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SOCIOLOGY IN POLAND

To Be Continued?

Marta Bucholc

Sociology Transformed

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Abstract The introduction discusses the history of sociology in Poland up to 1945. It includes an overview of the country's situation in the nineteenth century and the difficulties which the institutionalization of sociology encountered in a European society deprived of a national state framework for over a hundred years. The focus is on the decisive period between 1918 and 1939, when the first sociological institutes were established and basic directions in research and theory were set. The author argues that this newborn Polish sociology was marked by strong public commitment. It was striving for universal consequentiality, but frequently failed to achieve this as a result of pauperization and parochialism. The tension between local engagement and international academic excellence is claimed to reemerge at each subsequent stage of the development of sociology in Poland, notwithstanding the political conditions.

Keywords Sociology • Institutionalization • Poland • History • Engagement

A proper history of the transformations of sociology in Poland would require a very substantial introduction. Local idiosyncrasies pose a grave challenge to attempts at any kind of clear delimitations, whether conceptual, geographical or chronological. If we follow Jerzy Szacki (1995a) in taking the mid-nineteenth century as the beginning, there might have been sociology ever since; but there was either no Poland or an ontologically

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unstable one. The instability was both real and symbolic: frontiers moving, populations shifting, and institutions falling apart and emerging unpredictably. If we narrow the research field down to the twentieth century, three time-thresholds may organize our thinking: Poland's regaining independence in 1918; the German and Soviet occupation during World War II, with the subsequent communist takeover; and the fall of communism in 1989. These dates are not only milestones for Polish society, but also for sociology in Poland, which was born before the first threshold, suffered terribly as a result of the second, then took decades to recover and re-institutionalize just to face an avalanche of new challenges after the third. Consecutive shocks marked subsequent periods in its development and institutionalization, but to say where exactly it all happened would inevitably refer us to Alfred Jarry's famous dictum of 1988: "Set in Poland, that is to say nowhere."

Order and Method

To avoid definitional misunderstandings, in this book on sociology in Poland I focus on the period after 1945, when, at least geographically, the country became a stable entity. For operationalizing sociology, an equally rudimentary but more liberal criterion will be applied. This book will feature people who believed themselves to be, or were believed by others to be, sociologists by education, work or interests. It will also feature the institutions with which such people were affiliated. Common opinion will be used to decide whether an institution, a person or an event was a part of the transformation of sociology in Poland, as is the case with all social phenomena in a historical narrative, in which very precise demarcations might prove more harmful than otherwise (Sułek 2011, p. 202). I will try to keep a balance between telling a story about people on the one hand and about institutions and institutionalized practices on the other. Of course, it is more tempting, even though more difficult and at times awkward, to write about people. It is also useful not to lose sight of the intersections of sociology and biographies of sociologists (Keen and Mucha 2006, p. 5). Some of the people I write about have become dim paper-cut figures to my generation; some I still remember vaguely; and others were my teachers or my colleagues, with whom we will, hopefully, continue to work together for decades to come. Nevertheless, these are sociological institutions and practices, that stand at the center of this book, and I will strive to see institutions through people. My attention will inevitably in the first place go to

academic sociology, but according to my liberal principles I will also include various other spheres in which sociology in Poland has developed.

Further methodological explanations will be given as I go along, though I do not claim to use any one consistent method throughout the book; the reality which I am describing was wildly inconsistent. My readers may find that more detail and more hard data would sometimes be desirable, especially students of history of sociology in other countries, who are looking for comparisons and generalizations. I could not agree with them more. It is a great art to include much knowledge in a short text, while at the same time not boring the reader with too much inconsequential information. Few authors possess this excellent quality. Two of them, who dedicated many of their works to the fate of Polish sociology, were my guides in writing this book: Janusz Mucha and Antoni Sułek. However, I am aware that my own writing temperament drives me more towards interpretation than fact, which I decided not to fight. I will present an account of Polish sociology by way of a very personal tale, though with due diligence to preserve fairness and to refrain from free-floating conjectures and rash judgments. For more details, I will refer to the Bibliography. Those who are versed in scholarship on Polish sociology will find that my interpretations diverge in many aspects from those presented by more deserving authors in the field. I may only say that I believe a disagreement about interpretations is a healthy thing for science. It is useless to mask unavoidable subjectivity by lengthy methodological excursions.

One preliminary issue, however, must be clarified. The outbreak of World War II will be a starting point, but at the same time it will be a missing one. This introduction takes us to the tragic year 1939; but there will then be a break before Chap. 2 takes up the tale in 1945. By this token, I leave unaddressed a short heroic story of Polish science and, in particular, Polish sociology, which occurred under the Nazi and Soviet occupation.

There are as many good reasons to include the period between 1939 and 1945 in this book as there are to leave it out. Undoubtedly, wartime brought about the greatest single package of social changes in Polish history; but it can hardly be deemed a period of transformation. It was a social cataclysm on an unprecedented scale. During the war all sociological institutions—universities, scientific societies and associations, publishing houses and journals—ceased to operate or went underground. Admittedly, it was the biggest and most efficient underground in Europe, and many sociologists proved their courage. Still, it was an underground science that was merely persisting, waiting for the nightmare to cease. Science withdrew

entirely into the private and the clandestine, its focus was self-preservation, not development. The period was traumatic, not transformative.

The war did affect sociology in many ways, but what mattered more was the post-war balance, which I will deal with at the beginning of Chap. 2. In this book, I am interested in transformations as processes which do not overturn the whole structure and cancel out all patterns of social practices. Transformations, while leading to new figurations of people, practices and institutions, maintain a certain level of continuity with former states. From this perspective, the war and its aftermath represent a radical break. Continuity was partly restored after 1956 by symbolic means, such as the numbering of Polish Sociological Congresses (see Chap. 3 and the Appendix; also Szacki 1995b, pp. 109ff).

I then turn directly to post-war transformations of Polish sociology. The best course of action in reporting them to foreigners would undoubtedly be to proceed decade by decade. To divide the post-war history of Poland into rough "decades" is a commonplace narrative technique. Its mathematical elegance and mnemotechnical advantages seem to impose themselves on the events, many of which indeed happened in approximately ten-year intervals, largely reflecting the usage of the Communist governments, which tended to arrange its agendas into neat five-year units.

In this book, the history of Polish sociology will be divided into four phases, covered by four respective chapters: 1945–1955 ("Survivors and Supervisors"), 1957–1968 ("Small Stabilization and Cleansing"), 1969–1989 ("Great Expectations"), 1990–2015 ("Catching Up With Reality"). This is a much less detailed timeline than the one usually applied by chroniclers of Polish sociology (e.g., Bielecka-Prus 2009; Mucha 2003; Kraśko 1996), and it will inevitably lead to a further loss of detail. On the other hand, it has one methodological advantage: it is relatively independent of political developments. I do not deny the influence of politics upon science in any political system, whether socialism, communism or democracy.[1] However, this does not mean that a narrative of the transformations of sociology need reflect this influence by adopting a structure aligned with the subtleties of political history.

In particular, the deep and varied impact of the communist system on academic science in Poland frequently and unduly overshadowed the internal processes in the course of which sociology was produced and reproduced. Even though one might dispute Szacki's proposition that Polish sociology may be deemed a "normal science" in the Kuhnian sense as early as in the

1920s, a period of normalization did arrive (Szacki 1995b, pp. 78ff). At least from 1956 it is possible to trace continuous internal sociological developments in research, theory and organizational life as well as downwards political conditioning. Therefore, I draw a clear though controversial division between sociology and the outside world, between intellectual dynamics within sociological communities and their interplay with their environment, politics included. There is one additional advantage to this approach: it presents the history of post-war sociology as one turbulent process, and not as two processes before and after 1989, when politics starts (almost) afresh. I do not believe that such a break ever happened. Even after the war—though sociology would sometimes disappear from universities for a few years—the development of sociological thinking and research went on constantly, each phase rooted in the previous ones. Sociology in Poland never ceased to exist.

I fully appreciate the difficulties of following a narrative which is not only diverts from the well-known events of political history, but also, from time to time, from chronology as such. To make it easier to grasp the historical backdrop of things, I append a brief calendar to this book. It lists the most relevant events from 1945 onwards and outlines the most significant institutional development of sociology in Poland. There, my readers may find a more general historical framework, both for Polish society and sociology in Poland.

In the Beginning there Was No Poland

Before we launch on our journey starting in 1945, a small look at the prehistory and early history of sociology in Poland seems necessary. It is prerequisite to know about the beginning of its vicissitudes in order to understand their outcomes. My purpose is, first, to offer an account of the early history of a Central European sociology that formed in a relatively large, newly independent country, both multiethnic and multicultural, with a burden of path-dependence as far as institutional coherence, social solidarity, political and economic governance and stability were concerned. It is a general panorama of problems, with many subtleties falling out, which I decided to leave aside, not because I find them unimportant or uninteresting, but because I only include here the information that I find absolutely indispensable for the subsequent chapters.

For over a hundred years from the end of the eighteenth century Poland had been partitioned between Austria, Prussia and Russia. Former

Polish territories forming a part of each of these three countries were experiencing all the processes that forged the region's fate, though their populations were deprived of any agency apart from the recurrent and invariably failed uprisings, and a few more or less autonomous forms of political organization sponsored by foreign powers. The regional political map was further complicated by linguistic, religious and cultural factors. Another aspect was the anti-Polish cultural policies launched at times by all partitioning powers, albeit with different intensity. A long life, under what was for many an age-long foreign occupation, created a sort of double intellectual conscience. The main social bearer of moral dilemmas was the intelligentsia (which was prevalently both ethnically and culturally Polish). Its class voice dominated the expression of national aspirations and ambitions, despite its relative scarcity in a mostly rural population.

In the nineteenth century, a distinct and unique intellectual landscape emerged in Central and Eastern Europe, which is best described as a series of contradictions: national versus cosmopolitan, loyalist versus revolutionary, localized versus universalist. These dichotomies were not unheard of in the West. However, as a result of rampant imperialism and militarism combined with very unevenly distributed spurts of industrialization, the great questions of the epoch took on a somewhat deflected form in the Polish territories. There was no nationality to match the national sentiments, loyalism was hued by pragmatism and opportunism, and revolutionary ideals sometimes took on bizarre forms due to the lack of political guidance and practice. The dilemmas to which Leo Tolstoy chose to give to Konstantin Levin, the sense of exceptionalism and historical incompatibility with the rest of the European continent, were very much alive a few thousands kilometers west of Moscow.

Levin worked on a book on agricultural organization in Russia. He worked at home, not because he could not have become an academic, but because he did not wish to, and it was not in any way necessary. The nineteenth century was the last glorious age of private science. It survived longer wherever institutional involvement was not attractive to outstanding intellectuals. Sociology in Poland was born as a private science, with its original concepts sprouting from independent readings of the German, French and British pioneers of the discipline (Szacki 1995b). The peasant classes and their backwardness, alongside problems of national consciousness and national organization, were prevailing motifs in this diversified and non-paradigmatic sociology (Mucha and Krzyżowski 2014, p. 408).

The fertility of private scholars was limited to privately founded and financed scientific groups and associations, their readership to their immediate social circles. Universities did not act as broadcasters here. There was no Polish state. Consequently, no Polish academic institutions equivalent to Western state universities existed in the first formative period of sociology in Poland. University teaching in Polish was only possible in the Austrian partition, in Kraków and Lwów (now Lviv in Ukraine). Polish intellectuals would study in St Petersburg, Moscow, Berlin, Heidelberg or Vienna as a matter of course, but they would also quite often choose to go to Paris, Geneva, Munich or Grenoble. Indeed, the only nineteenth-century representative of Polish sociology (by his own declaration) who made it into world textbooks was Ludwik Gumplowicz, a professor of law in Graz (Szacki 1995b, pp. 15ff). One direct and consequential effect of this mobility of students and scholars was a widespread knowledge of Western academic institutions and languages.

The first generation of academic Polish sociologists was formed by this environment: Stefan Czarnowski, Leon Petrażycki, Florian Znaniecki and many others. As Janusz Mucha and Łukasz Krzyżowski noticed, it is a paradox that new Polish sociological institutions were not shaped by home-made Polish original proto-sociologists, but by those educated and formerly active abroad, such as Znaniecki, bringing home their cosmopolitan experience (Mucha and Krzyżowski 2014, p. 408). But although their education and, up to a point, their careers were international, their lives and work reflected the overarching opposition between engagement in the local and the desire to overcome the limitations of locality. In the intellectual biography of Czarnowski, a member of the Durkheimian circle, some entirely new facts, which were recently brought to light by Kornelia Kończal and Joanna Wawrzyniak, bear moving evidence to the misery of scholars who felt a part European science, but were forced to struggle with all sorts of provincialisms in their homeland (Kończal and Wawrzyniak 2015). Władysław Kwaśniewicz insisted that, but for the Catholic clerical and conservative resistance, a chair for sociology could have been established in Kraków before 1914, instead of waiting until 1930 (Kwaśniewicz [2001] 2012, p. 168). Not for the first time, ideological narrow-mindedness stood in the way of sociology, a discipline too new to be trusted.

A Twenty-Year-Long Serendipity

The short period of full independence from 1918 until 1939 must be deemed exceptionally serendipitous in the overall balance of Poland's twentieth-century history. This period was decisive for its sociology. Pre-war indigenous interest in social matters, drawing on various inspirations, including positivism, Darwinism, socialism, Marxism, romanticism, nationalism, German idealism, American pragmatism and various religious and metaphysical sources, finally converged with the help of a progressive impulse that came from a stable academic organization. Most original, home-made sociological concepts were forsaken, as Polish sociology chose a path of systematic reception of Western ideas. It is, perhaps, regrettable that no more of this original thinking could be saved. However, after 1918, the intellectual climate was dominated by the sense of duty towards the resurrected Polish state, which required organized, constructive action. Forming connections to the West was seen as a part of this task.

Public engagement marked the origins of Polish sociology. Its practical applicability was undoubted: there was a large population with all sorts of problems to be analyzed. Newly made Poland was economically very unevenly developed, with its western, formerly Prussian lands industrialized and relatively prosperous but with masses of illiterate peasants in the formerly Russian eastern parts, where serfdom had only been abolished in 1861. Urbanization was weak, especially in the east. Big cities were few, with the capital city of Warsaw well exceeding a million inhabitants before 1939, followed by Łódź with a population slightly above 600,000. Before 1939, Poland had, at a maximum, 19 public academic higher schools (including military and polytechnic), with several further non-public or non-academic ones, including Christian and Jewish religious research and formation establishments, notably Chachmei Lublin Yeshiva, a world-class Torah studies institution.

The map of Polish academic sociology formed against this backdrop, with Poznań, Warsaw and Kraków as the main centers, a fact which would soon prove providential. Polish universities based in the eastern territories were not so important for the development of the discipline. Loss of these lands to the USSR as a result of World War II did not affect sociology as much as it could have, had it—hypothetically—been strongest in Lwów and Wilno (now Vilnius in Lithuania).

Processes of reception were launched in all these centers, the so-called founding fathers trying—some with more luck than others, Petrażycki

probably the least locally influential of them all—to propagate their ideas on home turf. Durkheimian sociologism and American-style pragmatism were among the first theories introduced in Poland, with Marxism having a strong foothold from pre-war times, thanks to such thinkers, among many others, as another pioneer of Polish sociology, Ludwik Krzywicki or the prematurely deceased Stanisław Brzozowski. Directions of development were based on personal resources and intellectual preferences. Some links could have worked but did not, a paramount example being Bronisław Malinowski, who indeed makes but a "digression" in the history of Polish science (Szacki 1995b, p. 107). Generally, reception and collaboration were oriented towards France and the USA, vaulting over the German-speaking lands which, despite their huge impact in science, art, technology and philosophy, contributed relatively little to early Polish sociology (Kojder 2010; Bucholc 2016). Linguistic preferences crystallized along the same lines, and for good. Promising connections to world sociology were created, which would inevitably get weaker due to the economic crisis and political atmosphere of the 1930s. Nevertheless, by 1939 all the determinants of academic excellence were there, including networking capacity, a relatively large educated population basis, as well as linguistic and social capital.

The list of basic sociological problems was also decided upon before 1939, with definitive bearing on today's sociology in Poland. Labor relations, class consciousness, early industrialization, as well as the sociology of the nation and of the peasantry, and, to an extent, the sociology of religion, formed the core. Various social problems (mostly poverty, unemployment and family relations), usually studied by way of small-scale empirical American-style case studies, were also present. Many difficult subjects, such as ethnic and cultural identity problems, were somehow delegated to other sciences, including ethnography and linguistics. Certain methodological developments also took place, including in particular the proliferation of biographical research based on memoirs and diaries, championed by Znaniecki, but also by many others (Keen and Mucha 2006, pp. 1–20). It was even to become a hallmark of Polish sociology at the time, a "Polish method," revived by a rise of popularity of biographical research and oral history in today's Poland (Lebow 2012, see Chap. 6).

Growth of interest in sociology, measured by purely academic criteria, was evident, although, arguably, almost all things tend to grow when starting from zero. However, the potential for self-organization of the sociological community was significant. The Polish Sociological Association, an

organization open to all sociologists, was established in 1931 (see Wiśniewski and Pawlak 2013; Sułek 1997, 2002). Sociological journals were launched, starting with Znaniecki's *Przegląd Socjologiczny* in 1930.[2] This was published by the Polish Sociological Institute, a research agency established by Znaniecki in 1921, which was also an important element of the early institutional landscape. It existed until the war, when it went underground, before being reactivated in 1945, only to be closed down in 1951 (see Chap. 2).

The institutionalization of Polish sociology was further enhanced by the fact that the second generation of Polish sociologists were educated in an independent Poland, although few of them had graduated in sociology. However, most participated in sociological teaching, were members of sociological institutions and witnessed its growth in interwar Poland. Nina Assorodobraj-Kula, Józef Chałasiński, Maria Ossowska, Stanisław Ossowski, Jan Józef Szczepański, the people who were to lead the future sociological community, inherited both the nineteenth-century legacy of contradictions and the interwar academic mindset and theoretical framework.

Newborn Sociology, Inborn Dilemmas

In the introduction I stated that I was dealing with a newborn sociology in a newborn state. Its institutionalization was quick, but its growth was brutally cut off. During the serendipitous few years of its existence before 1945, sociology in Poland was mostly striving for academic excellence and social applicability. Sometimes it would be successful, usually as a result of the international connections of its intellectual leaders and their firm belief in their membership in the great Western scientific community. Frequently though, it would be unsuccessful as a result of pauperization, intellectual dependency and insistent parochialism. These two basic drives will be present at each stage of its further development and in each of my chapters. To go abroad, to belong as a peer and not as a subaltern, but at the same time to be domestically relevant, to make a change locally, but be universally recognized: an echo of these apparently contradictory desires would still be audible at the beginning of the twenty-first century, in Piotr Sztompka's famous speech on "Polish Sociology":

> The future of Polish sociology lies in the visibility of sociologists from Poland in world sociology, their visibility, originality and innovativeness; what they can contribute to empirical research and research methods, to the range of theories and scientific social life. In a word: the advance of Polish sociology will be more illustrious to the extent to which it will not be provincially Polish. … This goal may only be achieved if this contribution to the universal science of sociology is inspired by local, particular experiences, national historical and contemporary specificity, emotions growing out of national roots. This imperative results from the other side of the hybrid identity of sociology: it is not only close to science, but also to art. (Sztompka 2011, p. 46)[3]

The tension between supra-local excellence and local consequentiality culminates in the contemporary state of our discipline, which is trying to catch up with new realities of the transformation period begun in 1989. Again, it is not only a Polish dilemma (Kennedy 2015). However, in Poland it was evident long before the globalization of science made the majority of the world feel inconsequential by means of rankings, impact factors and other prompters of unrealistic aspirations. Whether this tension continues to shape the future of sociology in Poland, remains to be seen. In Chap. 6, I offer a few tentative predictions, without undue optimism, but with due faith that sociology in Poland will continue.

Acknowledgments I would like to thank all those who helped me during my work on this book, either by their advice and suggestions, or by their own writing, or both. My thanks also go to all the authors quoted in this book: the interpretation may be mine, but it is based on much thorough research work done by others. I particularly appreciate the patience of Agnieszka Jasiewicz-Betkiewicz, Janusz Mucha, Antoni Sułek and Joanna Wawrzyniak, whose answers to my questions saved me from many mistakes. Those which, regrettably, found their way into the text are my own responsibility, and omissions are, of course, a collateral risk in such a short book. Further, my thanks go to Clemens Albrecht, Nina Dethloff and Werner Gephart, directors of the "Law as Culture" Centre in Bonn, who did not object to my dedicating a large part of my time as research professor in this institution to sociology in Poland. To Jarosław Kopeć, Daniel Kontowski and Anna Leyk I am infinitely obliged for part of the desk research done for this book, and to Anna Leyk I am additionally indebted for editing the first version of the manuscript. I also acknowledge the support of Polish National Science Centre (project number 2014/13/B/HS6/03741).

Notes

1. There is no consensus about how the words "socialism" and "communism" should be used when describing the history of Poland from 1945 until 1989. Therefore, I propose to refer to Poland as a socialist country, whereas the ruling party was, of course, the Communist Party. For the period before 1989, I usually use expressions like "communist rule," "under communism," or "communist times." For the period after 1989, I usually stick to the term "democracy," even though the Polish People's Republic was also a self-proclaimed (people's) democracy.
2. A somewhat older journal should be mentioned, which was a common organ for lawyers, economists and sociologists called *Ruch Prawniczy, Ekonomiczny i Socjologiczny* (established in 1921; Jan Stanisław Bystroń was instrumental in adding the word "*Socjologiczny*" to the title in 1924; Wincławski 2001).
3. All translations in this book are my own.

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CHAPTER 2

1945–1955: Survivors and Supervisors

Abstract The chapter begins with a brief balance of the war so as to focus on the reconstruction and the rise of Stalinism in Poland after 1945. The author argues that academic science at the time was dominated by symbolic struggles between two categories of scholars: survivors and supervisors. The survivors were intellectuals preserving the memory of pre-war standards and aspirations, whereas the supervisors were to ensure that Marxist ideology would be successfully imposed as a framework for all scientific endeavors in Poland, envisaged as a Soviet satellite devoid of external independence and strictly controlled internally. The author discusses the ideological battle as a result of which sociology, after a promising post-war start, was removed from universities, while many prominent sociologists, notably Stanisław and Maria Ossowski, suffered political persecution.

Keywords Marxism • Stalinism • Stanisław Ossowski • Maria Ossowska • Liquidation of sociology

In the year 1945, Polish intellectual life was a shell of its pre-war self. It is not my purpose in this chapter again to deplore the tragedy of World War II, but it would be inaccurate without a summary of the wartime destruction.

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Balance of the War

During the war, the universities did not operate. The German authorities systematically worked to annihilate all cultural life in occupied Poland. The intelligentsia became a target of systematic Nazi persecution. The famous round-up of the professors of Jagiellonian University in Cracow in 1939 was but one of the many acts of terror launched to suppress independent thinking, which outlasted the short heroic history of Polish solitary and hopeless resistance to the *Wehrmacht*. This resistance cost the lives of many members of the Polish intelligentsia. It is, in fact, one of the dominant contemporary narrative tropes to depict the war as a hecatomb of this class, whereby the future misfortunes of Poland can be explained by the loss of its customary spiritual and intellectual guidance. Even though this narrative oversimplifies the matter, it cannot be denied that the number of members of the intelligentsia who died during the war far exceeded their share in the overall pre-war population of Poland. This is especially true in the case of the Warsaw Uprising of 1944, which has recently become the most mediatized event of all of Polish history.

Apart from those who gave their lives fighting Nazi occupiers, many died in prisons and in death and concentration camps, or in mass killings. Even though pre-war Poland, including academia, was certainly not free of anti-Semitism, a large part of the Polish intelligentsia were of Jewish origin. Their relation to Jewish culture, Yiddish and Hebrew languages, Judaism and other markers of collective identity varied greatly, just as did the shades of anti-Semitic feelings and actions of their Gentile neighbors. The Jewish population in Poland had reached 8.6% of the country's population by the general census of 1931 (Zieliński 1985, pp. 124–126). Jewish lifestyles ranged from Eastern *shtetl* with its religious traditionalism and penury, through an urban bourgeoisie and secularized avant-garde, up to a very few captains of industry. Polish Jews were an important part of Poland's social and cultural map. Almost all of this was erased within a few years. Combined with the post-war mass expulsions and territorial revisions, the Shoah thus had one additional and very important sociological consequence: Poland ceased being a multiethnic, multireligious and multicultural country.

Intellectuals and people of science who managed to stay alive at home frequently served longer or shorter prison sentences, or had to spend years in hiding or undercover. Most of the population experienced the trauma of living under the threat of extinction and with no clear prospects for the future. Many prominent pre-war personages spent the war years in exile abroad, where the future fate of their homeland was for a long time an

open question. For many external political decision-makers, Poland was not an indispensable part of the new world order.

One of the reasons for this uncertainty was a conflict of interests among the allies. On September 17, 1939, according to the secret pre-war Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact, the Soviet Union entered and occupied the eastern part of Poland. At the time, it seemed merely that these lands would be included in the USSR as part of yet another Soviet republic. After the outbreak of the Soviet–German war in 1941, Polish stock went up a bit, Polish armies in the west and in the east were created, and some form of political existence after the war became an option again. Its outlines, however, remained dim and vague in the extreme. Meanwhile, even though the Soviets did not officially propound a racist ideology, their version of class struggle doctrine had similar consequences for the intelligentsia in the occupied lands. The situation of Polish intellectuals and academics under Soviet rule was very hard, notwithstanding their frequently leftist political commitments. Being a pre-war socialist was not necessarily, it turned out, an advantage in the eyes of the Soviet leaders and could decrease the chances of survival in the long run. Polish culture was discouraged, although not as systematically as in German occupied Poland, and the totalitarian regime operated, as elsewhere, with terror and killings.

With Poland torn between two occupiers, neither of which provided a safe haven, people started moving according to their own assessment of their respective options. As may be seen in the short biographies of some Polish sociologists in this chapter, avoiding Scylla frequently led to running into Charybdis. The biographies show a great diversity of interests, backgrounds and fates, but also invariable patterns which history stamped upon individual lives, sometimes with tragic results.

Capsule 2.1

Jan Stanisław Bystroń (1892–1964)

Born in Kraków to the linguist Jan Bystroń and Maria Cinciał, Bystroń came from a family of Silesian social activists. He studied in Kraków and Paris (he took part in the seminars of Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss, and was very favorably assessed by the latter). In 1914, he defended a doctorate in philosophy on the theory of social reality. During World War I, as an Austrian subject, he worked for the military authorities in Vienna. He habilitated in 1918.

His career in independent Poland was brilliant, where he worked in state administration. In 1919 he became a professor of ethnography at the University of Poznań, where he also lectured in sociology until Znaniecki took over.

In 1925, when Malinowski refused to take up the chair he was offered in Kraków, Bystroń returned to his home city and became a professor at the Jagiellonian University (from 1930, the chair description included sociology). In 1934, a Chair for Sociology was established for him in the Department of Humanities at the University of Warsaw, where Chałasiński and Ossowski worked for a time.

From November 1939 until April 1940, he was held in the notorious German prison in Warsaw Pawiak. Despite severe damage to his health and losing all his family in the war, he reported back for work after 1945. However, his sociological lectures at the University of Warsaw were attacked by the communists, and his health degraded further. He was on sick leave until 1952, and afterwards he lived without any financial support from the state for 11 years, until the authorities finally agreed to retire him in 1963. He died abandoned a year later.

His research interests covered ethnography, ethnology, sociology of culture, and many others. His publications (over 300 altogether) include *Wstęp do ludoznawstwa polskiego* (1926) and *Socjologia* (1947).

(Based on Wincławski 2001)

Capsule 2.2

Nina Assorodobraj-Kula (1908–99)

Born in Częstochowa, she graduated in history at the University of Warsaw. The supervisor for her PhD thesis in sociology (1934), on the beginnings of the working class in Poland, was Stefan Czarnowski. He arranged for Assorodobraj to go to Paris, where she worked on her habilitation on the class consciousness of the French bourgeoisie in the years 1937–39.

From the outbreak of the war until 1941 she lived in Lwów, where she met Ossowska, Ossowski and Chałasiński. After Germany's attack on the USSR, she returned to Warsaw, where she worked as

a social worker and actively participated in underground teaching. She was a member of the underground Polish Workers' Party, later the Polish United Workers' Party, from which she would be expelled in 1968 for her active support for student protesters. According to her own memories, until the very last moment she was on the list of professors who were to be disciplinarily removed from the university.

In 1945 Assorodobraj-Kula helped Ossowski and Chałasiński organize the sociological department in Łódź, together with Józef Obrębski and Jan Szczepański. In 1948, she returned to Warsaw, where she worked until 1977. In the years 1951–56, after sociology had been closed down, she held the Chair for History of Philosophy and Social Thought. In 1956 she was elected Dean of the Philosophical Faculty. From 1964–69, she presided over the Polish Sociological Association.

Her research specialty was history of Polish social thought, but she also initiated post-war memory studies and historical sociology. She is remembered as a dedicated teacher, an excellent instructor in the culture of academic work, and a person of great authority. She published relatively little. Her books include *Początki klasy robotniczej* (1946), *Założenie teoretyczne historiografii Lelewela* (1955) and *Listy emigrantów z Brazylii i Stanów Zjednoczonych 1890–1891* (1973, co-edited with Witold Kula and Marcin Kula). Together with Ossowski, she edited the works of Czarnowski (5 vols, 1956).

(Based on Kaczyński 1999; Kończal and Wawrzyniak 2015; Szacka 1999, Wincławski 2001)

It is necessary to understand the hectic fear-driven individual mobility of the war to get a grasp of the post-war Polish landscape. A huge wave of organized collective mobility occurred immediately after the war. As a result of arrangements between the allies, masses of people were moved from the eastern Polish territories to lands taken from the German state. The original homeland of these people was then attached to the western Soviet republics, and masses of the former German inhabitants of the so-called "Regained Territories" were transferred to the west. As a result, both Germans and Poles suffered the trauma of losing their respective *Heimats* (homelands), resulting in severe identity issues, which reverberate today in bitter political debates and in the politics of memory in Germany, Poland, Ukraine and Lithuania. Both Germany and Poland also lost universities: Breslau (now Wrocław in

Poland) on the German side, Lwów and Wilno on the Polish side. In 1945 the "Bloodlands," as Timothy Snyder called this part of the world, were left in a state of moral turmoil, political chaos, utter material devastation and intellectual impoverishment—and with a lot of empty space to fill up, both in a real and a symbolic sense (Snyder 2010). Some of this space was filled with phantasms (Leder 2014), some with stereotypes (Śpiewak 2012), but most of it had to be simply filled with new life.

Awakenings and Homecomings

The period immediately after the war was also a great homecoming. Intellectuals who managed to survive by hiding went out into the public, while others started to come back from Nazi and Soviet camps and prisons, from the army, or from exile. They started to work and teach. Sociological institutions became active again. The Polish Sociological Institute was reactivated in 1945. Despite wartime atrocities, there were many survivors around. It was enough to go on with pre-war sociological agendas and academic practices, though in new and reduced circumstances. After 1945, the survivors frequently proceeded as though they could simply return to their former life and work. This was not unjustified: the new authorities deliberately created an impression that the pre-war academy would be more or less restored, which was additional motivation for many to engage actively in the work of reconstruction (Kraśko 1996, pp. 89–90). Not everyone joined in this: some, like Florian Znaniecki, decided never to come back, even though his return was confidently expected by his colleagues in Poznań (Kraśko 1996, p. 94).

Capsule 2.3
Józef Chałasiński (1904–79)
Born in Rudnik, he did his PhD thesis in sociology of education (1927) at the University of Poznań under Znaniecki. In 1931 he became a docent based on a dissertation on workers' social advance, and in the years 1931–33 he visited the USA as a Rockefeller Foundation grant holder. In 1935 he worked, among others places, at the Polish Sociological Institute and at the University of Warsaw. In 1936, he was nominated a director of the National Institute of Culture of the Countryside, a non-academic sociological research institution.

During the war, he found himself in Lwów. He left for Warsaw in 1941, when Germany attacked the USSR. In Warsaw, he directed the Polish Sociological Institute (underground). In 1944, he cooperated with the communist government committee in Lublin and travelled to Moscow as its delegate.

After 1945, Chałasiński was the leader of Polish sociology, engaged in establishing the University of Łódź, whose rector he was from 1949 to 1952. During Stalinism, he opted for ideological servility, but in 1954 he became a decrier of the regime. In 1958, he visited the University of California, Berkeley. He was editor-in-chief of *Przegląd Socjologiczny* and *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*."

In 1960, having published a series of politically questionable papers (in particular "Sociology and Social Mythology in Post-War Poland" in the *Transactions of the 4th World Congress of Sociology*, 1959), Chałasiński was labeled an anti-Marxist and lost most of his many prominent functions. His colleagues did not defend him. In 1966, he returned to the University of Warsaw. His loyalty to the communist authorities in the 1960s and 1970s remained unshaken.

His research interests covered the sociology of the countryside, education, the intelligentsia, the nation and African studies. His publications (more than 700 altogether) include *Młode pokolenie chłopów* (1938), *Socjologia i historia inteligencji polskiej* (1946) and *Kultura i naród* (1968). He was a co-translator of Malinowski's works into Polish.

(Based on Wincławski 2001)

Capsule 2.4

Maria Ossowska (1896–1974)

Born in Warsaw, she received a doctorate in philosophy in 1921 at the University of Warsaw. For a year she studied philosophy at the Sorbonne. In 1924, she married her colleague, Stanisław Ossowski. They were probably the first Polish dual career couple; their letters were published in 2002 (*Intymny portret uczonych. Korespondencja Marii i Stanisława Ossowskich.*) In 1933, Ossowska became a docent based on her works on semantics. The next two years she and her husband spent in England, where they participated in Malinowski's and G. E. Moore's seminars.

During the war, Ossowska lived in Warsaw until 1944. In 1941, she was rejoined by her husband, who joined the army in September 1939, and they fled for Lwów after Poland's defeat and returned after the outbreak of the German–Soviet war. Both were engaged in underground teaching and in providing help to Warsaw's Jews.

From 1945, at Chałasiński's initiative, Ossowska and Ossowski became professors at the University of Łódź. In 1948, they both moved to the University of Warsaw, and Ossowska was offered a Chair for History and Theory of Morality. Ideological struggles, censorship and the prohibition from traveling abroad made their situation increasingly difficult. Finally, they were both banned from teaching between 1952 and 1956. During this time, they hosted a half-underground sociological seminar at their home. After 1956, the ban was lifted, Ossowska regained her chair and directed the Institute for History and Theory of Ethics at the Polish Academy of Sciences. In 1960, she lectured at Columbia University, and in 1967 at the University of Pennsylvania. In 1963, after Ossowski's death, she took over his seminars and directed the edition of his collected works. In 1966, she retired.

Ossowska's research specialty was history, sociology of morality, ethics and methodology of the social sciences. Her publications include *Socjologia moralności* (1963), *Normy moralne* (1970) and *Ethos rycerski i jego odmiany* (1973).

(Based on Wincławski 2007)

In 1945, the fate of Poland still seemed unresolved, although there were fewer and fewer chances of ever restoring the democracy, even by late pre-war standards, typified by authoritarian and military-dominated governments. However, as Stalinist power increased, it became obvious that there would be no return to the past. The country became a huge construction site requiring a large brigade of overseers and engineers to steer the process according to political guidelines. Terror helped to keep people in line. But not much can be built on terror alone. Ideological adherence, good faith, self-interest and expectations of personal advancement are much more promising sources of lasting and constructive conformism. Some survivors were either won over or just incapacitated by the charms of ideology and power, including many first and second-class

artists and intellectuals, well-portrayed by Czesław Miłosz in his *Captive Mind*. However, survivors were not considered reliable enough, and another category started to play the main role: the supervisors.

Very few of the supervisors in academia were pre-war communists, or pre-war academics who decided to cooperate with the new government, like Chałasiński. Most of them belonged to a new generation, born in the 1920s and early 1930s. They boldly claimed the niches freed by the wartime decimation. They were learning as they went along, with comparatively little traditional academic hierarchy over their heads, but with a lot of ideological pressure. They were aware of the opportunity they were being given in this new world, just as they later became aware of the disadvantages of their position and learned to value their contacts with pre-war academics, who were the bearers of a less ideological ethos. My colleagues and I were able to collect a few traces of these feelings in biographical interviews conducted in the years 2009–10 with some members of this generation still active in Warsaw (Bucholc 2013; see Kołakowski 2013). Recent biographical research offers a comprehensive insight into the academic history of this time in Łódź (Kaźmierska et al. 2015). Some supervisors, like Leszek Kołakowski and Bronisław Baczko, both of whom became famous for their vehement attacks on pre-war non-Marxist philosophers, would soon become internationally recognized scholars. Others, like Julian Hochfeld, a highly controversial person whose candidacy for a chair of sociology Ossowski would oppose vehemently a few years later, must be given credit for having been very good teachers (Kwaśniewicz [2001] 2012, p. 168–169). They fulfilled their responsibility, which was to help the Communist Party of Poland ensure that the new ideology, based on Marxism, would be successfully imposed as a general framework for all scientific endeavors in the new political reality, in which Poland was envisaged as a Soviet satellite.

A Very Short Renaissance of Social Science

Initially, sociology was one of the main points of interest for party officials: it was assigned a significant part in the Marxist transformation of Poland. Therefore, the first years after 1945 witnessed a sociological boom. There were few academically eligible sociologists available, however, there having been not so many to begin with, before the war. Therefore, a sort of competition started between the universities, and movement between them, with some scholars, like Ossowski or Nina Assorodobraj-Kula, eventually

moving from Łódź to Warsaw, and some, like Czesław Znamierowski, between Poznań and Wrocław, and back again. For a time, Łódź was the sociological capital of Warsaw (see Kaźmierska et al. 2015, p. 232–233). However, Warsaw grew at the expense of some other academic centers, especially after the Polish Academy of Sciences was created in 1951 (see Kaźmierska et al. 2015, p. 80–81). Sociological studies were initiated at five universities, in Łódź, Warsaw, Kraków, Poznań and Wrocław. I agree with Nina Kraśko that, everything considered, this was an organizational success for the Polish sociological community (Kraśko 1996, p. 92). Sociology was usually taught at and incorporated into departments of humanities. Additionally, it was frequently included in the curricula of other majors (economy, philosophy and law), and also at the universities where no sociological curricula were introduced, as in Toruń and the Catholic University in Lublin. There were also a few state non-academic schools with a social orientation, co-organized by academic sociologists (Kraśko 1996, p. 96). Last but not least, non-academic public research institutes were established or resurrected. Pre-war sociological journals were slow to recover, but *Przegląd Socjologiczny*," the oldest of them, was published three times before 1949, with survivors, Chałasiński and Jan Józef Szczepański, as its main editors, and younger generation sociologists, Antonina Kłoskowska and Jan Lutyński, as editorial secretaries. Sociology was in demand.

It seemed that a bright future lay before the discipline. Sociology as a major ranked high, and the number of students rose, as did the number of participants in sociological lectures (in Łódź, sociology was the second most popular major in 1947/48, with 123 students; in Poznań 218 students enrolled for sociology classes in 1948/49) (Kraśko 1996, p. 99). Sociology was perceived as a modern and practical discipline, and new ideas about the organization of sociological education came from, among others, Chałasiński and Ossowski (Kraśko 1996, pp. 99–100).

The research foci of this post-war sociology reflected the troubles of the day. Apart from studies of social stratification and demography and the condition of the working and peasant classes, works were written and research conducted on internal mobility and urbanization, and national consciousness and identity. Philosophical problems of science were also discussed, both by Marxists and their opponents. Much of this work was fragmentary, unfinished or methodologically imperfect, but little more could be done given the human resources and within the short period of the sociological post-war renaissance.

Marx was a key reference for sociologists in the late 1940s, but it was not yet the dogmatic, omnipresent, unchallenged Marxism of the late Stalinist era. Supervisors, including in particular Hochfeld and Adam Schaff, were preparing the ground for what followed, defending its methodology and philosophical assumptions against Ossowski's criticisms, which were still publishable in 1947. Political pressure on science rose, but the Communist Party's efforts to clear academia of all non-Marxist influence could not have been fully successful, for a simple reason: there were still far too few Marxists in Poland, and training them took time. Indeed, non-Marxist sociology, although limited to "humanistic sociology" and institutionally intensely discouraged, managed to hold its standing in Poland throughout the period of socialism, an exception to the rest of the Soviet Bloc (Mucha and Krzyżowski 2014, p. 409). This sheer arithmetical disadvantage of Marxism might have been a reason why the post-war sociological renaissance did not end in a massive and brutal brain cleansing.

Interlude and What to Make of It

One of the first signs of increasing official pressure was a new reform of sociological studies, with a significant rise in the number of class hours and a stress on professional applications of sociological knowledge, starting at the beginning of the 1950s. "Applicability" was a great favorite under socialism, whereby only very particular applications were meant, a situation which can hardly fail to produce a sense of déjà vu today. A reorganization of sociological departments and chairs followed, which resulted in the final closing down of sociology as a separate academic discipline and major. The only sociological journal active after the war (*Przegląd Socjologiczny*) ceased to appear, replaced by new, clearly Marxist organs (as it would later turn out, of relatively short life expectancy) (Kraśko 1996, pp. 141–142). Sociologists were moved to philosophical and other departments, and some of them, including Ossowska and Ossowski, were forbidden to teach and reduced to research work (1952). It was the time when one of Ossowski's most widely known book, *Class Structure in Social Consciousness*, was written, a product of uncertainty and disappointment. It would await publication until 1957: a symbolic fate for a book in which Marxism was taken seriously.[1]

Part of the peculiarity of science in this period was a consequence of the weakness of disciplinary boundaries, which was partly due to the small size and heterogeneous composition of the academic bodies, and partly

to the vagueness of the curriculum. In a period of systemic changes, this proved to be a weakness, at least as far as institutional resistance to political pressure was concerned. The Marxists claimed that a new, non-bourgeois social science was needed in order to help build socialism in Poland, and they proceeded to carry out the plan by dissolving sociology in other disciplines. Sociological institutions could hardly have been expected to defend themselves effectively.

At the time, sociologists would very often be graduates of philosophy, but they would also routinely take courses in literature, philology, history, economy and law. They were naturally prone to interdisciplinary, problem-oriented work, teaching and learning, and Marxism was also a complex subject to be taught and learned in the early 1950s. The emphasis on Marxism was made clear by the educational model adopted in the Party Institute of Social Sciences (created in 1952). The chosen few, who were members of the PhD program there, including, among others, the future senior historian of sociology Jerzy Szacki, were thus educated in a number of humanistic and social disciplines and shaped as engaged Marxist activists. But they also had access to current Western scientific literature and were expected to acquaint themselves with it, which was difficult for people who often had to learn foreign languages as they went along, dictionary and grammar book in hand (see Bucholc 2013). Needless to say, international contacts were among the most desired, yet the most severely restricted, goods under Stalinism; and this remained true, to some extent, until 1989. Strict and orthodox Party Marxist education was designed to protect Polish social science against Western bourgeois ideas, which had to be known to be refuted, thus creating an opening for international careers, a route later used by some of the former supervisors.

Admittedly, for some scholars, who never joined the party and pursued research agendas that were not central to its concerns, like Andrzej Walicki, domestic withdrawal paved a path to recognition abroad (Walicki 2010). But this road was closed to most social scientists. Society was not, after all, a marginal problem. Therefore, apart from a few survivors, who were stymied in their careers during the Stalinist period but stayed on, most sociologists who would move into the next phase in 1956 were educated along Marxist lines and had to oppose Marxism (if they chose to) as an essential part of their own educational luggage. For them, Marxism was not a theoretical option to be considered and possibly put aside, as better possibilities presented themselves; rather it had to be confronted, accepted, rejected or, at any rate, mentally reworked. In this period,

between 1949 and 1956, Marxism became a paradox: a contestable psychological imperative for Polish intellectuals educated after the war. That is why revisionism struck with such force in Poland in the late 1950s: it was motivated by a contradiction. It was also fueled by the psychological tensions of the time when clear division lines between the survivors and the supervisors began to blur.

Notes

1. The first English edition was published in 1963 by The Free Press of Glencoe, translated by Sheila Patterson.

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CHAPTER 3

1956–1968: Modest Stabilization and Cleansing

Abstract In this chapter, an overview of the political developments of 1956 (the "Polish October") precedes a relation of a very short blooming period. The international opening of previously isolated Polish sociology after the end of Stalinism is claimed to bring fresh methodological and theoretical impulses, mostly from the USA. A relative normalization and stabilization, whose symbol might be the revival of the Polish Sociological Association in 1957, is also claimed to be swiftly counteracted by political pressures, culminating in the anti-revisionist witch-hunts and the anti-Semitic propaganda of the late 1960s and the students' revolts in March 1968. The author lists the real and symbolic damages done by 1968, arguing that the intelligentsia's disenchantment with political action and public engagement opened a period of spiritual stagnation and organizational opportunism.

Keywords The Polish October • 1968 in Poland • Polish Sociological Association • Revisionism • March 1968

Stalinism outlived Stalin. Khrushchev's secret report of 1956 on the personality cult indicated a general change in the political atmosphere. This had already been sensed by the citizens of many socialist countries, including Poland, by the fascinating processes of osmosis of unpublicized

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knowledge, commonplace in totalitarian regimes. Naturalistic metaphors are fully justified in this case: the events of 1956, sometimes christened collectively "The Polish October," have also been described as "the Thaw." It is a rich allegory, contrasting the frost of the Stalinist night and the rising temperature of the social mood. It also conveys a general impression of freer movement with a hidden fatalistic sense that all these changes were somehow beyond human control, coming from the very nature of things, as the thaw comes after wintertime, to bring joy and life into the world, but only temporarily.

The October and Its Aftermath

In 1956, the tensions growing in Polish society as a result of the economic austerity caused by Stalinist economic policies culminated in a general strike in Poznań, accompanied by public demonstrations by workers, demanding first and foremost a rapid improvement in their material position. Massive army and internal security forces overwhelmed the demonstrators, many of whom were killed or died of injuries. This sign of hostility of the working class against the communist authorities was taken seriously by the latter. As a result of a struggle between factions, a pre-war communist and political prisoner of the Stalinist regime, Władysław Gomułka became the first secretary of the Party. More than 30,000 political prisoners were rehabilitated, pardoned or released, internments ended and the general atmosphere in the country grew noticeably lighter. The Primate of Poland, cardinal Stefan Wyszyński, was freed from a long internment. Repression against the Catholic Church, although incessant throughout the socialist era, would never afterwards match the intensity of the Stalinist period. Certain very unpopular Russian high officers left for Moscow and the status of Russian military forces in Poland was settled. A repatriation of Poles from the USSR was agreed. Taking into account all the risks, these changes came at a very moderate human cost—this time the Hungarians paid the highest price.

The Thaw, as is the way with all seasonal phenomena, would not last long: after less than two years, the old ways resurfaced. However, the initial period was marked by general enthusiasm. Patriotism and hope for the future spread over a land still living in severe austerity, still very much underdeveloped, and far from recovering from the trauma of war.

The Thawing of Sociology: An International Opening

Sułek described the situation in sociology in Poland after 1956 with a familiar phrase: "Go West!" (Sułek 2011, p. 101). A better formula could hardly be found.

Official policy towards the social sciences before 1956 yielded bitter fruit: sociology was marginalized, its contacts with the world scientific community jeopardized, and the potential of the sociological community to reproduce had been severely undermined, even though science in Poland was never fully sovietized (see Connelly 2000). This devastation was not limited to the social sciences, but by comparison with the pre-war state of affairs the difficulties now were especially apparent. According to an official report by the Polish Academy of Sciences of 1956, "although there was a certain improvement during the year 1955, the social sciences are still far from reactivation of their traditional relations to the science of capitalist countries. All our delegations visiting these lands stress the negligence in the domain of scientific information" (quoted in Pleskot 2005, p. 117). This documents the scope of damage done by the short period of Stalinist rule in science.

As Jolanta Kulpińska, then at the beginning of her career in Łódź, remarked: "for my generation, 1956 is a very clear milestone, also for sociology: it all started at once" (quoted in Kaźmierska et al. 2015, p. 235). Nevertheless, already in 1954 signs of improvement could be noticed, which resulted in the reinstatement of sociological lectures at the University of Warsaw. Some of these new opportunities were offered to Ossowski and Ossowska, who required a revocation of their teaching ban. Sociological seminars were conducted by, among others, Zygmunt Bauman and Jerzy Wiatr. Students' expressed willingness to graduate in sociology resulted in a round of negotiations and the relaunching of a major in the subject at the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Warsaw in 1957 (Kraśko 1996, pp. 151–152). Other universities followed suit. Although it was a usual strategy to return to revive the sociological institutions that had existed before 1951, it was not always possible. As Kraśko remarks, only in Warsaw were there no difficulties with finding suitable candidates for sociological chairs (Kraśko 1996, p. 153), and in Poznań and Wrocław sociology could not, for the time being, be re-established.

There was also innovation. In 1956 the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology at the Polish Academy of Sciences was created, an institution

expressly striving for academic excellence, without any systematic core teaching mission. Among its founders were Ossowski and Ossowska, Chałasiński, Szczepański, later joined, among others, by Magdalena Sokołowska (ISA Vice President 1978–82) and Włodzimierz Wesołowski. By 1968, the Institute had managed to stimulate and conduct research and theoretical work in sociology of labor, city, country, culture and medicine, as well as produce inquiries into the methodology of social science. Up to the present, it has been a crucial part of the sociological panorama, housing excellent researchers and a vast resource of mobile and outsourceable faculty, which proved very important in the years of the educational boom after 1989 (Chap. 5). Many collaborators at the Institute, including Baczko, Kołakowski, Walicki, Krzysztof Zagórski and Adam Przeworski, pursued brilliant international careers. It should be noted that combining employment in the Polish Academy of Sciences and at a Polish or foreign university was and still is possible.

The October events also brought a thawing in relations with the West. In 1956, a famous trip of 30 Polish intellectuals to France took place. The meaning of this event can only be properly assessed if we consider that, but a year earlier, at least some of the travelers might have reasonably expected never to go further than the Elbe in their lives. The trip took six weeks, its impact was significant and lasting, and the list of participants included, among many others, the sociologists Jan Strzelecki and Stefan Nowak, and the historian of ideas Jerzy Jedlicki. More progress was thus made in the ever-lasting struggle against intellectual inbreeding and provincialism. Visits of foreign sociologists to Poland also became more frequent as a result of the October reforms, and the most famous sociologists of the time came, including no less than three visits by Charles Wright Mills (1957, 1959 and 1961) (Mucha 2008, p. 10).

A visit by Paul Lazarsfeld as a counselor to the Ford Foundation in 1958 was an event of great importance, which opened another chapter in the process of internationalization of Polish science, and which was made possible by the financial and organizational support of the Ford Foundation (Bielecka-Prus 2009, p. 88). Lazarsfeld carefully probed the state of Polish sociology, and he was deeply and favorably impressed. In his report for the Ford Foundation, he stressed the quantity and high methodological quality of research conducted in Poland (Sułek 2010, p. 330).

So, not only was the East opening, but the West was also welcoming closer bonds with Eastern science, partly as a way of bringing the "cultural war" to the enemy's camp (Sułek 2011, p. 101). Many Polish soci-

ologists, including Marxists like Wiatr and Wesołowski, visited Western countries, mostly the USA, under the Ford program. This contributed to an opening of Marxist sociology to contemporary trends, clearly visible in the later development of Wesołowski's writings. This period of international openness only lasted until the 1960s, but its impact was immense (Sułek 2007). Relative cosmopolitanism became a characteristic trait of Polish sociology after 1956, confirmed by the active participation of Polish delegates at the World Congresses of Sociology in 1956 and 1959 (in 1959, Ossowski, who was one of the co-founders of the ISA, was elected vice president) (Kraśko 1996, pp. 172ff).

New contacts with the world occasioned a revision of the black-and-white dichotomy between a materialistic Marxist sociology and a bourgeois Western one, and sociologists from Poland seemed to be in good standing in the international community from this time on. The interest in socialist societies was very strong and the attitudes to Marxism among Western sociologists turned out to be much more nuanced than expected: certainly, there was no trace of mutual hostility. In fact, for Western sociologists interested in socialism, Poles were the natural interlocutors, having an academic culture strong and Westernized enough to grant them credibility (Mucha and Krzyżowski 2014, pp. 407ff). For us, used to the flow of information in the digital era, it might come as a surprise, but it really was an encounter of two worlds which knew little about each other, and it was an auspicious one.

This internationalizing effect of the October events was not, however, a simple reinstatement of the pre-war situation. Whereas pre-war sociologists were often cosmopolitan by virtue of the fact that they were educated or worked abroad, and had to read and publish in foreign languages, after 1956 Polish sociology was becoming one of the most internationalized and free-minded sciences in the Eastern Bloc with virtually no reference to these not-so-ancient network relations, which had vanished under Stalinism. While personal ties remained a key factor, these ties were now more uniformly US-bound (Kwaśniewicz 1994). France irreparably lost much of its meaning for Polish sociologists, even though it was an important destination after 1956 (see Kończal and Wawrzyniak 2015, pp. 18–23; Kaźmierska et al. 2015, p. 192–193). Germany never gained a relationship corresponding to its volume and international position (Bucholc 2014, 2016). For all practical purposes, other national sociologies were absent. Up until the present, some countries and regions, including in particular South America or Japan with their dynamic sociological production, seem indifferent to sociologists in Poland, not only for linguistic or geographic

reasons, but also as a result of their very strong pro-American bias, which is also today sustained thanks to funding organizations such as the Kosciuszko Foundation and the Fulbright Program. However, what may now seem a certain limitation to polyvalent international networking, in the 1950s this was undoubtedly a huge advantage.

The advantage of cosmopolitanism and international openness of sociology in Poland was appreciated by scientists in other countries of the Soviet Bloc. As Mucha and Krzyżowski remark:

> [Before 1989] collaboration with scholars from CEE was formally invited but in fact strongly controlled and limited. However, many young people were coming to Poland from the region, particularly from Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, to study sociology. Many sociologists working in the region learnt Polish. Poland was their window to the West. (Mucha and Krzyżowski 2014, p. 409)

These contacts bore some fruit in Poland, also in the form of research on the history and development of other Soviet Bloc sociologies,[1] but on the whole Polish sociology acted as a passive donor here and did not use intercultural exchange to buttress its position in the region. As a result, these contacts were of little significance after 1989, although regional context still remains crucial for understanding the transformations of Polish sociology (see Keen and Mucha 1994, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006).

A series of Institutional Resurrections

An important further step against parochialism and inbreeding, this time at the national level, was made when sociological institutions, which suffered during Stalinism or whose post-war renewal was stopped by it, were brought back to life. The sociological community after 1956 was slowly becoming a scientific community in the proper meaning of the word, with platforms of exchange of views and venues for meeting in a relatively collegial spirit. In 1961, a quarterly journal publishing articles in English was established, initially named *Polish Sociological Bulletin*, later *Polish Sociological Review. Przegląd Socjologiczny* and *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, with Chałasiński as the editor-in-chief of both (Kraśko 1996, pp. 211ff), were followed by more journals in Polish, including *Studia Socjologiczne* (established 1961). Their editorial profiles were different enough to bear evidence of the broad interests of the sociological community and,

at the same time, to show the scope of subjects deemed appropriate by the authorities. Sociologists also published actively in journals of general interest, reporting research, conferences and other relevant events (Kraśko 1996, pp. 159ff).

But probably the biggest step in the resurrection of sociology in Poland was the re-establishment of the Polish Sociological Association, first as a section of the Polish Philosophical Association and in 1957 as a self-standing association of sociologists, with Ossowski as its first president. Its goal was to uphold and confirm the existence of sociology as a separate and independent science. An organization of this kind was a double nuisance for the communist authorities: it represented a discipline which constantly failed to fulfill their hopes, and it was internally a democratic organization, a forum for relatively free discussion (Wiśniewski and Pawlak 2013, p. 256). It was, probably, alongside the multitude of functions which the Association fulfills in Polish sociology (Sułek 2011, pp. 142–164), one of the reasons why its significance far exceeded that of analogous organizations in other social sciences or the humanities (Wiśniewski and Pawlak 2013, p. 257).

In 1965, under the auspices of the Polish Sociological Association, the third Polish Sociological Congress took place, the first country-wide sociological conference since the war. It was a symbolic event in many respects. The first two congresses took place in 1931 and 1935, but the war and Stalinism broke the thus initiated tradition for 30 years. The numbering of the congresses and the opening address by Assorodobraj-Kula, the President of the Polish Sociological Association (who had also been one of the speakers in 1935), referred the participants to the pre-war roots of sociology in Poland and spoke for continuity, both personal and intellectual, despite all that had happened in between. The industrialization and modernization of Polish society and the collateral cultural changes were the main subjects of congress presentations, promising a further development of empirical studies of social change in Poland. This promise was not fulfilled: the next congress was scheduled for 1968 (Sułek 1997, p. 2).

Revisionists and Professionals

The October events initiated a series of changes in academia and beyond, which led to a substantial release of ideological pressure and made it possible to rethink the Marxist paradigm. The so-called “revisionists” debated

vital points of ruling ideology, generally accepting Marxism as a dominant philosophy, and socialism as a political and economic system, but rejecting most of the relics of Stalinism. Pungent criticism of the dominant orthodoxy was impossible to suppress. But, although the revisionists had been criticized publicly in the 1950s, the situation would take a few more years to ripen.

Personal change was an additional factor. New key figures gained prominence, including Bauman, Aleksandra Jasińska-Kania, Nowak, Wiatr and Wesołowski. As Kraśko observed, by the end of the 1950s almost all sociological institutions and departments were directed by scholars who had graduated as sociologists and obtained their habilitations by the end of 1940s (Kraśko 1996, p. 178). All their pupils would be professional academic sociologists educated within a disciplinary and institutional framework they took for granted, as life world structures usually are. These were no longer "first-generation sociologists," as Norbert Elias once called himself and his peers, coming to sociology from other disciplines (Heerma van Voos and van Stolk 2014, p. 83). Interdisciplinarity would remain a strong feature and a huge advantage of sociology in Poland (Szacki fondly recalled that Nowak had worked on Dante's *Divine Comedy* for his master's thesis) (quoted in Bucholc 2013b, s. 129), but further professionalization was very much desired, including for purely strategic reasons of academic organization.

Professionalization was evident in book titles. Various (Marxist and non-Marxist) introductions to sociology and methodology prevailed, authored by Bauman, Zygmunt Gostkowski, Andrzej Malewski, Klemens Szaniawski, Szczepański, Wiatr and others. Methodology in particular was of paramount importance, as a direct result of the American opening. According to Sułek:

> For many contemporary sociologists, the key to "modern" sociology was the method, and they believed that it was to be found in New York City. Sociologists who wished to meet various authors and get familiar with the methods and examples of American empirical sociology in person chose Columbia over all other places. The faculty of sociology at Columbia as well as at the Bureau of Applied Social Research, run by Lazarsfeld and Robert Merton, were considered to constitute the main centers of empirical social research in America. (Sułek 2010, p. 332)

Nowak, a student of Ossowski and a Ford grant holder, was one of the key figures in introducing US-made empirical sociology, with all the novelties in the field, to Poland. But the interest in research methods was general, a sign of scientific and professional "normality."

Alongside the systematizing efforts in general sociology and methodological innovations, there appeared other symptoms of professionalization. Before 1956, sociology in Poland was, in fact, a unique concept and a unique science, without distinct subdisciplines. Indeed, one could hardly expect a science verging on extinction to practice the narcissism of small differences. Despite the gradually expanding scope of research interests, there were no separate units, no specialist handbooks, and no specific curricula for various subdisciplines. Nevertheless, by the mid-1960s, the situation changed rapidly: subdisciplines emerged together with their respective leaders or, at least, pioneers, many of whom benefited from the international opening and stimulus brought by Western methodological and theoretical innovations, including Aleksander Matejko (sociology of industry), Malewski (social psychology) and Adam Podgórecki (sociology of law) (Sułek 2010, p. 336). Other sociological subdisciplines established in this period were sociology of morality (Ossowska), sociology of organizations (Maria Hirszowicz) and rural sociology (Boguław Gałęski) (Kraśko 1996, pp. 209–210).

In sociological writing after 1956, specialist discussions inspired by Marxism prevailed, though popular works also appeared; and Bauman's *Socjologia na co dzień* (2nd edn 1964) is remembered by many as the book which first got them interested in sociology. The survivors and the supervisors were still there, but they were no longer alone. A new generation had been born shortly before or during the war. None of them had any direct experience of pre-war academic life in Poland. In the late 1950s the tensions characteristic of the Stalinist period were replaced by a more standard process of academic networking, cooperation and competition, with an international element as an additional resource, which some masterfully used. Polish sociology after 1956 begins to resemble a "normal science," with stable personal links, clear lines of institutional dependence, and clear-cut career paths. Even though the political situation still pressed heavily upon academia, sociology was blossoming.

The decade after 1956 is sometimes referred to as an age of "small stabilization," drawing on a title of 1964 play by Tadeusz Różewicz. It was widely believed that a political change would bring the first period of security, stability and reliable economic growth in post-war Poland.

The great patriotic outpouring of the wartime period, a post-traumatic burn-out syndrome after 1945 and the zeal of the newly made Polish Marxists was replaced by quasi-bourgeois lifestyles filtered through communist ideology. This smalltime consumerist worldview was repugnant to intellectuals but very much desired by the rest of society, which craved a little material well-being. However, stability did not last long.

The Anti-Thaw Climax of 1968

Events in international politics contributed to a complicated state of affairs in 1968. They included the USSR's reaction to the Six-Day War of 1967 and the resulting rise of anti-Jewish propaganda in all of the Soviet bloc. The Prague Spring of 1968, which ended in the intervention of the Warsaw Pact armed forces, came as a shock, and not only for Czechoslovakian society. Alongside the intervention in Hungary of 1956, it undermined any feelings of solidarity in the CEE region, to the advantage of the Soviet center and much to the detriment of future cooperation between these lands.

Anti-Semitic moods were purposefully and skillfully spread in all socialist countries. It was not a simple return to the pre-war anti-Semitism well known both in the East and in the West. It was a variation on the old anti-Jewish themes, stressing first and foremost the danger that the state of Israel constituted to world peace, and attacking the alleged hidden Jewish imperialist influence. In Poland anti-Semitism might well have been used as a means of diverting attention from the worsening economic situation and the undeniable retreat from the promises of October 1956, including a renewal of hostilities against the Catholic Church and a strengthening of censorship. Jews were a judiciously chosen scapegoat. Various form of non-violent and dispersed, but systematic, anti-Jewish actions met with almost no opposition by the majority of the population. Revisionists, Zionists and Jews were dexterously equated in the propaganda, which at the same time painstakingly explained that anti-Zionism is not anti-Semitism, a distinction with little effect on the course of actions, but much used internationally. Thus, a ground for a frontal attack was prepared, which was later carried out despite further remonstrations by students, the Polish Episcopate and many intellectuals, some of whom (including Bauman) handed in their Party cards in protest or were expelled from it (see Assorodobraj-Kula's biography in Capsule 2.2).

This sequence of events was unusual for anti-government movements in the Polish People's Republic, for it started not with the workers, but with

the intelligentsia. Student protests in most academic cities were initiated in Warsaw after censorship prohibited the National Theatre from staging *Dziady* by Adam Mickiewicz, a national classic of the Romantic era, a play with an enormous anti-Russian political message. Subsequent riots led to the dismissal of some students (notably Adam Michnik and Henryk Szlajfer) from the University of Warsaw, followed by the internment or arrest of student leaders and their supporters, among them the revisionists Jacek Kuroń and Karol Modzelewski. But the authorities would not negotiate, despite protests and negative international reactions. In March 1968, the minister of education decided to fire certain professors of the University of Warsaw, including the philosophers Baczko and Kołakowski, as well as two docents of sociology, Bauman and Hirszowicz. Bauman was later to take a chair at the University of Leeds, and Hirszowicz was employed by the University of Reading. The émigrés were generally covered by a censorial proscription: not only could they not be published or their works circulated legally in Poland, but references to them, even critical ones, were also prohibited (Kraśko 1996, pp. 232–233).

The year 1968 is a crucial one in the history of Western academia, but despite an affinity between moods in the West and in the East, the year means something very different in the CEE than in France or in Germany. In today's Poland, it stands first and foremost for yet another exodus, a small-scale event compared to the wartime translocations, but a painful one. Depending on the source, the number of those who left the country with one-way tickets from 1968 through 1971, and were deprived of their citizenship in the course of the proceedings, is put at between 13,000 and 20,000 (Eisler 1991, pp. 427–428; Stankowski 2000, p. 143). Few came back after 1989, when the ban on the subject of 1968 was finally lifted. All the intelligentsia were hit hard as a result. The communist authorities in Poland were traditionally suspicious of this class, looking to the workers for their social basis, an idea according with the official ideology, but not especially accurate in a country where a vast majority of workers came from peasant families and were Catholic. Eliminating a large section of the intelligentsia, especially those seeking to revise the foundations of the system, was undoubtedly in the interest of the Party. However, it was clearly not in the interest of society to lose hundreds (by some counts, as many as 500) of its academics and scientific researchers, as well as members of the free doctor, lawyers, architects etc.

Balance Sheet

On the balance sheet of 1968, the number of émigrés is not the only item to weigh heavily on the budget of later years. A lasting effect was the exhaustion of the potential of the intelligentsia as a driving force of social change. Within academia, the post-March antagonisms accompanied by personal shifts left a lasting emotional trace and many unsettled accounts. Results of this moral and personal purge were disastrous. Students opposing anti-Semitism and demanding respect for civil rights and liberties found themselves set against the joint forces of the working class, party leadership and some members of the faculty as well (see the biographies of Assorodobraj-Kula in Capsule 2.2 and Chałasiński in Capsule 2.3). However, hostility was not the worst thing, but rather that the vast majority of people, dreaming of a modest sort of stability, remained indifferent to the students' protests, which came as a shock to many young idealists. Ironically enough, the generation of 1968 were probably the last Poles who believed it made sense to sing the International; for them, it was a revolutionary anthem and not a tedious propaganda-piece (Burska 2012). But the reality around them was soaked with tedium.

The generation of 1968 had faith. It was put to a test, with a debatable outcome (see Modzelewski 2013). What is certain is that their energy failed to transform reality in a manner similar to the way in which their peers managed to transform their respective societies in the same period, though frequently to regret what they had done afterwards (Bucholc 2013a). It was a different reality in the Soviet Bloc, which, true enough, was very resistant to transformation. But the trauma of lost hope and wasted energy lasted a long time, especially as it could not be in any way reworked before 1989. The result of 1968 was a profound though latent division of Polish society, combining the alienation or compromising of its intellectual elites with a deep, universal apathy in public life. Many members of the student movement would hold on to their engagements and re-emerge with Solidarność, but many more, slowly but surely, headed towards yet another round of modest stability—and great expectations.

Notes

1. See, e.g., the following works by Jarosław Kilias: "Okno na świat". O socjologii w Polsce i Czechosłowacji przed rokiem 1968 (*Myśl Socjaldemokratyczna* 2001, No. 2), *Jak socjologowie opowiadali o socjologii* (Warsaw 2012), *Is there Any Sociological Tradition of Social Memory Research? The Polish and the Czech Case* (*Polish Sociological Review* 2013, No. 3).

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CHAPTER 4

1969–1989: Great Expectations

Abstract The author claims that after 1969 until the end of socialism in 1989 there would be no major discontinuities in the institutionalization of sociology in Poland. The author reviews the reforms of sociological curricula and institutes, depicting a stable development of academic sociology in this period as reflected in progressive specialization, the constant reception of Western theories and the international presence of Polish sociologists, notably within the structure of the International Sociological Association. Although the Communist Party still controlled science, Marxist sociology became a very capacious category and Party membership became primarily a career strategy. This ideological weakening made the massive mobilization by Solidarność possible. The chapter ends with a balance of engagement of sociologists in the political opposition and its influence on political the discipline.

Keywords Opposition • Specialization • Solidarność • Marxist sociology

After 1969 there would be no more radical upheavals and discontinuities in the institutionalization of Polish sociology, although there were hard times ahead. Indeed, despite all arguments to the contrary, I believe that, for sociology in Poland, real stabilization begins after 1968. The general stagnation resulting from the flagging of spirits after 1968 only touched sociology to a limited extent, and the 1970s was a comparatively good period for sociological research (see Kaźmierska et al. 2015, p. 250).

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Sociologists in New Roles

Until the 1960s, the pre-war catalogue of social roles of men (and women) of knowledge, as Znaniecki called them, did not actually change much compared to the times before 1939. One important exception was, of course, the role of the party academic, the ideological supervisors of intellectual life, which quickly produced its counterpart in the form of revisionists. After the 1960s, the palette would broaden.

First, the type of the regular Party academic would emerge, no longer necessarily a keen supervisor (though sometimes reacting keenly to all irregularities within his or her scope of competence). A regular Party member in academia was more a representative of the system in everyday life, a privileged representative, but not one fully monopolizing the chances of career and recognition. Moreover, Party membership did not make the Party academics a cohesive collective: many sociologists combined it with involvement in opposition activities in the 1970s.[1] Many left the Party after martial law was announced in 1981; and the event triggered mass resignations of Party members, which reached 850,000, almost one-third of all ranks, by the end of 1981.

The variety of intra-party strategies was indeed great and hard to grasp retrospectively, unless a color filter is applied to black-and-white images of the past, which is the approach preferred by some contemporary truth-seekers. One thing seems certain: in the 1970s, membership of the Party ceased to be a reliable indicator of either political conformism or, even, a generally pro-communist worldview. For most, it became just a valuable resource, of which some made use and some did not. As a result, the burden of moral compromise related to Party membership was not as heavy as it had been in the previous decades, though for many it still remained too heavy. Among the non-party scholars there were also some for whom the Party apparatus would favor for many complex individual reasons. On the other hand, the number of truly believing communists decreased. By the end of the 1970s, very few stuck to the formerly unmovable article of faith, according to which the Party was a carrier of working-class moral values. Therefore, somebody's not belonging to the Party in this period might be a telling fact, whereas the opposite is not necessarily so.

Being a member of the Party undoubtedly enhanced one's career chances, though persons of some significance, such as Nowak or Malewski, never joined. Still, the Party had grown constantly since the 1950s, reaching a peak of over 3,000,000 members in 1981. It was a huge, mass organization,

and no wonder its ideological coherence became questionable as a result. The wannabe avant-garde of the social revolution turned into a new establishment, not quite to be equated with the middle class of the West, but acting as a conservative, stabilizing factor in the social structure, with vested interests in the preservation of the political status quo. Even though the Party never became a stratificational category in itself, its class character was hard to overlook. As the high-ranking Yugoslavian communist and dissident, Milovan Djilas, famously stated as early as 1957, the Party apparatus became a new class and—according to Marx's intuition—ideological tenets became pure superstructure, covering the crude reality of economic domination and power privileges (Djilas 1957).

Accordingly, a new kind of revolutionary for the times of structural stabilization appeared: a member of the democratic opposition, which would remain a part of the system until 1989 and, figuratively, also later on. Some sociologists, like Edmund Wnuk-Lipiński, Jadwiga Staniszkis or Sergiusz Kowalski, would later be known beyond the academic world primarily for their engagement in anti-communist activity, which mostly took the form of intellectual and social networking. This was dangerous for the Party because it showed the possibility of thinking outside the system.

However, besides the party academics and the oppositionists (with all the shades and nuances appropriate to both categories) there were many more new roles for sociologists (Bielecka-Prus 2009). The Second Congress of Polish Science (1973), which was—as all such official meetings in socialist countries—an important indicator of political and cultural trends, because it came as close to the free public expression of opinion as was feasible within the system, defined the goals of social sciences in the new version of socialism under Edward Gierek. A sociologist was envisaged as an "expert in the future," a bearer of knowledge about the mechanisms governing socialist society (Bielecka-Prus 2009, p. 90, quoting Władysław Markiewicz's paper of 1970). As Wesołowski put it in the title of one of his articles, the future would belong to "science subordinated to society" (Wesołowski 1970).

Only an ear sensitive to subtleties of the socialist vernacular would grasp that "subordination to society" in fact promised a rise for sociology within the scientific hierarchy. So did the increased stress on engineering utility in socialism, which—paradoxically enough—led not to a boom in empirical research, but to an intensive (and, predictably, unfulfilled) quest after a new theory of socialist society (Bielecka-Prus 2009, p. 91). This quest might have been a defensive reaction: research results could easily

be manipulated by political misuse, theory and methodology; on the other hand it might be better to play it safe: to pay lip service to the ruling ideology and suffer no consequences. Such tactics was consistent with a general trend of virtualizing life, in the 1970s: nothing was real anymore, because nobody believed it to be what it claimed to be. Not only was the economy of the Gierek era a massive fiction, but the general sense of falsehood and control of science by bureaucratic means was accompanied by verbosity and productiveness was measured by the number of sheets of paper on which it was described. This was not entirely unlike what we witness now in science, when once again it is readily reduced by technocrats to being the social locus of expert knowledge.

The official definition of a sociologist did not go uncontested: some opposed the vision of science as "licking a lollipop through a glass window, and a painted lollipop too" (Mokrzycki 1973). The state of affairs in the 1970s might have been felt to threaten the sociological ethos, but the idea of using sociology to steer and engineer, therefore to manipulate, was criticized more vociferously than effectively. The political performance of sociology was, on the whole, far weaker than expected, which kept many career-oriented aspiring students away from it. On the other hand, the stress on scientific objectivity—whether that of an expert or of an aloof theorist—also did not encourage commitment, whether in intellectual, biographical or institutional terms. According to Hirszowicz's apt formulation, engagement in those days frequently was a trap (Hirszowicz 2001).

It was not an easy task to reinvent public or social engagement after 1968. I distinguish the public and the social, because the two were not the same in the Soviet bloc. Indeed, one of the crucial aspects of life in socialists countries was a divergence between, on the one hand, the public sphere, dominated by the state, the Party and the Party-sponsored organizations and media, and, on the other hand, social life (in the very general meaning of doing something together for and with other people), which very often took place on the margins of the public or beyond it, underneath it and in counterbalance to it. It can and frequently has been understood, quite rightly, as a matter of lack of political freedom. Nevertheless, I would much rather stress the gap between what people did publicly and non-publicly, an epiphenomenon of what Nowak called the "sociological vacuum," incidentally, one of the most fortunate concepts ever coined in Polish sociology (Pawlak 2015). The existence of the void between the public and the social was a sign of the non-existence of the political as a space of negotiations, which could lead to overcoming

and bridging the gap between various spheres and orders of power. Of course, sometimes a showdown would happen, usually occasioned by an upheaval such as those in December 1970, in June 1976 or in the climax of 1980–81 (see the Appendix), when the two roles—the public and the social—converged and the pure political domain seemed to unveil itself for a round of negotiations between the power and the people. But such illuminations did not last long.

Public engagement resurfaced as a debated issue in the second half of the 1970s because of the social void, but not only that. The pre-war home-made traditions were rendered null and void by the war, Stalinist rule and 1968. The latter date, instead of being a benchmark for a new form of political activism, as it was in the West, became a symbolic threshold of exhaustion of old-type public activity. Until 1969 almost every ideologically oriented group was from time to time subject to persecution and found it extremely difficult to transmit its engagement anywhere but in private. The Catholic Church proved to be the most immune against the long-term hostility of the authorities and its public presence was never completely extinguished, especially after Polish cardinal Karol Wojtyła was elected Pope in 1978, which caused havoc in the Polish government. However, even though the Church was an important supporter of anti-government opposition, it did not create an alternative political reality and, in particular, it did not offer many alternative career opportunities to lay people. A very limited accommodation to lay academics was provided by the Catholic University in Lublin, established in 1918, which managed to survive as the only non-public university in the Soviet bloc under communist rule, despite recurring repressions and lack of public funding (Rynkowski 2015). For all these reasons, the impetus for rethinking the social role of a sociologist would only come in the 1980s, with Solidarność.

Provisory Solutions and their Long Afterlife

In the meantime, however, the reinvention of sociology was accompanied by a reorganization of sociological institutions. After 1968, sociological institutes and chairs were founded at most Polish universities and a new establishment began to take form, composed of people who were educated as sociologists after 1945. Most 1968 activists were, at least temporarily, eliminated from teaching and research by way of reorganization of many bodies, including the Polish Academy of Sciences' Committee for

Sociology, and the rest of that generation had to re-establish themselves (Kraśko 1996). This desire to build a structure that could be held on to, at least for a while, is a recurrent theme in Polish history, and academia was no exception. The desire resulted in many organizational innovations, which were very often created on the spur of the moment, born out of chance and not really structurally prepared to last long, because nothing lasted post-war. However, the framework for sociological institutions created after 1968 did persist.

The reorganization of science was aimed at preventing anything like March 1968 from happening again. The institute became the basic organizational unit, and chairs (*katedry*) became departments (*zakłady*) within institutes. As a result of the reform, I, in 2005, become a senior lecturer in the Department of History of Sociological Thought at the Institute of Sociology of the University of Warsaw. After 1968, institutes of sociology were created at almost all universities, usually as a result of internal restructuring. One ridiculed but important effect of the reform (although, strictly speaking, its legal basis preceded the March crisis) had been an introduction of the possibility for scientists without habilitation to hold independent docent positions. Many of them were referred to as "March docents" for years afterwards, as 1968 had brought about a wave of Party-sponsored nominations making use of this shortcut (Kraśko 1996, p. 247). The general direction of post-March changes was to limit academic freedom, to take the power to choose and employ co-workers from the professors and transfer it to the institute directors, and to link all scientists to institutional management more directly than before (which rendered them more susceptible to centralized pressure). This might have been the beginning of the end of the professors who were institutions in themselves, as is largely still the case in Germany, and the beginning of new forms of centralized academic administration. Whether the new deal served sociology ill or well at the end of the day is very hard to say, but the new system turned out to be very persistent.

It is possible that, after all the turnovers of Stalinism and the late 1960s, there was no political will for yet another restructuring of scientific life, and that these structures survived virtually intact purely by force of inertia. It is also possible that the authorities correctly estimated that the revolutionary potential of sociology had been drained and that it was safe to allow it some liberties. The most likely explanation would be that

the political climate of the first half of the 1970s, with a programmatic turn from deep ideological disputes and struggles to consumption and the difficult task of catching up with European living standards, did not favor ideological warfare. In the early era of Gierek the rulers applied personally targeted measures against selected individuals instead of large-scale cleansings. This mode of political control is detrimental to team work and to the community spirit of the controlled, but it very seldom has direct negative impact on institutions comparable to that of comprehensive and abstractly engineered structural reforms. Be that as it may, sociologists were granted the opportunity to take care of themselves, and they used it to improve their departmental standing, which at the time mostly meant the role of sociological curricula, courses and staff in the overall university teaching. Attempting to decide upon standards of sociological practice, predominantly conceived in purely scientific terms, resulted in a drive for the revision and reform of teaching. I believe it would not be amiss to say that in the 1970s teaching sociology became a more general concern of academic sociologists who were not stimulated by political and ideological considerations.

As a result, it was also after 1968 that a relatively unified model of the sociological curriculum emerged throughout the country. The ideal of sociological education implicit in it clearly bore the marks of earlier times. First of all, for contemporary standards it was extremely interdisciplinary, usually comprising history, philosophy, logic, sometimes economics and, frequently, mathematics, apart from statistics. Among sociological subjects, those of general interest also prevailed over specialized ones. History of sociology, which was usually very closely related to history of philosophy and political ideas, was accompanied by general methodology of sciences, which in fact meant philosophy of science. To this may be added psychology and, although not always, social anthropology. Social statistics and methodology of social sciences served the reproduction of professional sociological skills. At the same time, mostly quantitative, survey methods were covered by the syllabi, though with elements of qualitative research which so strongly featured in the Polish tradition. However, the core of sociological training was sociological theory. In the 1970s and 1980s, many basic readers of sociological theory were edited and published, including some standard reference books, such as *Elementy teorii socjologicznych* (1975)[2] or *Problemy socjologii wiedzy* (1985).[3]

Sociology and the Outside World: Home and Abroad

The role of these anthologies, commonly used as readers all over Poland, may not be praised enough by those conscious of the evils of intellectual isolation and parochialism. The need to have such books in place was felt generally, because many of the Western sociology classics had not yet been translated into Polish and the circulation of Western literature, though good in comparison to other Soviet bloc countries, was far from sufficient for teaching purposes. The Polish sociological community thus undertook a fight against provincialism, procuring access to American, German and French classics for Polish students, who usually had little opportunity to learn well any language other than Russian before entering university. Many crucial texts were first published in Polish in the 1970s in selections for teaching purposes, and such names as Ferdinand Tönnies, Vilfredo Pareto, Max Weber and many others became known to sociology students mostly as titles of chapters in these books. What could have been an ad hoc provisional measure, namely providing parts of original texts before a choice from the entire work could be made by every teacher by her or himself after its publication in Polish, turned out to be very resistant to the influence of time and evolved into a general practice. Many collections with a more contemporary focus also appeared (see the list in Manterys and Mucha 2009, pp. VII–XXVII). New readers containing text fragments, sometimes specifically translated for the benefit of teachers and students, still continue to be an important part of the sociological book market.[4]

Apart from readers, some standard handbooks, with the paramount example of *Structure of Sociological Theory* by Jonathan Turner (first translated into Polish in 1985), were established in those days, which turned out to persist, sometimes in the same text versions despite re-editions. Some were by Polish authors, Szacki's *Historia mysli socjologicznej*[5] being undoubtedly the most ponderous among them. An influential series called *Sociological Library*, published from 1968 by Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe (now Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN), also enriched the reading options of Polish-speaking sociologists by introducing, in the 1970s and 1980s, the works of Emile Durkheim, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Karl Mannheim, Margaret Mead, Georg Simmel, Talcott Parsons, Znaniecki and many others, usually in good or very good translations, edited diligently by leading scholars in the field. Classics and relatively contemporary authors went

hand in hand, and the teaching demand was as important an impulse for editorial decisions as was scientific merit and the significance of the work in question. The 1970s and 1980s was another period of very intense reading in Polish sociology, but this time it was not limited to a group of chosen ones, but, thanks to new translations and anthologies, it became a pleasure and a source of instruction for a broader audience.

This pattern of sociological education, based on reading Western sociology in Polish, a heavy stress on the classics, though usually only known through small extracts of their work, and the interdisciplinary embeddedness of sociological knowledge, was to survive almost unchallenged until the end of the twentieth century. As a very late product of this model, I do not feel called upon to judge it. However, I believe one thing must be noted: sociology in those days, despite its unquestionable progress as empirical science, was mostly a way of thinking about society and not a way of asking it any particular questions in order to receive a response. It might have been a delayed effect of Marxist insistence on practical applicability or an overwhelming influence of Western literature, which was predominantly theoretical. It might also, hypothetically, come from a relative disinterest in social life: the times were just a bit flat.

Despite the repeated political crises, the three decades after 1969 were the longest period of stable and consistent institutionalization of sociology in Poland. The number of students was growing (although sociology remained a niche science) and academic reproduction was on the go. Eight sociological journals were systematically published and the number of members and local divisions of the Polish Sociological Association was gradually increasing. The trends of the 1960s continued despite the moral breakdown of 1968; politically motivated personal changes and generational succession did not undermine the general continuity and the seemingly sustainable growth. Even though sociologists who were not Party members generally found it more difficult to travel abroad, advance with their careers at home, or publish freely, in this period political views were not the only and, at times, probably not even the most significant factor determining academic status at home. And this also held the other way round: a pronouncedly Marxist orientation and theoretical background were no deal-breakers in relations with the West, as is demonstrated by the case of Wesołowski, a key figure in the internationalization of Polish sociology in the 1970s and 1980s, a director of the Institute of Sociology at the University of Warsaw, an active member of the International Sociological Association and an influential author in Poland.

The period from 1969 onwards was also significant from one other point of view: Polish scholarly émigrés began to improve the reputation of Polish sociology abroad. The impact of this development should not be underrated, even though the scientific contacts of authors such as Podgórecki (removed from the University of Warsaw for anti-communist activity, before leaving for Canada in 1977) with their colleagues in Poland were made difficult by political limitations and censorship. Polish presence in the ISA was also far from negligible, and from 1987 Izabela Barlińsha has served as ISA Executive Secretary.

Sociologists in the Carnival of Solidarność

In the 1980s especially, Poland's international standing, as the cradle of Solidarność, was very high, as opposed to the deplorable state of affairs at home; and sociology also benefited from the general sympathy with democratic opposition in the West. Despite an active engagement of some sociologists in the new social movement, there was a general feeling that Solidarność came to them as a surprise (Sułek 2011, pp. 243–265). One of the reasons why this happened was the weakening of links between the realities of social life and its institutionally embedded scientific representations. In 1986, Sułek coined the term "oral sociology" to indicate the pathologies of knowledge circulation in socialist society, where the most important findings are not shared with the general public in written form (Sułek 1987). Indeed, in the 1970s the "public use of reason," as Immanuel Kant had once called it, definitely gave way to various "Ketman" practices allowing people to live in a reality in which they did not believe (Miłosz 1990). Keeping at a distance from society was one of them: the oral sociology of the 1980s, born out of censorship and the sense of political instability, was but an epiphenomenon.

But the deficit of engagement would not be universal. In the late 1970s and 1980s, many Polish sociologists were actively participating in the political developments, in academia and beyond. Jan Lutyński was active during the student sit-down strike in Łódź in January 1981, the longest in Europe, with more than 8,000 participants (Kaźmierska et al. 2015, p. 255–271). After 1980, most sociologists supported Solidarność and the democratic opposition (see Kaźmierska et al. 2015, p. 252). Sułek remembers the Sixth Polish Congress of Sociology held in Łódź in 1981 as the first post-war meeting of the sociological community whose agenda was composed with no sense of political restrictions, as though courage became

contagious by force of the spirit of the first general rally of Solidarność, which took place at the very same time in Gdańsk. The congress, as no other before, was set on explaining actual social problems and seeing them for what they were (Sułek 1997). After the drama of the announcement of martial law passed, which, incidentally, stopped the publication of the proceedings of the Sixth Congress, sociologists were constantly present in the process of pre-transformational debates and negotiations.

An idea of a sociologist explaining society to itself directly, interactively and in the real time of events, not via his or her academic writings which always come too late, was embodied in the circle of experts of Solidarność, who took it as their task to enhance the trade union's potential for social change by putting their expertise at its service. This is an idea clearly reflected in Alain Touraine's idea of sociological intervention, a product of his study of Solidarność, conducted on the spot, in which many Polish sociologists took part, notably Jan Strzelecki, one of the co-authors of the 1982 Fayard publication (Touraine et al. 1982). It is a symbolically significant fact that the members of the opposition delegation to a Round Table Meeting in 1989 departed the Institute of Sociology of the University of Warsaw, and a sociologist (and science-fiction author) Wnuk-Lipiński was among the participants of the meeting as an advisor to the opposition. This does not mean that sociologists managed to become public intellectuals as early as the 1980s—they did not (see Bielecka-Prus 2009, p. 95). But they did come out of the fog of bureaucratic fiction, despite the tough times under martial law (1981–83), and the idea of the sociologist as social critic seemed to have caught on for good.

Solidarność created a unique opportunity to conduct novel empirical research (Bielecka-Prus 2009, p. 96). The very first book on it was authored as early as 1981 by Mirosława Marody (Marody et al. 2004), and many others followed, although on the whole it seems that this fascinating case of social change was not explored fully (Sułek 2011, p. 259). Nevertheless, Solidarność was profitable to sociology in Poland in one important way: it was unprecedented in the Soviet bloc and, indeed, outside it, which almost automatically called for "local informants," as Arjun Appadurai labeled the indigenous scholars who shared their knowledge of the local context with Western recipients. Even though no Polish sociological analysis of Solidarność entered the classics of world scholarship on either social movements or system transformations, this was a time when local informants from Poland did a lot to convey knowledge about Solidarność to the external world and, by the by, also to an internal audience. In this way,

the experience of the first independent Polish trade union after the war became a part of the capital—a capital which many believe to be irreparably lost—with which not only Polish society in general, but also sociology in Poland entered the new, capitalist and democratic era.

Notes

1. Ironically, Malanowski, who acted as an advisor to Solidarność at the beginning of 1980s, was at the very same time elected to the Party's Central Committee.
2. Edited by Włodzimierz Derczyński, Aleksandra Jasińska-Kania and Jerzy Szacki.
3. Edited by Andrzej Chmielecki, Stanisław Czerniak, Józef Niżnik and Stanisław Rainko.
4. See e.g., Jasińska-Kania et al. 2006; Śpiewak 2006; Manterys and Mucha 2009; Nowicka and Głowacka-Grajper 2007.
5. Originally published in English as *History of sociological thought* (Greenwood Press 1979), first Polish edition by PWN 1981.

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CHAPTER 5

1990–2015: Catching Up with Reality

Abstract The claim of this chapter is that, after 1989, the growth of Polish sociology ceased to be sustainable. It underwent a rapid expansion then a breakdown. Among the causes were the effects of the free market economy, demographic trends and, to an extent, globalization. The author discusses the impact of political and social transformation on academic sociology after 1989, including research, theoretical and institutional developments. She addresses the effects of the educational boom of the 1990s, the function of the Bologna Process and the university reforms after 2005, in particular those concerning the public funding of science. She also outlines a broader context of sociology as a profession, its image and its labor market potential, and reviews new roles for sociologists in the mediatized, capitalist and democratic society.

Keywords Transformation • Bologna process • Higher education reform • Financing of science

The entire scope of changes initiated in the year 1989 was not fully grasped at the time, but the economic aspect would capture attention most easily with the free-market economy forcefully entering everyday life and calling for a new sociological imagination.

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Economy, Politics and the Sociological Imagination

New kinds of uncertainty shaped people's beliefs and decisions, unemployment being the newest and most fearsome among them. The social costs of transformation were grave, especially in collective farming and industry, where the discrepancies between socialist central planning and the free-market logic were unnegotiable. The differences between urban and rural areas as well as between lower and higher social strata suddenly translated directly into purchasing power and lifestyle options. Of course, many had insisted on debunking the myth of a classless society before 1989. However, the system transformation brought facts to light. Some of these facts were never generally accepted, which reverberates in contemporary ambiguities regarding the way Poland left socialism through the design of a Warsaw professor of economics, Leszek Balcerowicz.

Balcerowicz is still criticized for not having taken the social costs of transformation seriously enough. Nevertheless, in the 1990s the Poles hectically made use of their new won economic freedom. New groups and strata emerged: private businesspeople, managers, industrialists, the structurally unemployed, the partly employed, the working poor and many others. Services grew as a sector, and agriculture shrank, thus slowly transforming Poland into a Western-like society. In the first half of the 1990s agriculture accounted for over 22% of the labor market, with services employing around 46% of the labor force. In the second quarter of 2015 the values were 11.6 and 57.9%, respectively.[1] Demography followed suit: total fertility rates fell (from 2.07 at the beginning of transformation to 1.3 in 2014; see Kotowska 2014, p. 12).

Political pluralism initially made the Polish public scene very versatile and unpredictable, a condition in which many post-communist countries found themselves in the 1990s. The involvement of the mass media, including the newly established private broadcasters, in politics led to its mediatization and rampant tabloidization. Social media, very active after 2000, further contributed to the procession of simulacra in domestic politics. Mediatization and Westernization converged with a major shift in foreign affairs, culminating in Poland's joining NATO (1999) and the European Union (2004).

Instead of the crawling consumerism of the 1970s, a fully fledged range of consumer attitudes emerged, enhanced by growing inequalities and by the rise of new minorities which had been non-existent or invisible in socialist Poland (see Mucha 2003). Civil liberties and consumption went

hand in hand in transforming social imageries. One sphere undergoing a particularly deep change was religiosity, responding to pan-European secularization trends with a growth of radicalism, especially after the death of John Paul II, "the Polish Pope," in 2005. Catholicism is still a dominant religion in Poland (from 80 to over 90% of the population, depending on the manner of counting), but religious influence on lifestyles and worldviews is far from uniform. The number of non-believers is growing (though it is below 10%) and the share of regular churchgoers has fallen from 58% in 2005 to 50% in 2015 (CBOS 2015, p. 3).

Catholicism does not face any serious religious competition, which is also the result of negligible immigration. Poland is an emigration country, with over two million long-term migrants to EU countries alone in 2013 (compared to a general domestic population of 38.5 million in the same year), mostly to the UK and Germany (GUS 2014, p. 2). Immigration is hardly noticeable. In 2013, approximately 60,000 non-Polish EU citizens registered their stay in Poland (Pędziwiatr 2015, p. 1). The number of foreigners required to obtain a residency permit in Poland (non-EU citizens) in 2013 was slightly above 120,000, with the major settlement zone in the Mazowieckie Voivodship (including Warsaw). Over half of the migrants come from the former USSR (predominantly Ukraine, Russia and Belarus) (see Konieczna-Sałamatin 2015). Even if official registers on which these data are based are grossly inaccurate, and even if the numbers had to be doubled or trebled to reflect the real immigration level, it would still be marginal, and it is unlikely that the current refugee crisis in the EU will change it significantly.

The Sociological Gyroscope After 1989: The Public Sphere

After 1989, the growth of Polish sociology was no longer sustainable. Even though some sociologists were among the authors of the democratic transformation, none of us were prepared for its side effects, any more than the rest of society. Since 1989, sociology seems to have been constantly striving to catch up with reality.

Transitional justice was one of the first issues to be solved. Lustration in Poland took a mild form. No sociologists were forced to discontinue their careers because of their political pasts. Membership in the late Communist Party is not an important indicator of anybody's theoretical views, research

interests or political adherence. As Mucha observed, some of its members are now among the leading analysts of democratic politics and civil society (see Mucha 2003). As early as 1989, a discussion involving, among others, Zdzisław Krasnodębski, Ireneusz Krzemiński and Szacki showed (against Krasnodębski's opinion, unchanged ever since) that despite all the divisions and unsettled accounts there was no general willingness to launch an anti-communist purge in academia (Mucha 2003, pp. 121ff). Students sometimes dig out their professors' early works that ritually mention Marxism in each section title; and the party membership of a prominent scholar may be recalled from time to time by a journalist or on a web forum. But it is very seldom more than that, unless accompanied by other considerations, as in the case of recent ardent debates around Bauman. Nevertheless, Bauman's case is exceptional in many respects, and the attacks on him in Poland might not have been that vehement but for his international reputation and the fact that he is not a part of Polish academic structures.

However, it should be noted that calls for a "decommunization" of universities and professors have been more frequent since 2010, as a result of the growing polarization of Polish political scene and the radicalization of nationalist-conservative, right-wing discourses. Their real effect, if any, must remain meager due to obvious biological reasons. Those who were party members and academics in the 1970s are now over 70, the statutory age limit of academic tenure. Nonetheless, the symbolic effect of mobilizing social forces by revisiting the past could be significant, and science may be the next arena for a new, right-biased, memory politics.

A counter-factor may be the generation gap evident in academic sociology. The tone is set by scholars who usually received their highest academic degrees (including full professorship, which in Poland is a title granted by the state authorities, now the President) before or shortly after 1989, many of whom have what may be called a communist past. Their colleagues, born in the late 1960s and early 1970s, usually took their time and did not press forward with their academic careers, including because they were busily making use of new market-economy opportunities that arose after 1989. This has been changing rapidly since the recent reforms of higher education prescribed stricter timelines for doctorates and habilitation.

Apart from the issue of post-communism, a general repolitization of Polish scientists after 2000 is evident. One of the reasons for this might be a relative stabilization of the model of the political career and the destabilization of the

academic one. Another reason is mediatization of politics and the allure of popularity. Finally, the demand for scientific expertise in the media and in the political system has also increased. As a result, many high-ranking sociologists have been more active politically since 2000, as ministers, deputy ministers, advisors to politicians and state officials, MPs and European MPs, or just active and open supporters of political parties. We are still far from the situation described by Sułek in 1992, when two ministers and three deputy ministers in the same cabinet were academic sociologists (Sułek 1992, pp. 22–23), but it should be borne in mind that political activity nowadays is, on the whole, more professionalized and less dependent on extra-political forms of social capital than in the early 1990s. Academic sociologists face competition from professional politicians now, but nevertheless both the right-wing nationalist conservatives, the central-liberals and the left, either in post-communist or new-left variants, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary, include sociologists in their ranks.

Sociology in Poland has no single political or worldview profile. Polish academia, as opposed, for example, to American academia, is not prevailingly left-oriented, but pluralistic and divided. Differences have been voiced in many public debates, most notably those occasioned by the crash of the Polish government plane in Smoleńsk, Russia, in 2010. The plane was on its way to the anniversary celebrations commemorating the mass murder of Polish officers in Katyń forest by the Soviet secret police in 1940. In the crash, the President of Poland, Lech Kaczyński, was killed, together with 95 other people, including the highest government and army officials. Among those killed was Grażyna Gęsicka, holder of a PhD in sociology and a member of the Polish Sociological Association, an active oppositionist before 1989 and a former minister of regional development. The so-called "Smoleńsk crash," had no immediate effect on democracy in Poland: an utterly unexpected test of stability was passed. However, it turned out to have a significant political impact in the long run, probably culminating in the results of the 2015 parliamentary elections. The academics, sociologists included, were as far from a single opinion in the matter of Smoleńsk crash the strongly divided general public. Other antagonizing issues, such as abortion, in vitro fertilization, the prevention of violence in families, school reform or legalization of same-sex marriage, also resulted in heated public debates, invariably featuring sociologists. But politicization of individuals and their extra-academic political networking does not seem to have found its collateral in an equally rampant politicization of institutions, at least not thus far.

Many sociologists (both academics and non-academics) actively contribute to the growth of the Polish public sphere, media and civil society. After 1989, a new public role of "sociologist" was created, distinctly different not only from party and opposition activists and experts before 1989, but also from politically engaged academics after 1989: the public intellectual. This role attracts not only the members of the sixties' generation, but also those born in the seventies and eighties, who were active in many established circles, such as those which have been in existence for at least a few years, with a marked public presence: Krytyka Polityczna, Kultura Liberalna, Res Public Nowa or Warsztaty Analiz Socjologicznych, all based and primarily active in Warsaw and on the Web. All these new milieus have considerable attractive force (Mucha and Krzyżowski 2014, p. 410), and the media has become an increasingly important employment sector target for sociology graduates.

Many young sociologists are also active in city and student movements. The years after 2010 were marked by growing activity in the public sphere, with social activists frequently turning either to local or national politics. Such was the case of "Razem" (Together), a political party formed in 2015, mostly by young adults, with an over-representation of sociology graduates from Warsaw, who, with a leftist, strongly socially oriented program, obtained 3.62% of votes in the parliamentary elections in the same year. Time will show whether this form of political presence by the younger generation will prove sustainable and whether the tendency to skip from local social engagement to national politics lasts. The potential is there, since all of the Polish NGO sector, as well as the Polish media, is marked by the visible presence of sociologists. Patterns of public activity crystallize concurrently with similar developments in CEE and Western countries. At the same time, Polish intellectual traditions and the ethos of the intelligentsia are evoked both on the right and on the left, and still possess a substantial legitimizing potential.

Teaching Sociology After 1989

Not only politics and social activity turned out to be a tempting field of self-fulfillment after 1989, but, surprisingly enough, teaching was another, whereby the self-fulfillment in question was usually defined in financial terms. Sociology as a major went through a rapid expansion in the 1990s. Teaching sociology suddenly was a way to make a living, a way enthusias-

tically made use of by sociologists, for whom the idea of actually earning real money by teaching was a novelty.

A development of particular significance for the future of sociology was the skyrocketing educational market, by which both public and private higher schools profited for almost two decades. The number of students rose from slightly over 400,000 in 1990/91 to the maximum of over 1,950,000 in 2006 (well over 50% of the eligible pool) and 1,900,000 in 2010 (Szafraniec 2011, p. 4). In 2010, more than 42,305 chose sociology (2.2% of all students)—2.5 times the enrollment of 2000. In 2006, they studied at 93 institutions offering sociological curricula, 62 of them non-public ones (compared to, respectively, 16 and 8 in 2000) (Szafraniec, p. 20).

It would be flattering to assume that this phenomenon may be explained by the popularity of sociology and by the esteem for sociological knowledge. Nevertheless, a different explanation may be proffered. First, sociology was relatively cheap. Official program guidelines allowed the construction of a curriculum at a very low cost, involving little field work or specialized training, apart from a bit of statistics. Many colleges, especially newly established private ones, went on to offer cheap (or not so cheap), quick educational pathways, based on little or no reading, poor-quality ad hoc textbooks, a small number of contact hours, huge student–teacher ratios and very flexible grading rules (Mucha 2003; Szafraniec 2011, p. 25). This unavoidably led to a general inflation of higher education and, over time, a devaluation of the profession and a fall of educational standards. The atmosphere was additionally inflamed by the media, which in those days chose to present sociology as a profession with a future, along with marketing and business management (Wasielewski 2003, pp. 193, 210ff; Wincławski 2003, pp. 21ff; Szafraniec 2003, pp. 90ff).

By 2005, all Polish state universities offered majors in sociology, which, of course, required a sufficient number of teachers, including those highly qualified, with doctorates and habilitations. The faculty, especially in the biggest academic centers, divided their attention between many institutions, resulting in their combined teaching quota being raised beyond any reasonable limits, a situation detrimental to research. Public control was weak and insufficient, which resulted in a few spectacular scandals. These pathologies, though common to all higher education, apart from hard science, unaffected by the private sector boom for obvious reasons, had a very negative impact on the public image of our discipline.

The good times ended, and we have been facing a dramatic breakdown of sociology at least since 2010. Among the main factors were the effects of the newly introduced free market economy, higher education reforms, demographic trends and, to an extent, globalization. Reforms enforced an increased control over curricula and higher human resources demands, eliminating sociology from many places where it was only tenable at a lowest possible cost. Demography worked adversely against the education market: the number of potential students falling as a result of the post-transformational decrease in fertility rates; at least until 2035, Poland's population will continue to decrease (*ceteris paribus*), despite a growing average life expectancy. Finally, globalization changed the institutional framework of higher education, which caught sociology unawares.

European integration was an additional factor. Polish universities were not adequately prepared to adapt the Bologna Process, which is meant to foster the unification of the European educational market and students' mobility in the common European area. The most significant change it brought about in Poland was an introduction in all higher schools of a system of studies comprising three years for a BA and two years for an MA, instead of a traditional five years for an MA, which only a few majors were able to keep, including law and psychology. Initially, a common strategy to cope with this institutional challenge was to pack all the courses which previously filled a five-year curriculum into a three-year BA. As a result, sociological studies became overloaded with theories and class hours. They was also losing its attractiveness, not only in comparison to old competitors like law, but to new majors, like business management.

The resulting current offerings of sociological studies in Poland are presented in Table 5.1. The difference between academic and practical profiles is a legal one.[2] Institutions offering general academic programs, assumed to be more prestigious, must include a large percentage of classes with scientific research involvement by students, whereas practical education must be heavy on work-oriented elements, in particular organized internships and classes conducted by experts having non-academic professional experience.

Students may be less willing to study sociology, as the mass media now pick on it as a major for the unemployed. Certain public figures, including the former Polish Prime Minister, the President of the EU since 2014, Donald Tusk, happened to give his view that sociology was not a way to a well-paid job (see Sikorska 2014). Sociological curricula are accused of anachronism, and represented as lagging hopelessly behind the times. This

Table 5.1 Number of institutions offering sociological studies in 2015

Level	*Profile*	*Type of institution*	
		Public	*Non-Public*
BA	Academic	32	13
	Practical	2	5
MA	Academic	25	6
	Practical	0	2

Source: Based on POL-on, the official server for Polish science, http://polon.nauka.gov.pl/ (Accessed December 7, 2015)

is all despite huge efforts to reform sociological programs (Kraśko 2010). Accreditation institutions, both state (Polish Accreditation Commission) and academic (University Accreditation Commission), are also active participants of these program discussions. Another important form of collective reflection are the regular meetings of the Conference of Institutes of Sociology, in which most sociological institutions participate (Kulpińska 2003). All courses of studies periodically undergo evaluations, sometimes providing an additional impulse for change and sometimes, sadly, just for more bureaucratic cover-work. Needless to say that few adaptation efforts of sociological academic institutions seem to prove radically efficacious. One positive sign, however, is a tendency to offer more interdisciplinary and problem-oriented curricula (see Chap. 6).

Sociological Research in a Free Market Reality

The free market affected sociological research in many ways. It changed the context in which it was conducted, but also the funding mechanisms and the market for its results.

Chronologically, the first change was an opening of opportunities to make money by doing research for the state, private businesses, local self-government, schools, NGOs, political parties, various think tanks, agencies and the media. Democracy and the free-market meant a high tide of data-gathering, both in the private and public sectors. The state agency regularly gathering social data is Central Statistical Office of Poland (GUS), whose reports are a standard reference source in analyses of Polish society. Almost all state and local community bodies and authorities collect various data related to their activities and undergo periodical evaluations. Their respective findings are, as a rule, also available to scientists

subject to various restrictions, in particular related to protection of personal and sensitive data.

Apart from that, sociological research is developing into a promising market sector. Currently, no center for research of public opinion is publically owned (Mucha 2003), but their reports are usually fairly easily accessible. Centrum Badania Opinii Publicznej (CBOS) and Ośrodek Badań Opinii Publicznej are the two largest and of longest standing. However, many businesses and NGOs compete in the market, some of them providing a full-range of standard research protocols, from national surveys through custom-made multi-method research models. By the usual way of mergers and acquisitions, foreign capital and international corporations entered the market initially occupied by locals. A new type of sociologist appeared, a role-model for many: a corporation clerk, looking very much like a lawyer from a TV series, only doing Excel tables instead of drafting agreements. Many small research businesses and NGOs offer evaluation services, small-scale case studies and consulting. They are satisfying the general desire of their clients to be able to know and say more about themselves, a curious symptom of self-therapy, but good news for those trained to go and find out.

New employment opportunities require skills which are hard to acquire at school. Sociology as a practice, based on a good grasp of state of the art research techniques, data analysis programs and equipment, is hardly taught at Polish underfinanced universities. Therefore, employers usually complain that sociological graduates need to learn everything anew, bring little practical experience to work and, despite their frequently good theoretical background, have little know-how to start with. This may be related to sociology's old affinities with philosophy and the resulting stress on theory in sociological education. But the problem seems to be deeper: employers tend to expect graduates to do the work, and the universities to teach them how to do it. The universities, for their part, are not only unprepared, but also unwilling to abandon their teaching habits and traditions for the sake of market adaptation, the market being a huge unknown. In the face of this dilemma, the public controllers seem to take the side of the employers and have increased the pressure on universities to make their curricula more practical. It remains to be seen whether it will make the graduates more immune to unemployment (which, incidentally, was 9.7% in September 2015, the lowest level Poland has reached since 1989) (GUS 2015a).

Apart from the work which a sociologist may find in a free market, the latter has also entered the sanctum of academic research. Before 1989, the rules for financing science were relatively simple and predictable, though not by any means transparent. The money came from the central planning authorities, were put at the disposal of governing bodies of institutions and divided by them according to a combination of political, personal and institutional reasons. This system was replaced in 1991 by central financing by a State Committee for Scientific Research (KBN), which introduced a system of grants. In the years 1991–2005 research projects financed by the KBN covered more than 30% of all funding in Poland. Since 2010, the role has been delegated to the National Science Centre (NCN). Even though the NCN is not the sole agency responsible for the distribution of funding in science, and a majority of funding is still divided centrally on a non-competitive basis, the NCN system has become the hallmark of the new reform which, as it turned out, was unfavorable to sociology.

Within the complex system of public funding, sociology remained a poor relation of the harder sciences, in particular of psychology, with which it was combined in the NCN panel to which sociologists usually address their grant applications. Sociologists are losing, although in some programs they managed to get almost one-third of all grants (but by far not a third of all funds) since 2010 in the respective panel; in other programs they barely scrape 20%.[3] Increasing pressure on international visibility and comparability, motivated by neo-liberal strategies in scientific management, also disfavors sociology in many ways. Mathematized and quantitative research and analytical methods and techniques are perceived as having a higher survival value than softer approaches. The stress on the international quality of publications creates a danger that there will shortly remain only two categories of authors: those writing articles in English for the international scientific public and those writing books in Polish for nobody at all.

As though this were not enough, at the end of 2015, an additional problem is the anticipated effect of political change on science, after the national-conservative Law and Justice Party won both presidential elections and a parliamentary majority sufficient to allow it to govern alone for the next four years. With government representatives openly declaring in the first weeks of their terms that certain areas of research (like LGBT studies), as well as some artistic endeavors, should not expect further public funding, it remains to be seen whether the harm done by neo-liberalism will not soon be matched and exceeded by its ideological adversaries.

Sociological Imagination Reactivated

As far as ideologies go, even though Marxism has long been dead, it was never buried completely until 1989. Its final exit, combined with the dawn of a new reality, brought many stimulating developments, both in theory and in research. Nevertheless, it also accelerated a disciplinary identity crisis.

In describing sociological research after 1989, a few methodological remarks would not be amiss—in which I largely follow Mucha (2003)—though there was no point in referring to them earlier, as only after this time does the production of sociological literature and research in Poland become sizeable enough to justify the need to define the criteria of selection. The number and the importance of sociological and interdisciplinary papers available to sociologists increased after 1989, but it is still books that count most in Polish academic circulation, not to mention the public communication of social research. Therefore, I will limit my reflections to books published in Poland. According to the Polish National Library count, which combines sociology and statistics, the number of books in this category rose from 99 titles and 84,100 copies in 1989 to 783 titles and 313,500 copies in 2012, as shown in Fig. 5.1.

Figure 5.1 illustrates official data, which should be the most complete book count in Poland; nevertheless, the best reference source for new publications in sociology is the Bibliographical Information of the Polish Sociological Association (www.pts.org.pl/info). This is less useful for statistical purposes, but it has the great advantage of being current and content-sensitive, hence reflecting the state of sociological writing and not only its volume.

Mucha suggests that the transformation resulted in a relative decrease of interest in social theory, as well as the general methodology of the social sciences (Mucha 2003). This might have been related to the saturation with theory and methodology during the period of Marxist domination, but one more direct factor would be the growing attraction of empirical research, combined with an increasing demand. Nevertheless, certain theoretical approaches either appeared afresh in Polish sociology after 1989 or enjoyed a second life, usually due to their fruitfulness in inspiring empirical research: grounded theory, the new institutionalism, rational choice theory, social change and systemic transformation analysis, and social capital theories. Also memory studies and biographical research, though already present in Poland before 1989, drew new energy from new realities, matching the overall CEE pattern. Fresh theoretical and research inspirations come to enrich this already abundant pool of options,

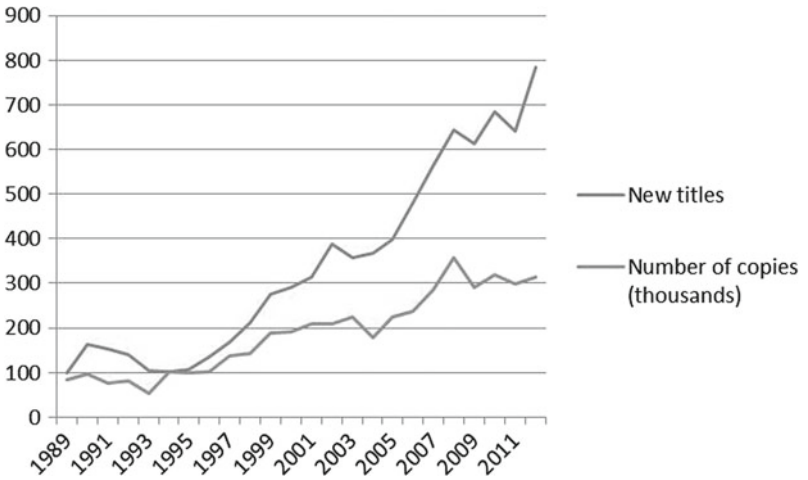

Fig. 5.1 Number of new book titles and book copies in sociology and statistics published 1989–2012. *Source*: Based on Polish National Library Data published in *Ruch Wydawniczy w Liczbach*, http://www.bn.org.pl/zasoby-cyfrowe-i-linki/elektroniczne-publikacje-bn/ruch-wydawniczy-w-liczbach (Accessed 5 December 2015)

including various shades of theorizing deliberative democracy, lifestyles research, actor–network theory, science and technology studies, social systems theory, anthropology of everyday life and many others.

As far as methodological developments are concerned, survey methods and large-scale quantitative studies evolved into a broad and sophisticated field, very much called for in the sociology of politics, values studies, and national and international longitudinal research, including (since 1992) the Polish General Social Survey. On the other hand, a great boom in qualitative methodology also marks the transition, with the usual discussions regarding standards of assessment of research quality and ethical difficulties. Since 2005, the *Qualitative Sociology Review* established by Krzysztof Konecki has been one of the main fora for these debates. Over time, case studies have become more and more popular, combining quantitative and qualitative elements, institutional analysis and ethnographic methods.

These new theories and methods come to be applied to a range of topics. The transformation of 1989 opened the field of research on matters banned by communist censorship and discouraged by the officially sponsored visions of socialist society, such as power relations, work, family

relations, social inequalities, poverty, social stratification and class differences, ethnic and religious relations, political and economic systems, memory studies and, increasingly, migration (see Mucha and Krzyżowski 2014, p. 409). Some issues fashionable in the West, such as aging or alternative family forms, have slowly appeared on the Polish scene in recent years; the problems to which they refer are still a matter for the future. On the other hand, certain traditional interests of Polish sociology have tended to lose some significance in comparison, though they never drop out of the scene completely, such as values studies or nation studies. Undoubtedly, the transformation was first and foremost marked by a wave of new social problems: it was studied as such, but its various consequences were also thematized, such as unemployment, social exclusion, lifestyle changes and consumption patterns. Gender studies developed systematically since the beginning of the 1990s, evolving from an interest in general differences and inequalities between men and women into a more comprehensive examination of gender-related issues in contemporary Polish society. This combined with a rise of interest in the problems of minorities, mostly ethnic and sexual, and gave an impulse to exploring hitherto marginalized spheres of social life. This has not yet resulted in a huge interest in ethnicity, probably due to the high homogeneity of Polish society. Sexual minorities, although their problems are voiced in the public sphere more clearly than ever, also draw relatively little attention from sociologists. None of these, including gender studies, has developed into a self-standing sub-discipline; nor are they available at most universities as a major. The gender or minority problematics in most sociological curricula is limited to a few optional courses.

This is certainly a remarkable phenomenon, at least as far as gender is concerned. Readers will have noticed that many women have been mentioned in this book. This is not due to any affirmative action on my part. A group picture taken in 1935 during the Second Congress of Sociology, reproduced on the inside cover of Sułek's book *Obrazy z życia socjologii w Polsce* (2011), features no less than 28 women (about 20% of those present, by a very crude unsupported count). Of course, they may be accompanying wives and daughters, but if we take this picture as a representation of a gender landscape, we must conclude that it is not exclusive of female presence. The story of illustrious women in Polish sociology starts before the war, with Assorodobraj-Kula and Ossowska. A list of names of women sociologists holding influential institutional positions in the current period includes at least (in alphabetical order): Anna Giza-Poleszczuk (Pro-Rector of the University of Warsaw), Kłoskowska (President of the Polish

Sociological Association), Jolanta Kulpińska (President of the Conference of Institutes of Sociology, Editor-in-Chief of *Przegląd Socjologiczny*), Mirosława Marody (Deputy President of the Polish Academy of Sciences), Grażyna Skąpska (President of the Polish Sociological Association), Elżbieta Tarkowska (Editor-in-Chief of *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*). A list of women heads and deputy heads of sociological institutes and departments would be much longer, as would a list of teachers, editors, translators and authors who will be important for many generations.

This is not only a story of success due to individual excellence and persistence, but reflects a broader phenomenon. In Poland, women have predominated among higher education students since the 1980s, and the ratio of women to men at all stages of scientific careers is constantly growing (see Dziedziczak-Foltyn 2010). Furthermore, gender inequality in the social sciences is less marked than in many other branches of academia, even if we exclude the life and technical sciences, as shown in Table 5.2,[4] which is a comparison for just one year, 2014.

The standing of men and women is still far from equal, but discrepancies are not as big in science as in the national economy in general. Moreover, in Polish science they are less marked than in many other EU countries (including, for example, the UK or Ireland; see Młodożeniec and Knapińska 2013, p. 52ff). Among other factors, Poland's relatively strict regulation of higher education employment may be favorable to women, compared with those countries where universities enjoy more freedom of negotiation in matters of remuneration and work-related benefits. As a result, sociology in Poland is definitely not male. Nor is it a discipline recently (re)feminized, as in the case of the USA (Turner 2014). Women have just always been there.

Table 5.2 Scientific degrees granted to men and women in 2014

	Social sciences		*Law*		*Humanities*	
	Number	*% of women*	*Number*	*% of women*	*Number*	*% of women*
Doctorate	482	60	118	45	810	59
Habilitation	263	55	318	33	440	51
Professorship	54	37	37	29	122	37

Source: Based on GUS (2015b, p. 162–163)

To Be International

The internal evolution of sociology in Poland after 1989 was not as rapid and painful as the transformation of society itself. Some effects were delayed for almost two decades, including changes in research funding and teaching reforms. Some, including free-market competition and the rise of the private sector, seem to have come prematurely, leaving a lasting effect of relative deprivation. This is particularly true for the generation of academic sociologists born in the early 1970s, who were too young to be well-established in the early 1990s, but old enough to have gone through the whole transformation process at their own risk.

This sense of deprivation is deepened by the international framework in which Polish sociology found itself after 1989. First of all it was regionalized, becoming a CEE sociology, one of the many institutions that were large by numbers, but of only moderate international significance. The history of Polish involvement in the European Sociological Association, ever since its founding in 1992, shows that not only Poland, but the whole region is under-represented in the ESA. Only a few sociologists from Poland, including Elżbieta Hałas, Krzysztof Konecki, Władysław Kwaśniewicz, Monika Kwiecińska-Zdrenka and Janusz Mucha, served on the ESA Steering or Executive Committee, and Poland's share in terms of plenary and semi-plenary speakers at ESA Congresses or Executive was also minimal. Still, ESA Congresses receive a lot of attention from Polish sociologists. On the whole, Poland may not be a very significant actor in this organization, but it is also not a dispensable one.

Regionalization and globalization meant an extension of the domain of struggle which, according to the Matthew effect, disfavors the already underprivileged. International mobility is a clear case that illustrates this principle. After 1989, it really starts to make sense to differentiate Polish sociology from sociology in Poland. If the former is, according to Sztompka's thesis quoted in Chap. 1, sociology done according to Polish experience and traditions, but not necessarily in Poland and not necessarily taking Polish society as its subject of research, then there are no reasons to deplore its state. The Polish post-transformation presence in the ISA is far from marginal, with Sztompka having served as its President from 2002 to 2006 and Skąpska on the Executive Committee from 2014. Polish academics and PhD students actively participate in World Congresses of Sociology. If a growing number of students, including PhD students, coming from Poland and educated in the UK, France, Germany and the USA, are added to that, there is a fair chance that Polish sociology may over time attain a

global position somehow proportionate to the size of its sociological community at home and its share in the world population of sociologists.

Sociology in Poland is a very different story. It was also globalized, both by the frequently excessively keen conformism of scientific policymakers and by objective factors, and it is certainly a net loser in the globalization process. A brain drain is already evident, although no definite measure of its specific impact on sociology can be offered. The result of adaptation efforts are still far from satisfactory for anyone. Nevertheless, these efforts make sociology, both as an academic science and as a profession, very different from its former self: not only are we teaching people for the market, but we are being marketed ourselves, as teachers, researchers and media figures.

After 1989, the favorable connection with the West ended for the former Eastern Bloc countries and the chances of international networking are no longer enhanced by compassion and the joint political interests of the Western world. Even though Solidarność turned out to be a lasting contribution to sociology, the Polish transformation did not otherwise become a sufficient stock of capital on which to build new mainstream connections with the world. Polish scholars, sociologists included, have now to use standard channels of communication, such as research cooperation, conference meetings and knowledge networks, which is difficult both financially and organizationally for many, especially in the smaller academic centers, where the synergistic effect of a big city cannot be employed for the cause of academic life. The Matthew effect works infallibly: those who have little, lose more in every subsequent round of struggle for prestige, influence and money. At the same time, the pressure to become internationally connected and consequential creates a sense of insecurity and resentment, and, sometimes, a revival of self-affirming parochialism.

Notes

1. *Pracujący w rolnictwie, przemyśle i usługach*, Rynek pracy.org, http://rynekpracy.org/x/989321 (07.12.2015).
2. See the Regulation of Minister of Science and Higher Education of October 9, 2014, file:///C:/Users/Admin/Downloads/D20141370.pdf (07.12.2015).
3. Based on National Science Centre data, www.ncn.gov.pl/finansowanie-nauki/konkursy/wyniki [05.12.2015].
4. For details on defining disciplinary categories, see GUS (2015b).

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CHAPTER 6

Conclusion

Abstract The author presents an interpretation of the position in which sociology in Poland finds itself as of 2015, more than 25 years since the transformation. Sociology claims to have become polyvalent, adaptive, marketized and, largely, internationalized. Sociologists are constantly present as public intellectuals and politicians, while individual strategies prevail over collective ones. The years after 2000 brought an increase in many forms of public engagement by sociologists. But, the author argues that Polish sociology has not overcome its original sins: self-inflicted provinciality and a self-perceived developmental lag that divides it from the West. It is increasingly dependent on imported theories and concepts, and threatened by linguistic devolution. The chapter ends with a declaration of the author's faith in the continuation of sociology in Poland, albeit expressed with very moderate optimism.

Keywords Sociologists in politics • Public intellectuals • Public engagement • Marketization

Sociology is no longer the single and well-defined notion which it seems to have been in the 1970s. As Sułek remarked in 1993, when summarizing the impact of democratization on the discipline:

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> It is generating new areas of research, increasing the freedom of science, creating new roles for sociologists, and promoting methods for their research. … However, … sociology is paying a certain price for the transformation, and not a trifling one: resources for social research have been reduced, sociologists are showing a tendency to give up research for the sake of other activities and to write popular articles instead of scientific dissertations. In the new conditions, the community of sociologists is no longer as cohesive as before. There can be no doubt that the democratic change of the system in Poland, is, from the point of view of the interests of sociology as science, an extremely happy event. (Sułek 1993, p. 162)

Many future fears and expectations are foretold in this passage: the democratic transformation was a happy event, as it was also for sociology in Poland, but the negative consequences cast shadows over the brighter aspects.

Sułek is concerned for the scientific standing of sociology and the changing social role of the sociologist. This role was never uniform, but the sociological community used to be more cohesive. Cohesion is not to be understood in terms of sociologists' being more interdependent in the 1970s than nowadays, quite the opposite, for competition enhances interdependence. However, cohesion in terms of similarity of lifestyles, common research formulas and educational background weakened gradually as the subject became an internally plural and pluralistic science.

This pluralization was partly a response to the new regional framework in which sociologists operated. Mucha and Krzyżowski argue (2014, p. 407) that ever since the birth of sociology in Poland there has always been a visible tension between "domestic" and Western-style sociological thinking, a tension which I locate between parochialism and cosmopolitanism, between the sense of belonging to the international community and commitment to local identities. Under socialism, this discord was transformed into a strain between the East and the West—fortunately for Polish sociology, which was sufficiently Western to be a connection with the socialist world. But after 1989 the tension disappeared and Poland became an uncontested part of the global West, and a relatively unimportant part at that, for the West has transferred its interests, both cognitive and financial, to other regions (Mucha and Krzyżowski 2014, p. 407).

A Slight Insurgence of the Young

The year 1989 determined that the role of a sociologist had to change, and not only because society was undergoing a transformation. I believe that a much more significant factor was a deep reorganization of the institutional reality in which sociologists were embedded. The change in society made itself felt, because it led to a shift which created new niches for sociologists to occupy, but it also destroyed some of the others and redefined the cultural context in which the remnants functioned. If we just consider the transformation of "sociological cells" in many socialist enterprises into departments of assessment and human resources, the scope of the change leaps to the eye. There is very often still a sociologist in an enterprise, but the enterprise, the job description and the system are no longer the same—and no longer stable.

At the universities, the volatility of the cultural context is less conspicuous, for the material substance has not changed that much since the 1970s, at least in the social sciences and humanities. Science frequently looks pretty much the same, while it is changing underneath. To this state of affairs the younger generation should, theoretically speaking, be accustomed, having been brought up under capitalism, with market considerations becoming second nature to them, just as symbolic avoidance and reading between the lines was second nature to their grandparents. Therefore, it comes as something of a surprise that, since about 2013, when the Polish Humanities Crisis Committee was established, the youngest members of the academic community have expressed the strongest opposition to the reforms of Polish higher education.

This discontent is not a Polish specialty. Both in the USA and Western Europe, academic competition is growing. Younger academics may not expect the status, job stability or, very often, the earnings which were the usual lot of their senior colleagues. The legal, financial and social status of tenured senior academics is very different from the precarious position of struggling PhD students or young post-docs with limited prospects for tenure. However, there is something special about the Polish protests against the marketization of university education, which are not very strong or influential, but receive quite a bit of media coverage. They are motivated by an understandable though unexpressed desire to come back to (more) central planning, (more) central distribution of funding, permanent employment and alleviation of competition. Young sociologists are very active in these protest movements and they are supported by

some individual faculty members and many sociological institutions, also in the form of open letters and protest declarations.

The discontent has also spread among students. At the University of Warsaw, an unexpected alliance was formed of BA, MA and PhD students, called "The Engaged University." In 2015, the first larger student protest since the beginning of the transformation took place in Warsaw (objectively very modest in size, up to a hundred people at the most, according to my own observation). This was not 1968, far from it, but it was a telling example of a conflict of principles and interests between the university authorities and student leaders. Students feel that they are treated by the university as a source of money, which, of course, they are, for public universities get a substantial part of their funding from the state as a fixed amount per student. It is somehow embarrassing in a country where public higher education is a public good available free of charge (for demographic reasons and *ceteris paribus*, it will shortly become available virtually to all high school graduates). The university authorities, on the other hand, feel the pressure of legislators, media and controlling bodies to fulfill the rising expectations regarding accountability, efficiency, transparency and standardization of educational services. They also seek ways of dealing with the shrinking educational market and student population. It may only be hoped that political pressure for ideologically motivated revisions of educational content will not further limit academic freedom and university autonomy. This is a situation well known in American campuses, but rather awkward after more than 20 years of criticized but virtually unchallenged reforms of the Polish higher education system.

Linguistic Concerns and Publishing Practices

The linguistic identity of sociology in Poland is another fascinating facet of the current situation. Provincialism and parochialism take on a different aspect when the working language itself is marginal to the discipline being taken globally and when multilingualism is a standard of aspirations, buttressed by European academic mobility programs. Poland is a country of great translators, in fiction, poetry, philosophy and science alike. But, ever since 1989, the vast majority of the linguistic traffic has come from abroad. Polish sociological terminology is becoming underdeveloped and there is little hope for this trend to be reversed. The country imports social science from the West (mostly from the Anglo-Saxon sphere) in a huge volume, but very little of what has been written in Polish after 1989 is available to a foreign reader. Some authors based in Poland, such as Sztompka,

switched into systematically publishing their works first in English, following the example of more successful linguistically minor sociologies, like the Dutch. There are programs supporting translations of Polish books into foreign languages (notably the National Programme for the Development of Humanities and translation grants from the Foundation for Polish Science), but their impact is limited, and, for once, money could not solve the problem.

The years since 1989 were another period of catching up with the foreign sociological literature, and not only the recent literature. Many classics had to wait until the transformation. For example: Max Weber's *Economy and Society* appeared in 2002, three years after Mohr Siebeck started to deconstruct it in *Max-Weber-Gesamtausgabe*.[1] *The Protestant Ethic* also became available to Polish readers only after 1989, in three subsequent editions and three translations,[2] making up for the long fragmented presence of this work, which was an important inspiration for Polish transformation analysts (see Skąpska 2002; Kochanowicz et al. 2007; Kochanowicz and Marody 2010). A full translation of *Wirtschaftsethik der Weltreligionen* also appeared in 2000.[3] Compared to the importance of these works, reaction to their publication was modest, undoubtedly much to the publishers' disappointment and discouragement. Nevertheless, the vast majority of the top "books of the century" by the ISA ranking of 1997 are now available in Polish (ISA 1997).

The list of publishers significant for the sociological market expanded after 1989. Apart from the potent Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN (which publishes monographs, but also a huge number of textbooks and handbooks), the market includes many smaller houses, like Aletheia, Nomos or Scholar, the editions of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Science, and some larger university presses. Despite privatization, the publishing market still depends heavily on public support. That is why some government moves cause disquiet, such as the decision to cut subsidies for scientific books and journals as of 2016 (to retarget them in order for them to be more efficient, and so inevitably harder to get for small players).

Subsidies are indispensable, because few scientific books and even fewer journals sell in Poland. It is standard practice in the country to pay for the publication of a scientific work, either from research funds or from a general budget of a respective employing institution. This might be the reason why the peer-reviewing process for books is ineffective, though it works in leading scientific journals and is expected to improve in grant-application procedures as a result of increasing the participation of foreign reviewers,

at least in National Science Centre programs. We are not, on the whole, a society of great readers. According to the National Library, in 2014 58% of Poles said that they did not read books at all, 26% did not read any newspapers or magazines, either paper or online, and over 47% declared that during a month before the survey they had not read a text longer than three pages of standard print (in 2014, a sample of such a text was first shown to the respondents to avoid misstatements, which is reported to have significantly reduced the number of positive responses) (Koryś et al. 2015, pp. 7, 10, 13–14). As a result, most scientists hardly think of their books in commercial terms.

Why can this literature not find the readership abroad that is lacking at home? Unfortunately, Polish sociologists are not sought after by foreign publishers, and vice versa. Apart from established cooperation with some houses, like Peter Lang, until very recently Polish-based authors had very little incentive to publish abroad or in foreign languages. Recent reforms, stressing international visibility and citation, may have some impact on some scholars submitting their works to foreign publishers for their standard review and publication process. Collected volumes edited and co-edited by sociologists based in Poland also appear from time to time, and Polish authors feature in international book publications.

Journal publications are a different story altogether. There are over 60 domestic journals featuring sociology as their main thematic field, according to the official and rather complicated list annually procured by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education for parametrization purposes.[4] Many of them publish texts in English (less often in other foreign languages), but even the highest ranking of them have very low international standing. As of December 2015, only eight of them are listed in JCR Social Science Edition, of which I should say no more than two are really sociological journals. When it comes to publishing in journals abroad, Polish scholars experience similar problems as other representatives of linguistically minor societies with poorly funded scientific institutions (expenditures on research and development in 2014 amounted to 0.92 % of GDP, see GUS 2015a, p. 1): publishing a book in Polish might be far easier and less time-consuming than publishing an article in a mid-level international journal. Even in the life sciences, internationalization comes hard to Polish scientists, despite their comparatively better standing in this field (see Wagner 2011, 2012). However, this may also change over time, due to internal and external pressures. Poland's position, measured by the number of citable journal publications, is shown in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 Citable documents in sociology and political science per country (1996–2014), fifty top countries

	Country	*Citable documents*
1	United States	113,228
2	United Kingdom	37,355
3	Canada	14,719
4	Australia	12,787
5	Germany	11,715
6	France	10,791
7	Netherlands	7446
8	Spain	5472
9	India	4810
10	Italy	4201
11	Israel	3818
12	Brazil	3733
13	Sweden	3714
14	Norway	3144
15	South Africa	2987
16	Belgium	2769
17	China	2714
18	Switzerland	2621
19	Japan	2381
20	Denmark	2203
21	Hong Kong	2182
22	New Zealand	2104
23	South Korea	1958
24	Ireland	1894
25	Turkey	1766
26	Russian Federation	1755
27	Portugal	1723
28	Finland	1702
29	Taiwan	1665
30	Singapore	1575
31	Czech Republic	1534
32	Austria	1422
33	Croatia	1265
34	Mexico	1193
35	**Poland**	**1044**
36	Hungary	976
37	Greece	901
38	Argentina	754
39	Chile	745
40	Malaysia	689
41	Colombia	677
42	Romania	626

(continued)

Table 6.1 (continued)

	Country	*Citable documents*
43	Lithuania	613
44	Slovakia	508
45	Ukraine	490
46	Slovenia	485
47	Jordan	468
48	Nigeria	355
49	Philippines	329
50	Thailand	316

Source: Scimago Lab, based on Scopus® data, www.scimagojr.com/countryrank.php (accessed 5 December 2015)

One way to be publishable and citable is, naturally, to take on the role of a local informant: it seems that Polish society, which until very recently held little interest for the West, may come back into favor as a new example of the anti-democratic turn in Europe. There is also a place for it as a local partner in an international research program, which would provides a niche for Polish researchers (MNiSW 2013, pp. 59ff). However, scientists based in Poland rarely apply for the most prestigious and best-funded international research grants and, as a consequence, they seldom win. For example, only 14 European Research Council grants have gone to the country thus far, and only one of them to a social scientist, Natalia Letki from the University of Warsaw. The press enthusiastically publishes international rankings showing how badly Polish science is doing as a pretext to questioning the moral and intellectual qualifications of Polish scientists. The truth is more prosaic. Insufficient administrative support, bureaucracy and weak "project-writing culture" are part of the problem; the other part being money. After much advertised pay raises, in 2015 the minimum basic salary (before tax and social security payments) of a full professor is PLN5390 (about EUR1200) a month and a young PhD may count on PLN3820,[5] slightly below the national average. Time-intensive grants with limited remuneration budgets for project leaders are bound to be unpopular.

Sociological Gyroscope AD 2015: Research Directions

The least mundane worry for a Polish scientist is this: how should I position myself? This question arose in all previous periods: positioning is inherent to intellectual work (Baert 2012). By strategic planning or

unforeseen consequences, scientists construe their personas, and choosing a research field is very often a decisive move in this game.

In a democratic and capitalist reality, the researchers' choices are formally free. The influence of state agencies, Poland's largest distributors of public funding, is huge, but ideological motives behind their decisions, if any, have not been consistent enough to indicate any systematic policy, apart from the general neo-liberal and bureaucratization trends. This may change, if the national-conservative authorities democratically elected in 2015 choose to implement an openly ideological scientific policy. Despite many indications that this might be the case, in December 2015 it is still too early to judge which of the politicians' programmatic declarations are just words meant to impress their constituencies and which should be taken at face value. One thing is certain: to reverse the arrow of time now would be infinitely more harmful than anything we have witnessed since 1989. The worst outcome imaginable would be the combination of neo-liberal obsession with numbers and forms, with a rightist conservative censorship of research objectives and findings, comparable to one well-known from the history described in previous chapters of this book.

Researchers' choices are now made in a heterogeneous force field. The institutional traditions of some academic centers are still an important resource, but new potentialities emerge and the map of the hallmarks of Polish sociological institutions evolves. For example, Toruń has become the place for Actor-Network-Theory and science and technology studies, whereas Łódź and Poznań are leaders in biographical research, discourse analysis, memory studies and qualitative methodology. Warsaw, with its numerous sociological institutions, is polyvalent, but commonly thought of as particularly strong in both quantitative and qualitative methodology, social theory and sociology of politics. Kraków is also versatile, with highlights in social anthropology, social theory and methodology. Theory and methodology are cultivated in Lublin, and sociology of culture is strong in Wrocław. History of sociology thrives in many places (yet another Polish revival) including Warsaw, Kraków, Zielona Góra, Toruń and Katowice. This list is, of course, based on common belief. New research fields, like migration studies or minority and ethnicity studies, are also enriching this landscape.

The geographical diversification of research potential may over time bring about a geographical division of labor. However, it would need to be accompanied by increasing domestic mobility driven by research interests, for which there is little tradition in Poland. It is still usual to stay at the

same institution for master, doctorate and habilitation, until professorship, although this model is becoming unsustainable as a result of an increase in the number of PhDs and a decrease in employment opportunities. But Polish scientists, although energized by the educational boom in the 1990s, are reluctant to change their affiliations and move permanently, especially to smaller cities. This is probably the heritage of weak urbanization, which left Poland not only with fewer big universities than Germany or the UK, but also with fewer cities in which a university culture may thrive and tempt newcomers (the campus model never really caught on in continental Europe). As a result, university cadres are usually recruited from a geographically and biographically limited pool of candidates: a factor increasing internal coherence, but limiting research diversity. There are some small signs of increasing domestic mobility, although on a limited scale and mostly based on time-restricted grant funding. Employment cuts in non-public higher education may also change the situation.

A more advanced distribution of labor might contribute to a specialization of sociological education, especially at the PhD level. At the level of BA and MA, general sociology still dominates. The Bologna Process has been applied slowly, leading to improvements in the balance of burden of work between BA and MA. There have also been some innovations consisting in introducing new curricula taught or co-taught by members of the sociological faculty. Apart from social work, offered as a major by many sociological institutions, some have also opened programs in media studies, communication, language and society studies, sociology of technics and ecology, and many others, either as majors or as specializations for sociology students, part-time or full-time. Innovativeness thrives. However, it is not easy to spot a direct link between learning innovations and the faculty's research interests, at least not systematically enough to state that there is a trend to offer research-driven teaching. The reforms stressing the difference between practical and general academic curricula seem partly to address this problem. It remains to be seen whether these requirements have any long-term impact on real-life teaching.

Eastern Brain Drain?

One peculiarity which may cost sociology in Poland quite a lot in the immediate future is its reluctance to resist the effects of brain drain and remedy the demographic gap at the BA and MA recruitment level by drawing students from abroad and offering them incentives to study in

the country. To be sure, it is highly unlikely that Poland would be an attractive country for masses of students from Western Europe. The experience of the Erasmus program, a European academic mobility platform, shows that Poland is a net donor in foreign exchange (EC 2014). A low number of foreign students, especially in humanities and social sciences, and the low number of majors or even courses offered in English (not to mention other international languages), seem interlinked, although there is no direct proof that increasing the offer in English would draw many foreigners to Polish sociology. In fact, it is equally probable that Polish students would just choose this way of obtaining a more internationalized education. At the PhD level, a telling example is the Graduate School for Social Research at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences (established 1992). The school offers relatively intensive PhD education in English in social sciences, including sociology, and currently most of its non-Polish students come from former USSR countries.

More English is certainly a way of internationalizing the student population, but it is not the only one. It is surprising that subsequent Polish governments do very little to introduce any stable and consistent policy in international educational exchange with Poland's eastern neighbors, in which at least state universities could act as partners. Instead, the Ministry of Education decided to finance MA studies abroad for the hundred best BA graduates a year accepted by leading world universities, a very expensive program which could hardly be expected to make a change either in the national economy or in the scientific life and was quickly suspended.[6] Universities themselves, on the other hand, show little activity in advertising what they can offer educationally to foreigners from beyond the Schengen Area, for whom Poland might be an attractive target country. An exception was the so-called "Polish Erasmus" for Ukraine, started in 2014, during the war in that country. Poland offered 100 stipends for BA, MA and PhD students (preferably from eastern Ukraine), who would come to study for a year or a semester, the number to be increased to 400 in 2015. However, the program was discontinued, probably because recruitment was to be organized by Ukrainian governmental partners, which was not practicable.[7]

The size of the constant Ukrainian presence at Polish universities bespeaks the modest scale of foreigners' enrollment: 15,000 Ukrainians made for 42% of all foreign students in the academic year 2013/2014, compared to a total of 1,469,386 students (see GUS 2015b, p. 26, 35).

Quickly reversing the brain drain by importing students from the eastern neighborhood seems unlikely under the circumstances.

There is no knowing how the situation in the European East may develop. While I am writing these words, world public opinion focuses on the Middle East, with a war causing a fully fledged refugee crisis in some EU countries and moral panic in many others, even those which—like Poland—have very little to provide in the way of a desirable new homeland for migrants from Arab countries. Many Polish universities, both public and non-public, like many others in the region, reacted to the crisis with declarations to offer a number of places and scholarships for refugee students and language courses for refugees in general, and former Minister of Science and Higher Education, professor of sociology Lena Kolarska-Bobińska, offered to coordinate state support for such initiatives. So far, these declarations have had little chance to be realized and the power has gone to a party very skeptical in matters of refugee assistance. In September 2015, the Polish Sociological Association and the Committee for Research on Migration of the Polish Academy of Science issued public statements in which they expressed their concern with alarmist and intolerant tones regarding recent migration debates in Poland and stressed the value of solidarity and openness (PTS 2015; KBnM PAN 2015).

The New Millennium: Chances and Dangers

Sociology after 1989 became polyvalent, adaptive, marketized. Recently it has fought hard against its negative image. Sociologists make use of their presence in the media, in the politics and in the third sector, whereby individual strategies prevail over institutional and group ones. Sociology in Poland still has not overcome its original sins: self-inflicted provinciality and self-perceived backwardness, its very real dependence on intellectual imports, and the distant threat of linguistic atrophy. The obstacles with which the founders had to cope are still there. Moreover, problems whose impact was practically suspended under socialism struck with double force after 1989. New complications resulting from the globalization and regionalization processes came up in due course and struck with all the force of a challenge long delayed. As a result, today, in order to renew its chances of a sustainable development, sociology in Poland has to face an accumulation of old and new hindrances.

The neo-liberal and bureaucratic management of leading Polish universities since 2008 has brought to light yet another danger, that of forsaking the pluralist traditions of Polish sociology by way of standardizing research and teaching practice beyond its initial goal, which was modernization and the reform of scientific institutions. The debate regarding the state of Polish social science and humanities and the imminent decline of university culture has been very animated in the last few years, involving many prominent Polish sociologists. This may be expected to continue with even more energy after the government change of 2015, which—to judge pessimistically by early forebodings—will in all probability revive the issue of academic and scientific freedom and pluralism, as much as that of cultural creativity in general.

Paradoxically enough, this crisis might trigger an increase in public visibility of the sociological community in Poland and a rehabilitation of sociology in the eyes of public opinion. Sułek quotes Andrzej Rychard and the late Wnuk-Lipiński commenting in 1991 that, although sociology in Poland succeeded in getting through communism, it is by no means certain that it will also survive democracy (Sułek 1992, p. 23). However, despite all the difficulties it has managed to endure over these last 25 years, and recent mobilization, together with generational change and an increasing differentiation of practical uses of sociological knowledge, has produced a substantial load of energy. Now it is time to put it to use. Sociology in Poland will be continued, though in what form exactly, it remains to be seen.

Notes

1. See *Gospodarka i społeczeństwo. Zarys socjologii rozumiejącej*, translated by Dorota Lachowska, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, and *Max-Weber-Gesamtausgabe*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
2. By Jan Miziński (published in 1994), Bogdan Baran and Jan Miziński (published in 2010), and Dorota Lachowska (published in 2011).
3. *Etyka gospodarcza religii światowych,* Kraków: Nomos 2000.
4. http://www.nauka.gov.pl/komunikaty/komunikat-ministra-nauki-i-szkolnictwa-wyzszego-w-sprawie-wykazu-czasopism-naukowych_20141231.html [05.12.2015].
5. According to the Regulation of Minister of Science and Higher Education of 2013, http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/DetailsServlet?id=WDU20130001571 [30.11.2015].

6. http://www.nauka.gov.pl/studia-dla-wybitnych/ [15.12.2015].
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Appendix: Society and Sociology in Poland After 1945: A Calendar

Date	*Society*	*Sociology*	*Remarks*
1945	The end of World War II		
1951		Sociology is removed from universities	
1953	Death of Joseph Stalin		
1954		Beginning of the restitution of academic sociology	
1956	Polish October (the "Thaw")		Soviet intervention in Hungary. End of Stalinism in Poland. General strike and bloody riots in Poznań. Władysław Gomułka becomes the First Secretary
1957		Restitution of Polish Sociological Association (PTS), Stanisław Ossowski is elected the first President	Polish Sociological Association was first established in 1931, did not take up its activities after 1945. In 1956, a Section of the Sociology of the Polish Philosophical Association was created, which a year later became the Polish Sociological Association

(*continued*)

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(Continued)

Date	*Society*	*Sociology*	*Remarks*
1959		ISA Vice Presidency of Ossowski	
1964		PTS Presidency of Nina Assorodobraj-Kula	
1965		The Third Polish Congress of Sociology in Warsaw	The first two congresses took place in 1931 and 1935 respectively. Afterwards, for 30 years the congresses were discontinued
1966		ISA Presidency of Jan Szczepański	
1968	The March events		Warsaw Pact armies intervene in Czechoslovakia. Anti-Semitic persecutions, thousands leave Poland; student protests and riots
1969		The Fourth Polish Congress of Sociology in Poznań PTS Presidency of Władysław Markiewicz	
1970	The December events		Rise in food prices results in bloody riots, mostly in Gdańsk, Gdynia and Szczecin. Gomułka is replaced by Edward Gierek
1972		PTS Presidency of Jerzy Szacki	
1976	Workers' protests in Radom and Ursus	PTS Presidency of Stefan Nowak	Workers' Defense Committee (KOR) is established, an organization supporting workers' protests
1977		The Fifth Polish Congress of Sociology in Kraków	
1978	Kraków bishop and cardinal Karol Wojtyła is elected as pope and takes the name of John Paul II	ISA Vice Presidency of Magdalena Sokołowska	

Date	*Society*	*Sociology*	*Remarks*
1979	The first visit of John Paul II to Poland		John Paul II visited Poland eight times between 1979 and 2002; he died in 2005. His pontificate is commonly credited to have contributed to the rise of democratic movements and the fall of communism in CEE and in Poland in particular, although the exact scope of this contribution remains debatable
1980	The August events		Massive strikes in many cities, including Gdańsk, Świdnik, Lublin, ended with signing the agreement between the government and the workers' representatives (so-called "Gdańsk agreement"). The beginning of Solidarność
1981	Martial law is declared on December 13 (to last until July 1983)	The Sixth Polish Congress of Sociology in Łódź	The general amnesty was announced in 1986, the final date of martial law political repressions
1983		PTS Presidency of Janusz Ziółkowski	
1986		Seventh Polish Congress of Sociology in Wrocław	
1989	The Round Table talks Elections of 1989	PTS Presidency of Antonina Kłoskowska	A round of negotiations between the government and the opposition, ending with an agreement resulting in semi-free parliamentary elections, won by the supporters of Solidarność. The end of socialism in Poland
1990	First general presidential elections in Poland's history	Eighth Polish Congress of Sociology in Toruń	Lech Wałęsa becomes the President
1991	First free parliamentary elections		
1993		First Steering Committee of European Sociological Association is formed	Władysław Kwaśniewicz represented Poland on the committee, later replaced by Janusz Mucha
1994		Ninth Polish Congress of Sociology in Lublin PTS Presidency of Antoni Sułek	

(*continued*)

(Continued)

Date	*Society*	*Sociology*	*Remarks*
1995		Janusz Mucha is elected a member of ESA Executive Committee	
1997		Tenth Polish Congress of Sociology in Katowice	
1998		PTS Presidency of Andrzej Kojder	
1999	Poland joins NATO	Elżbieta Hałas is elected a member of ESA Executive Committee	
2000		11th Polish Congress of Sociology in Rzeszów-Tyczyn	
2002		ISA Presidency of Piotr Sztompka PTS Presidency of Włodzimierz Wesołowski	
2004	Poland joins the EU	12th Polish Congress of Sociology in Poznań	
2005		PTS Presidency of Piotr Gliński 7th ESA Congress in Toruń. Monika Kwiecińska-Zdrenka is elected a member of ESA Executive Committee	
2007	Poland joins the Schengen Area	13th Polish Congress of Sociology in Zielona Góra	
2010	The Smoleńsk crash	14th Polish Congress of Sociology in Kraków	Polish president, Lech Kaczyński, is killed together with 95 other people in a plane crash near Smoleńsk, Russia
2011		PTS Presidency of Grażyna Skąpska	
2013		15th Polish Congress of Sociology in Szczecin Krzysztof Konecki is elected a member of ESA Executive Committee	
2016		16th Polish Congress of Sociology in Gdańsk	

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