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THE LAZARSFELD'S HERITAGE

The sociological calendar of the year 2001 has withnessed an important double jubilee by the 100th anniversary of the birth and the 25th year since the death of Paul Lazarsfeld. Both the stature and the style of research of one of the founders of contemporary empirical sociology bore the traces of his Central European origin throughout his career. As a commemoration of our journal, we would like to call attention to some up-to-date lessons of Lazarsfeld's works by presenting the next two articles.

MARIENTHAL – THE BEGINNINGS OF LAZARSFELD'S EMPIRICAL SOCIOLOGY IN CENTRAL EUROPE. (RESEARCH INTO A COMMUNITY WITH HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT.)

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Abstract: Last year was the one hundred-year anniversary of the birth of Paul Lazarsfeld, the leader of the Marienthal project, and one of the creators of modern empirical, sociological research. The authors of the Marienthal study – Paul Lazarsfeld, Marie Jahoda and Hans Zeisel – applied a model of research that shows traces of the creative workshop that characterises its place of origin – Central Europe. The subject, the aim of the study, the amount of influence, the methodology used, and the manner of its origin indicate that it was not a piece of work that was looking to establish or to confirm a great new theory. The aim of this group of young Viennese researchers was to produce a detailed analysis of a specific social phenomenon – unemployment – in one of its specific forms, and to conduct a thorough study of the unemployed community of Marienthal.
The aim of this paper is to acquaint today's readers with the results of the Central European research mentioned here dating from the early stages of empirical sociology, and with the methods that the authors applied.

Keywords: history of sociology, empirical social research, Lazarsfeld

INTRODUCTION

Marienthal – an example of the early research tradition in Central Europe

A period of more than seventy years lies between the present reader and the human fates of the unemployed inhabitants of Marienthal, a village in Lower Austria, during the time of great economic crisis in the centre of Europe in the early 1930s. This particular case is described in the contemporary book of the same title, the authors of which were three young and unknown researchers from the University of Vienna – the mathematician, statistician, social psychologist and the founder of the research centre of applied psychology, Paul Lazarsfeld; the social psychologist, Marie Jahoda; and the lawyer and statistician, Hans Zeisel. Last year was the one hundred-year anniversary of the birth of Paul Lazarsfeld, the leader of the Marienthal project, and one of the creators of modern empirical, sociological research.[1]

The Marienthal research study represents an example of one of the first important, and by our days "classic", sociological research studies, which is cited throughout the world both by specialists dealing with the issues of unemployment and sociologists focusing on family issues, and by advocates of measurement in sociology and sociologists pursuing qualitative research paradigms. Both from the perspective of the subject being described, and from the perspective of the methodology that was used, it is a piece of research that serves as testimony to the wealth of the sociological heritage that in Central Europe can be traced back long before the time when European sociologists after World War II began to be inspired by the examples of imported American empirical sociology.

The authors of the Marienthal study applied a model of research that shows traces of the creative workshop that characterises its place of origin – Central Europe. The subject, the aim of the study, the amount of influence, the methodology used, and the manner of its origin indicate that it was not a piece of work that was looking to establish or to confirm a great new theory. At that time sociology in Europe was still rather a theoretical discipline without any empirical component; empirical research was still taking its first steps, while "sociography" was in the process of emerging. The aim of this group of young Viennese researchers was to produce a detailed analysis of a specific social phenomenon – unemployment – in one of its specific forms, and to conduct a thorough study of the unemployed community of Marienthal.

1 The anniversary of the birth of one of the most important founders of empirical sociology, this great "Viennese", "Central European" sociologist and social psychologist, statistician and methodologist in one person is the subject of a special issue of the International Journal of Public Opinion Research, Vol. 13, no.3, 2001. In addition to a detailed research biography and a selected bibliography (Jeřábek 2001 a, 2001b) this thematic issue also contains an analysis of Lazarsfeld's role in the construction of the institutional foundation of empirical sociological research by Allen H. Barton (2001), an example of Lazarsfeld's research on voting behaviour as a cumulative research effort, by Robert B. Smith (2001), an in-depth analysis of Lazarsfeld's concept of research into the influence of mass media on readers and audiences by the most competent voice on this subject, Eliha Katz (2001), and last but not least, the last scientific article by the greatest expert on Lazarsfeld's work, Paul Neurath (2001), the custodian of Lazarsfeld's legacy and the founder of his archive in Vienna.

The authors were inspired in their approach by the famous community research "Middletown" conducted by Robert and Helen Lynd (1929) At the same time, however, they also used many other innovative models. The orientation of the research was influenced by Marxism, which was very popular in Vienna at that time. All the young researchers who participated in the project were self-proclaimed social democrats. The subject of the research – a fully unemployed community – was chosen by the chairman of the Austrian social democratic party, Otto Bauer, himself, but the research was not commissioned by politics. Even today it is still considered an example of an honest, inspirational and exceptionally resourceful piece of sociological research. This is particularly so owing to the methodology employed for the collection and analysis of data. The young authors surpassed the Lynds' "Middletown" in terms of the methodology of community research because of their better use of statistical methods in the data analyses. From the viewpoint of theory, Robert Lynd himself was inspired by Marienthal in his next study, "Middletown in Transition" (Lynd 1937). Above all, the specific, factually conceived study, aimed at the problem of unemployment, is an example of an exceptionally successfully combined use of a broad scale of research methods and approaches, which are difficult to find in combination even decades later in other sociological research studies. An important feature of the research is the synergetic use of a variety of ideas that contributed to the emergence of an exceptional piece of work. The aim of this paper is to acquaint today's readers with the results of the Central European research mentioned here dating from the early stages of empirical sociology, and with the methods that the authors applied.

The research project, the circumstances of its origin and its reception in the scientific community

Let us first look at the circumstances that led to the decision of Lazarsfeld's team to conduct extensive in-depth research on a community of the unemployed – the small village of Marienthal in Lower Austria.

At the beginning of the 1930s Lazarsfeld worked at the University of Vienna in Karl Bühler's Institute of Psychology as an assistant to Charlotte Bühler. In addition, he taught mathematics at a Viennese "gymnasium" (academic secondary school), and led the Research Centre for Applied Commercial Research, which he had founded not long before. In practical terms, *Wirtschaftspsychologische Forschungsstelle* (Research Centre for Economic Psychology) dates its origin to the end of the 1920s, when researchers began to receive the first commercially oriented commissions for work from market research and the media. Formally, as a research body loosely affiliated with the University of Vienna and with its own financing, the "Research Centre" was founded in 1931.[2] The Research Centre of Applied Psychology under Lazarsfeld's direction focused especially on commercial market and media research. In the period of economic crisis these subjects were expanded to include another particularly acute subject – the study of an unemployed community.

Lazarsfeld's interest in researching issues related to unemployment is connected with his political involvement. He was an active member of the socialist movement in Vienna from the time of his youth. He founded and for several years led the Club of Socialist Secondary-School Students. Not only was the home of his parents a common meeting place for many of the foremost personalities of Viennese cultural and academic life in the 1920s, but family friends included a number of true socialists, among whom was Alfred Adler, physicist and pacifist (Zeisel 1979:10), Otto Neurath, who Hans Zeisel referred to as the "last polymath" (Zeisel 1979: 12), and Otto Bauer, chairman of the socialist party in Austria.

Hans Zeisel remembers an event that contributed in a decisive manner to the realisation and ultimate form of "Marienthal":

2 Sometime between 1925 and 1928, Lazarsfeld founded an informal research group at the Institute of Psychology of Karl Buhler, which was a part of the University of Vienna. This group dealt with psychological research, market research and the evaluation of data from the related surveys. Its existence is first mentioned in February 1928: "The growing number of exact studies conducted at the Viennese institute of developmental psychology has led to the establishment of a statistical working society *(Arbeitsgemeinschaft);* this society processes the Viennese experiments and seeks general approaches for improving statistical methods in psychology" (Lazarsfeld 1928: 237). The research centre *(Wirtschaftspsychologische Forschungsstelle)* that later formally emerged out of this group is mentioned by Zeisel, Jahoda and Lazarsfeld in their memoirs, but with different dates. Marie Jahoda refers to it while "still in the period of my secondary-school studies", which must have been 1926 at the latest (Jahoda 1980: 220) Hans Zeisel dates it from the year 1925 (Zeisel 1979: 13), and Lazarsfeld's account is most frequently connected with the year 1927 (Lazarsfeld 1975: 151, 1982: 15) The formal foundation of the corporation with a board of directors dates from 1931 (Fleck 1990: 166, 227) The Viennese research centre, under Lazarsfeld's direction from the end of the 1920s to 1933, dealt with applied research of the market, media and other social issues. (Lazarsfeld 1975: 151, 1982: 15) The centre continued to exist even after Lazarsfeld's departure for the USA. Its directorship was first committed to Hans Zeisel, and later to Marie Jahoda. The closure of the centre is referred to in connection with the arrest of Marie Jahoda in 1936.

> *"An unexpected turn of events in our preoccupation with the socialist movement led to the creation of the most important piece of work in those years. Austrian unions at that time had just managed to successfully assert their demand for a ten-hour workday. Motivated by American studies, Paul thought that we should try to discover how labourers were using their newly won leisure time. At that time we had the privilege to speak occasionally with Otto Bauer, the educated, ascetic leader of the socialist party. When Paul told him of his plan, Bauer reacted angrily: What kind of parody would that be, to study how leisure time is spent in a country that suffers chronically from a ten-percent unemployment rate. Instead of researching leisure time, he said, it is the social and psychological consequences of long-term unemployment that needs to be studied. And that's just what we did – in Marienthal." (Zeisel 1979: 13; see also Sills 1979: 412.)*

The research was inspired by an extensive study of London and its population conducted by Charles Booth (Booth 1902–3), and by the Lynds' "Middletown" study. The authors of Marienthal knew and read both of these studies (Zeisel 1979: 11). A study by Hans Zeisel entitled "The History of Sociography" was included as an appendix to the very first edition of the book, which revealed, among other things, that the authors were familiar with Thomas and Znaniecki's "The Polish Peasant in Europe and America" and the biographical method employed by them, and thus were also familiar with the already published work of the Chicago school. Zeisel even noted that they were starting to abandon the use of statistical methods (Zeisel 1960: 128; 1974:122).

The response in academic circles to the research and the book was positive. Upon the recommendation of Charlotte Bühler, Lazarsfeld participated in the international psychological congress, which was held in 1932 in Germany, and there he spoke of the results of the Marienthal research. The success of Lazarsfeld's presentation at the congress is evident in the fact that his paper, which contained a description of the methods used and the most important conclusions drawn from the research, was published in an American journal of psychology even prior to the publication of the book (Lazarsfeld 1932). In his autobiography Lazarsfeld mentions the contacts with foremost American psychologists that he established at the congress (Lazarsfeld 1975: 169–70, 1982: 31–32). When the book was published, not only did references to it appear in various journals of psychology, but it also aroused interest among sociologists and economists (Fleck 1990: 177, 230; (P.V.Y. 1933; Leichter 1933; Lütge 1934). In the review of the book in *Kölner Vierteljahrshefte für Soziologie,* Leopold von Weise evaluated the study as "sociographical", wherein he pointed out that the subject of interest had been the unemployed community as a whole and not the unemployed individual (Wiese 1933: 98). He considered one of the strong points of the research to be the use of exact quantitative approaches along with methods aiming at "co-experience" and an effort on the part of the researchers to put themselves in the position of the inhabitants of the unemployed community. Further he wrote:

> *"It seems to me particularly correct that no imprudent or short-sighted questionnaire scheme was used in the work, and that the people being studied were not simply supplied with questions and their answers to*

them recorded, but instead the approach of indirect questioning was used (which I also always recommend)" (Wiese 1933: 96).

Methods, approaches and research questions

In the introduction to the English edition of the book in the spring of 1971, Lazarsfeld refers to four principles that he tried to maintain in the Marienthal study. As Marie Jahoda reveals in her memoirs, the text on methodological principles was already written by Lazarsfeld in 1933 in an article that had not been published at that time (Jahoda 1991: 121):

a) For any phenomenon one should have objective observations as well as introspective reports;
b) case studies should be properly combined with statistical information;
c) contemporary information should be supplemented with information on earlier phases of whatever is being studied;
d) "natural and experimental data" should be combined. By experimental I mean mainly questionnaires and solicited reports, while by natural data I mean what is now called "unobtrusive measures" – data derived from daily life without interference from the researcher. (Jahoda, Lazarsfeld and Zeisel 1974: xiv)

In the introduction the researchers promise to combine the use of quantitative research methods with the method of putting themselves in the given situation. For this reason they also opted for a long-term stay in the village being studied – to conduct location research that would facilitate the combination of several of the methods and approaches. They did not attempt to generalize their results to other examples of unemployment. They pointed out that they were researching a fully unemployed community in which the majority of the unemployed were composed of former manual labourers who had worked in the textile industry, and that the specific circumstances of Marienthal lay in the poor access to other employment opportunities in the area in which the families lived.

The methods used in the study included:

1. personal data on all 478 families in the Marienthal community, including information on housing conditions, family life and household management;
2. the life histories of 32 men and 30 women whose lives till then provided suitable material for comparison;
3. 80 time sheets of the day;
4. reports from the industry commission of the district of Wiener Neustadt for the previous year;
5. essays in stylistics written by students from the elementary school on the subjects: "What I Would Like Above All", "What I Would Like To Be", and "What I Would Like For Christmas";
6. a writing competition for young people on the subject: "How I See My Future";
7. records of the eating habits of 40 families for one week, and records of the lunch packages children were provided with on the day before and on the day after unemployment subsidy payments were received;

8. records of the presents that 80 children received for Christmas;
9. statistical information on the expenditures (money spent) of inhabitants in restaurants, at the barber's, the butcher's, the horse butcher's, the shoemaker's, the tailor's or dressmaker's, and reports from political clubs and various associations and local organisations;
10. statistical data on loans from the local library, subscriptions to various newspapers, membership in clubs, election results, age composition, births, deaths, weddings, and information on migration;
11. statistics on households acquired from the Chamber of Commerce from several households.

All the researchers were obliged to participate in the life of the community through some activity of benefit to the community. For this purpose the research team implemented several projects:

1. through private gatherings in Vienna approximately 200 pieces of clothing were collected, which were cleaned and mended as well as supplemented with new items; the researchers visited 100 families in Marienthal beforehand and asked them what kind and size of clothing the family needed most, and in this way were able to gain access to the family, which made it possible for them to determine the specific needs of the families and to discover what the family paid primary attention to;
2. sewing and patterning courses which approximately 50 women attended;
3. medical consultation provided free of charge;
4. courses of gymnastics for girls – these enabled contact with this portion of the population which was otherwise inaccessible, as with the onset of the unemployment situation the girls ceased to attend all activities of local organisations and associations and it was very difficult to find an opportunity to meet with them;

The research contained two groups of questions:

A) Attitudes towards unemployment:

1. What was the first reaction to the unemployment?
2. What efforts were developed by the unemployed individual in order to obtain work again?
3. Who obtained work outside the region and by what means?
4. What kind of work the unemployed substituted their former employment with (e.g. raising rabbits, working in the field, etc.)?
5. What is the attitude towards temporary unemployment and towards emigration?
6. What plans do people still have? What are the differences between adults and youths?
7. What are the differences between those who have work and those who are without work?

B) The impact of unemployment:
1. What is the impact of unemployment on the physical condition of the inhabitants?
2. What is the impact on the performance of children at school?
3. What kind of influence does unemployment have on criminal behaviour?
4. Does the parents' unemployment have a greater influence on younger or older children?
5. Do political differences increase or decrease?
6. Do attitudes towards religion change?
7. Does any general shift in interests emerge?
8. What changes are evident in how people perceive time?
9. Do the mutual relationships of people towards one another change?
10. Do expressions of competitiveness or signs of co-operation appear more?

The preliminary work and discussions began in the autumn of 1931. Data collection ran from December 1931 to May 1932. The researchers spent altogether 120 research days in the community (Jahoda, Lazarsfeld and Zeisel 1960: 9, 1974: 9).

MARIENTHAL – THE MAIN FINDINGS

The emergence of unemployment and the living conditions of unemployed families

The industrial community of Marienthal, situated about 35 minutes from Vienna by train, and 30 minutes by foot from the nearest train station, emerged gradually over the years between 1830 and 1890, in conjunction with the establishment of textile factories in this location. As a result of the great economic crises, between July 1929 and February 1930, all five textile factories in the community gradually closed their doors, which affected almost the entire population of Marienthal. The absolute majority of labourers were unable to find substitute employment, and those who did not leave with their families to seek work elsewhere, usually abroad, remained without work. Unemployment in the sheer majority of cases affected entire families.

At the time of the research the Marienthal community was composed of 1486 inhabitants (712 men and 774 women, of which 318 were children aged 14 and under). Out of the total 478 households, those made up of two (25%), three (31%) and four (17%) individuals predominated. More than one-half of the families were childless. In 208 families the number of children was small, usually only one child (126 families) or two (54 families). Rent of a small flat (usually a kitchen and one room) in the period of mass unemployment cost a family four schillings, while earlier on it had cost five schillings.

Economic processes, and even the simple processes in the lives of families during the period of unemployment were entirely governed by the cycle of unemployment subsidies, which were made once every two weeks. This was clearly evident in the data gained from school children, of whom one half brought nothing or only dry

bread for lunch on the day before subsidy payments, while on the day after payments the picture was entirely different.

Three-quarters of the families in Marienthal lived only on unemployment subsidies. Of 478 families only in 93 did someone in the family work, in 358 families someone in the family collected unemployment subsidies, and in 9 families even this support was not available. In about three-quarters of the families, i.e. five-sixths of all the inhabitants in the community, the family had to share a monthly subsidy of 20-60 schillings between them. The researchers demonstrated through specific examples of several families what this situation actually meant in practice. In this dismal economic situation some families tried to help themselves by raising rabbits and growing vegetables in the vegetable patches in front of the houses. Some of the labourers at times found occasional work in the surrounding area, usually only in exchange for food. For those who had lost their right to subsidies this was the only way to provide food for the family.

Eating habits and the family budget

Over the course of one week 41 households kept a record of what they ate each day. In these records we find a lot of useful information, such as for example, that the majority of households ate three times a day. Only 25 per cent of families ate four times a day. Meat was served in one-half of the families on Sunday only, in 15 per cent of the families not at all, and in 31 per cent of families two to four times weekly. This picture of the eating habits can be observed in some communities even now. At that time, however, this pattern was not associated with healthy vegetarian eating habits, thus Lazarsfeld and his colleagues were able without any risk of distorting the data to use this fact as an indicator of poverty. The occasional presence of meat in the diet was in the majority of cases cheaper horsemeat, and often domestically raised rabbit. The consumption of pork and beef almost vanished entirely during the period of full unemployment. In another part of the report the researchers point to the consequences of this fact with information on the closing of two butcher's shops where the inhabitants of Marienthal had earlier purchased their pork and beef, and the – at least temporary – prosperity of the horse butcher in the community.

The evening meal was usually made up of black coffee and bread or the leftovers from lunch. Only small children had milk in their coffee. The consumption of sugar in the community during the period of unemployment declined remarkably. Some families used saccharin as a replacement sweetener, others became used to the fourteen-day cycle between subsidy payments and in the second week switched to saccharin instead of sugar. It was difficult to determine the details of the family budget in the research, but the study includes this information using the example of one large family with children, who lived on a small amount of support during the period of unemployment.

The differences in the consumption of food items caused by mass unemployment in Marienthal are demonstrated through general data on the sale of different kinds of general food items in shops in Marienthal. The study compares the sale of food items

in the years before the onset of unemployment in 1928, at the beginning of the unemployment period in 1928, and in the period of full unemployment in 1930. The sale of butter decreased to 38 per cent of the original quantity, while the sale of margarine increased by 92 per cent. The sale of coffee fell to 63 per cent of the original quantity, and that of cocoa, which was cheaper, grew by 41 per cent. The families on the average had to make do on about one-quarter of their usual income. This required careful planning of expenses and well thought out calculations in order for the family to manage from one subsidy payment to the next. The families realised early on that in such a situation of permanent penury they could not allow themselves to incur any debts. A real misfortune could be the occurrence of any serious illness in the family, and in such cases the majority of families were simply ruined, because they lacked the necessary financial resources to cover this kind of misfortune. In conditions of long-term destitution the families did not receive any financial means for replacing clothing and shoes. When shoes and clothing had already become so worn that they could no longer be mended, there was simply nothing at all to wear. The majority of families had to deal with this critical situation with respect to their children: the children must go to school, so there's nothing else to do but to alter daddy's coat – this was the usual solution to the family dilemma.

Even though work in the textile factories had by no means been healthy, unemployment had a positive impact on the health of the labourers only in the initial period. Poor food and insufficient hygienic standards had a clearly negative effect on the health of the population. The health of the children, with the exception of those of pre-school age who returned to the home environment with their mothers, worsened in the period of unemployment. Dental care was particularly neglected. The researchers, who had knowledge of the state of health of the Marienthal population owing to the presence of a doctor in the team who provided any essential aid and advice to the unemployed families free of charge, report that in the period of unemployment only 8 per cent of the children had healthy teeth.

The weary community

A characteristic feature of the social life in Marienthal was the predominant feeling of pessimism, monotony, fatigue and apathy – it was a weary, listless community. In their recollections of better times, of when there was employment and people had work, people spoke of dancing, time spent in Vienna, in the parks, at the theatre, at political meetings, and hours spent reading. All these things then ceased to have any meaning. There was plenty of time, but no motivation. Information drawn from the local library confirms this trend quite convincingly. More than 3 books per reader were borrowed on average in 1929, 2.3 books in 1930, and only 1.6 books in 1931, which is persuasive testimony to the fact that reading habits require more than a sufficient amount of time, if interest in reading and motivation to do so are lacking, as was the situation during the long-term period of mass unemployment in Marienthal. The time that the unemployed had on their hands ceased to be seen as "leisure time". This was no longer the kind of time that filled that gap between

meaningful activities, in which earlier work capabilities, the gathering of experience and diligence had been put to use and sustained the family's livelihood. Time lost this socially conditioned context.

In the altered situation of mass unemployment, interest in politics also declined sharply. Subscriptions to the "Workers' Newspaper", which focused on political issues, fell between 1927 and 1930 by 60 per cent, while "The Little Paper", which was a daily oriented more towards entertainment, recorded a drop in subscriptions during the same period by only 27 per cent. All the political parties, with no exception, lost members even when they lowered membership fees to a minimum. Though the Social Democratic Party lost the least members, even it recorded a loss of one-third of its members. For young people especially it was true that only those who still had work remained politically active. The pre-election campaign prior to the 1932 elections took place in Marienthal without arousing interest, and very quietly. The political spectrum of the voting community did not change in connection with the unemployment situation.

One exception to the decline in activity was found in interest groups related to the lives of children, or to advantages gained from membership. The socialist organisation, "The Children's Friends", lost only one quarter of its members, the membership base of "The Workers' Cycling Club" remained unchanged, and two organisations even registered an increase in membership: the Catholic organization, "Happy Childhood", and the social democratic organization, "Flame", which made cremation arrangements. All three organisations provided their members with obvious, and not only financial, advantages. The cycling club covered bicycle insurance for its members, and the bicycle remained the one commonly used means of transportation among inhabitants of the community, and the only link with the outside world, in which here and there some job opportunities still arose. The organisation "Happy Childhood" ran nurseries, and the low fee required by the cremation society insured the family against the large expense in the limited family budget in the case of a death in the family. Membership in interest and social organisations was in the circumstances of penury thus modified in a utilitarian manner according to the financial benefit that particular memberships offered. It was not a question of any change in conviction. It concerned instead a loss of the motivational strength of membership that occurred in this exceptional situation.

A response to deprivation

One important chapter in the study creates a classification of the families of the unemployed from the point of view of how they responded to the deprivation brought on by unemployment. The introduction presents examples gained from an in-depth study of the families that were visited, and typical examples of families differentiated by their reactions to the situation are given. In the second part of the chapter a typology of families is outlined and described on the basis of the many smaller observations made by the research team.

The first type of family described here is that of the *resigned family.* This type of family typically lacks any sort of plans, does not have and does not express any relationship to the future or their notions of it, and has no hope in anything. Also typical is the maximum effort they employ to economise, to limit their needs to absolute necessities. On the other hand, they also demonstrate exemplary maintenance of their household and care of their children, and at least for their sake try to maintain a situation of relative sufficiency.

The second, somewhat more optimistic type is that of the *unbroken family,* which is characterised by a greater degree of activity among at least some of its members. Typical features also include care for the household and children, a subjective feeling of relative sufficiency, activities, plans, and faith in the future, preserved vitality, and an ongoing, continual effort on the part of the main breadwinner to find some sort of employment.

The other two types of families can both be described as defeated. The first, from the viewpoint of objective characteristics, does not differ too much from the resigned family. The main difference is found in how the same situation in which both families find themselves is experienced. This family is referred to as the *desperate family.* The household is kept in order and the children are cared for. But the main feeling through which members of the family experience their living conditions is powerlessness, depression, and despair. This is combined with a sense of the uselessness of any effort, and these families also make no attempt in any way to find employment or improve their situation.

The fourth group is most aptly defined as the *apathetic family.* The main external feature of this type of family, which distinguishes it from the other three types outlined above, is the absence of an orderly household. The defining characteristics in this situation are apathy, ignorance and passivity. The families leave things to run their course without making any effort to protect themselves against the worst. The main feature of these families is absolute passivity, and an absence of any kind of effort. The household and the children are dirty and uncared for. The mental reaction to the situation is not despair but indifference. They have no plans and no desires. The household is so disrupted that it is unable to satisfy even the most basic of needs of its members. The management of the household, affected by the hopelessness of the situation, is altogether irrational. Families of alcoholics are often found in this category. Family life is usually in decay. Arguments, begging and theft can often be traced. No one makes any plans either in terms of days or even hours. Unemployment subsidy payments are usually spent during the first several days without anyone worrying about how the family is to survive during the remainder of the two-week period.

The researchers estimated the average representation of each type of family in Marienthal. The results showed an unbalanced distribution of 23 per cent unbroken, 70 per cent resigned, 2 per cent desperate, and 5 per cent apathetic. They explained the relatively small share of unbroken families primarily through the fact that a portion of these families responded to the situation that arose in Marienthal by leaving the village, usually emigrating; and there were mostly young people who left.

The overall picture of the Marienthal community was dominated by the element of resignation. It was possible to characterise the situation as life in a community that

"…maintaining order for the present, has lost all relationship to the future" (Jahoda, Lazarsfeld and Zeisel 1974: 57, 1960: 59). An important component of resignation is the absence of any long-term plans for the future. During the course of the personal narratives that the inhabitants of Marienthal gave they were also asked to describe their lifetime plans. Out of the 28 men and 29 women who were questioned, only 15 were able to relate their future plans. The majority of these indicated their intention to leave Marienthal.

The authors of the study were interested in how much this attitude of resignation had affected young people as well. On the basis of the above-mentioned essays in stylistics on the subject "What I Would Like For Christmas?", the value of the gifts the children from Marienthal wished for was compared with that of gifts wished for by children from surrounding communities that had not been so stricken by unemployment. The average value of wishes made by the Marienthal children was one third of that of the children in surrounding communities. Although their wishes were far more modest than those of their peers in the other communities, the children of Marienthal were significantly more often disappointed with the gifts they received for Christmas. The majority did not even receive that little (Jahoda, Lazarsfeld and Zeisel: 1974: 58, 1960: 60).[3]

Paul Lazarsfeld, Marie Jahoda and Hans Zeisel also attempted to trace the way in which unemployment affected the experience of children, and to do so they examined the essay work in stylistics done by school children and their thoughts on the subject of "unemployment". The researchers compared the content of the essays by the students in Marienthal with work written by children in surrounding villages, and examined them from the perspective of the proportion of work that incorporated the personal experiences of the children or even the personal experience of someone else into the content of the written work. The stylistic essays of students from the surrounding villages included experience with unemployment in only 2 per cent of the cases, while in Marienthal the figure was 37 per cent. Moreover, in Marienthal a specific trend applied: the older the student, the more often unemployment appears as his or her personal problem. This can be expressed in one citation with the statement: "I would like to become a dressmaker, but I'm afraid I might not find a job and have nothing to eat" (Jahoda, Lazarsfeld and Zeisel 1960: 63, 1974: 61).

For the writing competition for the best essay on the subject "How I See My Future" only fifteen essays were submitted. But the competition revealed a significant difference between apprentices, who in essence were already working, had a clear view of their future, and knew what they wanted to strive towards, and young boys who had already finished or were about to finish school and did not know how to find work. The latter group wrote usually in only a general and superficial way about the future order of society, without establishing any fixed place for themselves or their fate in this development. The situation of resignation among young people in Marienthal can be generally framed by the fact that they were practically nowhere to

3 In the foreword to the second German edition of the book in 1960, Paul Lazarsfeld mentions the use of these questions as one of the first examples of the application of projective techniques in sociological research, which were later used with great frequency (Jahoda, Lazarsfeld and Zeisel 1960: xvii).

be seen. Out of 130 young people between the age of 14 and 21, the absolute majority could not be reached for any direct contact.

The meaning and perception of time

In this chapter the researchers describe how the abundance of time has a paradoxical influence on the structure of activities of the unemployed. Cut off from the work that they were used to, and deprived of contacts with the outside world, the labourers from Marienthal lost any material or mental reasons for spending their time in a meaningful way. These facts are convincingly demonstrated by the results of the diverse and innovatively conducted observations and readings.

At noon, at the time when there was the most traffic on the main street of Marienthal, Lazarsfeld and his colleagues recorded how many times pedestrians stopped along a section of three hundred metres. *Table 1* presents an overview of the differences between men and women.

Table 1. Differences in the number of stops made by women and men – Marienthal (Jahoda, Lazarsfeld and Zeisel 1974: 67, 1960: 69)

Stops on Main Street	Men	Women	Total
3 or more	39	3	42
2	7	2	9
1	16	15	31
0	6	12	18
Total	**68**	**32**	**100**

Another example of the distinction between men and women, from the viewpoint of how time was used and spent, was a measurement of the speed at which they walked along the main street. Although for every one hundred people who were moving about on the main street at any given time, there was also an additional thirty or so more who were just standing there, the observed walking pace was surprisingly low. *Table 2* shows the data for fifty "pedestrians" in Marienthal – both men and women.

Table 2. Speed of walking – the difference between men and women – Marienthal (Jahoda, Lazarsfeld and Zeisel 1974: 67, 1960: 69)

Speed of Walking in km per hour		Men	Women	Total
3 miles	*5.0 km/h*	7	10	17
2,5	*4.1 km/h*	8	3	11
2 miles	*3.2 km/h*	18	4	22
Total		**33**	**17**	**50**

In Marienthal, time had a dual character: it differed for men and for women. For men, the division of time into hours had largely lost its meaning. Out of 100 men, 88 did not wear watches, and only 31 of these had a watch at home. The only reference points for them consisted of rising in the morning, lunch and going to bed (Jahoda, Lazarsfeld and Zeisel 1974: 67, 1960: 69).

The third technique used for acquiring data were time sheets, which the inhabitants of the community were requested to fill out. The day of the unemployed labourer was filled in only a formal manner. Between the above three reference points were intervals of inactivity, which were difficult for the unemployed individual to describe. In comparison with the unemployed individual, the time sheets of the employed labourer both at work and upon returning home from work was filled with meaningful activities. The time of women was also used in productive activity. The researchers stated that the women in Marienthal were not unemployed, but unpaid. They considered it their duty to keep the household running, and that took them the entire day (Jahoda, Lazarsfeld and Zeisel 1974: 74–75, 1960: 76–77). Their time sheets included caring for the children, cleaning, shopping, cooking, washing dishes, sewing and mending, and these activities took up their entire day. Some men did look after the children, especially the young ones, and sometimes the overview of their work includes mention of household chores, looking after the rabbits, the garden, and other small tasks around the house. But usually their list of activities consisted of formally completing the time-snapshot form, with clear difficulties in naming the inactivity that filled the mornings and afternoons.

Therefore, according to the authors of Marienthal, a limited amount of leisure time acts as a motivational element, while conversely an unlimited amount leads to a loss of the need to structure it. They wrote: "What a man should do before lunch he can also do as easily after lunch or in the evening, and suddenly the day is over without anything being done" (Jahoda, Lazarsfeld and Zeisel 1974: 71, 1960: 73). One of the unemployed complained: "What would you do with your time if you were without work? … I was used to having less time for myself, but I did more for myself." (Jahoda, Lazarsfeld and Zeisel 1974: 71, 1960: 73)

Women were also bothered by their unemployment, and many of the female labourers wanted to return to their work in the factories even though this meant that looking after the household kept them up late into the night. They were willing to exchange the psychological pressure of the lack of money, the worry that they haven't anything to give the children to eat, the endless mending of worn out clothing, without any chance of buying the children something new, being closed in between four walls, and the lack of social contacts, for a return to the factory and the time of employment.

The passage of time changed in the unemployed community. In a situation in which almost no one spends weekdays at work, Sundays and holidays lost a great deal of their significance. The temporal rhythm of the community is established through the fourteen-day cycle of unemployment-subsidy payments. On the other hand, the alternation of the four seasons did not lose their meaning. The end of the season in which heating was needed, the shortening of nights in which lighting is necessary, the onset of agriculture labour and the possible chance of gaining a seasonal job that

came with it – these seasonal changes acquired greater significance in circumstances in which there is a lack of money in the household. The inhabitants of Marienthal thus went back to a more primitive and less differentiated conception of time (Jahoda, Lazarsfeld and Zeisel 1974: 77, 1960: 79).

Fading resilience

How long does this state of resignation last in an unemployed community? Directly after the onset of mass unemployment, Marienthal suffered a massive shock. For a while people recovered from their shock, and the situation became stable. Families had to get by on one quarter of their former income. At first they fell repeatedly into dept, until they learned to drastically reduce their consumption and the housewife learned to economise strictly. The wrestling club at first ceased to exist, but was re-started a year later. The football club dissolved one year, and in the following year started up again. However, one unavoidable question remained: "Will it always be like this? Is this situation going to remain unchanged forever?"

The gradual decrease in unemployment subsidies was not the only source of the deteriorating economic situation in the family. Family savings were soon exhausted. Well-worn clothing became more difficult to mend, and there was no money for new things. Shoes could soon no longer be mended at all. Undergarments were lacking. Collections made it possible to keep the children in clothing, and in case of desperate need the clothing of parents could be altered for them. Mothers sewed children's undergarments out of leftover bedding.

The economic situation influenced the attitudes and reactions of entire families. The average monthly income per consumer unit (adult = 1, child = 0.6) differed considerably according to groups of households. Table 3 illustrates how the sum of five schillings per month represented the difference between using sugar or saccharin as a sweetener, between children with mended shoes and children who had to stay at home, between the occasional cigarette or collecting cigarette buts off the street. The average wages of the defiant, resigned, desperate and apathetic families were differentiated only by this little.

Table 3. The average income per consumer unit in each of the four types of unemployed households – Marienthal (Jahoda, Lazarsfeld and Zeisel 1960: 83, 1974: 81)

Family type	Family income in schillings per month
Unbroken	34
Resigned	30
Desperate	25
Apathetic	19

Also, relationships within the family were negatively influenced by long-term unemployment. The number of arguments between husbands and wives increased.

The authors of Marienthal were interested in how the life history experienced by the individual inhabitants of the community before the onset of mass unemployment influenced the way in which they dealt with the unemployment that their families were struck by. They based this inquiry on 62 detailed life histories, and sought the possible causes for the deep breaking point in the attitudes of some of those affected, and likewise also the causes behind the relatively calm way in which the difficult situation was experienced by other families. One of the conclusions drawn from this qualitative analysis, demonstrated through an analysis of the individual fates of some of the unemployed, was the discovery that the deep scepticism, pessimism and apathy appeared among those inhabitants of Marienthal who in the period prior to the economic crisis were filled with grand plans, possessed a considerable amount of ambition, and had great expectations. The situation of their families before the crisis was better than average, and they existed in conditions of plenty. However, they entirely lacked any aspect of conformity and adaptability to new conditions. The authors see the causes of their breakdown in the interplay of objective circumstances and their individual reactions to them: "Their life was broken because they could neither grasp nor bear the enormous difference between the past and the present" (Jahoda, Lazarsfeld and Zeisel 1974: 97, 1960: 99).

In conclusion the study reaches theoretical conclusions on the influence of long-term mass unemployment on the social organism of the community – Marienthal. Apathy, the absence of plans for the future, but also the effort to preserve chances for the children, are the most notable elements of the life situation observed among the unemployed inhabitants of Marienthal.

The history of sociography

One part of the Marienthal publication in 1933 was the appendix written by one of the authors of the study, Hans Zeisel, and entitled "The History of Sociography". This was one of the first discussions of the history of the early stages of empirical sociological research. For the present-day reader the appendix represents a testimony to the context in which the Viennese researchers situated their study, which research studies they were familiar with and tried to follow up on. The term "sociography" itself indicates that they did not have any high theoretical ambitions. "Sociology" was a term associated in the popular discourse with an academic discipline that did not concern itself with empirical data collection, as we understand it today or even as the authors of Marienthal understood it then. Zeisel begins his overview of empirical social studies with the seventeenth-century work of William Petty and John Graunt from England and Ireland respectively. He continues with reports prepared for the British parliament, and the monumental work of Charles Booth "Life and Labour of the People in London", and the work of his followers. In the history of the observation of mass phenomena and their quantification, he highlights the role of Adolph Quételet, the Belgian astronomer and social scientist active in the middle of the nineteenth century. He does not forget to mention the merits of Frédéric Le Play and his monographs on European working-class families, or Engel's "budget law" of the

family, which expends more of its means on sustenance, the smaller the family budget is. Zeisel links the development of the collection and analysis of social data in Germany to the development of the Association for Social Policy, and praises the role of Max Weber in the preparation of large research studies of factory workers in the years 1908 to 1912. Research on social issues, connected with the "Social Survey" movement, is characterised by Zeisel as the first phase in the development of sociography on the American continent. He links the next phase of empirical social research with research studies that were not aimed above all at the rectification of social relationships but rather at understanding the rapidly transforming American society. He praises the Lynds' Middletown study, and refers to "The Polish Peasant in Europe and America", by Thomas and Znaniecki, and other research emerging out of the Chicago school. In conclusion he offers a glimpse into the methodological kitchen of Marienthal through an evaluation of the American literature : "American sociography has not achieved a synthesis between statistics and a full description of concrete observations" (Jahoda, Lazarsfeld and Zeisel 1974: 125, 1960: 131). "The task of integration lies still ahead" (Jahoda, Lazarsfeld and Zeisel 1974: 125).

THE FURTHER FATE AND RESEARCH OF THE MARIENTHAL AUTHORS

Marienthal continues to be a well-known study even today. It proves that in the early 1930s research comparable with the American work of the Chicago school or the Lynds' Middletown was being conducted in Europe. It incorporated the use of an entire series of techniques and methods that today are usually classified under the term "qualitative research methods". However, it also made use of techniques, the purpose of which was to acquire representative data and provide their statistical analysis. The leader of the team was Paul Lazarsfeld, and even though the concluding work related to the preparation of the publication rested to a larger degree on his colleagues, Marie Jahoda and Hans Zeisel, his role in the project is generally recognised as being considerable.

Lazarsfeld's biographers agree in their judgement that it was the results of the work done on the Marienthal research that brought Lazarsfeld to the attention of the European representative of the Rockefeller foundation in Paris, and led to the invitation he received, as the only one out of nine participants from Europe, for a long-term study tour to a number of American universities (Lazarsfeld 1975: 152, 1982: 16).

In November 1932 he was awarded a scholarship and in September 1933 he began his American residency with Robert Lynd, the author of the well-known Middletown study, who not long before had acquired the post of head of the department of sociology at Columbia University in New York. After that, Lazarsfeld visited over a dozen top universities and commercially oriented research centres over a two-year period of study in the United States. Years later he wrote of this in his autobiography (Lazarsfeld 1975: 174, 175, 220, 1982: 36, 356), stating that he always tried to involve himself in the work of the research team and become familiar with its style

of work, and learn something new. He visited, for example, Gordon Allport, Otto Klineberg and Goodwin Watson, researchers who had expressed interest in the Marienthal research at the psychology congress in Germany in 1932 (Lazarsfeld 1975: 169–70, 1982: 31–32). He was working in Washington when a research group focusing on the issues of unemployment was set up within the framework of President Roosevelt's "New Deal". There he made the acquaintance of a group of sociologists who at that time were working as government advisors on issues of unemployment. These empirical sociologists later came to form the core of the group founded by the Sociological Research Society, a group that was to have an important influence on the American sociological community. On the basis of data gathered by these researchers, Lazarsfeld managed to demonstrate that the formal level of education acquired by the unemployed does not have a decisive influence on the level of unemployment; of greater significance is the age of the worker. This revelation of the spurious correlation between education and unemployment won the respect of the above-mentioned group of experts. He worked with them again on another occasion in Chicago in the spring of 1934 on multidimensional statistical analyses related to unemployment (Lazarsfeld 1975: 170, 1982: 31–32).

Paul Lazarsfeld expanded on the subject of unemployment during the first years of his stay in the United States through several publications. Together with Bohdan Zawadzki, a Polish sociologist, he wrote an article that analysed the circumstances and consequences of unemployment as determined through an analysis of 57 individual biographies of unemployed Poles (Sulek 1994). Lazarsfeld here uncovered a confirmation of the typology of unemployed families that had been put together by his team in Marienthal (Zawadzki and Lazarsfeld 1935). If this article had been formulated primarily as a report on biographical research conceived qualitatively, the next paper, which Lazarsfeld prepared together with Paul Eisenberg on a similar subject, was more of an overview (Eisenberg and Lazarsfeld 1938).

In the summer of 1935, under the influence of the political situation in Austria, Lazarsfeld decided to immigrate to the United States. He began his new career at the University of Newark by going through ten thousand questionnaires filled in by young applicants for work. In 1936 he founded the research centre for social research at Newark, a centre that began to co-operate intensively with other institutions in which Lazarsfeld had acquaintances. In the first year of its activities the Newark research centre received considerable support from Max Horkheimer, the director of the New School of Social Research in New York, an institution that had gathered under one roof a large number of German-speaking emigrants who, after the rise of Hitler, had fled Europe. Its base was formed by a group of sociologists from the Frankfurt school, and for Lazarsfeld, co-operation with the Frankfurt school was actually an extension of his European contacts. Even in the years prior to his emigration he along with some colleagues from the Research Centre for Economic Psychology had participated in the collection and analysis of data for a large international research study on authority and families (Horkheimer 1936). In the United States he worked with Mirra Komarovsky between 1935 and 1940 on an analysis of research data in a project sponsored by Horkheimer's group. This project involved a qualitatively conceived research on unemployed men and their families.

Evidence of this shared research activity is found in Lazarsfeld's foreword to Komarovsky's study, referring to the long-term cooperative work on the project (Komarovsky 1940). This co-operation was also thematically connected with research on the unemployed – with the subject of "Marienthal". In 1936 and 1937 Lazarsfeld and Samuel Stouffer from the University of Chicago conducted co-operative research on families afflicted by the economic crisis. Like Marienthal, this study, sponsored by the Council for Social-Scientific Research, featured the use of an entire series of methods. It employed both statistical, census-type data and analyses of case studies (Stouffer and Lazarsfeld 1937).

The Marienthal study became a classic, but not at the time of its emergence. Initially, it was not blessed with any great response from its readers. The monograph was published in Leipzig in 1933, but at the request of the publisher the authors were not named on the title page (Fleck 1989: 1). Instead, the book was published under the name of Karl Buhler, the director of the Psychology Institute at the University of Vienna, as the fifth volume of a series of psychological monographs prepared by researchers at the Vienna Centre for Economic Psychology (Lazarsfeld, Jahoda and Zeisel 1933). The year in which the book was published was the year that Hitler came to power, and a book by three Jewish authors had no chance of success in a fascist Germany. An unknown number of sample copies, clearly not too many, were somehow sent abroad and reached safe hands, and waited out World War II and even the period of post-war renewal. Finally, in 1960, at the instigation of a group of German sociologists, one of whom was Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, the founder of the Institute for Demoscopy in Allensbach, Marienthal was published for the second time in German (Jahoda, Lazarsfeld and Zeisel 1960). Ten years later the English translation was published in the United States (Jahoda, Lazarsfeld and Zeisel 1971), and later in England. Several more German editions were published in Germany and Austria, and it was translated to French and even to Korean. Only with the onset of the 1970s, afflicted with a wave of unemployment and aroused by an interest in the social sciences, sociology and social issues, did "Marienthal" finally reap its due success, and came to be ranked as one of the classic research studies.

Paul Lazarsfeld continued in his successful start down the path of research in the United States. He became the author of two dozen books and several anthologies and volumes of work, and about three hundred published papers (Neurath 1980). Among his most important studies dating from this period are his six monographs in the field of communications research, which in the years 1931 to 1949 formed his main field of interest (e.g. Radio and the Printed Page [Lazarsfeld 1940] or Communications Research 1948–1949 [Lazarsfeld and Stanton 1949]), and a series of studies in a field that was then still only in its early stages – market research. In the early 1940s Lazarsfeld began to focus on the subject of the formation of voting preferences. This effort produced the monograph "The People's Choice" in 1944, which he wrote with Bernard Berelson and Hazel Gaudet (Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet 1944), and, as a follow up, the systematically conceived and more complete publication focusing on the "psychology of voting behaviour", Voting (Lazarsfeld, Berelson and McPhee 1954). In these research studies Lazarsfeld worked out and for the first time made

more extensive use of the method of panel analysis. In other texts he focuses on this procedure from the methodological perspective.

At the turn of the 1930s and 1940s, Lazarsfeld made a considerable contribution to the formation of the modern conception of public opinion research. He was one of the first authors of the "Public Opinion Quarterly", a journal that was founded at that time. Following up directly on subjects dealt with in the framework of communications research, Lazarsfeld began to pursue the study of opinion leadership, and introduced the term "opinion leader" into sociological analysis, and he was the first to formulate the hypothesis of "two-step-flow communication". Along with his younger colleague, Eliha Katz, he examined this subject in the research study "Personal Influence" (Lazarsfeld and Katz 1955). Under McCarthyism, he directed himself towards an analysis of the threat to academic freedoms at American universities, and in 1958, together with Wagner Thielense, he compiled the results of this research in the monograph entitled "The Academic Mind" (Lazarsfeld and Thielens 1958).

Paul Lazarsfeld was also an outstanding teacher of sociological methodology and methods, and of analytic approaches to empirical research. It is impossible to not mention his famous methodological readers (symposia): "The Language of Social Research" (LSR) (Lazarsfeld and Rosenberg 1955), "Continuities in the Language of Social Research" (Lazarsfeld, Rosenberg and Pasanella 1972), the three-volume French publication, "Méthodes de la sociologie", which he wrote with Raymond Boudon (Lazarsfeld and Boudon 1965, 1966, 1970), and the Italian publication, which he published in co-authorship with Vittorio Capecchi (Lazarsfeld and Capecchi 1967). It was the first and the oldest of these that became one of the most important textbooks of sociological research methodology for an entire generation of European post-war sociologists (including researchers from Central Europe: Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia in the 1960s). The monographs entitled "Mathematical Thinking in the Social Sciences" (Lazarsfeld 1954), "Readings in Mathematical Social Sciences" (Lazarsfeld and Henry 1958), and "Latent Structure Analysis" (Lazarsfeld and Henry 1968), presented the results of his methodological studies and his contribution to the beginnings of mathematical sociology. The overview, "Main Trends in Sociology" (Lazarsfeld 1973) was frequently published and became quite well known in Europe as a textbook introduction to sociological thought.

During his lifetime Lazarsfeld founded research centres working on empirical social research. The most famous of these is the Bureau of Applied Social Research, which became a model for organisations involved in research work in many other locations throughout the United States, Europe and the world. Towards the end of his career Lazarsfeld began to focus on the use of sociological information in practice and participated in the preparation of two large volumes on this subject – "The Uses of Sociology" (Lazarsfeld, Sewell and Wilensky 1967), and "An Introduction to Applied Sociology" (Lazarsfeld, Reitz and Pasanella 1975).

Many other academic papers, written by him or in co-authorship, and books inspired by him or under his instigation that were written by his students, must also be included as a part of his important contribution to the field. He dealt with the history of empirical sociological research (e.g. Max Weber or A. Quételet), general

methodology, the method of data collection and analysis (motivational research, panel analysis, typologies, survey analysis, contextual analysis), and methods of the multidimensional analysis of data. He conceived training and instruction for professional sociologists-researchers, and introduced new methodological approaches (reason analysis, latent attribute analysis, latent structure analysis), and concrete research tools (program analyser).[4] He died in August 1976, as professor emeritus of the University of Pittsburgh where he was teaching at that time.

Marie Jahoda met a far more eventful fate than her husband, Paul Lazarsfeld, or her colleague, Hans Zeisel. After their divorce and Paul Lazarsfeld's emigration to the United States, Hans Zeisel led the Vienna research centre for just under two years. After that, at the beginning of the year 1934, Marie Jahoda took over its direction. Jahoda was a socialist, and after the Austrian authoritative regime banned social democracy, she oversaw the underground activities of the Vienna centre. In 1936 she was arrested, interrogated, and sentenced to imprisonment; after eight months in prison she was released in the summer of 1937 and expelled from fascist Austria (Fleck 1989: liii–liv). With the support of protest actions and appeals from abroad she was allowed to immigrate to Great Britain. There, just shortly before the war, in 1937 and 1938, she conducted research on unemployed Quakers in Wales, based on field observations and the analysis of the life histories of people in this community, which had decided to address unemployment through self-help (Jahoda 1989). Once Hitler entered Austria, those closest to her came under threat. As a result of the generous personal help from the leader of the Quaker project, Jim Forrester, who saved the lives of those close to Marie Jahoda and helped them in emigration, she reached the decision to not publish the results of her study, which would have testified to the lack of success of the self-help project. This research study finally surfaced in 1989 (Jahoda 1989; Fleck 1989: lxvii). After several years spent working in Great Britain and the United States, Marie Jahoda chose to base herself at the University of Sussex in England.

Hans Zeisel immigrated to the United States before Hitler's entry into Austria, and there he worked as a professor of sociology at the University of Chicago. His most famous book was the textbook he wrote on the analysis and presentation of data, "Say It With Figures", which saw the publication of many, gradually expanded, editions and translations into a number of foreign languages. In his work, Hans Zeisel combined the specialisations of a sociologist, statistician and lawyer. He was in frequent contact with Paul Lazarsfeld, and worked with him on several other research projects. He died in 1992.

Research on the unemployed in Marienthal became a subject of interest among Austrian sociologists. Christian Fleck (Fleck 1989, 1990) has made a detailed investigation of the history of the research and the fates of its authors. At the end of the 1970s, Michael Freund and a group of his colleagues gathered data on the fates of the inhabitants of Marienthal. The group of researchers led by Freund conducted a

4 An explanation of the significance of these works in the context of Lazarsfeld's scientific heritage can be found in the cited article (Jeřábek 2001a), and a more detailed bibliographical overview can be found in some of the bibliographies by Paul Neurath, David Sills, Raymond Boudon, or the above-mentioned selected bibliography (Jeřábek 2001b).

series of interviews with older residents, and also produced some video documentation. There is also a filmed version of an interview with Marie Jahoda, which dates from the end of the 1970s. Austrian filmmakers have even made a documentary film on the famous research on the unemployed in Marienthal (Freund 1978: 57).

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