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FORMAL ASPECTS  
OF „THE NATURE OF POLITICS AND SOCIETY”  
AN ANALYSIS OF THE „UNIVERSITY IN EXILE”, 1933–1945

INTRODUCTION

The New School of Social Research in West 12<sup>th</sup> Street, Manhattan, New York, is one of the top spots of what can be named Social Science’s collective memory<sup>1</sup>, especially in terms of internationalization and interdisciplinarity. This mnemotopical quality effects from New School’s ‚classical’ period after the founding of its Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science in 1933. The signature of New School’s classicism is Alvin Johnson’s initiative to constitute the Faculty as a place of institutionalized interaction for America’s educated middle-class and Europe’s clerisy, along with endowing dozens of the latter’s representatives, mostly from Germany and Austria, a safe area of intellectual discourse beyond the oppressions of Europe’s Fascist regimes. With the end of the Nazi regime in 1945 the primary reason for the presence of the European scholars in New York disappeared. The formative years of the Graduate Faculty, the so-called „University in exile”<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> J. Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*, München: Beck 2000, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> W. M. Sprandel, *Erzwungene Diffusion. Die „University in Exile” und Aspekte ihrer Wirkung*, in: *Geschichte der Soziologie. Studien der kognitiven, sozialen und historischen Identität einer Disziplin*, Bd. 4, ed. W. Lepenies, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1981, p. 183.

ended, when formally the émigrés acquired the possibility to return to Europe. Not everyone did; nevertheless the scholars who stayed in New York „no longer merely” were „exiles or foreigners”<sup>3</sup>, and therefore a new phase of New School’s history began.

In our following analysis we focus on the formative years of the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science, 1933–1945, which Rutkoff and Scott in their well-known book sign as shaped by „Politics of Disillusionment”<sup>4</sup>. Beyond some overview studies<sup>5</sup>, of whom Rutkoff’s and Scott’s is the most detailed, an in-depth study of the social and intellectual history of the University in exile has not yet been written. Our essay won’t fill this gap completely. It approaches merely one of the aspects of such a study, the formal structure of the Graduate Faculty 1933–1945. We approach this formal structure as complementary to the intellectual interdependences of its members, i.e. the interconnections between their movements of thoughts. Analytically we understand these intellectual interdependences as speak acts which as ways of world-making narratively produce a chain of signifiers<sup>6</sup>. The „fundamental signifier”<sup>7</sup>, around which these chain is woven, is *the Nature of Politics and Society*; for the scholars who were appointed to Graduate Faculty were recruited as „more akin to the activist intellectuals who lectured and taught at the New School” before 1933 „than to mainstream American social scientists”, i.e. as scholars who were besides their ability to adopt „empirical methods” particularly known as raising „ethical questions about the nature of politics and society”<sup>8</sup>.

Provided that a comprehensive analysis of intellectual institutions would mean a constellation analysis applying mixed methods, our analysis of the formal struc-

<sup>3</sup> P. M. R u t k o f f, W. B. S c o t t, *New School. A History of the New School for Social Research*, New York: Free Press 1986, p. 197.

<sup>4</sup> Ibidem, p. 107.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. L a c h m a n, *The University in Exile*, „Discourse” 2 (1976); B. L u c k m a n n, *Eine Universität im Exil: Die Graduate Faculty der New School for Social Research*, in: *Die Soziologie in Deutschland und Oesterreich 1919–1945. Materialien zur Entwicklung, Emigration und Wirkungsgeschichte*, ed. M. R. L e p s i u s, „Koelner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie”, Sonderheft 23 (1981); W. M. S p r o n d e l, *Erzwungene Diffusion*; P. M. R u t k o f f, W. B. S c o t t, *New School*; C.-D. K r o h n, *Intellectuals in Exile. Refugee Scholars and the New School for Social Research*, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press 1993.

<sup>6</sup> P. G o s t m a n n, „Beyond the Pale”. *Albert Salomons Denkbewegung und das intellektuelle Feld im 20. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden: Springer VS 2012, p. 61-71; N. G o o d m a n, *Weisen der Welt-erzeugung*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1990, p. 19; M. R. S o m e r s, *The Narrative Constitution of Identity. A Relational and Network Approach*, „Theory and Society” 23 (1994), p. 614.

<sup>7</sup> J. L a c a n, *Das Seminar. Buch XI. Die vier Grundbegriffe der Psychoanalyse*, Weinheim–Berlin: Quadriga 1986, p. 208.

<sup>8</sup> P. M. R u t k o f f, W. B. S c o t t, *New School*, p. 89.

ture of the Graduate Faculty 1933–1945 is to be understood as part of a hermeneutical approach applied to the whole of its movement(s) of thought(s). Hence this is a study in statistical style for a broader interpretative matter. The subject of the study is the distribution and characteristics of the members’ power to shape faculty’s collective conduct concerning the quest for the nature of politics and society, which the scholars potentially held for reasons of occupational continuity, visibility, functional positions (offices etc.), and interfacultative participation. First we briefly portray the New School, especially its Graduate Faculty, and define more precisely the purpose of our study (*II*). Afterwards we present the set of variables included in our statistical analysis of the formal structure of the Graduate Faculty (*III*). Then we analyze the grades and forms of shaping power Graduate Faculty’s members potentially held by a cluster analysis (*IV*) and finish with some concluding remarks (*V*).

#### THE GRADUATE FACULTY 1933-1945: AN OVERVIEW

The New School for Social Research, whose academic program started in February 1919 in a building in 21<sup>st</sup> street, emerged as a result of a revolt of some New York intellectuals. After the United States came into World War I (in 1917) Nicholas M. Butler, Columbia University’s president, declared the university to be „duty-bound to support the war policies of Congress and President Wilson”. Each of Columbia’s scholars, who would oppose or counsel opposition „to the effective enforcement of the laws of the United States or who acts or speaks or writes treason”<sup>9</sup>, would be laid off. James McKeen Cattell, a professor of psychology, and the philologist Henry W.L. Dana, who were „at the centre of faculty and student protests [...] against Congress’s declaration of war” indeed were dismissed. In consequence the historians Charles A. Beard and James H. Robinson resigned and founded a *new* educational institution „committed to an expansive notion of academic freedom [...] [to] foster among American social scientists a desire to participate in the ‚democratic social reconstruction’ of westerns society”<sup>10</sup>. In cooperation with philosopher John Dewey and economist Thorstein Veblen, attended by New Republic editor Herbert Croly, financially supported by philanthropist Dorothy Straight<sup>11</sup>, Beard and Robinson founded the New School of Social Research

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<sup>9</sup> Ibidem, p. 2.

<sup>10</sup> Ibidem, p. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Ibidem, p. 10.

as the American way of which the latter immigrants from Europe knew as Prussian reformer Wilhelm Humboldt's idea of university as institution of perpetual and synergetic interaction of scholars who are like-minded in so far as their main concern is knowledge<sup>12</sup>. The New School, claims Arthur J. Vidich, who entered Graduate Faculty in 1960 and stayed for more than 40 years, was backed by „New York's uptown wealthy German Jews and a lower Fifth Avenue Protestant elite, mostly Presbyterian“. Over the years it gained reputation as a „subversive, unconventional, and radical, if not revolutionary, non-degree-granting experimental adult educational institution operating out of the rebellious milieu of Greenwich Village“<sup>13</sup>.

A faculty even in a rebellious setting is first and foremost a faculty. Hence New School's Graduate Faculty formally can be described as a corporate collective like social groups, associations or organizations are<sup>14</sup>. Such corporate unities are defined by restricted memberships, specific social roles determined by membership and interior communication structures which enable prevailing collective decisions and collective conduct. Academic corporate collective's structures of communication and decision are neither primarily egalitarian nor primarily hierarchical, but specifically collegial. The Emigree Faculty was a „collegial association“, i.e. a kind of organization combining egalitarianism and differentiation of expertise in forms of professionalism<sup>15</sup>. Graduate Faculty's member's comprehensive expertise by definition ought to be to professionally approach the nature of politics and society. For this purpose Johnson initiated a weekly General Seminar, in which the whole faculty participated and which visibilized the member's actual differentiation of expertise and helped to coordinate their collective conduct. As a medium of the scholar's (both exterior and interior) visibility the firstly 1934 published quarterly Social Research was established.

Emil Lederer, successor of Max Weber as editor of *Archiv fuer Sozialwissenschaften und Sozialpolitik* and recently a professor of social sciences in Berlin, became the first Dean of the faculty; he held this position till he died in 1939. The other charter members were: Karl Brandt, previously heading a department at the

<sup>12</sup> W. von Humboldt, *Ueber die innere und äussere Organisation der höheren wissenschaftlichen Anstalten in Berlin*, in: *Werke* 4, Darmstadt: WBG 1980, p. 257.

<sup>13</sup> A. Vidich, *With a Critical Eye. An Intellectual and His Times, 1922–2006*, Knoxville: Newfound Press 2009, p. 371.

<sup>14</sup> B. Peters, *Die Integration moderner Gesellschaften*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1993, p. 166-168.

<sup>15</sup> T. Parsons, G. M. Platt, *The American University*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press 1973, p. 123.

Berlin academy for agronomy, who left in 1938. Arnold Brecht, former political official at Prussian state ministry; Gerhard Colm from Kiel, Institute for World economy; Eduard Heimann (University of Hamburg, social economist); Erich von Hornbostel, ethnomusicologist, co-founder of famous Berlin Phonogram Archive, who died just before Graduate Faculty's first semester took off; Horace M. Kallen, New School professor since 1919; Carl Mayer, previously at the Frankfurt Workers academy; Hans Speier, Lederers assistant in Berlin; Max Wertheimer from Frankfurt university, co-founder of Gestalt theory; Frieda Wunderlich (Berlin, Institute for vocational education), editor of the periodical *Soziale Praxis*. Furthermore Rockefeller fellow Max Ascoli (Rom, philosophy of law) and Hans Simons, political scientist, previously district president in the region Liegnitz and editor of *Neue Blaetter für den Sozialismus*, joined the faculty. In 1934 came: Arthur Feiler, deskman at *Frankfurter Zeitung*; Alfred Kaehler, head of an adult education centre in Harsee; economist Fritz Lehmann from Cologne University, who committed suicide in 1940; Rudolf Littauer (Leipzig, doctor of law); Hans Staudinger, member of parliament (social democratic party) and former state secretary (trade ministry). Max Webers student Albert Salomon, previously editor of the monthly *Die Gesellschaft* and professor at Cologne Institute for vocational education, joined the University in Exile in 1935. In 1938, when the German Fascist regime usurped Austria, from Vienna came: Erich Hula (doctor of law), previously official representative of employees in Vienna; Felix Kaufmann (philosophy of law); Ernst Karl Winter, editor of *Wiener politische Blaetter* and awhile vice mayor of Vienna. Alfred Schütz, scholar of financial law, student of Edmund Husserl, nowadays rated as one of the classical authors of sociology, joined the scene in 1938, too, but officially became part of the faculty not until 1943. From Germany came Kurt Riezler, adviser of chancellor Bethmann Hollweg in World War I, previously curator of Frankfurt University; the philosopher Leo Strauss, Rockefeller fellow in Paris and Cambridge, previously engaged at Academy of the Science of Judaism, Berlin. In the following year Jakob Marschak, a former student of Lederer, previously head of Oxford Institute of Statistics, came for Colm, who joined the staff of the White House; from Spain came Fernando de los Ríos, awhile foreign minister of the just terminated *Segunda República* and awhile its ambassador in Washington. In 1940 Adolph Lowe, previously in Manchester, joined the faculty; his academic record contained the Institute for World economy, Kiel, and Frankfurt University alike. From Italy came Alexander Pekelis, lecturer in philosophy of law (Rome, Florence), editor of *Massimario della Corte Toscana*. In 1943 Marschak left for Chicago and Hans Neisser (Institute for World economy, University of Pennsylvania) joined; furthermore economist Abba P. Lerner came, fol-

lowed in 1944 by psychologist Solomon E. Asch, a former Columbia student. Dozens of names of fellows and visiting lectures could be added: Rudolf Arnheim, Emil Gumbel, Georges Gurvitch, Charles Hartshorne, Julius Hirsch, Karen Horney, Hans Kelsen, Kurt Koffka, Alexandre Koyré, Ernst Kris, Nino Levi, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Bronislaw Malinowski, Boris Mirkine-Guetzevitch, Paul Schrecker, Richard Schüller, Julius Wyler and more. Objects of our analysis are the 32 scholars (from Lederer to Lerner) mentioned above<sup>16</sup>.

Vidich describes the Graduate Faculty's collective identity as made of „secular idealism”. He refers to 1935's original constitution (which in some way was a constitution of and for constitutionalists), stating that faculty's members were „to follow the truth of scholarship where ever it may lead, regardless of personal consequences”; „not [to] be a member of any political party or group which asserts the right to dictate in matters of science or scientific opinion”; „to be guided solely by considerations of scholarly achievement, competence and integrity, giving no weight whatsoever to scientifically irrelevant considerations such as race, sex, religion or such political beliefs as present no bar upon individual freedom of thought, inquiry, teaching and publication”<sup>17</sup>.

In the spirit of secular idealism the members of Graduate Faculty constituted a formal structure: an academic institution, which as any social institution can be analyzed in terms of power, insofar as we define power as an anthropological category<sup>18</sup>, i.e. as an ability to modify the world, which is constitutive for all human conduct.

The specific form of power which our study is concerned with is the power to shape the Faculty's style(s) and movement(s) of thought(s), i.e. its collective conduct. Our object is the distribution and the characteristics of this power. We analyze only the *chance* to shape faculty's collective conduct; i.e. in need is an additional study on the interdependences of the scholar's movements of thoughts, to *exactly* describe the faculty's intellectual structure. As one aspect of this structure our analysis is meant to empirically define *ideal types*<sup>19</sup> for the purpose of an

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<sup>16</sup> The list of scholars in: P. M. Rutkoff, W. B. Scott, *New School*, p. 101, is not quite complete. Further details are to be found in the other overview studies mentioned above and dispersed in the editions of Social research where sporadically the faculty members, their positions and curricula are listed. These are the sources of which we collected the data which our set of variables contains (see below, III).

<sup>17</sup> A. Vidich, *With a Critical Eye*, p. 376.

<sup>18</sup> H. Popitz, *Das Konzept Macht*, in: *Phänomene der Macht*, Tübingen: Mohr 1992, p. 37.

<sup>19</sup> M. Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft. Grundriss der verstehenden Soziologie*, Tübingen: Mohr 1976, p. 5; P. Gostmann, *Ideal-/Realtypus*, in: *Lexikon der Systematischen Musikwissen-*

additional study. Hence our current research purpose is to explore by ways of typology (cluster analysis) the distinct potentials of the above mentioned 32 faculty members to shape based on institutionalized power Graduate Faculty’s quest for the nature of politics and society.

Other aspects of the inner-faculty institutionalization besides the General Seminar<sup>20</sup> and Social Research are: a long-term (1933–1943) joint „seminar on the methodology of the social sciences” initiated and headed by Wertheimer<sup>21</sup>; some further short-term joint seminars since the late 1930s; the Institute of World Affairs, way of an appendix of the Kiel Institute of World economics<sup>22</sup>; the Study Group on Germany, which some members founded in 1941 to analyze systematically the crisis of European liberalism<sup>23</sup>. When in the mid-1940s the research groups were integrated, first Ascoli and later Lowe were the directors of the integrated research union.

#### THE FORMAL STRUCTURE OF THE GRADUATE FACULTY: SET OF VARIABLES

As we said our set of variables’ purpose is to describe the distribution of Graduate Faculty’s member’s power to shape the faculty’s quest for the nature of politics and society in different dimensions: (a) occupational continuity; (b) internal visibility (by publication records: essays and reviews); (c) functional representation (by offices: dean, research director etc.); (d) interfacultative participation (as part of research groups or joint seminars). Following we describe the variables in brief.

*Occupational continuity [Var. 1.1, 1.2, 1.3]*

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*schaft*, ed. H. de la Motte-Haber, H. von Loesch, G. Rötter, Ch. Utz, Laaber: Laaber Verlag 2010.

<sup>20</sup> We do not include participation in the General Seminar in our set of variables, because for the fact the whole faculty participated the General Seminar variable would be inappropriate to describe differences between the faculty members.

<sup>21</sup> P. M. R u t k o f f, W. B. S c o t t, *New School*, p. 123.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 137.

<sup>23</sup> T. M e y e r, *Die Macht der Ideen. Albert Salomon im Kontext zweier intellektueller Debatten: Weimar und Exil*, in: *Verlassene Stufen der Reflexion. Albert Salomon und die Aufklärung der Soziologie*, ed. P. Gostmann, C. Härpfer, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften 2011, p. 168-177.



Measurement: Number of calendar years (1933–1945) in which the scholar was occupied at Graduate Faculty: *min.* = 1 (one of the calendar years 1933–1945); *max.* = 13 (all calendar years 1933–1945)

Name	Years at New School 1933-1945	Name	Years at New School 1933-1945
Asch	2	Littauer	6
Ascoli	13	Lowe	6
Brandt	6	Marschak	5
Brecht	12	Mayer	13
Colm	8	Neisser	3
De los Rios	7	Pekelis	5
Feiler	9	Riezler	7
Heimann	13	Salomon	11
Hornbostel	1	Schütz	3
Hula	8	Simons	13
Kähler	12	Speier	13
Kallen	13	Staudinger	12
Kaufmann	8	Strauss	8
Lederer	7	Wertheimer	11
Lehmann	7	Winter	8
Lerner	3	Wunderlich	13

*Hypothesis, Var. 1. Occupational continuity:* The longer one is member of the faculty, the more potentially is his power to shape faculty's quest for the nature of politics and society by *traditionalization*, i.e. as exponent of *conventionalization* of faculty's social conduct<sup>24</sup>. The forms of conventionalization and the conventions formed are to be understood as probably determined by traditions of former (Heidelberg, Berlin, Viennese etc.) academic milieus.

For mathematical reasons (in our cluster analysis regularly we only can apply binary coded variables) (1) we categorize the occupational continuity by three categories: *low, middle, high*. *Middle* we define: *mean (8,31) +/- " standard variance (1,87)*. I.e.: 0 to 6.43 = *low*; 6.44 to 10.18 = *middle*; 10.19 and more = *high*; (2) we produce the following dummy variables: 1.1. *high occupational continuity (yes/no)*; 1.2. *middle occupational continuity (yes/no)*; 1.3. *low occupational continuity (yes/no)*.

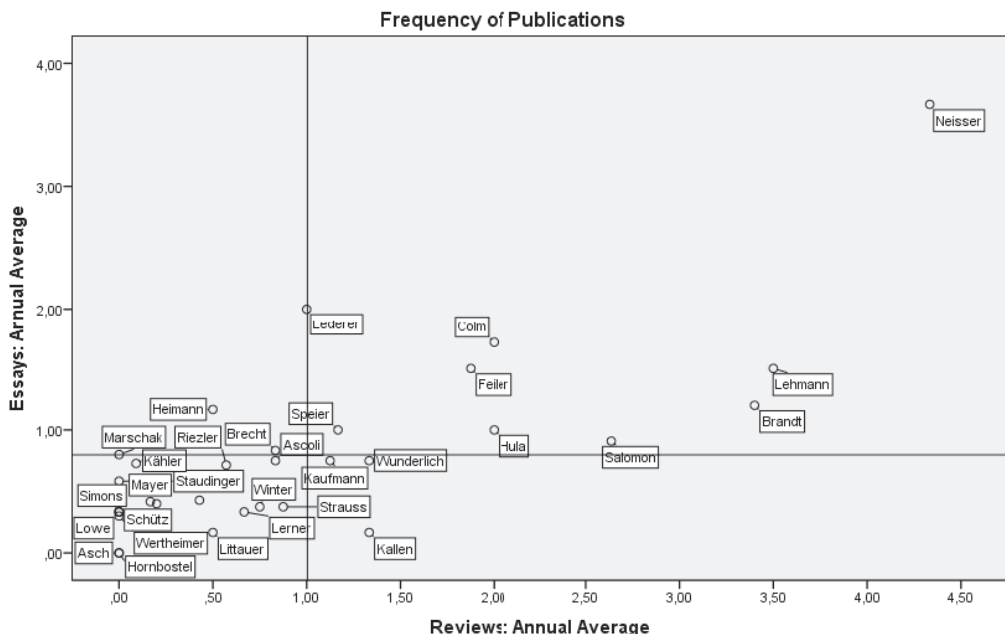
<sup>24</sup> M. Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, p. 17, 23.



Included in the cluster analysis are again for mathematical reasons only dummy variables 1.1. and 1.3. This implies by definition that: two scholars whose occupational continuity is similarly coded would *coincide* in terms 1.1. and 1.3. (yes/yes, no/no; no/no, yes/yes); two scholars with high dissimilarity (high vs. low occupational continuity) would *differ* in terms of 1.1. and 1.3. (yes/no, no/yes; no/yes, yes/no); two scholars with low dissimilarity (high vs. middle, or middle vs. low) would *differ* in terms of 1.1. and *coincide* in terms of 1.3. (yes/no, no/no), or would *coincide* in terms of 1.1. and *differ* in terms of 1.3. (no/no, no/yes).

*Internal Visibility* [Var. 2.1, 2.2, 2.3; 3.1, 3.2, 3.3]

Measurements: annual average, essays in Social Research; annual average, reviews in Social Research<sup>25</sup>



*Hypothesis, Var. 2. Visibility as producer of research results:* The more a member is visible as producer of research results, the more potentially is his power to

<sup>25</sup> More precisely, we decided to divide the total number of essays/ reviews published in the period 1934–1945 by the number of calendar years, in which a scholar was occupied at Graduate Faculty, to signify that a (former or later) faculty member publishing in Social Research is internal visible even if occupied elsewhere. For instance Neisser’s eye-catching internal visibility is explained by this. However, for reasons of the categorization we performed (see below) this decision has no effect on the outcome of our statistical analysis.

shape faculty's quest for the nature of politics and society by *prominence based on scientific productivity*<sup>26</sup> i.e. as exponent of *productivity*.

*Hypothesis, Var. 3. Visibility as transmitter of research results:* The more a member is visible as transmitter of research results (i.e. self-willed producer of acts of paraphrase), the more potentially is his power to shape faculty's quest for the nature of politics and society by *prominence based on providing information* out of the broader academic field.

*Var. 2 and Var. 3* are considerably correlated with each other: *Kendall-Tau-b* = 0.612.

For mathematical reasons (see above) (1) we categorize *visibility as producer* by three categories: *low, middle, high*. *Middle* we define: *mean (0.8) +/- "standard variance (0,36)*. I.e.: 0 to 0.43 = *low*; 0.44 to 1.16 = *middle*; 1.17 and more = *high*; (2) we produce dummy variables: 2.1. *high visibility as producer (yes/no)*; 2.2. *middle visibility as producer (yes/no)*; 2.3. *low visibility as producer (yes/no)*. Included in the cluster analysis are for mathematical reasons (see above) only dummy variables 2.1. and 2.3.

For mathematical reasons (see above) (1) we categorize *visibility as transmitter* by three categories: *low, middle, high*. *Middle* we define: *mean (1.0) +/- "standard variance (0.57)*. I.e.: 0 to 0.42 = *low*; 0.43 to 1.57 = *middle*; 1.58 and more = *high*; (2) we produce dummy variables: 3.1. *high visibility as transmitter (yes/no)*; 3.2. *middle visibility as transmitter (yes/no)*; 3.3. *low visibility as transmitter (yes/no)*. Included in the cluster analysis are for mathematical reasons (see above) only dummy variables 3.1. and 3.3.

*Functional representation [Var. 4.1, 4.2]*

Measurement: Holding an official function (Dean, Research Director, Research group leader, Editor Social Research etc.)

Name	Holding an official function	Name	Holding an official function
Asch	-	Littauer	-
Ascoli	X	Lowe	X
Brandt	-	Marschak	-
Brecht	X	Mayer	-

<sup>26</sup> D. K n o k e, R. S. B u r t, *Prominence*, in: *Applied Network Analysis. A Methodological Introduction*, ed. R. S. Burt, M. J. Minor, Beverly Hills–London–New Delhi: Sage 1983, p. 198; S. C o l e, J. R. C o l e, *Visibility and the structural bases of awareness of scientific research*, „American Sociological Review” 33 (1968).

Colm	-	Neisser	-
De los Rios	-	Pekelis	-
Feiler	-	Riezler	-
Heimann	X	Salomon	-
Hornbostel	-	Schütz	-
Hula	-	Simons	X
Kähler	-	Speier	X
Kallen	-	Staudinger	X
Kaufmann	-	Strauss	-
Lederer	X	Wertheimer	X
Lehmann	-	Winter	-
Lerner	-	Wunderlich	X

*Hypothesis, Var. 4. Functional representation:* One who holds an office has more power to shape faculty's quest for the nature of politics and society thanks to *institutionalized scientific capital* <sup>27</sup> and his prevalence in *decision-making*, than one who does not. This variable is considerably correlated with *Var. 1. Occupational continuity*: *Kendall-Tau-b* = 0.497. As *Var. 1* is *Var. 4* to be understood as probably determined by structures of decision-making in former (Heidelberg, Berlin, Viennese etc.) academic milieus.

We categorize functional representation by two categories: *yes, no*. For mathematical reasons (*Var. 4* should be loading the same as *Var. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6*) we produce the following dummy variables both of which are included in the cluster analysis: 4.1. *functional representation (yes/no)*; 4.2. *no functional representation (yes/no)*.

*Interfacultative participation [Var. 5.1, 5.2, 5.3; Var. 6.1, 6.2, 6.3]*

Measurements: Participation in research groups; participation in joint seminars

Name	Study Group on Germany	Institute of World Affairs	Wertheimer-Seminar	Joint Seminars
Asch	-	-	-	2
Ascoli	-	X	-	1
Brandt	-	-	-	0
Brecht	-	X	X	3
Colm	-	-	X	0

<sup>27</sup> P. Bourdieu, *Vom Gebrauch der Wissenschaft. Für eine klinische Soziologie des wissenschaftlichen Feldes*, Konstanz: UVK 1998, p. 32.

Name	Study Group on Germany	Institute of World Affairs	Wertheimer-Seminar	Joint Seminars
De los Rios	X	X	-	1
Feiler	-	X	-	1
Heimann	X	-	-	4
Hornbostel	-	-	-	0
Hula	X	X	-	1
Kähler	-	-	-	0
Kallen	X	-	-	1
Kaufmann	X	-	X	0
Lederer	-	-	X	0
Lehmann	-	X	-	0
Lerner	-	-	-	0
Littauer	-	-	-	0
Lowe	X	X	X	1
Marschak	-	X	X	0
Mayer	X	-	-	5
Neisser	-	X	X	0
Pekelis	-	-	-	4
Riezler	X	-	X	4
Salomon	X	-	X	2
Schütz	-	-	-	0
Simons	-	X	-	3
Speier	-	X	X	1
Staudinger	-	X	-	2
Strauss	X	-	-	7
Wertheimer	-	-	X	1
Winter	-	-	-	0
Wunderlich	-	X	-	0

*Hypothesis, Var. 5. Research participation; Var. 6. Teaching participation:* The more a member participates in research groups, the more is his power to shape faculty's quest for the nature of politics and society by *strong ties*<sup>28</sup> concerning *standards of cognitive performance*, i.e. as exponent of „a performance taken as

<sup>28</sup> M. Granovetter, *The strength of weak ties*, „American Journal of Sociology“ 78 (1973).

binding”<sup>29</sup> by a significant amount of faculty’s members. If *discussion* and *transfer* can be understood as two distinct but interconnected aspects of academic communication, probably research groups are characterized more by discussion than by transfer, while joint seminars are conversely characterized.

For the cluster analysis (1) we categorize *participation in interfacultative research groups* by three categories: *several, one, none*; (2) we produce dummy variables: 5.1. *several research groups (yes/no)*; 5.2. *one research group (yes/no)*; 5.3. *no research group (yes/no)*. Included in the cluster analysis are for mathematical reasons (see above) only dummy variables 5.1. and 5.3.

For the cluster analysis (1) we categorize *participation in interfacultative teaching activities* by three categories: *repeatedly, once, none*; (2) we produce dummy variables: 6.1. *repeatedly (yes/no)*; 6.2. *once (yes/no)*; 6.3. *none (yes/no)*. Included in the cluster analysis are for mathematical reasons (see above) only dummy variables 6.1. and 6.3.

## CLUSTERING THE GRADUATE FACULTY

As we said our purpose is to analyze by ways of typology, i.e. by clustering the different potentials of the 32 faculty members to shape based on institutional power (measured by our set of variables) Graduate Faculty’s ways to answer the question of the nature of politics and society.

Our analysis is based on the method of hierarchical clustering<sup>30</sup>. We use an agglomerative approach, i.e. the analysis starts with a strict partition: each of the scholars (elements) forms a separate cluster; since we observe overall 32 scholars (elements) the analysis starts (*step 1*) with 32 separated clusters. At *step 1* the dissimilarity in each cluster is 0 (each element is identical with itself); therefore even the average dissimilarity is 0. In the following *steps 2 to 32* the elements (scholars) are progressively linked; the linkage criterion is that in regard to our set of variables the average dissimilarity (total variance) of the system (Graduate Faculty) made up of 32 elements (Faculty’s members) after the linkage should be as minor as possible; i.e. the elements linked in one cluster should be as homogenous as possible. For this reason we compute in each of the *steps 2 to 32* the paired dis-

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<sup>29</sup> R. K. Merton, *The Sociology of Science. An Episodic Memoir*, Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press 1979, p. 6.

<sup>30</sup> K. B a c k h a u s [et.al.], *Clusteranalyse*, in: *Multivariate Analysemethoden. Eine anwendungsorientierte Einführung*, Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer 2008.

similarities between all elements (scholars). In each step we link the clusters with minor distance (= closest to each other). Therefore the number of clusters is step by step minimized:  $32-1=31$  in *step 2*;  $31-1=30$  in *step 3* etc., until in *step 32* we minimize 2 clusters to 1. With each step the average dissimilarity (total variance) increases, from 0 (*step 1*) to *max.* (*step 32*). Formally we describe this increase as weighted squared distance between the cluster centers (*Ward-Method*).

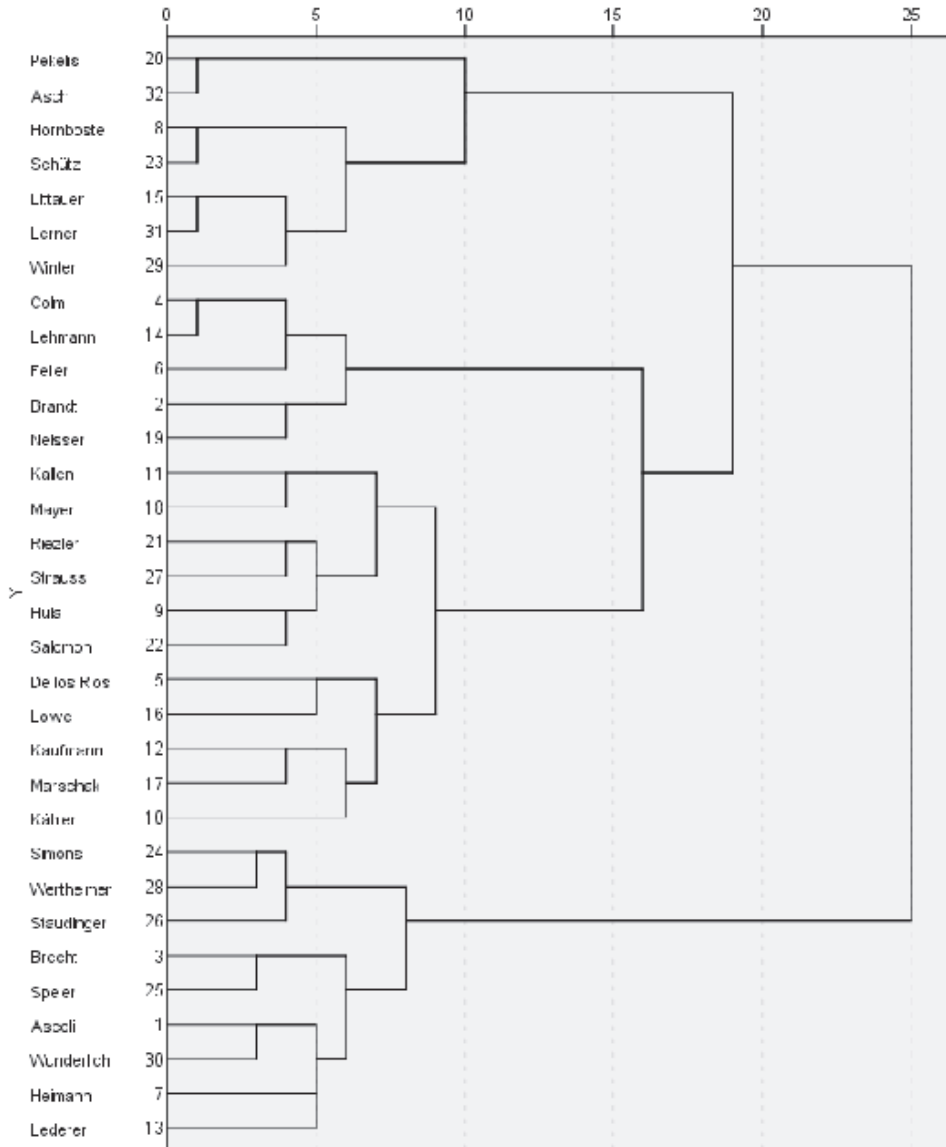
The measure we use to describe the distances of (and in) the clusters is so-called *Euclidean distance*, formally:  $\text{sqrt}.[\sum (x_i - y_i)^2]$ . Since all 12 variables (1.1., 1.3.; 2.1., 2.3.; 3.1., 3.3.; 4.1., 4.2.; 5.1., 5.3.; 6.1., 6.3.) are binary coded, the distance between two elements (scholars) might be enunciated by numeric value 1 (if they differ) or 0 (if they don't). If two scholar's (element's) measures differ in all twelve dimensions (maximum dissimilarity) the Euclidean distance is  $\text{sqrt}.[(1-0)^2] * 12 = 3,464$ . If two scholar's measures differ in none of the twelve dimension (minor dissimilarity) the Euclidean distance is  $\text{sqrt}.[(1-1)^2] * 12 = 0$ , or  $\text{sqrt}.[(0-0)^2] * 12 = 0$ .

The effect of each of *steps 1 to 32* is a specific cluster partition, i.e. a specific cluster "solution": a solution with a number of 32 clusters in *step 1*, 31 clusters in *step 2*, finally 1 cluster in *step 32*. The purpose of our analysis is the exploration of the „optimal” cluster solution, i.e. the specific partition (a specific number of clusters), when (1), mathematically, (a) the average proximity within the clusters is as large as possible, and (b) the average dissimilarity (total variance) is as minor as possible, while (2), concerning the contents of the variables, a meaningful description of the variance of combinations of potential shaping powers (i.e. of the different clusters) is possible.

To illustrate the specific arrangements of the clusters from *steps 1 to 32* (standardized 1 to 25) we use a dendrogram – some kind of graphical compromise between mathematics and contents (*see below*) – which is considered an established instrument for identifying optimal cluster solutions.

In the dendrogram below we can identify quiet clear 4 clusters (i.e. the cluster solution in *step 29*). One of these clusters (hereafter: *Cluster 4*) is made of Pekelis, Asch, Hornbostel, Schütz, Littauer, Lerner, and Winter. This cluster is merged at a relatively late stage of the hierarchical process with another cluster, at this stage made of a row of scholars starting with Colm, Lehmann, ending with Marschak, Kähler. At a previous stage, but even relatively late, in this cluster two formally different clusters are merged: one (hereafter: *Cluster 2*) including Colm, Lehmann, Feiler, Brandt, Neisser, another (hereafter: *Cluster 3*) including Kallen, Mayer, Riezler, Strauss, Hula, Salomon, De los Rios, Lowe, Kaufmann, Marschak, Kähler. This observation signifies that the scholars merged in *Cluster 2*

and *Cluster 3* on average are more approximate to each other than they are to the scholars in *Cluster 4*. Only after *Clusters 2, 3, and 4* are merged with each other, i.e. at a very late stage of the hierarchical process, these clusters are merged with a further cluster (hereafter: *Cluster 1*) made of Simons, Wertheimer, Staudinger, Brecht, Speier, Ascoli, Wunderlich, Heimann, and Lederer. This means that the members of *Clusters 2, 3, and 4* on average are more approximate to each other than they are to *Cluster 1*.





Following we describe the content-related specificity of the potential shaping powers which are classified in form of the four clusters we have mathematically identified. We always start our description by listing the set of within-cluster dissimilarities as Euclidean distances. As outlined above the numeric value of the minor dissimilarity (if scholars match in any of the variables) is 0, the numeric value of maximum dissimilarity (if two scholars match in none of the variables) is 3.464.

To state more precisely the mathematical significance of our 4-Cluster-solution, we validate for each cluster the average distance between the scholars merged in it (within-cluster dissimilarity). The 4-Cluster solution can be referred to as to a significant solution, if the average within-cluster dissimilarity (cluster variance) is evidently lower than the average dissimilarity between all 32 scholars (total [Faculty] variance), which has the numeric value 2.248. The lower the cluster variance is, the more approximate on average the clustered scholars are to each other, and hence as the more structurally homogenous the cluster can be defined.

On the basis of this mathematical validation we portray the content-related specificity of each cluster by reference to the characteristics of the scholars with the lowest within-cluster dissimilarities, i.e. the mathematically defined ideal-types of the clusters. To portray the cluster variance, we add the characteristics of the scholars with the largest within-cluster dissimilarities (i.e. the scholars having most in common with the scholars of the other clusters) as contrasting types. In the last step of our analysis we contrast the ideal-types of *Clusters 1 to 4*.

Cluster 1: Shaping power especially by high occupational continuity and functional representation

	Ascoli	Brecht	Heimann	Lederer	Simons	Speier	Staudinger	Wertheimer	Wunderlich
Ascoli	0.000	1.414	1.414	1.732	1.732	1.000	1.414	1.414	1.000
Brecht	1.414	0.000	1.414	2.236	1.732	1.000	1.414	2.000	1.732
Heimann	1.414	1.414	0.000	1.732	1.732	1.732	1.414	2.000	1.732
Lederer	1.732	2.236	1.732	0.000	2.449	2.000	2.236	2.236	1.414
Simons	1.732	1.732	1.732	2.449	0.000	2.000	1.000	1.000	2.000
Speier	1.000	1.000	1.732	2.000	2.000	0.000	1.732	1.732	2.000
Staudinger	1.414	1.414	1.414	2.236	1.000	1.732	0.000	1.414	1.732
Wertheimer	1.414	2.000	2.000	2.236	1.000	1.732	1.414	0.000	1.414

Wunderlich	1.000	1.732	1.732	1.414	2.000	2.000	1.732	1.414	0.000
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*Cluster 1* includes the following nine scholars: Ascoli; Brecht; Heimann; Lederer; Simons; Speier; Staudinger; Wertheimer; Wunderlich. The matrix above shows that Ascoli is the scholar who relatively is most similar to the others connected in this cluster, while Lederer is the one with the largest dissimilarity. While the average distance between all scholars in *Cluster 1* is 1.649, Ascoli's average distance to his colleagues is 1.39, and Lederer's is 2.004. Ascoli marks the ideal type of *Cluster 1*, Lederer is the contrasting type who relatively has most in common with members of other clusters.

	Average of within-cluster Dissimilarity	Average of total (Faculty) Dissimilarity
Ascoli	1.390	2.183
Brecht	1.618	2.344
Heimann	1.646	2.399
Lederer	2.004	2.318
Simons	1.706	2.344
Speier	1.650	2.269
Staudinger	1.545	2.319
Wertheimer	1.651	2.277
Wunderlich	1.708	2.232

When we analyze the specificity of *Cluster 1* by portraying Ascoli, its empirically defined ideal-type (to whom we confront Lederer to elucidate the cluster variance) we can notice the following: the power of these scholars to shape faculty's conduct consists ideal-typical on their high occupational continuity (but not in every case: see Lederer) and on the reason of them functionally representing the faculty. Ideal-typical they participate in research groups and joint seminars, but only in a middle degree. They are considerably visible as producers of research results and as transmitters of research results alike.

	Ascoli (minimal within-cluster dissimilarity)	Lederer (maximum within-cluster dissimilarity)
Occupational continuity	High	Middle
Reviews: Annual Average	Middle	Middle
Essays: Annual Average	High	Middle

	Ascoli (minimal within-cluster dissimilarity)	Lederer (maximum within-cluster dissimilarity)
Functional representation	Yes	Yes
Participation: Research	One	One
Participation: Teaching	Once	None

Cluster 2: Shaping power especially by high visibility as producers and transmitters of research results

	Brandt	Colm	Feiler	Lehmann	Neisser
Brandt	0.000	1.414	1.732	1.414	1.414
Colm	1.414	0.000	1.000	0.000	1.414
Feiler	1.732	1.000	0.000	1.000	1.732
Lehmann	1.414	0.000	1.000	0.000	1.414
Neisser	1.414	1.414	1.732	1.414	0.000

*Cluster 2* includes the following five scholars: Brandt; Colm; Feiler; Lehmann; Neisser. The matrix above shows that Colm and Lehmann are the scholars who relatively are most similar to the others in the cluster, i.e. they mark the ideal type, while Brandt and Neisser are the most dissimilar. The structure of *Cluster 2* is notably more homogenous than that of *Cluster 1*; the average distance between the scholars included is 1.253. Colm's and Lehmann's average distance to their colleagues is 0.957, Brandt's and Neisser's is 1.494.

	Average of within-cluster Dissimilarity	Average of total (Faculty) Dissimilarity
Brandt	1.494	2.421
Colm	0.957	2.220
Feiler	1.366	2.231
Lehmann	0.957	2.220
Neisser	1.494	2.413

Analyzing the specificity of *Cluster 2* by considering its ideal type we state the following: the potentially power of these scholars to shape faculty's conduct consists ideal-typical on their high visibility as producers and transmitters of research results. Their occupational continuity and their participation in research groups is not more than middle-range, while they do not participate in joint seminars or functionally represent the faculty.

	Colm/Lehmann (minimal within-cluster dissimilarity)	Brandt/Neisser (maximum within-cluster dissimilarity)
Occupational continuity	Middle	Low
Reviews: Annual Average	High	High
Essays: Annual Average	High	High
Functional representation	No	No
Participation: Research	One	None
Participation: Teaching	None	None

Cluster 3: Shaping power especially by high participation in research groups and common teaching activities

	De los Rios	Hula	Kähler	Kallen	Kaufmann	Lowe	Marschak	Mayer	Riezler	Salomon	Strauss
De los Rios	0.000	1.732	2.236	1.732	1.732	1.732	1.732	1.732	1.732	2.236	1.732
Hula	1.732	0.000	2.449	2.000	1.414	2.449	2.000	2.449	1.414	1.414	2.000
Kähler	2.236	2.449	0.000	2.000	2.000	2.828	2.000	2.000	2.449	2.449	2.449
Kallen	1.732	2.000	2.000	0.000	2.000	2.449	2.449	1.414	2.000	2.000	1.414
Kaufmann	1.732	1.414	2.000	2.000	0.000	2.449	1.414	2.449	1.414	2.000	2.000
Lowe	1.732	2.449	2.828	2.449	2.449	0.000	2.000	2.449	2.449	2.828	2.449
Marschak	1.732	2.000	2.000	2.449	1.414	2.000	0.000	2.449	2.000	2.449	2.449
Mayer	1.732	2.449	2.000	1.414	2.449	2.449	2.449	0.000	2.000	2.000	1.414
Riezler	1.732	1.414	2.449	2.000	1.414	2.449	2.000	2.000	0.000	1.414	1.414
Salomon	2.236	1.414	2.449	2.000	2.000	2.828	2.449	2.000	1.414	0.000	2.000
Strauss	1.732	2.000	2.449	1.414	2.000	2.449	2.449	1.414	1.414	2.000	0.000

Including eleven scholars *Cluster 3* is the one with the most extensive volume. Part of it are: De los Rios; Hula; Kähler; Kallen; Kaufmann; Lowe; Marschak; Mayer; Riezler; Salomon; Strauss. The matrix above shows that Riezler is the scholar, who relatively is most similar to the others in the cluster, i.e. marks its ideal type, while Lowe is the most dissimilar. Of all clusters *Cluster 3* is the one with the slightest structural homogeneity. The average distance between the scholars included is *2.024*. Riezler's average distance to his colleagues is *1.829*, Lowe's is *2.408*.

	Average of within-cluster Dissimilarity	Average of Total (Faculty) Dissimilarity
De los Rios	1.833	2.166
Hula	1.932	2.194
Kähler	2.286	2.248
Kallen	1.946	2.081
Kaufmann	1.887	2.098
Lowe	2.408	2.420
Marschak	2.094	2.251
Mayer	2.036	2.209
Riezler	1.829	2.160
Salomon	2.079	2.340
Strauss	1.932	2.106

Because of the relatively intense heterogeneity of *Cluster 3*, we firmly note, that its specificity is harder to be analyzed by considering the ideal type, than in cases of *Cluster 1*, *Cluster 2* and (as we will see) *Cluster 4*. Indeed we notice the singular case, that one scholar's, Kähler's, within-cluster dissimilarity is larger than his dissimilarity with the faculty as a whole. Under the auspices of this qualification we find by considering Riezler, the ideal type, that the power to shape faculty's conduct is made of these scholar's high-rate participation in research groups and joint seminars. Their visibility as producers or transmitters of research results is mostly and at most of middle range, while their occupational continuity mostly is midde-range. They usually do not functionally represent the faculty.

	Riezler (minimal within-cluster dissimilarity)	Lowe (maximum within-cluster dissimilarity)
Occupational continuity	Middle	Low
Reviews: Annual Average	Middle	Low
Essays: Annual Average	Middle	Low
Functional representation	No	Yes
Participation: Research	Several	Several
Participation: Teaching	Repeatedly	Once

## Cluster 4: About no shaping power

	Asch	Hornbostel	Lerner	Littauer	Pekelis	Schütz	Winter
Asch	0.000	1.414	1.732	1.732	0.000	1.414	2.000
Hornbostel	1.414	0.000	1.000	1.000	1.414	0.000	1.414
Lerner	1.732	1.000	0.000	0.000	1.732	1.000	1.000
Littauer	1.732	1.000	0.000	0.000	1.732	1.000	1.000
Pekelis	0.000	1.414	1.732	1.732	0.000	1.414	2.000
Schütz	1.414	0.000	1.000	1.000	1.414	0.000	1.414
Winter	2.000	1.414	1.000	1.000	2.000	1.414	0.000

*Cluster 4* includes the following seven scholars: Asch; Hornbostel; Lerner; Littauer; Pekelis; Schütz; Winter. The matrix above shows that Hornbostel and Schütz are the scholars who relatively are most similar to the others in the cluster, i.e. they are ideal-typical, while Winter is the most dissimilar. Of all clusters *Cluster 4* is the most homogenous one; the average distance between the scholars included is 1.210. Hornbostel's and Schütz's average distance to their colleagues is 1.04, Winter's is 1.471.

	Average of within-cluster Dissimilarity	Average of Total (Faculty) Dissimilarity
Asch	1.382	2.293
Hornbostel	1.040	2.211
Lerner	1.077	2.163
Littauer	1.077	2.163
Pekelis	1.382	2.293
Schütz	1.040	2.211
Winter	1.471	2.123

When we analyse the specificity of *Cluster 4* by considering Hornbostel/Schütz as ideal type, we find that these scholars formally have about no power shaping faculty's conduct at all. This specificity presumably is determined by their low occupational continuity. Probably because of this reason they do not have the chance to functionally represent the faculty and possibly because of this reason they do not participate in research groups or in joint seminars. Their visibility as producers or transmitters of research results is mostly low-degree and at most middle-degree.

	Hornbostel/Schütz (minimal within-cluster dissimilarity)	Winter (maximum within-cluster dissimilarity)
Occupational continuity	Low	Middle
Reviews: Annual Average	Low	Middle
Essays: Annual Average	Low	Middle
Functional representation	No	No
Participation: Research	None	None
Participation: Teaching	None	None

## CONCLUSIONS

We have defined as purpose of our study to explore by ways of typology the distribution and characteristics of the faculty members' different potentials to shape Graduate Faculty's collective conduct. As we said our current study is to be complemented by a hermeneutical approach to the interdependences of the scholar's movements of thoughts. Our study permits to separate four types of power to shape collective conduct, aggregated of scholars whose potentials are relatively homogenous while they are relatively dissimilar to that of the scholars aggregated in distinct clusters. Therefore we can conclude that our study indicates a complementary hermeneutical approach whose anchor points ought to be the ideal types we separated, i.e. Ascoli, Colm/Lehmann, Hornbostel/Schütz, Riezler. The tables below show that the dissimilarity between the ideal types is indeed more or less significantly (Riezler at least) higher than is the dissimilarity to the scholars aggregated within their own clusters; moreover they are more dissimilar to each other than they are to the whole faculty.

	Ascoli	Colm/Lehmann	Hornbostel/Schütz	Riezler
Ascoli	0.000	2.449	2.828	2.236
Colm/Lehmann	2.449	0.000	2.449	2.236
Hornbostel/Schütz	2.828	2.449	0.000	2.646
Riezler	2.236	2.236	2.646	0.000



	Average of within-cluster dissimilarity	Average of total (Faculty) dissimilarity	Average within ideal-types
Ascoli	1.390	2.183	2.504
Colm/Lehmann	0.957	2.220	2.378
Hornbostel/Schütz	1.040	2.211	2.641
Riezler	1.829	2.160	2.373

Undoubtedly the most important aspect of the analysis of an academic institution like New School's Graduate Faculty is analysis of the narrative production of a chain of significant, which we can denote its *style(s) of thought*. If we accept that the interconnection of movements of thoughts is complemented by the institutionalized power to shape a collective conduct, our exploration indicates a constellation analysis beginning with the sociological biographies, i.e. the social and intellectual interdependences prevalent in the essays, reviews, letters, minutes, diaries, etc.<sup>31</sup>, of Ascoli, Colm or Lehmann, Hornbostel or Schütz, and Riezler. Ascoli, analyst of fascism and mass democracy, advocate of traditional liberal values<sup>32</sup>, rather impersonates the ways of traditionalization and conventionalization of faculty's conduct; Colm, political official from 1940 on and in this sense embodying the intersection of Graduate Faculty and state politics, rather would impersonate the faculty's way of world-making in terms of prominence based on scientific productivity; Riezler, in his American years an increasingly sceptical observer of the disintegrating tendencies of modernity<sup>33</sup>, rather impersonates the potentials to shape collective conduct by ways of cognitive performance in academic communication. Schütz, at that time a newcomer at Graduate Faculty, but as we said a sociological classic to come, would impersonate the transition to the new phase of faculty's history, after its members as a result of the „international-minded“<sup>34</sup> collective conduct of the classical period had become „nationally recognized scholars“<sup>35</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> P. Gostmann, „*Beyond the Pale*“, p. 23-71.

<sup>32</sup> P. M. Rutkoff, W. B. Scott, „*New School*“, p. 118.

<sup>33</sup> Ibidem, p. 201.

<sup>34</sup> G. H. Mead, „*National-Mindedness and International-Mindedness*“, „*International Journal of Ethics*“ 39 (1929).

<sup>35</sup> P. M. Rutkoff, W. B. Scott, „*New School*“, p. 197.

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## FORMALNE ASPEKTY „NATURY POLITYKI I SPOŁECZEŃSTWA”

ANALIZA „UNIwersYTETU NA WYGNANIU”, 1933–1945

## Streszczenie

Celem tekstu jest spojrzenie z nowej perspektywy na „Uniwersytet na Wygnaniu” założony w 1933 r. przy *New School for Social Research* (New York), by zapewnić kilku najznakomitszym europejskim naukowcom epoki z obszaru nauk społecznych bezpieczne miejsce intelektualnego dyskursu, z dala od represji faszystowskich reżimów w ich ojczystych krajach. Autorzy analizują podział i cechy wpływu członków „Uniwersytetu” na kształt kolektywu Wydziału w odniesieniu do pytań o naturę polityki i społeczeństwa. Zastosowano metodę analizy klasterowej dla czterech wymiarów działalności naukowej: okres zatrudnienia, aktywność naukowa, pełnione funkcje i zaangażowanie międzywydziałowe.

FORMAL ASPECTS OF „THE NATURE OF POLITICS AND SOCIETY”  
AN ANALYSIS OF THE „UNIVERSITY IN EXILE”, 1933–1945

S u m m a r y

The purpose of this text is to gain a new perspective on the „University in Exile” established 1933 at New School for Social Research (New York) to endow some of Europe’s most brilliant social scientists of the epoch a safe area of intellectual discourse beyond the oppressions of the Fascist regimes in their native countries. The authors analyse the distribution and characteristics of the members’ power to shape faculty’s collective conduct concerning the quest for the nature of politics and society. The method applied is a cluster analysis factoring in the dimensions of occupational continuity, internal visibility, functional representation and interfacultative participation.

**Słowa kluczowe:** *New School for Social Research*, emigracja, natura polityki, studia nad nauką, analiza klasterowa.

**Key words:** New School for Social Research, Exile, Nature of Politics, Science studies, Cluster analysis.