

ANTONI SUŁEK
University of Warsaw

The Marienthal 1931/1932 Study and Contemporary Studies on Unemployment in Poland¹

Abstract: The paper outlines Polish studies of unemployment in the 1930s—at the times of the well-known study in Marienthal, Austria. They focused on living conditions, social life and psychological well being of the unemployed. They combined various methods and data: statistical data, institutional records, diaries and memoirs, family interviews, and sample surveys. Research started with simple descriptions of life style of the unemployed and ended with an elaborate empirical study, cross-country comparisons and theory of unemployment. The image of unemployment and its consequences was parallel to the Marienthal study results—unemployment caused not only poverty, but also apathy and disintegration of social life. The Marienthal study was known in Poland at the time and to some extent served as an inspiration. The case of Polish unemployment studies in 1930s shows how sociology transformed into sociology. It shows the birth of common method of social research in Central Europe that was so unexpectedly put to a halt by Nazism and the Second World War.

Keywords: unemployment, Great Depression, Marienthal study, empirical social research, combining methods, sociology in Poland.

Introduction

There is a particular reason why sociologists in Poland take interest in the study of unemployment conducted by Marie Jahoda, Paul Lazarsfeld and Hans Zeisel in early 1930s in an industrial village Marienthal, nearby Vienna. These researchers, working under the influence of socialist ideas of the Austrian Marxism as well as the empiricism of the University of Vienna, managed to prove in the field the damaging influence of unemployment on life and psychology of the unemployed and social life of their communities. At the same exact time the Institute of Social Economy (Instytut Gospodarstwa Społecznego) in Warsaw announced a call for memoirs of the unemployed, which resulted in an elaborate documentation of the misery of life in poverty and frame of mind of the unemployed. A selection of the most characteristic accounts was then published as *Pamiętniki bezrobotnych* [Memoirs of the Unemployed]

Antoni Sułek is Professor of Sociology at the Institute of Sociology, University of Warsaw; e-mail: suleka@is.uw.edu.pl

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in 1933—right at the same moment that the book *Die Arbeitslosen von Marienthal* [The Unemployed of Marienthal] was published in Leipzig (Jahoda *et al.* 2002 [1933]).

Publication of the *Memoirs of the Unemployed* was an important scientific and social event in Poland. The book was a very startling depiction of the miserable life and general living condition of the unemployed during the Great Depression. It was reviewed as an accusation of the socio-economic system of the time. “Speaking of unemployment we saw only figures—100 000, 200 000, 300 000. [...] . Hardly anyone would see an individual behind the numbers, his downfall, degradation and suffering, the entire mechanism of his feeling and thoughts, his moral and physical suffering”—concluded Ferdynand Zweig (1967 [1933]: 384), sociologist and economist. His text entitled *An Alarm Bell* was one of tens of reviews that appeared in daily newspapers, magazines and scientific journals after the publication of the *Memoirs*.

The *Memoirs of the Unemployed* were also well received abroad. They were presented and commented upon, with many quotations, in *Revue internationale du Travail* (Rosner 1933), from where it spread to some general public magazines in quite a few West European countries. Abbreviated version of the book was published—in Polish—in 1934 in Moscow. A book very much alike the *Memoirs* and entitled just the same (*Memoirs of the Unemployed*), was published in England by Hugh Beales and Richard Lambert (1934). Its editors claim in the introduction that they got the idea “from experiments on the psychological consequences of unemployment conducted on the continent”—the memoirs of the unemployed call in Poland and the study of the unemployment struck Austrian community.²

Fundamental conclusions of both the Marienthal study and the *Memoirs* bear a striking resemblance. The following fragment of one of the first reviews of *Memoirs* entitled “The Influence of Unemployment on the Psychology of the Masses” could have easily come from any review of *The Unemployed of Marienthal*:

For the past five years we have been witnessing the world systemic economic crisis that has put millions of people out of basic frames of their functioning. Long lasting unemployment [...] ingrained the mode of thinking of the unemployed in such a way that we are in fact faced with a need of a special psychology of unemployment. This problem was not discussed and analyzed scientifically in the works of any of the great theoreticians of psychology of the masses. Neither Hendrik de Man nor Robert Michels nor Le Bon offered any answer to the question of how masses used to working will react if deprived their previous occupation. [...]

Normally [...] the unemployed masses were expected to react differently and to start different collective actions than the ones that actually took place. It was common to base instant campaigns, aiming at political or systemic settlements, on the armies of the unemployed. Even nowadays we may come across an opinion that mass unemployment may trigger off active energy of the unemployed masses and motivate them to fight. [...]

There are among the unemployed mass brains able to encompass the mechanisms of the capitalist economy. Psychology of unemployment does not however enable them to change the energy dormant in that encompassment into instantaneous solutions by force. The subsequent advance of the crisis may change many things. However, basing on the up to date course of events, we may assume that a long lasting crisis and unemployment plunge the masses into apathy, gloom and energy draining worries of the present day (Loos 1967 [1933]: 349–351).

In 1933 the Rockefeller Foundation granted Paul Lazarsfeld a scholarship and he left for America. He met there Bohdan Zawadzki, Polish psychologist interested in

² Simply by looking at publication dates of these books one may see clearly that in the 1930s European social sciences were doing just fine.

social matters. Their meeting proved to be fruitful. The two researchers decided to verify the conclusions of the Marienthal study on Polish data—data coming from a different country, collected in a different way and allowing a more in-depth psychological analysis. This led to the publication of their article “The Psychological Consequences of Unemployment” in *Journal of Social Psychology* (Zawadzki and Lazarsfeld 1935).

The analysis conducted proved the validity of the Marienthal results. Basic attitudes of the Austrian unemployed, that is: the “unbroken,” the “resigned,” the “distressed,” and the “apathetic,” had their counterpart in the Polish data. However, analysis of autobiographies deepened differences. Most “specific moods” among the unemployed seemed to be the “feelings of degradation and ‘superfluousness,’” coupled with “increased sensitivity,” “inert aggressiveness” and “shift in class consciousness.” A certain “disassociation of feelings of solidarity among the proletarians” together with “the split in the masses” was then noted for the first time. Out of social community there remained “only scattered, loose, perplexed, and hopeless individuals. *The unemployed are a mass only numerically, not socially*” (p. 245). This last observation was especially significant since it was contrary to common view that solidarity is a salient trait of the proletarians’ psychology and an important feature fostering successful collective political actions (de Man 1926; Ichheiser 1937). The basic findings of the Zawadzki and Lazarsfeld’s study have been proliferated by an important Philip Eisenberg and Lazarsfeld’s (1938) review article “The Psychological Effects of Unemployment.” The Zawadzki and Lazarsfeld’s study is still considered to be a fundamental publication in the history of studies on unemployment, and thanks to James Davies it is widely known not only by those studying unemployment. Referring to this study, in his seminal paper “Towards a Theory of Revolution” Davies (1962: 7) wrote:

Far from making people into revolutionaries, enduring poverty makes for concern with one’s solitary self or solitary family at best and resignation or mute despair at worst. When it is a choice between losing their chains or their lives, people will mostly choose to keep their chains, a fact which Marx seems to have overlooked.

Autobiographical studies of the unemployed were the first ever in Poland. There are other studies and the comparison with the Marienthal study may help to render its unique and common features.

Studies of Unemployment in Poland

The unemployed of the Austrian village of Marienthal belonged to a world army of unemployed, which continued to grow year by year after the First World War to reach the number of 30 million people by the time of the Great Depression. In 1931 there were over 10 millions unemployed in Europe, which constituted 7.3% of the total number of men and women at the age of 20–49 and 20.6% of the total number of people employed in industry and mining. There were 4.7 millions unemployed in Germany, 2.7 millions in England, 710 thousands in Italy, 350 thousands in France, 340 thousands in Czechoslovakia and 300 thousands in Austria. These numbers include only the unemployed, who were registered or received benefits (Szturm de

Sztrem 1931: 15–17). Also in Poland unemployment was one of most important social problems. According to estimations of the day in 1934 there were around 1 million of unemployed outside agriculture. The number of registered unemployed in relation to the working was only 3% in 1929, but rose to 43.5% in 1934! One should also include those, who only worked part time (39% of the total of working in 1932) and some couple of million of redundant people in the countryside (Landau and Tomaszewski 1985). At the time unemployment—either one’s own or that of relatives and friends—was a common experience. It was only partially result of the crisis and was primarily rooted in the country’s economic backwardness.

Unemployment thus became an important research topic wherever there were socially receptive scientists conducting complex social studies, and it so happened in Poland. Sociology in the inter-war Poland was a well-developed discipline (Markiewicz-Lagneau 1982, Sztompka 1984, Kwaśniewicz 1993, Szacki 1995a, Mucha and Vaitkus 2006). It started in the second part of the 19 century as a native version of positivist sociology and then diversified into historical sociology, Marxism, humanistic sociology, the Durkheimian school, sociography and other orientations. It abandoned theories of a speculative character and changed into “normal” science in the sense given the term by Thomas Kuhn. It nested at universities and research institutes where sociologists were trained and empirical studies were conducted. Numerous books and journals were published. Florian Znaniecki played the most crucial role in the process of institutionalization of Polish sociology (Dulczewski 1992). After his return from Chicago in 1920 he founded a sociological research institute at the University of Poznan, which began to influence the entire country. He was the one to call the First Conference of Polish Sociologists, which took place in 1931. The Polish Sociological Society was also established then.

Polish sociology of that time was preoccupied with “modern social question.” Many sociologists were driven by civic and social democratic values, which determined the choice of topics and the perspective adapted for the analysis of social reality. They believed their job was “to be their society’s trustees and not simply its observers” (Szacki 1995b: 203). Ludwik Krzywicki, sociologist and a pioneer socialist, was a symbolic figure of that period. He edited the first Polish translation of *Capital* by Karl Marx (Leipzig 1884–1889). The main center of research of social issues was the Institute of Social Economy founded in Warsaw in 1920 as a civic association and managed by Krzywicki (Szturm de Sztrem 1959). The research organisation, which was closely related to it, was the Institute for Social Problems (Instytut Spraw Społecznych), a foundation of social insurance institutions, established in 1922.

Social problems were also investigated by Free Polish University (Wolna Wszechnica Polska), Polish Society of Social Policy (Polskie Towarzystwo Polityki Społecznej), Main Statistical Office (Główny Urząd Statystyczny) and other organizations. Except for the last of them they were not financed by the state. They all served as a gathering point for many outstanding researchers: economists, sociologists, statisticians and demographers. They investigated work and life conditions of workers, their wages, consequences of inflation and economic crisis, situation of peasants, emigration etc. Their goal was not only to formulate a diagnosis, but also to debunk some “social

issues” in their severity and also to lay foundation for social reforms and public policy. At the beginning of the 1930s the rapidly growing unemployment became their object of interest.

When analyzing these studies one has to bear in mind that methodology of social research was not well known in Poland, especially that it was still being at the first development phase in the world (Platt 1996). Researchers used general science methodology, history and pedagogy handbooks, their own experience and experience of fellow researchers as well as intuition. The first Polish textbook on social research methods written by Stanisław Rychliński *Studying Social Environment* appeared in 1932 after the author’s studies in the library of the British Museum and some American libraries. Rychliński based his writing mostly on American literature as there was plenty of it and because American sociology was more than European oriented towards “direct contact with social reality without imposing previous judgments or ideological premises” (Rychliński 1932: 6). Rychliński used almost all social research textbooks available in America—both the well known such as *Social Research* (1929) by George Lundberg and the ones that are nowadays forgotten. He used also textbooks devoted to statistics, case studies and field survey results, among others *Middletown* (1929) by the Lynds, writings of the Chicago School and last, but not least *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (1918–1920) by W. I. Thomas and Znaniecki. Except for *The Polish Peasant* the works mentioned above hardly anyone in Poland had known these works up to date. Rychliński reviewed also French literature, especially some field monographs and German statistical studies. In result he wrote a textbook, which tried to combine international research standards with Polish experiences in social studies. Unfortunately, it is hard to know for sure how it influenced the unemployment studies, except that it was well known among the unemployment students.

The memoir study organized by the Institute of Social Economy (1931/1932) was the first and the best known study of unemployment in Poland. In the call announced in many newspapers the Institute asked the unemployed to give an honest and precise account of losing their job, the aid they received, life conditions of their families, part-time jobs and other sources of income, and—additionally—the situation of other unemployed families. 774 accounts gathered were a significant number—one author represented 400 registered unemployed. The first published volume consisted of 57 accounts, the next two scheduled for publication never appeared. However, the first volume did have a simple statistical analysis of all accounts: previous jobs, family status, reasons for losing job, sources of income, debts and suicidal inclinations (5% of all authors). More in-depth analysis was not planned. The Institute believed that they had done their job publishing “material that was a direct account of deliberations and feelings experienced and spoken of by those who represent the lowest segment of society” (Szturm de Sztrem 1959: 131). Only the Zawadzki and Lazarsfeld’s paper (1935) mentioned above may be considered a systematic analysis of selected aspects of biographies of the unemployed.

Two things have to be considered when assessing memoirs: their reliability and representativeness. In Krzywicki’s opinion, included in the preface to the *Memoirs of the Unemployed*: “memoirs encompass rather extensive groups of laborers” being

at the same time produced by those workers "who may be of a greater intellectual capacity than others surrounding them" and therefore may be more sensitive to their own situation and more able to give its description (*Pamiętniki* 1933: xiii). There were surprisingly few supporters of radical political groups among the memoirs authors. The data collected were burdened with self-selection done by the memoirs authors. However, even if the authors of autobiographies were not statistically representative for all the unemployed they were "phenomenologically representative"—"their utterances give a vivid picture of the experience of those who are less able to express themselves" (Zawadzki and Lazarsfeld 1935: 226). In Krzywicki's opinion these accounts were reliable, but also "sometimes colored with desire to get somebody's attention for one's misery or by creative rapture." Reliability of accounts was backed by the fact that some themes appeared in various accounts and the fact that memoirs authors were eager to report even cases of mendicity or theft. The free flow of accounts allowed for description of the situation in a natural way and any form chosen by the author, but made systematic analysis difficult.

The first field study of unemployment in Poland was a study conducted among physical workers in industry in Warsaw. It was conducted in 1931/1932 by Maria Balsigerowa with patronage of the Polish Society of Social Policy (Balsigerowa 1932). 204 families took part in the study. They were selected with help of labor unions and employment offices. The author of the study was aware of the fact that occupations are not represented proportionally in the group under study. The questionnaire was composed of open-ended questions about circumstances of losing job, current situation of the unemployed, the influence of unemployment on health, family life, raising children and general psychological condition. It was demonstrated that unemployment changes one's attitude towards their job, lowers social position and quality of life and diminishes belief in labor unions as providers of effective help. A description of living conditions, nutrition and diseases affecting the unemployed was put together. It was concluded also that there was a "general listlessness and bluntness" as to cultural needs and negative influence of unemployment on psychology of children and their moral development.

Most interesting part of this pioneer study were the observations on the influence of unemployment on psychology of the unemployed:

The mood of extreme pessimism prevails among people deprived of work, coupled with apathy, disbelief in the sense of any effort, pervading ever greater gloom in their souls, killing the remains of their will [...] these people lose their psychological balance and fall into despair bordering madness. There are also instances of seemingly peaceful acceptance of current position, but even then there are signs of repressed dispiritedness. There are also unemployed, who act rebelliously, trying to gather the remains of their strength to strike back, they find their goal in union and political movement (p. 42).

The four basic attitudes from the Marienthal study: indomitability ("the 'unbroken'"), resignation, distress and apathy may easily be found in the description above. The study also revealed the workers had become more aware of various social and economic issues. Abundance of free time allows reflection upon such matters—"unless the family reached ultimate misery that does not allow any thought." In the conclusions the author postulated that aiding the unemployed should not only concentrate on their material poverty, but also on their "no less painful spiritual misery."

In 1932 the Institute for Social Problems did a direct research of families of industrial workers in entire Poland (Krahelska and Pruss 1933b³). For the sake of the study a net of “social correspondents” was initiated among the authors of memoirs and people closely related to unemployed workers because of their occupation and type of work. The criterion was only familiarity with the studied community and ability to observe, but also devotion to social work and well being of the subjects. Only such involvement could ensure the “immersion into environment” postulated by Rychliński (1932: 52); however he himself believed that a researchers, unlike social workers, ponder the studied community in a detached and unemotional way. 1385 families of the biggest industrial cities took part in the study, but they were selected at random. It was impossible to have a representative sample because the unemployed were not being properly registered and there were many fluctuations within this group. Moreover representativeness was not a major concern at the time. One of the correspondents visited people who previously worked with him in the same factory. He also got addresses of others from a beanery for the unemployed. Another correspondent visited all unemployed in one village close to the one where he himself lived. Yet another one, an unemployed shoemaker, talked with over a hundred shoemakers in his town. Some questionnaires were also collected by labor unions.

The study was not conducted according to modern standards of household studies. However, its authors claimed that since the families represented various locations, a number of industry branches and they remained unemployed for a different period of time, it gave a basis for analysis of “various transformations” of workers’ families due to permanent unemployment. Correspondents had a questionnaire to fill out, but they also produced free descriptions of the life of the unemployed based on observation and interview. The questionnaire was composed of variety of questions on financial status, work conditions, nutrition, housing conditions and standard, hygiene, ways of dealing with poverty (loans, pawning, lease or sale of property). There were no difficulties with conducting the study, refusal was rare and respondents felt comfortable to talk about the most touchy matters. According to the author of the study it was a result of comprehension of the aims of the research by the unemployed and the fact that data were collected by workers. It was probably the first extensive study in Poland based on direct personal interview.

The process named “degradation of worker’s families” is an important element of the study. First there are no more benefits. Then savings run out. Next the family starts selling out furniture, kitchen utensils and clothing. They fall into debts in grocery stores and stop paying rent. All the time they reduce their needs—buy less and less of the most basic things: coal for heating, paraffin oil for lighting, bread and salt. Family members quit their habits, like smoking, and drink less alcohol. Cultural needs are drastically reduced—there are no more newspapers, books are being sold out. Among 137 of miners’ families in Upper Silesia as many as 57 bought daily newspapers every other day or even subscribed them—at the time of the study only one family still did so.

³ Unless otherwise specified, all the subsequent findings are taken from this book.

This study of life conditions of families of the unemployed was supplemented with a series of additional studies:

1. Household budgets of 120 families of unemployed workers in Warsaw were examined. It was mostly families of the memoirs authors. It gave an opportunity to check the facts from memoirs and as there were generally not many discrepancies it proved the reliability of the autobiographical accounts. The household inquiry and spending books allowed a comprehensive description of material situation of families of the unemployed: living conditions, income, nutrition etc. Some results were compared with household budgets study conducted by the Main Statistical Office in 1928, one year before the crisis. For instance it turned out that while in 1928 the average daily caloric intake in a family with an employed breadwinner was 2700, it was only 1950 calories in a family of the unemployed in 1932. This means a fall down to 72.1% of the previous value.

2. In the biggest cities there was an inquiry conducted among primary school children of the unemployed families concerning their diet. The study was conducted in schools located in working class districts and in beaneries and day cares run by charity organizations. The children of the unemployed filled out a short questionnaire on nutrition—15.3 thousands of such questionnaires were collected. In Warsaw 20% of students coming from unemployed families took part in the study, which proves that it was a large scale undertake. The sheet filled out by children (sometimes with their teachers' help) consisted of some simple questions: "What do you have for breakfast before going to school?," "Do you eat anything at school and what do you get to eat?," "Do you eat lunch at home or out (if so where)?," "What do you have for lunch?," "Do you have supper and what do you eat for supper"? The study showed that 24% of children from the unemployed families did not eat anything before going to school, 5% had only a piece of dry bread, 8% did not eat anything at lunch time, 18% went to bed without supper and 11% had only a piece of dry bread. Since the study was also conducted among 2.3 thousands students from working families it was possible to analyze the influence of unemployment on children's nutrition. Among children from working families "only" 9% did not have breakfast, lunch—4% and supper—12%. The large scale character of the study is worth noticing, as well as the "abundance and diversity of material", which enabled the researchers to capture typical nutrition patterns among children from unemployed families.

3. To establish the influence of unemployment on children's health medical records of 100 families of permanently unemployed registered in one of Warsaw clinic in a working class district were examined in 1932. Mass unemployment had started three years earlier—therefore it was a long enough period for it to influence health of the unemployed and their families. The results showed mass underweight and low height among children—none of them was of normal height or weight for their age; 59% of infants suffered of undernourishment. The so-called social diseases were noted—that is socially conditioned diseases related to poverty, undernourishment, overpopulation etc. 36% infants suffered from rachitis and 76% of primary school children were claimed to be infected with tuberculosis. Mothers were also examined.

Every second of them had a history of miscarriage and one in four of their children died at birth. It was the first in Poland attempt to study the influence unemployment had on health of those who were most affected by it. The researchers did not have at their disposal any data concerning working families and therefore they could not relate their findings directly to unemployment. They considered them to be a stimulus to more systematic studies.

4. In the basic study of the unemployed families it was discovered that in 23% of families there are statistically 2 people per one bed, in 16%—2–3 people, in 28%—3 and more people per bed. This information was backed by data collected by the Department of Public Health of the magistrate of Lodz, a great textile center, on sleeping habits of workers infected with tuberculosis. In the numerous groups of 7800 one-room apartments inhabited by tuberculosis patients in 87% 2–3 people slept in one bed. Among 2600 active tuberculosis patients only 26% slept in separate beds. These data are shocking not only today, but were also alarming then.

5. The study also included social consequences of unemployment and the authors of the study were aware of the fact they were pioneers in this field as “bourgeois economists” were more interested in unemployment seen from “the perspective of production interests” and not from the “perspective of vital issues” of stratas plagued with unemployment.

An analysis of Warsaw’s municipal statistics revealed an increase of suicides classified as “suicide due to lack of work” in the period of 1928–1931, right after the outburst of the crisis—from 92 to 254 cases, from 5.2% to 18.3 of total number of suicides. The increase was most significant in January and February, which was the most troublesome time for the unemployed. Analysis of crime rate in Warsaw revealed the increase of crimes resulting from poverty such as theft and abandonment of babies, once again mostly in winter—the most severe season for the unemployed. Between 1928 and 1932 the number of abandonment of babies rose by 44%, theft on trains and railway stations—by 90%, and other types of theft—by 43%. It was not established how many of these crime were committed by the unemployed.

The influence of unemployment on morals and sexual morality was also a subject of the study. Municipal statistics of Lodz proved that the in the period of 1928–1932 there was an increase of percentage of unemployed women among new prostitutes (from 16.5% to 19.9%) and of number of women, who claimed that it was unemployment that forced them to take on prostitution (22.6% to 34.1%). In the field study respondents also declared without hesitation that there families lived off prostitution practiced by their wives and daughters. Additional observations proved growing number of sexual harassment of young female workers by their foremen—fear of losing their job overtook resistance. It was also noticed that frequent subletting of apartments or even beds led to increase of accidental sexual contacts, venereal diseases, abortions and children born out of wedlock.

6. The study of the Institute for Social Problems, complex both in the choice of topic and methods, more advanced than the memoirs study, still had an important flaw—its representativeness was unknown. In 1935 Ludwik Landau (Landau 1936) from the Institute for Social Problems decided to design a study that would not be

burdened with such a fortuity as the households budgets study or self-selection as in the memoir study.

It was designed as a representative survey study in the working class districts of Warsaw. Families were no longer a unit of the study, this time it was tenements—they were selected with utmost precision basing on the 1931 census. “Informants,” or as we would say today interviewers, were recruited from persons who had some previous experience in social service. A lot of effort was put into preventing non-response and in consequence only 11% of tenements selected for the study did not take part in it. Basing on informants’ observations about 5% of tenements was discarded as not credible. Persuading the selected people to take part in the study informants appealed to “the best interest of the entire social class,” to which the respondent belonged and also to the support of labor unions.

The entire research lasted couple weeks and was a series of periodically repeated interviews supplemented with direct observation. It was the first attempt in Poland to run a representative field survey. The results formed a base for a precise depiction of the quality of life of the unemployed—the more valuable since it was, again for the first time, compared to the standard of living of the working. The research was based on The New Survey of London Life and Labour from 1929—and it was the first in Poland international comparative study. Landau did not only compare the living conditions of the Polish workers with those from the London New Survey, but also with the first, historical Charles Booth’s survey from 1890. Here is a part of the English summary of Landau’s survey: “Applying the standard adopted in London half-a-century ago by Charles Booth (and recently applied in the last survey of London life), it was found that in Warsaw half of the working-class households with no unemployed are below the ‘poverty line,’ while in London 39 per cent. of families were below that line in Booth’s time, and hardly 11 per cent. are now” (p. 131). In Warsaw 93% of families, whose members were all out of work, lived below the “poverty line.” Among the “mixed” families this number equaled 75% and 50% among families of the working. Even Warsaw’s families of *the working* were more frequently living in poverty than London workers half a century before!⁴

Except for the studies of unemployment described in detail above there were some others studies conducted at the time. The Institute for Social Problems researched unemployment among white collars (Czajkowski and Derengowski 1933), but it was limited to statistical analysis of the structure of unemployment and it was based on reports of insurance companies and mail questionnaire sent to 8 thousand unemployed and labor unions. The Institute of Social Economy conducted a study among peasants in the period of 1934–1935 (4.7 thousands households). It focused on overpopulation of rural areas and unemployment among peasants (Landau *et al.* 1939). The Insti-

⁴ The image of Polish interwar sociology has been dominated by the achievements of Florian Znaniecki and his school. There was, however, also a tremendous increase in the number of quantitative empirical studies in the 1930s. It goes well beyond the studies described in this paper. In 1932 the Institute for Social Problems, while working on the new law on social security, conducted a representative study (sample of 400 thousands households!) of the social structure of the labor population (Piekalkiewicz 1934). These were statistical analyses of raw census 1931 data. Their methodology was prepared and published in a pioneer monograph by Jerzy Neyman (1933), one of the founders of modern statistics (Nicholas 2005).

tute for Social Problems also conducted a complex statistical study of unemployment among youngsters presented in the book *Młodzież sięga po pracę* [Youngsters Reach for Work] (1938). The same Institute also researched youngsters from poor suburbs of Warsaw (Oderfeldówna 1937). Two groups of youngsters—living in very bad and slightly better conditions—were interviewed on their life style and outlook on life. For both groups lack of work was frequent and in the first group—it was common. The analysis showed how poverty, lack of education and unemployment diminish life aspirations, make moral maturation and socialization more difficult and hinder formation of ties with one's social class and the state. The research was inspired theoretically by Charlotte Bühler's book *Kindheit und Jugend* (1928) and by Paul Lazarsfeld's *Jugend und Beruf* (1931).

The basic findings of the studies of the unemployed in Poland have got an international audience. At the beginning of the 1930s. The Save the Children International Union, an international Geneva based organization commissioned a series of enquiries into the effect of unemployment on children and young people in various countries. This project covered Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Norway, Poland, Switzerland and United States of America, and a fine collection of national reports was published by the Union: *Children, Young People and Unemployment* (Geneva 1933). The report from Poland contained the comprehensive summary of studies conducted by the Institute for Social Problems (Krahelska and Pruss 1933a; Radlińska and Cwajgenhaftowa 1933); they were supplemented by few life stories of the young unemployed (see also Jahoda 1982: 17–18).

Comparing the pre-war Polish studies of unemployment with the Marienthal study one may notice some differences and some similarities between them:

All these studies, both Polish and Austrian, had a similar ideological inspiration behind them: they were conducted by researchers of social-democratic outlook, sensitive to problems of the working class and interested in making their life easier.

These studies also led to similar social conclusions: the most fundamental psychological effect of unemployment is not revolt, but is apathy, passivity, resignation that springs not only from poverty, but also from lack of occupation. More detailed conclusions all bear some resemblance i.e. downfall of authority of labor unions and lack of interest in more general social issues.

The studies used a diverse methodology that was adapted to multi-dimensional nature of unemployment. The Marienthal study was especially valuable as to the number of new and often ingenious methods used in one study, so the effect of triangulation was accumulated. The Polish study also used numerous methods: questionnaire based interview, mail questionnaire, observation, official data (police data, medical records, economic data), spending books, autobiographical reports—even though they were not used to study one and the same community.

Both Polish and Austrian researchers had the same goal. They labeled it: “immersion into (*einleben sich*) the situation” (Jahoda *et al.* 2002 [1933]: 1), “immersion (*wżycie się*) into the environment” (Rychliński 1932: 52). The goal was to produce a full and concrete description of the conditions of the unemployed and to see these conditions with the unemployed's own eyes. They believed there was a discrepancy

between statistical data and field case studies and that it should be taken care of. Along the interest in details of social life, both the Marienthal study and the analysis of memoirs done by Zawadzki and Lazarsfeld also developed a theoretical structure, which allowed “all the details to be seen as expressions of a minimum number of basic syndromes” (Jahoda *et al.* in. 2002 [1933]: 1–2).

In Marienthal the unit of the study was “a community that was totally unemployed“, in Poland—dispersed subjects and moreover in Austria researchers examined a depressed community and in Poland—only unemployed families. Why was there not a study in Poland of entire community affected by unemployment? The explanation may be that there was a lack of standards (but this was no obstacle for the Vienna researchers!). However, Poland had a long tradition of “field monographs” from the beginning of the 20th century, from the time of Franciszek Bujak, follower of Frederic Le Play, but these were monographs of rural areas (Bukraba-Rylska 2004). When the unemployment study was begun there were no such monographs of working classes communities. Rychliński advocated such studies, recalling Le Play, Booth, Frederick Engels and German statisticians, then informing about the Lynds’ study and works of the Chicago School. (*Nota bene* it was the same figures and the same studies which inspired Jahoda, Lazarsfeld and Zeisel). In 1935 Edward Arnekker wrote in his review of *Middletown* and Albert Blumenthal’s *Small-town Stuff*: “we lack in Poland a monograph of social relations of a particular town [...] and we have not even started a discussion of what such a monograph should include” (Arnekker 1935: 739).

The same year the first—and brilliant—monograph of a labor settlement appeared. It was written by Józef Chałasiński, Znaniecki’s student, who spent the period of 1931–1933 at the University of Chicago and after his return conducted a multi-method study of a miners’ colony in Silesia, which focused on Polish-German antagonisms (Chałasiński 1935). He wrote about his work that: “it is an attempt of describing a living community, understood as a human collectivity and presented from the angle of its most vital problem, namely the Polish-German conflict.” And he added: “the only way of creating a description of a *living* settlement is to start with most important and vital problems of this particular settlement, which pervade its collective life and are a matter of collective aspirations and conflicts” (p. 149). If we were to insert the term “unemployment” as the object of the study we would get a perfect description of the Marienthal study. This type of monograph originated by Chałasiński was named in Poland the “problem monograph,” but Chałasiński work itself did not influence the unemployment studies—the peak interest was over by then.

The Marienthal study was focused on psychosocial effects of unemployment, which made it possible to differentiate between effects of not having a job and poverty, which is its consequence. This precisely constituted the theoretical novelty of this study (Jahoda 1982). In Poland “psychological transformations” were also studied, but not in such detail. It was noticed that chasing jobs destroyed the traditional ties with the workplace and that unemployment lessened the authority of the father, patriarchal character of the family and caused erosion of moral norms. (Balsigerowa 1932; Krahelska and Pruss 1933b). Most importantly, with no influence of the Marienthal study, Polish researchers claimed that: “the phenomenon of collective protest of the

unemployed against the established order is within a big city always impossible. Urban unemployed are not only a group incapable of an independent collective action, but are unlikely to even join a protest organized by others.” Despite their number they are “a diverse and dispersed element.” It could be different—as it was speculated—where “people living in one environment of standardized poverty form organized settlements.” The author of this hypothesis suggested that “other studies” could elaborate on the differences of psychological transformations among unemployed from big cities and “small, but heterogeneous settlements” (Minkowska 1935: 106–107). Without doubt *Die Arbeitslosen von Marienthal* is such a study, but the test of the hypothesis is negative: the unemployed in “a small, but heterogeneous settlement” behaved exactly the same.

Historians of social research hold the Marienthal study in great respect as a masterpiece of early European empirical sociology (Fleck 1999). But also Polish studies of unemployment of the day are extraordinary in a sense. A series of studies of a new social phenomenon was started in a peripheral and poor country without any previous experience, without theory or elaborate methodology. First of these studies were simply descriptions of social problems and even their authors did not think of them as sociological. Moreover they were not representative and their results were not compared with anything. Step by step, study by study they became more sophisticated: conclusions of one study served as a starting point for the next, results of subsequent studies served for mutual verification, elaborate research designs were used to compare the unemployed with the working and to assess the influence of unemployment on the life of the unemployed. Final studies were representative and their results were interpreted in theoretical frames. This all happened over a period of just couple years. The case of Polish studies of unemployment in the 1930s is an excellent research site to see how sociology transformed into sociology.

Die Arbeitslosen von Marienthal in Poland

The Marienthal study and the Polish studies were conducted simultaneously and there is no trace of mutual inspiration.⁵ Inspiration from Vienna is however visible in elaborate studies of unemployment run by Florian Znaniecki and his Polish Institute of Sociology (Polski Instytut Socjologiczny) in the latter half of 1930s (it was his second study of unemployment—in 1933 he organized a contest for a biography of an unemployed, but the scheduled selection of personal recalls was never published). We know very little about these studies (Kraško 1996: 55–58). In the period of 1936–1938 a study was conducted based on extensive interviews with almost a thousand unemployed men and women and their families in the Poznan area and in the city

⁵ Such inspirations cannot be fully ruled out. The initiator of the memoir call, Władysław Landau, was the director of the Research Office of the Institute of Social Economy. He was a son of Helena Landau-Bauer, a socialist activist, and a step-son of Otto Bauer, intellectual leader of Austrian Social Democrats and initiator of the Marienthal study. Supposedly some Austrian publishing house was interested in launching *The Memoirs of the Unemployed* in German soon after it had been published and Helena Landau-Bauer mediated in this matter (Szturm de Sztrem 1959: 134).

itself. As a result of a contest 600 autobiographies were collected—“descriptions of an life of an unemployed.” For comparison it was planned to study also factory workers, who did work at the time, and run the study in the industrial city Lodz. Unfortunately the outbreak of the war made the analysis impossible and the only article that was published basing on the results of the study was Znaniecki’s “Sociology of the Unemployed” (Znaniecki 1939). It was written for *Festschrift* for Arnošt Bláha, an eminent Czech sociologist, and published in Brno in 1939, most probably after the Hitler’s Germany had taken over Czechoslovakia—it never entered the world circuit of social sciences and remained virtually unknown.

It may be gathered from the article that the authors of the study did not focus on material conditions of the unemployed, but rather on the social role of an unemployed person, characteristics of their social environment, changes of the social “self” as well as the ways of evolution of material and moral social status of unemployed. An unemployed is not just somebody deprived of work, but somebody “trained for the role of a working person and socially destined to be such. If an individual loses this sense and purpose and ceases to act upon it [...] they fall into one of the traditional categories of ‘the poor’ or ‘outcasts’” (Znaniecki 1939). Losing the role of an employed individual changes his social environment, slowly falls into the circle of other unemployed and social security workers and it becomes more and more difficult to leave that circle. Struggling not to lose his self-esteem unemployed refuses to acknowledge that he is responsible for the loss of work. The status of being unemployed is not continuously morally accepted and an individual must either find a job or accept falling to the level of a social security dependent poor or an outcast. This “functional fall” in professional life entails deterioration of other social functions—in the family, local community or the state. An unemployed would not even make a worthy revolutionary. As much as he is prone to believe ideologies promising better future he is only able to take part in the actions of the mob. He lacks ties with the working and is not bound to other unemployed. “In every society there are some settled patterns of personal advance. [...] Modern unemployment seems to be the first settled peaceful patterns of personal regression ever developed in history”—concludes Znaniecki (p. 251). He writes that most of general statements in this work were based on the data collected by him. One can only imagine what an interesting study it must have been if it served Znaniecki as an inspiration for such an intriguing theory of unemployment.

A reader of *Die Arbeitslosen von Marienthal* may find familiar wefts in Znaniecki’s article. In fact Znaniecki refers to the book and to the article by Zawadzki and Lazarsfeld (1935). Examining the influence of unemployment on the social “self” Znaniecki elaborated on the Zawadzki and Lazarsfeld’s conclusions. He confirmed the change in the type of involvement in associations, observed in Marienthal—“*aus einer Gesinnungssache zu einer Interessenangelegenheit*.” “organization membership becomes a less a matter of conviction and more a matter of financial interest” (Jahoda *et al.* 2002 [1933]: 42).

Znaniecki, who coined the “humanistic coefficient,” was mostly interested in opinions of the unemployed about the reasons of their “lack of occupation and unemploy-

ment in general.” According to him neither Zawadzki nor Lazarsfeld had much data on it while he himself “obtained large amount of data” by asking the unemployed for these reasons. He determined that in the course of progressing deterioration of his social “self” an unemployed does not necessarily resign and develops an inferiority complex (as suggested by Zawadzki and Lazarsfeld). He tries to maintain his self-confidence by blaming others for the state of things: his colleagues, the capitalist exploitation or the lack of solidarity of the working class. However, such accusations are “mostly manifestations of one’s struggle to maintain self-respect [...], a not an active rebellion against the existing order.” Znaniecki’s claim significantly modified Zawadzki and Lazarsfeld’s conclusion, but, as we may see, did not change the political implications of the Marienthal study and the analysis of the autobiographies of the Polish unemployed.

If reception of a book is to be measured by the number of reviews, it must be said that *Die Arbeitslosen von Marienthal* did get the attention of the scientific world. It had numerous reviews in Germany, where it was published, and its single reviews (as noted by Christian Fleck in Jahoda *et al.* 2002 [1933]: xxix) appeared in Austria, Belgium, England, France, Italy, the Netherlands, and the United States. Znaniecki’s study as well as most robust (and yet divergent) reviews the book received in Polish sociological literature prove that it got more attention in Poland than anywhere else outside of Germany.

The first review of *Die Arbeitslosen von Marienthal* appeared in 1935 in the first Polish (partly) sociological journal *Ruch Prawniczy, Ekonomiczny i Socjologiczny* (Szczerkiewicz 1997 [1935]). It was written by Tadeusz Szczerkiewicz, a student of Znaniecki. It was by no means complimentary. Moreover, it was full of sarcastic remarks. The reviewer did believe the book to be better than any other publications—either German or Polish—that he was familiar with, but still thought highly critically of it. He emphasized and acknowledged the fact that “all possible methods were used in fieldwork,” but he also added that “the results presented prove that a lot of time and energy was wasted to analyze simple, accessible and less important issues.” “The work, in his opinion, is not really an example of a sociography, but rather of ‘psychography’ or psychosociography. Matters of primary importance to any sociography were completely omitted. We do not learn anything about the structure of this society of unemployed, its collective consciousness and changes in social values. Furthermore, we know nothing about the way in which the community controls the behavior of its members, family relations and relations within the community, or with other families.” According to Szczerkiewicz, the authors of the study “did not display much talent and initiative in the fieldwork” (*sic!*). “Short biographies of the unemployed are too sketchy and therefore cannot serve as a base for any conclusion about underlying attitudes of the subjects. Data collected through observation are superficial and random. The authors were too cautious in drawing conclusion and yet there are serious doubts as to their interpretations and conclusions.” In the reviewer’s opinion the most valuable part of the book was its appendix “Toward a History of Sociography”! Znaniecki’s “The Sociology of Unemployed” proves that the master of the reviewer did not share the opinion of his student.

As a sociologist Tadeusz Szczurkiewicz did not study unemployment and did not assess the Marienthal report as a contribution to sociology of unemployment. He wrote the review of this book in the context of criticism of sociology that he himself practiced on the pages of *Ruch*. For him sociology was oscillating between two alternatives—building “daring general constructs (systems)” independent of facts and “slavish cult of facts,” detailed and impossible to interpret facts. “Good sociography study is undoubtedly more valuable than a bad sociological monograph or badly constructed sociological system” he wrote to conclude that: “Unfortunately *Die Arbeitslosen von Marienthal* does not fulfill hopes raised in the foreword.”

The book received a more just and complimentary assessment from Tadeusz Tomaszewski, a young psychologist from Lvov University, whose area of study was work and unemployment. In 1938 he published a review of *Die Arbeitslosen* (Tomaszewski 1938a) and a booklet entitled *Unemployment as a Psychological Problem* (Tomaszewski 1938b). The book by Tomaszewski is mostly a synthesis of the Marienthal study, but also of some Polish research mentioned above.⁶ Tomaszewski starts by saying more or less the same what the Vienna researchers had said: “literature on unemployment is mostly statistical tables and fiction”—“there is almost a complete lack of precise scientific studies of the psychology of unemployed.” He continues to explain the situation to be the result of a general backwardness of empirical practice in social sciences in Europe: “It is probably so because of the philosophical tradition of social sciences, which favors solving almost every empirical problem by thinking or speculation. The reason for this is the lack of appropriate resources—speculating in one’s armchair is always cheaper than doing actual research with actual people. Moreover, it does not require any training or technique. It is partly so also because scientists have no contact with people from different classes, of different occupations or even more frequently—people with a different social background” (1938b: 8). Tomaszewski’s empirical and counter-speculative standpoint was no coincidence. He was under influence of the philosophy of the Lviv-Warsaw School, which stood close to idea of science of the logical positivism characteristic of the University of Vienna (Nagel 1936; Woleński 1989: 296–305).

Tomaszewski believed that the Lazarsfeld study was “pioneer,” “most comprehensive and systematic” and the data collected “allowed to move discussion from the realm of unspecified generalities to the realm of facts.” He was impressed by “the scope of the method unusual in psychology.” The trip to the village in the Vienna area let him familiarize himself with “the idea of a psychological expedition” like any geographic or zoological expeditions, he also saw how psychological research could be extended to cover areas and problems, which had not been studied before even though there were crucial “from the point of view of life’s needs” (Tomaszewski 1938a). The author gives an ordered and systematic account of Lazarsfeld’s conclusions and explanations. Moreover, he points to certain details:

⁶ He referred also to a Zawadzki and Lazarsfeld’s (1935) paper and to Lazarsfeld’s paper “An Unemployed Village,” published in an international journal *Character and Personality* (1932 Vol. 2 no. 1).

1. Marienthal was a peculiar community since its entire population was unemployed. "Because of that unemployment was a catastrophe independent of one's individual virtues or vices." Polish unemployed lived in typical communities; some people working, others—not. This situation gave a reason to blame the unemployed—both by the families and themselves, to envy the working and led to deterioration of solidarity between workers.

2. The authors of *The Unemployed of Marienthal* reveal a dependency between income and attitude to life of the unemployed. Tomaszewski presents an ingenious analysis of this relationship and he formulates a couple of interesting alternative hypotheses: (1) Depressed and resigned may be found in every environment, independently of their financial position. (2) Attitudes to life depend on one's psyche, health, age, character and previous experiences etc. (3) "People are not downhearted because they are unemployed, but they are unemployed because they are downhearted." Tomaszewski does agree that all of these factors influenced the attitudes of the Marienthal unemployed, but he claims that "it is unlikely that all of these factors somehow coincided in Marienthal in some specific, independent of unemployment, way." He also adds that: "few shillings more or less may change totally one's attitude to life." Such differences are only crucial if people live near the poverty line. The further away they are from such a minimum of existence the less important role financial factors seem to play.

3. Tomaszewski points out to possible direction of evolution in attitudes of the Marienthal unemployed. The Marienthal study was done when the situation in the village regained stability after an unexpected downfall. The question was: what would happen during the subsequent worsening of the economic situation, will there be no difference in attitudes and all will become broken?

What is most interesting in Tomaszewski work is the systematic ordering of Polish and Austrian studies of psychology of unemployment; Stefan Nowak (1977: 362) called this type of systematization "inventory of consequences." Eleven statements make up a simple theory (Tomaszewski 1938b: 42–44):

1. Unemployment deepens dissatisfaction and inclination to anger.
2. Brings low self-esteem and the feeling of humiliation.
3. Isolates people one from another, giving birth to mutual grievances and weakening the tendency to self-organizing.
4. Impairs physical and mental activity. An unemployed does not feel up to anything, moves slowly, does not struggle to make things better, and loses general interest in politics, society and culture.
5. Weakens religious belief.
6. Lessens the value of time and punctuality.
7. Changes ethic judgment. Ethics comes close to direct material gain: thefts, prostitution, membership of associations independently of the values they are based on, do no longer bear the stigma of unethical acts.
8. Unemployment increases direct influence of material motives on the mental process: an unemployed thinks more about present economic situation, loses other interests, is more likely than before to let economic motives dominate his behavior.
9. With no general interests, lessen activity and diminished drive to get organized; dissatisfaction is mostly expressed by complaining and acts of personal hostility rather than any collective action on a larger scale.
10. Because of the influence of financial factors coupled with lessened activity and changes ethics, it is easy to control the unemployed promising them financial benefits.

11. Due to impaired activity and punctuality, a prolonged unemployment lessens the value of an unemployed as a potential worker even if he should find a job in the future.

Paul Lazarsfeld visited Poland twice in 1958. In the opinion of Herbert Menzel, in Poland of the post-Stalinist thaw “for the first time since Vienna of the 1920s [he] saw an opportunity for socialism and social studies to cooperate” (Sills 1998: 151–152). Through his research, books and students Lazarsfeld exerted great influence on Polish empirical sociology (Sułek 1998). Recalling his cooperation with Zawadzki while doing analyses of the *Memoirs of the Unemployed*, Lazarsfeld (1958: 11–12) made an interesting remark, concerning analyses of life histories. Not being able to speak Polish he used to ask Zawadzki questions about the material he had not even seen in the original: “In a way one can say that—he noticed—the analyst of life histories is like a man who does not know the language in which his informants are writing, and has to translate their reports into the language of classifications and relationships between variables he imposes upon a bewildering substance.” Lazarsfeld was not aware of the fact that his studies had given basis for simple theory of unemployment even before the war. Fortunately nobody else was aware of the fact at the time. Tomaszewski’s booklet published in small impression right before the war by the Circle of Assistants of the university in Lvov, was by then completely forgotten. It was not recalled for over fifty years when it was rediscovered by sociologists (Miś 1998).

References to the Marienthal study appeared in Poland also in a political context. In his foreword to the first American edition of *Die Arbeitslosen von Marienthal* in 1971 Lazarsfeld wrote: “it is quite probable, that the part of the success of the early Hitler movement came about because large numbers of unemployed were taken into barracks and kept busy with paramilitary training. This kept the structure of their social personalities intact” (Jahoda *et al.* 2002 [1933]: xxxiv). This possibility was at once noted in Poland. Aleksander Hertz, a pioneer of Polish sociology of politics, in a study of totalitarian regimes pointed to *The Unemployed of Marienthal* as an important source of reflection upon declassing influence of permanent unemployment. In his view declassed people constituted a significant part of the base for German National Socialism—“through membership of an association, of a team they gained social recognition and appreciation, a stable position in the social structure” (Hertz 1994 [1936]: 185–186).⁷ It may be interpreted roughly as: desperate unemployed are more likely take part in Nazi tussles than join the proletarian revolutionary army.

⁷ Stefan Czarnowski, eminent sociologist of the Durkheimian school, shared this view. In his essay under a very telling title “Redundant people in the service of violence” (1956 [1935]) created a suggestive depiction of psychology of an unemployed. He claimed that if an unemployed is deprived of benefits he “very quickly becomes redundant and disrespected, he loses his sense of solidarity, even that of his class, he starts to hate everyone and everything, envies his old work mates, who did not lose their job” (p. 191). Czarnowski traced the unemployed and other “redundant” people among the Fascist and Nazi storm-troopers in Italy and Germany. He vaguely referred to some “studies conducted in the West,” but it is unlikely that he meant the Marienthal study, which proved that it is not the lack of benefits, but rather lack of work that has a destructive influence on personality.

The Fate of Research and Researchers

The case of Tomaszewski's work on psychology of unemployment rediscovered after many years points out to more general problem of the fate of Polish studies of unemployment. The fate of this research is linked to the fate of unemployment itself. These studies had their peak in the time of Great Depression, which brought the problem, but also forced various public institutions to finance such research. In the latter half of 1930s when economy bounced back unemployment lost its importance. Then the war burst out. After the war the Communist state promoted the policy of full employment and therefore there was no reason to go back to the pre-war studies of unemployment. These studies were recalled only by social and economic historians or within the history of sociology. At times they served for criticism of the capitalist system. More often they were discussed as an example of sensitivity to social matters of the pre-war sociology and its methodological pluralism. They were used to prove that it is possible in social sciences to follow socialist ideas and at the same time respect scientific objectivity standards.

All these reasons were crucial for the decision of re-edition of the *Memoirs of the Unemployed* in the mid 1960s. It was to be done by the Institute of Social Economy re-activated in 1957 as a part of the Main School of Planning and Statistics (now SGH, Warsaw School of Economics). Reissuing of the book after 30 years was not as difficult as trying to find the authors of the personal reports published in 1933. There were no names known (works were published anonymously), but through appeals in the media it was possible to find and identify 18 out of 57 authors, that is one third, of the pre-war unemployed. It was an extraordinary thing in a country that experienced the cataclysm of war, changes of borders and large-scale migrations. The memoirs authors were interviewed about their life course—their stories were published in a separate volume, along with a selection of current reviews of the original edition.

The pre-war studies on unemployment became an object of interest once again in the 1990s after the fall of Communism and the birth of free market, when social costs of system transformation became hard to bear and unemployment once again turned out to be a serious social issue in Poland. In 2004 the official unemployment rate exceeded 19%. Along modern studies of the phenomenon known up to date only from literature sociologists turned their eyes to pre-war research and writings. In 1992 and 1993 translations of Znaniecki's "Sociology of the Unemployed," and "The Psychological Effects of Unemployment" by Zawadzki and Lazarsfeld appeared in *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*—a major sociological journal in Poland. A first systematic study of unemployment research traditions in Poland was published at that time (Mlonek 1992). Then a popular selection of texts entitled *Sociology of Unemployment* (Borkowski and Marcinkowski 1996) was published with an elaborate historical part concerning the pre-war studies. Finally, a comprehensive history of studies on unemployment in Poland in the 20th century appeared (Mlonek 1999). In such a way today's Polish problems triggered reflection and recollection upon previous studies of unemployment. In reference to these studies the Institute of Social Economy announced a new call for memoirs of unemployed in 2000 (Zawadzka 2007). It also brought back

the memory of the book on the Marienthal study. Polish social scientists more and more often refer to these studies and the Polish translation of *Die Arbeitslosen von Marienthal* will be published soon.

The fate of research is also the fate of researchers. In Central Europe fate depends on History in the strongest possible sense. All three authors of the Marienthal study—Marie Jahoda, Paul Lazarsfeld and Hans Zeisel—very young at the time of the study, managed to leave Austria before Anschluss and Holocaust and they all lived a long life and found self-fulfillment as scholars: Lazarsfeld (†1976) in methodology and empirical social studies, Zeisel (†1992) in empirical law studies and Jahoda (†2001) in social psychology and studies of ethnic prejudices. The fate of Polish researchers was as follows:

Ludwik Krzywicki, the founder of the Institute of Social Economy, great scientific authority, died in 1941 in the occupied Warsaw. Bohdan Zawadzki managed to flee Poland after the outbursts of the war to America, where he worked as a Professor of Psychology in New York; he died there in 1966. Maria Balsigerowa, a pioneer of survey studies of unemployment, died in 1944 in the Nazi German concentration camp of Ravensbrück. Halina Krahelska, the main author of the Institute for Social Problems study in 1932, imprisoned in Siberia before the Russian 1917 revolution, died in Ravensbrück in May 1945. Anna Minkowska left for Paris in 1939 to study “psychology of big cities”—her fate remains unknown, but she was most probably yet another victim of the Holocaust. Stanisław Rychliński made a name for himself in sociology in the 1930s. He was shot in 1944 by a German policeman in a round-up on a suburban railway station. Ludwik Landau, the author of the 1935 study, brilliant scholar and researcher of social problems, died in 1944 in unexplained circumstances. He was probably recognized as a Jew on the street, and murdered by the Nazi Germans. During the war Rychliński wrote a new methodology handbook, this time to serve the post-war social reconstruction. Landau’s *Chronicle of the War and Occupation* is a monumental document of the history of the time. Florian Znaniecki, who was on his way from America to Poland at the outbreak of the war, never returned to his native country. He remained a living classic and died in America in 1958. Tadeusz Tomaszewski survived the war in Lvov. After the war he was an eminent scholar in the field of psychology; he laid foundations for the “Warsaw school of psychology.” He came back to the psychology of unemployment in his late paper entitled “Unemployment as the Loss of Opportunities” (Tomaszewski 1995); where there are many traces of his former genuine interest in the Marienthal study.

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