

Finally, the book concludes with two utterly heartbreaking essays entitled "On the Demoralization of Public Life" and "Disinherited Liberals: Ras-Beirut in Jeopardy." Here, at last, Khalaf falls into the trap of attributing bloodshed and mayhem to the lack of "civility" (he probably means "humanity") of the "average Lebanese." This is a classic example of blaming the victim. It is a perverse misdiagnosis reminiscent of George Shultz's peevish view that the Lebanese people are damned because of their nature, not because of the willful oligarchs and militiamen who control their fate.

German White-Collar Workers and the Rise of Hitler. By Hans Speier. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986. Pp. xxv + 208. \$27.50.

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Hans Speier's book *German White-Collar Workers and the Rise of Hitler* has a fascinating history. Planned publication of the original German manuscript was suspended in 1933 when the Nazis seized power. Speier published only fragments of the research in the 1930s while in exile at the New School. A revised version of the manuscript appeared in German in 1977. In the final stage of this odyssey, the 1977 study has now become available in English, translated by Professor Speier. The book is thus a social historical palimpsest, overlaid with rewritings informed by a half-century of research in history and sociology.

While the title suggests a focus on the social sources of Nazism, Speier's study also addresses more general problems in the sociology of political behavior, industrial organization, class structure, and ideology. Like many other sociologists in the Weimar Republic, Speier was interested in explaining the shifting political loyalties of German white-collar workers (*Angestellte*), which contrasted sharply with the left-wing orientation of most blue-collar workers. He was also fascinated by the ideological peculiarities of the *Angestellten*, especially their claims of cultural superiority to manual laborers, which persisted despite growing economic similarities between the two groups. Accounting for salaried employees' political consciousness seemed even more pressing as it became clear that they were overrepresented in the Nazi constituency. In 1930, Walter Benjamin wrote: "Today there is no other class whose thoughts and emotions are more alienated from the concrete reality of its existence than the white-collar workers" (*Gesammelte Schriften* [Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1972], 3:220).

Speier rejects the two major theories of the middle class that were popular in Weimar Germany (and that are still defended in various guises). One of these treated the intermediate strata as part of the proletariat, while the other argued that they formed a coherent "new middle class" with distinct interests. The first part of the book demonstrates that

the salaried employees were unified only as a legal/linguistic category but were riven by differences in both attitudes and material conditions (including social origins, training, promotion, work autonomy, unemployment, and wages).

The book points out strong correlations between employees' political orientations and features of their work. Commercial and office employees, for example, were more likely than other white-collar workers to join the anti-semitic "national" unions, support the Nazis, and raise the most extreme status claims. Speier relates their conservatism to a tradition of career trajectories frequently culminating in self-employment or at least promotion. Foremen and lower-level technical workers, conversely, having little opportunity for achieving independence or advancement and more contact with manual workers, tended to join socialist unions.

Speier concludes nonetheless that economic stratification cannot adequately explain white-collar consciousness but must be supplemented with an analysis of the distribution of social honor (Weber's *soziale Geltung*). He specifies the conditions specific to the Weimar Republic and to particular occupational groups that aggravated their fear of declining social esteem and permitted them to articulate claims to higher status. This historical approach is more compelling than familiar explanations of fascism as driven by generalized lower-middle-class "status panic."

In the most interesting sections of the book, Speier develops three theses concerning white-collar workers' struggles for prestige: (1) their ability to reclaim eroded social esteem depended upon the existence in Weimar Germany of a plurality of nonhegemonic status hierarchies, the most important of which were military (pp. 80–82); (2) the grounds on which status claims were made and the desire to make them varied among different groups of *Angestellten* (p. 8); and (3) because of their heterogeneity, white-collar workers were unable to "generate social valuations of their own," but instead "typically adopted them from other strata" (p. 8).

In addition to legal privileges, such as social insurance, separate from those of manual workers, salaried employees gained prestige through three primary means: (1) participation in the employer's social esteem, (2) strategies of educational certification and self-improvement, and (3) the elaboration of an anticapitalist and antiproletarian *völkisch* nationalism, fused with traditional militaristic values—an ideology with a strong affinity to Nazi appeals.

The last four chapters trace the development of German white-collar organizations from the late 19th century through 1933. The guiding principle of their activities, even during the Weimar Republic, was to "preserve the status . . . of salaried employees vis-à-vis blue-collar workers" (p. 140). Here, as in several other sections, Speier unfortunately does not expand on various intriguing suggestions. It is unclear, for example, why, "in both left-wing and right-wing organizations, salaried employees were politically more radical than the manual workers and their functionaries" (p. 149).

German White-Collar Workers and the Rise of Hitler is a stimulating contribution to class analysis and political sociology whose appeal should reach beyond those involved in German studies.

Working-Class Formation: Nineteenth-Century Patterns in Western Europe and the United States. Edited by Ira Katznelson and Aristide R. Zolberg. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986. Pp. viii + 470. \$55.00 (cloth); \$14.50 (paper).

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No doubt, *Working-Class Formation* was conceived as a pathbreaking project; occasionally the rhetorical style of individual chapters is that of delivering new news and knocking down old shibboleths. Nonetheless, this book in comparative history must stand primarily as a synthesis of what has now become the mainstream position. This is not to deny its value. The mainstream view of specialists has not yet, unfortunately, won over the conventional wisdom of sociologists at large. This book is one of the best ways available for this larger community to find out what the products of the past 20 years' resurgence of attention to the historical problematic of class formation and struggle have been, at least in the cases of France, Germany, and the United States.

Ira Katznelson provides the ostensible conceptual framework for the book in an introductory essay that served as the basis for discussion among contributors before they wrote their own chapters. Katznelson's themes will be familiar to readers of his other work: the importance of proletarianization as a general, even defining, theme of modernity, the complexity (but also importance) of class as an analytic concept, and the diversity of historical experience in different national states. The central conceptual proposal of his introductory essay is an "unpacking" of the term "class" into "four connected layers of theory and history: those of structure, ways of life, dispositions, and collective action" (p. 14). Among other things, this is an effort to get away from a too simplistic problematic of "class-in-itself" versus "class-for-itself." Katznelson suggests that analysis should proceed in three directions. The first is to look at the way in which the development of capitalism determines class development; this is primary and should be "exhausted" before turning to other explanatory hypotheses. The second direction for analysis is to explore the ways in which social phenomena not clearly a part of capitalism affect the linkages among different levels of class. Demography or religion, for example, may be important in determining the extent to which class structure affects ways of life, dispositions, or alignments for collective action. The third direction of analysis is the most important; it is the study of how state formation and the exercise or pursuit of state power create or shape