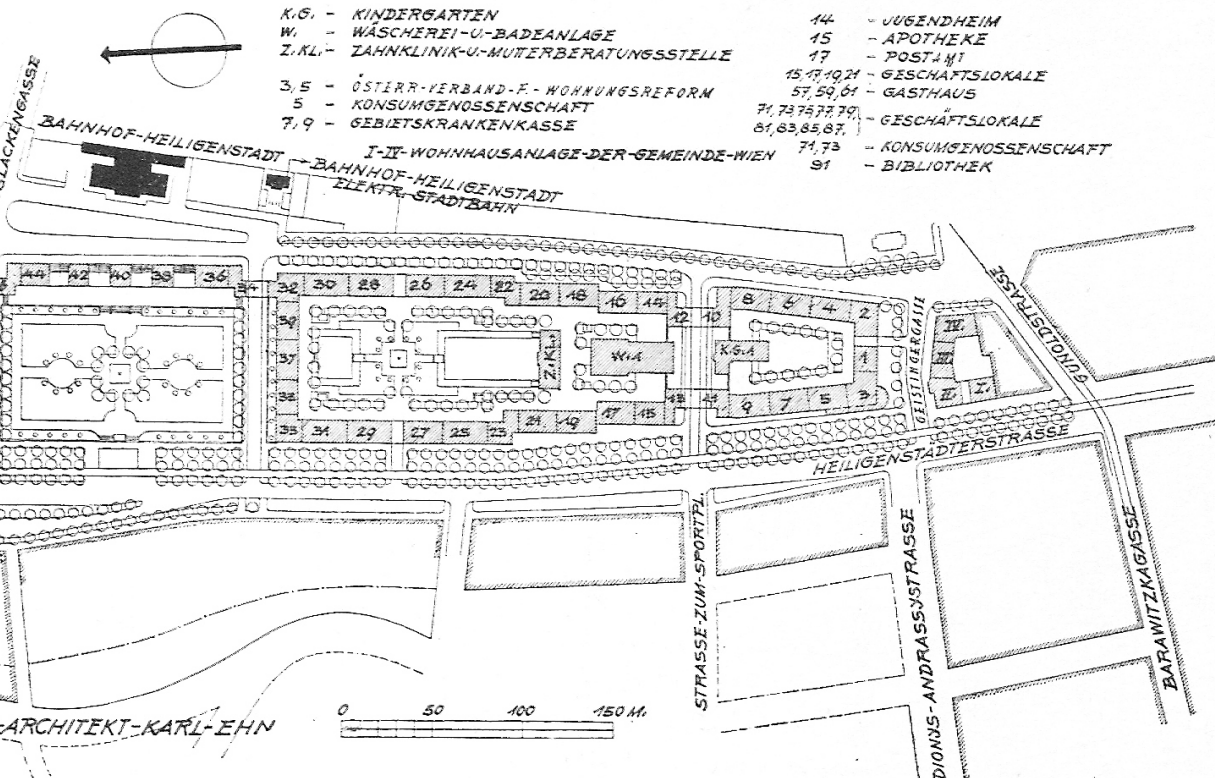
(Kinderübernahmestelle, KÜST) that was opened in 1925, not only were pragmatic decisions made about placing children in foster families or homes, but under the management of the developmental psychologist **Charlotte Bühler** ethically questionable experiments were also carried out.⁶¹⁴

The nature of Red Vienna's welfare policy is exemplified by the **Karl Marx Hof**. In each courtyard there was a kindergarten and a launderette with adjoining baths. The southern courtyard additionally housed a school dental clinic and an advice center for mothers. In the roughly one-kilometer-long

614 See Katrin Pilz: "Mutter (Rotes) Wien. Fürsorgepolitik als Erziehungs- und Kontrollinstanz im 'Neuen Wien,'" in: Werner Michael Schwarz, Georg Spitaler, Elke Wikidal (eds.): *Das Rote Wien. 1919–1934*, Basel: Birkhäuser 2019, pp. 74–81, here p. 78.

LEGENDE

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| K.G. - KINDERGARTEN | 14 - JUGENDHEIM |
| W. - WÄSCHEREI-U.-BADEANLAGE | 15 - APOTHEKE |
| Z.KL. - ZAHNKLINIK-U.-MUTTERBERATUNGSSTELLE | 17 - POSTAMT |
| 3,5 - ÖSTERR.-VERBAND-F.-WOHNUNGSREFORM | 15, 17, 19, 21 - GESCHAFTSLOKALE |
| 5 - KONSUMGENOSSENSCHAFT | 57, 59, 61 - GASTHAUS |
| 7, 9 - GEBIETSKRANKENKASSE | 71, 73, 75, 77, 79 - GESCHAFTSLOKALE |
| | 81, 83, 85, 87 - KONSUMGENOSSENSCHAFT |
| | 71, 73 - BIBLIOTHEK |
| | 91 - BIBLIOTHEK |



front of the building on Heiligenstädter Strasse, there were not only numerous shops and inns, but also a regional medical insurance company with outpatient clinic, a pharmacy, and a library. In other words, the Karl Marx Hof offered its inhabitants comprehensive social infrastructure with a focus on childcare facilities. In the municipal hospitals, where the vast majority of babies were born, a house call by a female employee of the welfare office was arranged after the birth had been registered, who would then give the mother a package of baby essentials and get an impression of the household. Furthermore, the mothers were encouraged to visit an advice center to receive guidance from medical specialists regarding feeding and caring for their children. If the social workers noticed serious issues, especially concerning tidiness and cleanliness in the home, they could apply to the juvenile court to have the child

or the children housed in the municipal Child Adoption Center, where a decision would be made about their future care.⁶¹⁵

Central launderettes as in the Karl Marx Hof were included in all municipal public housing projects with over 300 apartments. Under the supervision of a “laundry foreman,” the female inhabitants could wash, dry, and iron their families’ laundry one day a month, partly with the support of appliances. Despite the fact that the majority of women were in paid work, men and children were forbidden from entering the launderettes. As the kindergartens were not free of charge and did not take any children under the age of four, many mothers had to leave their children with relatives or neighbors on laundry day. While the laundry foreman was responsible for supervising the launderette, the janitors were in charge of keeping the staircases and courtyards clean and tidy. For example, children were not supposed to go on the grass outside of the playgrounds and only trash cans of the “Colonia” type were allowed to be left at the garbage dumps. Moreover, once a month the households received an unannounced visit from an “apartment inspector,” who monitored the hygiene of each municipal apartment.⁶¹⁶

Consequently, the Viennese “freedom celebrations” on May 14, 1933, took place in communal apartment complexes that offered workers significantly more pleasant living conditions than the private tenement blocks during the age of monarchy. However, this improvement came at a cost: the inhabitants had to comply with the welfare and preventative system of Red Vienna. In other words, their freedom was managed according to the concepts of the Social Democratic city government. Although a petit bourgeois lifestyle prevailed in the municipal public housing projects, their political opponents, namely the newspapers of the Christian Social Party, never tired of warning against the “red strongholds” and “workers’ fortresses” in which they claimed the proletarian revolution

615 See Pirhofer and Sieder: “Zur Konstitution der Arbeiterfamilie im Roten Wien,” pp. 330–332.

616 On this paragraph, see Pirhofer and Sieder: “Zur Konstitution der Arbeiterfamilie im Roten Wien,” pp. 351–357, and Gruber: *Red Vienna*, pp. 147–155.

was being prepared.⁶¹⁷ This myth seemed to be confirmed during the civil war of February 1934, when members of the Republican Protection League entrenched themselves in some municipal public housing projects, including the Karl Marx Hof, and only surrendered after artillery fire by the Austrian Armed Forces. “The red bastille has been stormed, the outwork of Bolshevism in Central Europe,” triumphed the Christian Social *Reichspost* on February 14, 1934, after the Austrian national flag had been hoisted on Vienna City Hall.⁶¹⁸

- 617 See Lilli Bauer and Werner T. Bauer: “Der Karl-Marx-Hof. ‘Schaut! –, das ist ein Stück Marxismus!,’” in: Werner Michael Schwarz, Georg Spitaler, Elke Wikidal (eds.): *Das Rote Wien. 1919–1934*, Basel: Birkhäuser 2019, pp. 199–203, here pp. 201–202.
- 618 “Der Wandel im Wiener Rathause,” in: *Reichspost* (Vienna), February 14, 1934, p. 1 [our trans.].

3.5 Cancellation: “Listener Strike”



place	Vorwärts building
moment	Report on radio cancellations
space	6 km 419 away
time	1 d 20 h 0 min later

- III.3.1 That **Radio Wien** broadcast the speeches delivered at the “**Turks Deliverance Celebration**” (*Türkenbefreiungsfeier*) in the gardens of Schönbrunn Palace on May 14, 1933, provoked protests by Social Democrats. The party had flyers distributed with which listeners could cancel their radio licenses. On May 16 the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, the main organ of Austrian Social Democracy whose editorial department was located in the building of the party’s Vorwärts publishing house at Rechte Wienzeile 97, reported that the Radio Verkehrs AG (RAVAG) had now received a letter with some 10,000 cancellations because the previous Sunday they had “transmitted the so-called ‘Turks Deliverance Celebration’ by the Austrian Homeland Protection [*Heimatschutz*], departing from the practice up to now of not broadcasting party-political events on the radio.” Indeed, the article continues, the moderator
- II.10
- III.1.1 had been so shameless as to call **Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg**, the federal leader of the Homeland Protection, “Prince Starhemberg,” even though the Law on the Abolition of the Nobility (*Adelsaufhebungsgesetz*) had been in force in Austria since 1919.⁶¹⁹

Fig. 135, p. 307

It was not the first time that the Social Democratic Workers’ Party had resorted to this act of **protest against the federal government’s instrumentalization of radio**. Over 5,000 cancellations had been received by the RAVAG in April 1933 after the Viennese Home Guard (*Heimwehr*) leader and then State Secretary of Public Safety Emil Fey had given the speech “Everything for Austria” on *Radio Wien*.⁶²⁰ In it, Fey referred to the Republican

619 “Die Antwort auf den Kikeriki-Sonntag,” in: *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Vienna), May 16, 1933, p. 2 [our trans.].

620 See “Tausende Radiohörer kündigen das Abonnement,” in: *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Vienna), April 20, 1933, p. 1.

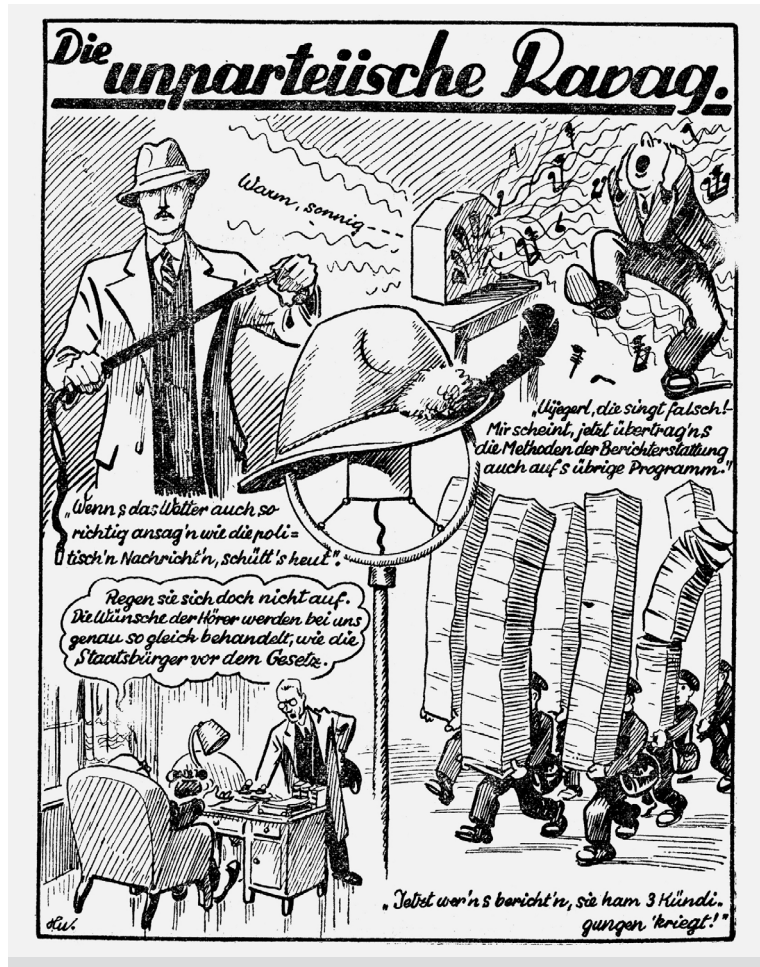


Fig. 135: Caricature on the politicization of the Austrian Radio Verkehrs AG, printed in *Das Kleine Blatt* (Vienna), May 17, 1933, p. 1. The Tyrolean hat on the microphone stands for the Home Guards, and on the bottom right towering piles of cancellations are delivered to the RAVAG. Source: Austrian National Library, 608331-D.

Protection League (*Republikanischer Schutzbund*), the paramilitary association of the Social Democratic Workers' Party, as a "heavily armed civil war organization infested with Bolsheviks," which Federal Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss had rightly, he claimed, banned on March 31.⁶²¹ Over the course of 1933,

621 Cit. after "Alles für Österreich," in: *Reichspost* (Vienna), April 19, 1933, p. 2 [our trans.].

roughly 66,000 of the approximately 500,000 registered households canceled their radio license in protest at the biased politicization of Austrian radio.⁶²² As the RAVAG refused to recognize the collective cancellations by letter, the Social Democratic press distributed sample notices toward the end of the year, which were to be individually signed and handed in at the post office.⁶²³

To be allowed to listen to the RAVAG's program, a monthly fee of two schillings and an annual recognition fee of one and a half schillings had to be paid.⁶²⁴ That corresponded to approximately one percent of a factory worker's wage. Listening without a license was punished with hefty fines or up to a month's detention, and cancellations were possible after a year at the earliest.⁶²⁵ Although the Social Democratic party leadership campaigned for low license fees and shorter notice periods, until 1933 it did not call the Austrian radio system itself into question. Via the municipality of Vienna, the Social Democratic Workers' Party had a financial stake in the RAVAG and via various panels it also had influence over staffing and the programming format. To avoid conflicts, political topics were supposed to seldom if ever appear on *Radio Wien* and the news programs be kept as neutral as possible. In point of fact, however, the broadcasts clearly tended to favor the Christian Social Party-dominated federal government, while the program requests by the Social Democratic and National Socialist opposition were largely ignored.⁶²⁶

As a small concession to the demands for a workers' radio, in fall 1927 a weekly "chamber hour" was introduced, which was made available to the Chamber of Labor and the Chamber of Commerce for thirty minutes each. However, the

622 See Viktor Ergert: *50 Jahre Rundfunk in Österreich. Vol. I: 1924–1945*, Vienna: Residenz 1974, p. 137.

623 See, for example, "Kündigung des Radioabonnements," in: *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Vienna), November 28, 1933, p. 7.

624 See "Was zahlt der Radiohörer?," in: *Radiowelt* (Vienna), 9/3 (January 16, 1932), pp. 1–2.

625 See "1. Telegraphenverordnung" (§ 9, 10, 30) from September 23, 1924, in: *Bundesgesetzblatt für die Republik Österreich* (BGBl.), 77/346 (September 27, 1924), pp. 1233–1239, here pp. 1235 and 1238–1239.

626 See Theodor Venus: "'Der Sender sei die Kanzel des Volkes.' Zur sozialdemokratischen Rundfunkpolitik in der 1. Republik," in: *Medien-Journal*, 7/1 (1983), pp. 8–19.

scripts had to be authorized by the RAVAG beforehand and even despite that, changes were often made after the fact.⁶²⁷ On May 17, 1933, in the week after the “Turks Deliverance Celebration,” the Viennese District Councillor Kamilla Gross, who was employed as a housemaid, was supposed to speak about “social policy in the household” during the Chamber of Labor’s program time. Yet according to the *Kleines Blatt*, her pre-approved presentation was removed from the program with the justification that the federal government was currently working on a reform of social legislation and there had been complaints from housewives about such shows. “The haughty philistine spirit that refuses to allow a housemaid to use the microphone and wants to clog our brains with its moldy trash,” was how the Social Democratic newspaper commented on the episode: “We don’t need a radio station governed by these spirits, a radio station by gracious lords and ladies for the stupid populace! We’d rather go without!”⁶²⁸

From spring 1933 it was clear that Austrian radio would not liberalize but go from being bourgeois conservative to Austrofascist. The radio-political compromises by the Social Democratic party leadership had been controversial from the outset in the labor movement. Specifically, the amateur radio makers (*Radiobastler*) did not want to settle for program slots on *Radio Wien* and demanded the right to set up and operate their own radio stations. In the Austrian military, especially the navy, radio technology had been in use since the turn of the century, namely for communication from transmitter to receiver, i.e., point to point. Only during World War I did radio become established as a transmission technology to reach a large number of listeners from a single transmitter. As the telegraph prerogative of 1847 was expanded to include radio units in 1905, private “radio telegraphy” and “radio telephony” now required a license in Austria.⁶²⁹

627 See Venus: “‘Der Sender sei die Kanzel des Volkes,’” p. 15.

628 “Die Ravag der ‘Gnädigen,’” in: *Das Kleine Blatt* (Vienna), May 16, 1933, p. 2 [our trans.].

629 See Theodor Venus: “Vom Funk zum Rundfunk – Ein Kulturfaktor entsteht,” in: Isabella Ackerl and Rudolf Neck (eds.): *Geistiges Leben im Österreich der Ersten Republik*, Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik 1986, pp. 379–415, here pp. 379–382.

After an Austrian subsidiary of the British Marconi Company had received a license for international radio communication in 1922, the national use of radio finally took shape in 1924. The Christian Social federal government worked on founding a privately organized but state-controlled broadcasting company, which was given the name Österreichische Radio Verkehrs AG and went on air on October 1, 1924, with its channel *Radio Wien*.⁶³⁰ However, resistance mounted against the monopolistic and centralistic organization of this “state radio.” In early 1924 a “Memorandum on the Organization of the Broadcast Message” was released by the Viennese publishing house Rubinstein under the title *Radio-Demokratie*. Its author, G.F. Hellmuth, justified his plea for “message freedom” with the argument that a financial or legal “message monopoly” was incompatible with the principles of a democracy.

*It would now be the most flagrant antithesis of the most important basic idea of democracy, of the basic principle of intellectual freedom that is recognized by all civilized peoples, if an operation of such cultural significance were relinquished as a financial monopoly to a small industrial group or delegated as a legal monopoly to a licensee dependent on the respective ruling party; such an organization would mean no less than that the radio industry or the respective government had been granted a cultural dictatorship on the greatest scale; the message monopoly amounts to practically the same thing as allowing only one newspaper for all citizens whose editorial staff were selected by an industrial group or a single political party.*⁶³¹

As a countermodel to the feared radio monopoly, as was then institutionalized in the form of the RAVAG, the brochure suggests the founding of an “Austrian message broadcasting cooperative” into which several program providers should combine. In the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* a leading article was published in mid-March 1924, which praised Hellmuth’s “radio democracy” as a significant contribution to the radio-political debate. It would be ideal, the editorial says, “if every citizen

630 See Venus: “Vom Funk zum Rundfunk,” pp. 408–413.

631 G.F. Hellmuth: *Radio-Demokratie! Denkschrift zur Organisation des Strahl-Rundspruches*, Vienna: Rubinstein 1924, p. 8 [our trans., emphasis in original].

had the right to set up broadcasting stations and transmit radio messages,” which, however, was not feasible due to the limited number of wavelengths. For this reason, it continued, radio had to be state regulated, but as democratically so as possible.⁶³² The same position was taken by the Viennese magazine *Radiowelt*, which was edited by the officer and radio pioneer Franz Anderle. In a leading article entitled “Radio Freedom!,” which appeared in the third issue on March 23, 1924, the ideal state of affairs was described in the same way, namely “that everyone can communicate freely and without restriction with everyone via the radio.” Yet in order to turn the radio “chaos into a cosmos,” the editorial says, it was imperative to regulate radio at national and international level in the interests of the body politic.⁶³³

Anderle, who had acquired his radio skills in the Austrian military, was himself active in the radio-amateur movement; this fact was also reflected in his magazine, which was published until 1938. Alongside program reports, *Radiowelt* mainly consisted of instructions on how to build radio receivers, small transmitters, microphones, loudspeakers, etc. In the course of the 1920s, the radio as a unit developed from a **multipart, open piece of equipment**, the use of which required a minimum of technical knowledge, into a **closed piece of furniture**, which could be operated with a few buttons.⁶³⁴ This development was in the interest of the radio industry but flew in the face of the amateur radio makers’ self-image, who did not want to be consumers of finished products and programs, but technical and content-producing agents of radio. In light of this, an array of organizations emerged: the Free Radio League (*Freier Radiobund*) in 1924, which was renamed the Workers’ Radio League of Austria (*Arbeiter-Radiobund Österreichs*, ARABÖ) in 1927, the International Amateur Radio Union in 1925, the Austrian Experimental Transmitter Association (*Österreichischer*

Fig. 115, p. 266

Fig. 116, p. 267

632 “Radiodemokratie!,” in: *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Vienna), March 12, 1924, pp. 1–2 [our trans.].

633 “Radiofreiheit!,” in: *Radiowelt* (Vienna), 1/3 (March 23, 1924), pp. 1–2 [our trans.].

634 See Wolfgang Pensold: *Zur Geschichte des Rundfunks in Österreich. Programm für die Nation*, Wiesbaden: Springer 2018, pp. 9–14 and 33–38.



Fig. 136: A radio workshop around 1930. Source: Austrian National Library, 140.375-B.

Versuchssenderverband, ÖVSV) in 1926, and the Workers' Radio International (*Arbeiter-Radio-Internationale*) in 1927.⁶³⁵

However, the radio-amateur movement not only resisted having to depend on commercial receiver unit manufacturers. They also demanded the right to build their own radio transmitters and to operate them on short wavelengths. "The shortwave entity is undoubtedly the branch of wireless technology to which the working classes must direct the most attention," the Communist *Rote Fahne* declared in April 1930: "On shortwaves it is namely possible to wirelessly bridge extraordinarily large distances with quite simple means."⁶³⁶ That at first it was less about communicating content than producing the technical connection itself is shown, for example, by a report from the Social Democratic magazine *Rundfunk für alle* from January 1933 which provides an insight into the "secret language of amateur transmitters." The radio operator sets the amateur wavebands on the shortwave receiver to between twelve and ninety meters, listens carefully for Morse code, notes down and

635 See Primus-Heinz Kucher: "Radiokultur und Radioästhetik in Österreich 1924–1934," in: Primus-Heinz Kucher and Rebecca Unterberger: "Akustisches Drama." *Radioästhetik, Kultur und Radiopolitik in Österreich 1924–1934*, Bielefeld: Aisthesis 2013, pp. 11–39, here pp. 13–17.

636 "Gründung einer Kurzwellenarbeitsgemeinschaft," in: *Die Rote Fahne* (Vienna), April 13, 1930, p. 8 [our trans.].

translates these signals, which usually send a greeting or reply about the reception quality, and then attempts to respond.⁶³⁷

While the radio amateurs had to content themselves with decoding and sending almost imperceptible signals, members of the federal government were given the chance to speak on *Radio Wien* with increasing frequency. Besides the collective cancellations, the supporters of Social Democracy also protested using technical means by disrupting unwelcome programs with feedback. In early April 1933, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*—already under pre-censorship—reported on complaints by the RAVAG that some listeners were turning the controls on their radios too much and were thereby interfering with the radio reception not only in their own households but also in their neighborhoods. “That is sufficient for the sensible one,” the Social Democratic party’s main organ added ironically, “he now knows precisely what he should not do and needs no further explanations.”⁶³⁸ It seems that this tactic was also used during the “Turks Deliverance Celebration” on May 14, 1933, because a comment on the live broadcast in the *Kleines Blatt* says: “The listeners drew the obvious conclusion and tried frantically to find the foreign stations, of which the feedback provided clear evidence.”⁶³⁹

The so-called “radio theory” of the German writer Bertolt Brecht, which actually comprises a couple of isolated remarks, corresponds with the demands of the workers’ radio movement. After having encouraged the transmission of more political coverage and interviews on radio in the *Berliner Börsen-Courier* in 1927, Brecht published a talk entitled “The Radio as a Communication Apparatus” in summer 1932.⁶⁴⁰ Without going into the technical difficulties, of which the radio amateurs were well aware, the text summarized the call for radio

637 Robert Adler: “Die Geheimsprache der Amateursender,” in: *Rundfunk für alle* (Vienna), 2/4 (January 22, 1933), p. 12 [our trans.].

638 “Aus der Radiowoche,” in: *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Vienna), April 3, 1933, p. 5 [our trans.].

639 “Die Ravag mit dem Hahnenschwanz,” in: *Das Kleine Blatt* (Vienna), May 16, 1933, p. 9 [our trans.].

640 See Bertolt Brecht: “Suggestions for the Director of Radio Broadcasting” [German 1927] and “The Radio as a Communication Apparatus” [German 1932], in: *Brecht on Film and Radio*, trans. and ed. Marc Silberman, London: Bloomsbury 2000, pp. 35–36 and 41–46.

democracy and radio freedom, which had been made since the early 1920s, in this oft-quoted choice of words:

*[R]adio must be transformed from a distribution apparatus into a communications apparatus. The radio could be the finest possible communications apparatus in public life, a vast system of channels. That is, it could be so, if it understood how to receive as well as to transmit, how to let the listener speak as well as hear, how to bring him into a network instead of isolating him.*⁶⁴¹

Fig. 137, p. 315

As a model for this alternative use of radio, Brecht named in this talk his radio drama *Lindbergh's Flight*, for which Kurt Weill and Paul Hindemith had composed the music.⁶⁴² It was first performed on July 27, 1929, in the context of the **chamber-music festival in Baden-Baden** and broadcast by several German radio stations over the following two days. This so-called “radio lesson” (*Radiolehrstück*) covered the first crossing of the Atlantic Ocean in a solo, nonstop flight: the American pilot Charles Lindbergh had started in New York City on May 20, 1927, and landed at Le Bourget airport in Paris after 33.5 hours. In Brecht’s radio drama, the radio is supposed to transmit the voices of the adverse elements like the fog, the snowstorm, and sleep, whereas the part of the pilot was to be sung and experienced by the listeners themselves. However, only concert versions were transmitted on the radio, because the experiment would have required a large campaign to achieve the desired mass impact. From a technical perspective, the radio units were in any case not capable of satisfying Brecht’s demands, namely serving simultaneously as receivers and as transmitters in order to unite the many isolated “Lindberghs” into a joint “Ocean Flight” in the ether.⁶⁴³

From 1933 there could be no doubt in Germany nor in Austria that radio had established itself both technically and

641 Brecht: “The Radio as a Communication Apparatus,” p. 42.

642 See Bertolt Brecht: “Lindbergh’s Flight,” trans. John Willett [German 1930], in: *Collected Plays. Three*, ed. John Willett, London: Bloomsbury 1998, pp. 1–19, and Dieter Wöhrle: *Bertolt Brechts medienästhetische Versuche*, Cologne: Prometh 1988, pp. 45–60.

643 Brecht renamed the play *The Lindberghs’ Flight* in 1930 and *The Ocean Flight* in 1950, see the notes on “Lindbergh’s Flight” in Bertolt Brecht: *Collected Plays. Three*, ed. John Willett, London: Bloomsbury 1998, pp. 315–324.



Fig. 137: Photo of the rehearsals for the premiere of the radio drama *Lindbergh's Flight* (text: Bertolt Brecht, here second from right; music: Paul Hindemith & Kurt Weill) at the chamber-music festival in Baden-Baden on July 27, 1929. Source: Academy of Arts (Berlin), Bertolt Brecht Archive, theater documentation 2214.

in terms of content as a “distribution apparatus,” i.e., as a mass medium used by the ruling parties to their own ends. At first the opposition forces attempted to disrupt the increasingly frequent propaganda shows with acts of sabotage like the aforementioned feedback. As an alternative act of protest, Austrian Social Democracy organized the described “listener strike” with thousands of radio license cancellations. This passive resistance—preferring to cancel than to continue rebelling—is less reminiscent of Brecht’s idea of a “communications apparatus” than of the words put into the mouth of the character Bartleby by the American writer Herman Melville: “I would prefer not to.”⁶⁴⁴

Melville’s “story of Wall-Street” published in 1853 tells of a scrivener who starts working as a copyist in a New York law office. His desk stands under a small window with a view of a brick wall and is separated by a folding screen, “which might entirely isolate Bartleby from my sight, though not remove him from my voice,” as his boss, the story’s narrator, explains. Bartleby copies documents day in, day out, never leaves the office, and only survives on ginger nuts, which the office’s errand boy brings to him. One day he answers to his

644 See Herman Melville: “Bartleby, the Scrivener,” in: *Putnam’s Monthly Magazine of American Literature, Science, and Art* (New York), 2 (July–December 1853), pp. 546–557 and 609–615. For an overview of philosophical interpretations from Gilles Deleuze via Giorgio Agamben to Slavoj Žižek, see Armin Beverungen and Stephen Dunne: “‘I’d prefer not to.’ Bartleby and the Excesses of Interpretation,” in: *Culture and Organization*, 12/2 (2007), pp. 171–183.

superior that he “would prefer not to” help examine a paper. This “prefer not to” subsequently extends to all his tasks until he even stops writing and only stares out of the window.⁶⁴⁵

His boss’s reactions fluctuate between exasperation at the “mild effrontery” of his employee and attempts to interpret his behavior as “morbid moodiness.” As *Bartleby* does not want to leave his workplace but his presence starts to disturb the clients, the lawyer moves his firm elsewhere. The unemployed scrivener, who now sits in the staircase in front of his former office, is removed from the building on Wall Street as a vagrant and taken to the New York city jail. There he stops eating and ultimately dies. His boss only finds out later that before being employed as a copyist *Bartleby* had been a “subordinate clerk in the Dead Letter Office at Washington,” where undeliverable mail was examined and largely burnt.⁶⁴⁶

In contrast to Brecht and the radio amateurs, *Bartleby* does not demand more communication but evades every form of interaction. Instead of rebelling against his boss, telling him that he could no longer stand the interminable copying and finally wanted to do something meaningful, even creative, he insists on the right to be there unproductively. “I would prefer nothing rather than something: not a will to nothingness, but the growth of a nothingness of the will,” the French philosopher Gilles Deleuze wrote on *Bartleby*’s attitude.⁶⁴⁷ The lawyer interprets his employee’s strange behavior as the expression of a mental illness. But perhaps it is the opposite and doing nothing is in fact a remedy for the interconnected world of communication.

645 Melville: “*Bartleby, the Scrivener*,” quotes pp. 549–550.

646 Melville: “*Bartleby, the Scrivener*,” quotes pp. 553–554 and 614.

647 Gilles Deleuze: “*Bartleby; or, The Formula*” [French 1989], in: *Essays Critical and Clinical*, trans. Daniel W. Smith and Michael A. Greco, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 1997 [French 1993], pp. 68–90, here p. 71.