

1	Chapter 13	1
2		2
3	A Collective Biography (Prosopography) of	3
4		4
5	German-Speaking Sociologists	5
6		6
7	Christian Fleck	7
8		8
9		9
10		10
11		11
12	In the past, most authors who focused on the development of sociology in Germany	12
13	in the twentieth century agreed that sociology came to an abrupt end with the	13
14	Nazi takeover in 1933 and the forced emigration of practically all well-known	14
15	and productive sociologists (König 1987; Riemer 1959; Lepsius 1981). More	15
16	recently, this consensus has been challenged by other sociologists from Germany	16
17	who claim that even after the Nazi takeover authors continued to publish books	17
18	and articles with sociological sounding titles, did empirical research for various	18
19	branches of the Nazi state and even created research units for this endeavour	19
20	(Rammstedt 1985; Klingemann 1996). A comparative analysis could settle some	20
21	of the disagreements by pointing to the fact that whereas the former spoke about	21
22	the outstanding members of the sociological community, the latter added some	22
23	details by covering minor figures and those sociologists who fell into oblivion even	23
24	during their lifetime. Yet both sides of this sometimes heated exchange agree that a	24
25	large number of sociologists left Nazi Germany during the 1930s. Highly regarded	25
26	studies and dictionaries about refugee scholars list their names and tell their stories	26
27	(Fermi 1968; Fleming and Bailyn 1969; Röder, Strauss 1980–1983; Coser 1984;	27
28	Heilbut 1983). Yet seldom do they differentiate between former Germans and	28
29	former Austrians. Former citizens of these two countries – and one could easily	29
30	add a third one by arguing that German Jews from Czechoslovakia were forced	30
31	to leave their homes too – were combined together into a single group of German	31
32	exiles. Whereas some of the confusion with regard to the first controversy could	32
33	be explained by the simple fact that it was not, and still is not, clear who counted	33
34	as a sociologist back in the 1930s, the inaccuracy with respect to the second issue	34
35	has to do with the fact that citizens from different nation-states eventually became	35
36	passport holders of the one Third Reich. Immigration officers of those countries to	36
37	which they were able to flee had no reason to differentiate between former Austrian,	37
38	Czechoslovakian or German citizens, nor did their academic peers have reason to	38
39	do so. Due to their common language, they appeared in their new environment	39
40	as ambassadors of a single culture, sometimes completely mislabelled as Weimar	40
41	Culture. To be sure, one could argue that there was something like a common	41
42	German-speaking culture, named <i>Kulturnation</i> . This signifies that independently	42
43	of the distribution of all German speaking people over different nation states,	43
44	German native speakers shared a common value, their <i>Kultur</i> .	44

1 From a sociological point of view amalgamations, juxtapositions and 1
 2 oppositions like the ones mentioned above are of minor importance considering 2
 3 that, as sociologists, we are expected to have learnt to take various institutional 3
 4 arrangements into account. In this regard, the situation in, for instance, Vienna 4
 5 around 1925 could not be compared to that in Frankfort-on-Main, Königsberg or 5
 6 Prague. As a result of these diverse institutional conditions, comparisons between 6
 7 Germany and Austria reveal some strong differences (with some telling examples 7
 8 listed in Table 13.1). Whatever might be said about the discrepancies, one would 8
 9 invariably conclude that the Austrians produced more students, “bright young 9
 10 men”, to quote the catchword used by the Rockefeller Foundation to describe their 10
 11 fellows, and more eminent economists going into exile. 11

12
 13
 14 **Table 13.1 Ratio between Austria and Germany** 14

15		
16 For every 100 Germans, Austrians account for ... 16		
17 Population (1930s)	10	17
18 Universities (1930s)	13	18
19 Students (1930s)	15	19
20 Teaching staff (1930s)	30	20
21 Dismissed Professors (1933 and 1938, resp.)	34	21
22 Grantees of the Emergency Committee (1933–1944)	20	22
23 Rockefeller Fellows (1925–1941)	40	23
24 Émigré economists (1933–1945)	43	24
25 Leading social scientists (twentieth century)	77	25
26		

27 *Note:* Sources – Population: Brian R. Mitchell, *International Historical Statistics: Europe*, 27
 28 *1750–1988*, New York: Stockton Press, 1992; Universities, students and teaching staff: 28
 29 Hartmut Titze (ed.), *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte*, Bd. 1 *Hochschulen*, Teil 1, 29
 30 Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht 1987; Rockefeller Fellows: Rockefeller Foundation, 30
 31 *Directory of Fellowship Awards, for the Years 1917–1950*, with an Introduction by President 31
 32 Chester I. Barnard, New York: Rockefeller Foundation n.d. [1951], Rockefeller Foundation, 32
 33 *Directory of Fellowship Awards, Supplement for the Years 1951–1955 [inclusive]*, with 33
 34 an Introduction by President Dean Rusk, New York: Rockefeller Foundation n.d. [1955], 34
 35 Rockefeller Foundation, *Directory of Fellowships and Scholarships, 1917–1970*, New 35
 36 York: Rockefeller Foundation 1972, Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC) Sleepy Hollow, 36
 37 New York, fellowship cards; Dismissed professors: for Germany: *A Crisis in the University* 37
 38 *World*, published by the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees (Jewish and others) 38
 39 coming from Germany, March 1935, p. 5, for Austria: Society for the Protection of Science 39
 40 and Learning, formerly Academic Assistance Council, *Fourth Report*, London, November 40
 41 1938, p. 5; Grantees of the Emergency Committee: Stephen Duggan and Betty Drury, 41
 42 *The Rescue of Science and Learning. The Story of the Emergency Committee in Aid of* 42
 43 *Displaced Foreign Scholars*, New York: Macmillan 1948, appendix iii, p. 195; Émigré 43
 44 economists: Claus-Dieter Krohn and Harald Hagemann (eds), *Biographisches Handbuch* 44
 45 *der deutschsprachigen wirtschaftswissenschaftlichen Emigration nach 1933*, Munich: 45

1 Saur 1999; Leading Social Scientists: Neil Smelser and Paul Baltes (eds), *International* 1
2 *Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, Amsterdam: Elsevier 2001 (my 2
3 calculations). 3
4 4
5 What is true for institutional environments and their differences applies likewise 5
6 to the development of scientific disciplines such as sociology. The trajectories 6
7 that this discipline-in-formation followed at several places should thus be taken 7
8 into account accordingly. For those who are interested in the development of this 8
9 particular discipline, it is absolutely essential to look at it from different angles. 9
10 The analysis of an emerging scientific discipline needs to differentiate between 10
11 micro-institutions, such as research units, university departments, etc.; institutional 11
12 environments including state policies, legislation, the public, and administrations; 12
13 discourses and curricula; publications and professional and semi-professional 13
14 organizations. Above all, one should look at the persons working in the emerging 14
15 discipline. The latter aspect will be the focus of this paper. 15
16 We will first try to compare émigré scholars with individuals who remained at 16
17 home, those who could be called “home-guards”, to use one of the telling concepts 17
18 Everett Hughes offers in his writings on professions.¹ Secondly, we will compare 18
19 sociologists from Germany with those from Austria, and finally we will try to 19
20 evaluate the resonance of German-speaking sociologists found in the since then 20
21 well established universe of English-speaking sociology. 21
22 22
23 23
24 **Two-Dimensional Results** 24
25 25
26 Table 13.2 provides an overview of five sub-samples of German-speaking 26
27 sociologists, along with some key information. Some additional comments might 27
28 also be in order. The overlap of only 269 individuals whose names were found 28
29 in more than one source proves that it makes sense to draw from more than one 29
30 source. Some of the differences between the sub-samples are telling in and of 30
31 themselves. The *Kürschner* preferred older people, as opposed to those featured 31
32 in other sources. Since *Kürschner* is the contemporary source *par excellence* – 32
33 all other sub-samples rely at least partly on present-day definitions – one could 33
34 conclude that at least some of them sank into oblivion before reaching a status high 34
35 enough to be remembered by later generations. Scientific disciplines regularly lose 35
36 some of their members because they were not active enough, or disappear from 36
37 the scene without a trace. If someone does not participate in the daily routines of 37
38 scientific work by publishing, or does not even publish at all, they could not be 38
39 detected later. 39
40 40
41 _____ 41
42 1 He made use of this concept only twice, at least according to my knowledge: first, in 42
43 a summary of the study he did with Howard S. Becker, Anselm Strauss on the education of 43
44 physicians and later on in a lengthy review of Lazarsfeld’s *Academic Mind* (Hughes 1959). 43
44 For reprints of both pieces, see Hughes 1971. 44

1 **Table 13.2 Overview of the different sub-samples** 1

	Kürschner	Wittebur	ISL	RF	A	Total	
4 Women (in %)	2	5	6	8	10	7	4
5 émigrés (in %)	32	100	42	64	75	58	5
6 Austrians	13	7	12	24	74	29	6
7 Dual citizenship holders (in %)	5	7	11	7	26	9	7
8 Year of birth (median)	1886	1897	1899	1901	1900	1898	8
9 Cases	277	141	292	119	265	826	9

11 *Note:* Double entries (n=269) in different sub-samples result in a total of 851; *Kürschner*: a 11
 12 kind-of-German version of “American Men in Science”; Wittebur: a PhD thesis on German 12
 13 émigré sociologists (1991); ISL: *Internationales Soziologenlexikon*, 2. ed., Stuttgart: Enke 13
 14 1980–3; RF: German speaking Rockefeller Fellows 1925–1940; A: based on articles 14
 15 and reviews published between 1925 and 1955 in 14 German and 22 English/American 15
 16 sociological journals. 16

17 17
 18 18
 19 Besides the claim to cover all German-speaking countries, the *Kürschner* sample 19
 20 is primarily a collection of scholars from Germany. Of these 81 per cent were 20
 21 born within the borders of what was then Germany, 88 per cent graduated at one 21
 22 of Germany’s universities and 80 per cent named as their place of residence a 22
 23 German town. However, only 51 of the 289 scholars listed in one of the editions of 23
 24 the *Kürschner* left Germany during the 1930s. Wittebur found three times as many 24
 25 émigrés as the *Kürschner* reports. 25

26 Different institutional forces were at work in the two sub-samples with the 26
 27 youngest members. It is no surprise that the Rockefeller Fellows were young, as 27
 28 that was the very reason they were chosen by the Foundation. The youthfulness of 28
 29 the sample of Austrian sociologists raises another riddle that is not so easy to solve. 29
 30 Since no age bias could have had any influence it seems that the age distribution 30
 31 tells a story in itself. The simplest explanation could be that the number of people 31
 32 who had experienced higher education was higher in Austria after the end of 32
 33 the Hapsburg Empire. The traditional practice of filling bureaucratic positions 33
 34 primarily with German-speaking applicants might have resulted in a positive 34
 35 orientation towards education in particular strata of Vienna’s population. After the 35
 36 collapse of the Empire civil servants left their jobs in faraway places and relocated 36
 37 themselves and their families in the metropolis. They were not able to change 37
 38 their habits immediately and could not persuade their offspring to choose other 38
 39 occupational paths. As a consequence the then tiny Austrian Republic envisioned 39
 40 a much higher proportion of well-educated young people than comparable nations. 40
 41 Statistics corroborate this interpretation (see Table 13.1). Living in Vienna without 41
 42 the prospect of getting a job similar to those of their parents led a percentage of the 42
 43 underemployed to turn to fringe fields such as the then still new, but unfashionable, 43
 44 discipline of sociology. 44

1 The higher percentages of Austrians in the sub-samples of the ISL and the RF 1
 2 (see legend to Table 13.2), both of which cannot be related to any undue Austrian 2
 3 preference, emphasize this view. Not only were there more young intellectuals 3
 4 living in Vienna, and frequenting its coffee houses in particular, a large proportion 4
 5 of them also finally found acclaim first from scouts from New York and then from 5
 6 fellow sociologists who were rounding up celebrities for an international directory 6
 7 of their discipline. To find a sound explanation for the higher rate of highly regarded 7
 8 social scientists with an Austrian background is more complicated. Generally, 8
 9 a higher density of people working in a particular field results in higher peaks 9
 10 (Cole and Phelan 1999). It goes without saying that during the first third of the 10
 11 twentieth century Vienna was packed with intellectuals. Due to a lack of statistics, 11
 12 for example the amount of people with a higher education degree in cities like 12
 13 Vienna, Budapest, Prague, Berlin, this claim remains only hypothetical. 13

14 Along these lines one could also argue that it must have been easier for 14
 15 young women to publish an apprentice piece of scholarly work in a sociological 15
 16 journal (this was the criterion for being included in the A sample) in Vienna than 16
 17 elsewhere. Compared to all of the other samples, the barriers women had to 17
 18 overcome in Austria must have been lower. However, this again does not answer 18
 19 the question as to how it happened in the beginning that young women preferred 19
 20 scholarly work over any other field. It is probable that female role models – such 20
 21 as the writer of sociological essays Rosa Mayreder and her friends from the 21
 22 first women’s movement, or Charlotte Bühler, one of the very first women to be 22
 23 awarded a “Habilitation”² in Vienna, and who later displayed great competence as 23
 24 the organizer of a group of young researchers to whom Lazarsfeld belonged, or 24
 25 even celebrities like the considerable number of muses who embellished artistic 25
 26 circles – had a positive influence on young women. 26

27 Finally, one could explain the larger proportion of émigrés in the Austrian sub 27
 28 sample by pointing out again that using journal publications as the base for selecting 28
 29 someone as the member of a discipline enlarges the population considerably. Young 29
 30 people with an Austrian background found it easier to move into sociology after 30
 31 their forced migration, whereas those who had established themselves in German 31
 32 and Austrian academic circles – at least to the extent of being recognized highly 32
 33 enough to be included into the *Kürschner* – lowered the probability of having to 33
 34 go into exile after the Nazi takeover. Looking at the same pattern from a different 34
 35 angle one could argue that the low percentage of émigrés in the *Kürschner* sub- 35
 36 sample corroborates the role of anti-Semitism in the years before and after 1933. 36
 37 It is only because Jews did not find easy entry into the academic world of German- 37
 38 speaking countries that the number of émigrés insiders was so low, as shown in 38
 39 Table 13.2. 39

40
 41
 42
 43 ² For short explanations of the German and Austrian academic ranking system, see 43
 44 the legend to Figure 13.3. 44

1	Multidimensional Analysis	1
2		2
3	To extend the analysis further we made use of an explorative statistical tool called	3
4	correspondence analysis ³ which plots connections between variables without	4
5	relying on the number of cases. Readers of Bourdieu's <i>La distinction</i> may have	5
6	seen this kind of plot and should be familiar with this sort of graphical tool for	6
7	data presentation, a more detailed presentation of correspondence analysis can be	7
8	found in Greenacre (1993). To understand this method you just have to recognize	8
9	that it shows similarities and differences along two axes. However, the tool does	9
10	not offer the possibility of comparing data diagonally and interpreting distances	10
11	between points on the horizontal and the vertical axes, but you can examine the	11
12	line which is drawn from the intercept point to a data point and spans a vector on	12
13	both sides. Points inside this angle show a higher degree of similarity.	13
14	We merged all the different sub-samples into one dataset, losing some	14
15	information because not all sources provided data for the same variables.	15
16	Incidentally, we observed that it was very difficult to collect telling data about	16
17	scholars; moreover, some of the most widely used variables in social research	17
18	– such as father's occupation, religion, etc. – were not available. The variables	18
19	used in the following diagram are listed below:	19
20		20
21	• Social background (father's occupation),	21
22	• Religion (denomination),	22
23	• age (birth cohorts in decades),	23
24	• status as an émigré or "home-guard" (non-émigré),	24
25	• national affiliation (holders of double citizenship are calculated separately),	25
26	• highest academic career level, reached before 1933 and 1938 respectively	26
27	(categorized into <i>Dr</i> , <i>Dozent</i> , <i>ao. Professor</i> , <i>o. Professor</i> , the four main	27
28	steps of career in German academia),	28
29	• career pace, measured in years needed to reach the next higher academic	29
30	step (categorized as before),	30
31	• reputation.	31
32		32
33	The two-dimensional space of the first plot (Figure 13.1) accounts for 75 per cent	33
34	of the variance. The main or horizontal axis explains more than the vertical or	34
35	secondary axis (59 to 16 per cent).	35
36		36
37		37
38		38
39		39
40		40
41		41
42		42
43	3 I would like to thank Werner Reichmann, now at the University of Constance, for	43
44	doing the calculations.	44

1 The horizontal axis is best characterized as the opposition between Germans vs. 1
 2 Austrians where Jewishness does not add anything to the distribution. No specific 2
 3 pattern appears when looking at the age cohorts as they are dispersed in the space. 3
 4 However, the remigration variable shows a distinct feature: it is located near the 4
 5 Germans, whereas the no-remigration dot is nearest to the Austrian Jews. All the 5
 6 pre-emigration career characteristics are located near the two groups of Germans. 6
 7 The careers abroad, primarily in the US, reveal a clear connection between the 7
 8 older Germans and the younger Austrians. Some of those with a distinct career 8
 9 before going into exile did find a position in the American academic world, most 9
 10 probably with the assistance of refugee help organizations such as the well-known 10
 11 Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars. We can add one 11
 12 more interpretation: of the Austrian Jews who had only graduated before their 12
 13 flight and therefore brought with them only a doctorate⁴ as an entry qualification, 13
 14 those who went on to study again abroad and receive another qualification, again 14
 15 in most cases a doctorate, ended up as assistant professors, whereas their slightly 15
 16 older compatriots had been promoted to associate professors.⁵ 16

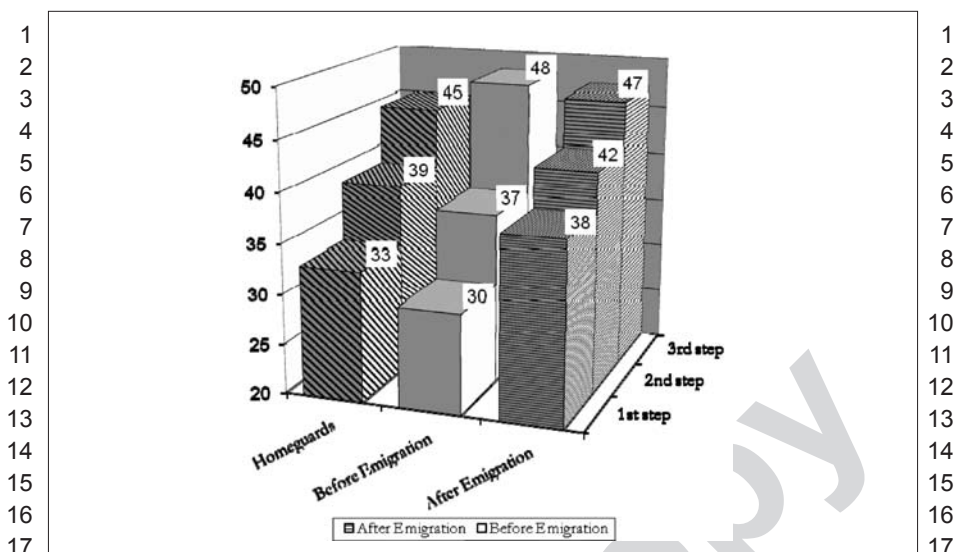
17 The most remarkable features displayed by both figures are the differences 17
 18 between Germans and Austrians, émigrés and home-guards, seniors and youngsters. 18
 19 The underlying assumption of this study – i.e. that there was a difference between 19
 20 Germany and Austria during the interwar period with regard to the development of 20
 21 the social sciences and the amount and shape of the émigrés – was corroborated by 21
 22 the correspondence analysis. It should be noted once again that crucial additional 22
 23 variables were unfortunately not available. 23

24 Finally, Figure 13.3 demonstrates the comparative advantage of the American 24
 25 university system, where immigrants were able to reach the highest level in their 25
 26 academic career on average only two years later than the home-guards who stayed 26
 27 in Germany or Austria. The middle stages demonstrate that those who were forced 27
 28 into exile at a later time fared better before their emigration than their then fellow 28
 29 countrymen who stayed in the German-speaking academic world during their 29
 30 whole lifetime. 30

31 31
 32 32
 33 33
 34 34
 35 35
 36 36
 37 37
 38 38
 39 39

40 _____ 40
 41 4 Until the 1970s the first degree at German and Austrian universities was that of 41
 42 “Doktor”. 42

43 5 We should bear in mind that the observation period for this analysis ended 43
 44 in the middle of the 1950s; therefore some might have been promoted to higher ranks 44
 44 afterwards. 44



**Figure 13.3 Carriers of 3 groups of German-speaking sociologists:
Medium age of promotion**

23 Measuring Impact

25 Striving towards producing texts and seeking recognition for oneself lies at the
 26 very heart of the scholarly trade. Yet the measurement of productivity, recognition
 27 and an impact is more complicated and rather more controversial. In the case of
 28 sociology, a scientific speciality which distributes most of its insights in the form
 29 of texts, it seems appropriate to use as an indicator for productivity the amount
 30 of written artefacts, and as an indicator for recognition the perception of these
 31 contributions by others. Sociological evaluation of the production of texts and their
 32 recognition by others is, for a large part, based on books and articles. Collecting
 33 valid data on books is admittedly not an easy task. The forms of book publishing
 34 differ from culture to culture and may also fluctuate over the years within the same
 35 scientific culture. High-brow publishing houses and shoe-string book production
 36 constitute two poles of a continuum. Multiple editions of a single highly influential
 37 book count far more than publishing a large number of separate books which go
 38 unnoticed.

39 Given the lack of consistency in the world of book production in sociology
 40 we decided to use a newly established database to analyse the productivity and
 41 the recognition of our group of German-speaking sociologists. JSTOR, short
 42 for Journal Storage, was started some years ago as an electronic device to make
 43 older issues of high-ranking English language – in particular American scientific
 44 journals – easily accessible to present-day readers. Since more than two thirds

1 of our émigrés ended up in the US, this database fitted our requirements well. 1
2 Though JSTOR was not designed for scientometric analyses it does offer features 2
3 that can be adopted for this kind of analysis. Users of JSTOR can search in up to 3
4 four different fields, combining them with Boolean operators. Every field can be 4
5 specified with regard to the kind of text in which the search should be executed: 5
6 title, abstract, author's name(s) and full-text. Additionally, one can restrict the 6
7 search to different types of texts: articles, reviews, "opinion pieces" (such as 7
8 letters to the editor, etc.) and other items (like membership directories, conference 8
9 announcements, etc.). Finally, users can restrict their searches by date range and 9
10 limits of content availability in full text or not. However, to simplify matters we 10
11 did not make use of the JSTOR options mentioned last. 11

12 Slightly diverting its original purpose, we utilized JSTOR for a two-fold 12
13 analysis. On the other hand, we used JSTOR to measure the degree of recognition 13
14 a particular author gained. At the time this research was done (1999/2000) the 14
15 Arts and Science Collection part of the database contained journals (numbers in 15
16 brackets) in the following disciplines: Anthropology (5), Economics (13), History 16
17 (13), Philosophy (13), Political science (8), Population studies (8), Sociology (9), 17
18 Statistics (9); in addition, we used another seven journals from JSTOR's general 18
19 science collection. Obviously, not every single issue and not even whole sets of 19
20 journals promised to contain an article from one of our sociologists. For pragmatic 20
21 reasons we did not exclude any journal. 21

22 A more serious problem was the potential unfairness shown to authors from 22
23 the home-guard faction. Members of the older generation like Max Weber (rank 23
24 3), Ferdinand Tönnies (15), Werner Sombart (36), Ernst Troeltsch (42), and Max 24
25 Scheler (56) – most of them no longer alive when the Nazis came to power – 25
26 received more attention than the younger home-guards among whom Richard 26
27 Thrunwald (55), Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann (57), Carl Schmitt (68), Konrad 27
28 Lorenz (75), and Otto Hintze (82) received some recognition. As a consequence 28
29 the following analysis is to some extent only a comparison between German and 29
30 Austrian émigrés, penalizing those who did not go to the US. As there are no 30
31 indications of systematic preference having been given to former Germans or 31
32 former Austrians with regard to their attempt to settle abroad this shortcoming 32
33 seemed to be acceptable. Scholars such as Karl Popper who never lived in the US 33
34 still received recognition. Even without contributing any paper, as was true in the 34
35 case of Max Weber, Anna Freud, Troeltsch and others, or publishing relatively 35
36 few articles, as Popper did, their work was attractive enough for others to make 36
37 use of. Latecomers to the US, such as Hayek and Jahoda – who resettled in the 37
38 US after a variable amount of time spent in the UK – seem to have experienced 38
39 no real disadvantage. 39

40 Searches carried out for approximately 800 scholars. Only the smallest minority 40
41 of the most productive and distinguished scholars were able to place a remarkable 41
42 number of papers in these highly regarded journals. Ninety per cent of all scholars 42
43 published less than four articles in the journals covered by JSTOR, whereas but 43
44 the remaining ten per cent contributed between four and 67 articles. The same 44

1 pattern is reflected in the result of the JSTOR full text search when measuring 1
2 recognition by others, where the last ten per cent were quoted at least 30 times and 2
3 the highest number is 1938. 3

4 Table 13.3 gives the results for the combined index of reputation. It consists 4
5 of three sub-indices: appreciation, productivity and citation. The first sub-index 5
6 is a simple calculation of hits in four biographical dictionaries.⁶ The second is a 6
7 weighted index of the number of articles in the 117 JSTOR core journals plus the 7
8 number of authored contributions to the 1968 Encyclopedia. The third sub-index, 8
9 measuring impact, is the calculation of citations (by others) in the JSTOR core 9
10 journals plus the number of quotations in Sills and Merton 1991. 10

11

12

13

14 **Table 13.3 Index of reputation German-speaking social scientists, weighted** 14

15

16 Rank	16 Surname	16 First name	16 Score	16
17 1	Lazarsfeld	Paul Felix	24,84	17
18 2	Simmel	Georg	23,22	18
19 3	Weber	Max	22,94	19
20 4	Schumpeter	Joseph Alois	22,33	20
21 5	Freud	Sigmund	20,99	21
22 6	Popper	Karl	20,17	22
23 7	Hayek	Friedrich A.	19,71	23
24 8	Blau	Peter M.	19,32	24
25 9	Lewin	Kurt	18,72	25
26 10	Bendix	Reinhard	18,63	26
27 11	Machlup	Fritz	18,19	27
28 12	Morgenstern	Oskar	18,04	28
29 13	Tietze	Christopher	16,95	29
30 14	Moreno	Jacob Levy	16,89	30
31 15	Tönnies	Ferdinand	16,77	31
32 16	Deutsch	Karl W.	16,11	32
33 17	Kelsen	Hans	16,05	33
34 18	Gerschenkron	Alexander	15,66	34
35 19	Marschak	Jacob	15,47	35
36 20	Schütz	Alfred	15,43	36
37 21	Carnap	Rudolph	15,35	37
38 22	Adler	Alfred	15,23	38
39 23	Haberler	Gottfried	15,13	39
40 24	Mannheim	Karl	15,04	40

41

42

43 ⁶ Bernsdorf and Knospe (1980–1984); Debus (1968); Sills (1968); and Smelser and 43
44 Baltes (2001). 44

Rank	Surname	First name	Score
25	Cassirer	Ernst	14,98
26	Coser	Lewis A.	14,84
27	Gumbel	Emil Julius	14,43
28	Michels	Robert	14,01
29	Hirschman	Albert	13,97
30	Mises	Ludwig von	13,19
31	Back	Kurt W.	13,15
32	Tintner	Gerhard	12,99
33	Kunz	Josef L.	12,78
34	Adorno	Theodor W.	12,25
35	Strauss	Leo	12,18
36	Sombart	Werner	12,10
37	Nadel	S. F.	11,91
38	Zeisel	Hans	11,90
39	Redlich	Fritz	11,89
40	Kohn	Hans	11,57

Source: Own calculation.

The most striking feature seems to be the overwhelming position of Austrians in this list. Of course, prudence is recommended when an Austrian author demonstrates that former compatriots came off so well. I have attempted to avoid bias in my data analysis and hope that I have been successful in resisting any nationalistic leanings. An explanation of this pattern can be made with reference to the following factors: first, the Austrians were younger than their German counterparts; second, a large number of high-ranking Austrians received a Rockefeller Fellowship before they were forced to leave their home country,⁷ and thus may have had an advantage after arriving in the US; third, both the Austrian economists and the Austrian philosophers fitted well into the then newly emerging paradigms, i.e. the neo-classical and econometric economics and the logical positivism.

To act as my own critic, I would like to direct the reader's attention to three different sources of recognition. The recently published *American National Biography* (Garraty, Carnes, and American Council of Learned Societies 1999) included some 50 refugee scholars in their collection of remarkable Americans. Blackwell also recently published a *Companion to American Thought* (Fox and Kloppenberg 1995), and the new *International Encyclopaedia of the Social & Behavioral Science* (Smelser and Baltes 2001) selected in a refereed process 100 outstanding scholars and honoured them with biographical entries. Looking at

⁷ Lazarsfeld, Haberler, Machlup, Tintner, Bergmann, and Voegelin hold Fellowships from the Rockefeller Foundation but from the Germans only Hans Kohn and Jakob Marschak were Fellows.

1	these collections of famous persons, including a few women, draws our attention	1
2	to some differences but also to a high degree of convergence.	2
3	At least two conclusions can be drawn from the above analysis. On the one	3
4	hand talking about German émigrés is misleading as the differences between the	4
5	Austrians and the Germans are relatively clear-cut but it would take too much time	5
6	to elaborate on that here. ⁸ On the other hand the openness of American academia	6
7	during the 1940s onwards, partly due to the expansion of the system of higher	7
8	education on the other side of the Atlantic, contributed enormously to the success	8
9	stories of the émigrés. Without this most of them would have vanished after their	9
10	expulsion from Central Europe.	10
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44	8 See my extensive analysis in Fleck 2007.	44

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