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## Poland in the American Sociological Imagination<sup>1</sup>

*Abstract:* What place does Poland occupy in the American sociological imagination? Building on a more general theory of American sociological internationalism, I offer a historical sketch of Poland's presence in American sociology. I suggest that its enduring presence, albeit with shifting thematic emphasis, can be explained by attending to the ways in which global transformations, path effects, and international networks shape knowledge production. I conclude with some reflections on how the analysis of the cultural politics of globalization and community, especially around military alliances and war, might contribute to the broadening of American sociology's engagement with Poland.

*Keywords:* sociology of knowledge, American sociology, Polish sociology, cultural politics of globalization and community



### What Place does Poland Occupy in the American Sociological Imagination?



Poland is quite central in my own American sociological imagination. Poland's professionals, organization of power, 1980–81 Solidarity movement, and sociological tradition formed the basis for my dissertation research and first book (Kennedy 1991). Poland has had enduring impact not only on my analysis of other communist-led and post-communist societies (Kennedy 2002), but even on my more general contributions to social theory (Kennedy 2004) and to international affairs.<sup>2</sup> My research in Poland and my ties to Polish colleagues and friends have shaped my vision of the world. But I am not a very typical American sociologist. To rely exclusively on my own intellectual biography and interests to represent the American sociological imagination

<sup>1</sup> This written version is based on the oral presentation given at the XII Polish Sociological Congress in Poznan, Poland, September 18, 2004. This paper benefited enormously by that congress and the conversations I had around it, notably with Witold Morawski, Marian Kempny, Aldona Jawłowska, Elzbieta Hałas, Aleksandra Jasinska-Kania, Renata Siemieńska, Lucyna Kirwił, Ewa Ziomecka, Grazyna Wieczorkowska, Janusz Grzelak, Ryszard Kapuściński, Henryk Domański, Hanna Mokrzycka, Kazimierz Słomczyński, Mel Kohn, Jadwiga Koralewicz, Ewa Grzeszczyk, Krystyna Janicka, Richard Grathoff, and Ireneusz Białecki. I appreciate so much of what these friends and colleagues have done to extend my sociological imagination. I am especially grateful to my principal hosts for this visit, Włodzimierz Wesołowski and Maria Wesołowska, whose graciousness and intelligence always inspire.

<sup>2</sup> Between 1999 and 2004 I served as Vice Provost for International Affairs and Director of the International Institute at the University of Michigan. I also used my sociological imagination at length to write about international affairs. See my publications in the *The Journal of the International Institute* during this period at <http://www.umich.edu/iinet/iisite/pastdirector.html>.

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obviously violates our common disciplinary commitments. To understand Poland's place in American sociology, we need to be more comparative, historical, theoretical, and reflexive, something I propose to develop in several steps within this essay.

First, I will present briefly the general theory of American sociological internationalism my colleague and I are developing,<sup>3</sup> and refine its application with reference to Poland. With that theoretical guide, I will next provide a historical sketch of Poland's presence in American sociology. In particular, it may be interesting to see how Poland looks in comparison to selected other nations, and what the main subjects of Poland's engagement appear to be. Third, I will offer a suggestive explanation for that appearance based on the relevance of global transformations, path effects, and international networks for knowledge production. This explanation will surely require subsequent elaboration, but it also invites practical engagement in extending Poland's place in my nation's sociological imagination. In conclusion, I will suggest some paths that seem most promising.

### Theorizing the International in the American Sociological Imagination

The term "sociological imagination"<sup>4</sup> obviously invokes C. Wright Mills(1959), but I intend here to do more than describe the link between biography and history at an individual level. Rather, I wish to suggest a collective biography of American sociology in so far as it has explicitly recognized, and has been explicitly influenced by, Polish history and society.<sup>5</sup> And while the theory requires elaboration in order for its sense to be compelling, allow me to sketch its elements (See Diagram 1).

1. I assume that US sociology has no necessary interest in any other part of the world. Much as Everett Hughes (1961) wrote long ago, American sociology is ethnocentric. That ethnocentrism is manifested in a number of ways, most obviously in the

<sup>3</sup> "Internationalism and Global Transformations in American Sociology" (with Miguel Centeno) in Craig Calhoun (ed.) *Sociology in America: The American Sociological Association Centennial History*.

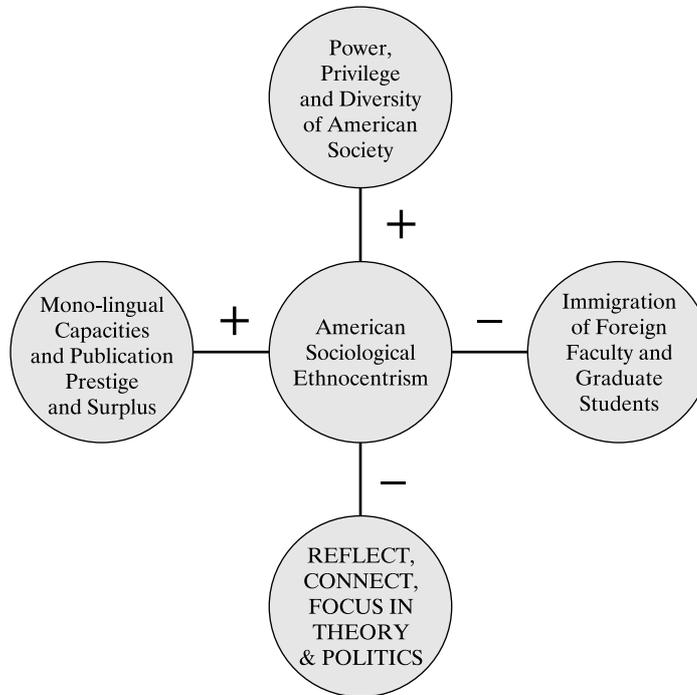
<sup>4</sup> This might be the wrong term, however; at least it could confuse, given that sociologists could believe I am building simply on Mills. It might be better to develop a notion of the "sociological imaginary," building on the work of Charles Taylor. He described the "social imaginary" in these terms: "how people imagine their social existence, how they fit together with others, how things go on between them and their fellows, the expectations that are normally met, and the deeper normative notions and images that underlie these expectations." Because American sociology does relatively little to theorize *how* the international functions in their sociological imagination, I find it useful to consider this paper as a contribution to understanding the sociological imaginary that uses Poland in its work. See Charles Taylor (2004).

<sup>5</sup> It is of course true that there are many eminent Polish sociologists whose recognition is not principally associated with the study of Polish society, and whose Polish inspiration remains implicit. Consider, for example, that Florian Znaniecki's only publication in the *American Sociological Review*, his 1954 American Sociological Association presidential address, mentioned Poland only with reference to his publications in Polish. It is also obvious, however, to those who know something of Polish history, that his interpretation of world society and his concern for the iron curtain's effect on sociology most obviously reflect his Polish experience. See his "Basic Problems of Contemporary Sociology" *American Sociological Review* 19:5(1954): 519–24. My essay focuses more on the explicit presence of Poland in sociological analysis; its implicit presence requires subsequent theory and research.





Diagram 1

**The Impetus Behind American Sociological Ethnocentrism**

fact that most of American sociology is about American society, enabled by that society's power, privilege and diversity.<sup>6</sup>

2. Ethnocentrism does not only occur in such obvious ways. It is also apparent when American sociologists learn about other countries and read only English language materials about the societies they study. I recall one German social scientist complain about how American political scientists who write about the European Union never read anything by Europeans about that European Union, even when it is written in English! It has to be published in American journals for it to become part of the necessary and sufficient "literature" for American social science.
3. American sociology's ethnocentrism is mitigated by the immigration of sociologists from abroad. When these scholars enroll as students or join our faculty, they bring their networks, cultures, and histories into American sociology. Of course they also adapt to American institutional practices, even as, we hope, they extend them.
4. American sociology also extends its vision abroad in particular ways because of the way in which another nation becomes important to it, regardless of scholarly migrations. The key question in this point, but also in general is the following: *how*

<sup>6</sup> Of course all societies have this tendency. See Neil Smelser, "On Comparative Analysis, Interdisciplinarity and Internationalization in Sociology" *International Sociology* 18(4)(2003):643–57, p 655 for an interesting reflection on the making of the *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*.





*and why does any particular nation beyond the United States become important to American sociology?*

I consider this to be the key question for Poland in the American sociological imagination because the other questions are not so fruitful starting points. At least in contrast to Chinese students and faculty, and even in contrast to Hungarian ones, there are terribly few Poles in American sociology departments. With regard to publications, there is little one can do to move Americans beyond English, and even to the English-language publications of other national sociologies. Electronic availability increases that likelihood as American authors' homepages can direct their readers to journals their readers might not otherwise read, however. The key, I would argue, rests in thinking about how to build networks of scholarly consequence, abetted by the information and communication revolution, on the one hand, and how to think about a theory of global transformations in intellectual innovation, on the other.<sup>7</sup> Those questions require that we think about reflection, connection, and focus.

American sociologists tend to focus on other societies that reflect it, or are "like" it, amenable to the theories, methods, and concerns developed in the home nation. Poland has never been studied because it reflects the US, although it is becoming increasingly like it (Kohn, Słomczyński, Janicka, Khmelko 2001). It has typically been studied because it represented an important difference. Its "socialist" quality has made it important to study. However, because it was more like the US than the Soviet Union, in the Polish appreciation for scientific sociology and critical theory, it became the "like" society in the "unlike" camp, enabling us to discover how general our theories were even as we worked with the society that most reflected American qualities (Kohn 1993, Lenski 1973).

American sociologists may become interested in another country because the nation has become tied to it in important ways. Poland has been powerfully connected to the US, and thereby influenced American sociology. Its peasant diaspora shaped the work of Thomas and Znaniecki quite profoundly, and because of that work's classic status, has influenced a whole tradition of American sociology. But the academic diaspora has also been critically important, with Znaniecki himself and a host of other Polish scholars in American sociology departments helping to make Poland more important in the American sociological imagination.

Focus is also critical. Sometimes another nation becomes important in American sociology because it is important for a larger political story. Poland became a powerful focus in the US because of the 1980–81 Solidarity movement, first of all, and next with the collapse of communism. There was terrific interest in the US from all political vantage points on the end to the division in Europe.

Contemporary global transformations are not the only vehicle that inspire focus, of course. Sometimes theoretical arguments make countries newly significant. For example, Poland became very important to world systems theory because of its being

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<sup>7</sup> Here one should build on Randall Collins, *The Sociology of Philosophies: A Global Theory of Intellectual Change*. Cambridge: Belknap Press/Harvard University Press, 1998.



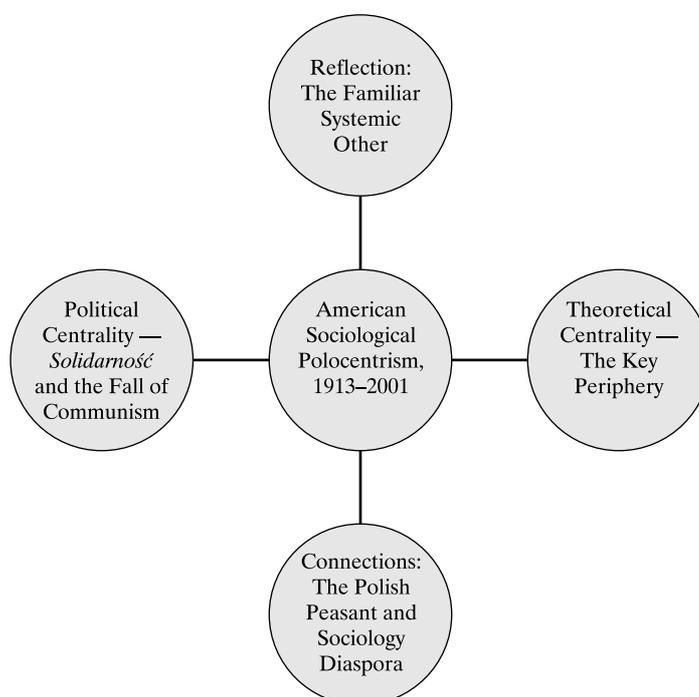


a “bread basket” for the development of the capitalist world system in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, thereby providing Polish historians and historical sociologists an important opening into American sociology (Wallerstin 1976).

We might, therefore, view the question of Polocentrism in American sociology this way (Diagram 2):

Diagram 2

**The Impetus Behind American Sociological Polocentrism**



Although I document the argument more substantially in the sections that follow, several key points emerge from this argument: a) the initial establishment of a problem in American sociology legitimates its return later, hence the value of the Polish Peasant, civil society, and postcommunist radical change for the Polish ledger in American sociology; b) the establishment of networks of collaboration are critical, but the conditions for their reproduction over time are not automatic; c) the importance of continually inventing new arenas of centrality in both theoretical and political discourse is central to American sociological Polocentrism. Simply put, Poland’s existing importance in American sociology is conditional; it could diminish if new networks of collaboration around other issues do not emerge. But let me base this argument on a more systematic and detailed review of Poland’s place in the American sociological imagination.





### Poland's Place in the American Sociological Imagination

Without doubt, Poland was at the center of the American sociological imagination from the start. WI Thomas and Florian Znaniecki's (1918/1920) work has remained a classic in the American sociological tradition. Beyond that early presence, Poland's appearance in American sociology has endured in a remarkably stable fashion, but for very different reasons.

Using JSTOR's ability to search for words in articles across years of electronically stored articles, I searched out those articles, reviews or comments in which Poland and Polish appeared. Between 1890 and 2001, the terms Poland and Polish appeared in 1,131 articles in 34 journals associated with sociology.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, that is an increasingly compelling story over time, too.

If we considered average publications per year, contrasting these three periods, Poland's situation improves fairly dramatically. In that first half century, there were on average 4.04 articles per year on Poland and Polish affairs. In the communist period, between 1947 and 1989, that increased to an average of 15.57. In postcommunist times, however, there were an average of 22.55 articles between 1990 and 2001. There is more out there on Poland. But there is more out there on all nations beyond the USA.

Poland's position in American sociology looks pretty good in comparison to Ireland, Korea, Brazil, Nigeria, Turkey, Hungary and Ukraine, but not so prominent in comparison to France, Germany, Japan, China, and Russia.

I thought, however, given the importance of the Polish peasant and other interests of American sociology in Polish immigration in the first half of the century that perhaps Polish interests would look relatively greater if we looked only at the period between 1890 and 1946.

As you can see, Poland's position is relatively stronger in this set—it is in 10<sup>th</sup> rather than 12<sup>th</sup> place. However, the actual number of publications, in comparison to the leading nations of reference—Germany, France, Russia, Japan, and China—is actually smaller. These countries occupy nearly  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the articles in this set. In this sense, the early days of American sociology did not have such wide empirical references, at least according to these indicators.

I wondered whether Poland's communist era might produce a relatively great number of articles on the country, given its status as one of the most if not the most

<sup>8</sup> *Academy of Management Journal, Administrative Science Quarterly, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, American Journal of Sociology, American Sociological Review, British Journal of Educational Studies, British Journal of Sociology, Comparative Studies in Society and History, Family Coordinator, Industrial and Labor Relations Review, Journal of Black Studies, Journal of Health and Social Behavior, Journal of Human Resources, Journal of Marriage and the Family, Journal of Modern African Studies, Law & Society Review, Public Opinion Quarterly, Social Forces, Social Problems, Sociology of Education, Sociometry, MERIP Reports, Sociological Methodology, Contemporary Sociology, Journal of Health and Human Behavior, Social Science History, Social Psychology, Social Psychology Quarterly, Political Behavior, Family Relations, European Sociological Review, Theory and Society, Annual Review of Sociology, Academy of Management Review, Journal of Palestine Studies, Sociological Theory, Sociological Forum, Journal of Educational Sociology, Marriage and Family Living, Family Life Coordinator, MERIP Middle East Report, Gender and Society, Middle East Report, Journal of Social Forces, Journal of the Academy of Management, Living, and Coordinator.*





Table 1

**Articles in Sociology Journals Addressing Nations in 1890–2001**

	Nation/Nationality	# articles	% of total
1	France/French	7733	16.2
2	Germany/German	7575	16.0
3	Soviet Union/Soviet	6635	14.0
4	Japan/Japanese	4175	8.8
5	China/Chinese	4081	8.6
6	Russia/Russian	3458	7.3
7	Italy/Italian	2284	4.8
8	Mexico/Mexican	1810	3.8
9	Australia/Australian	1364	2.8
10	Arabia/Arab	1270	2.7
11	South Africa/South African	1156	2.4
12	Poland/Polish	1131	2.4
13	Ireland/Irish	977	2.1
14	Korea/Korean	807	1.7
15	Brazil/Brazilian	799	1.7
16	Nigeria/Nigerian	780	1.6
17	Turkey/Turkish	707	1.5
18	Hungary/Hungarian	645	1.4
19	Ukraine/Ukrainian	91	0.2

Table 2

**Articles in Sociology Journals Addressing Nations in 1890–1946**

	Nation/Nationality	# articles	% of total
1	Germany/German	2615	25.8
2	France/French	1914	18.9
3	Russia/Russian	1062	10.1
4	Japan/Japanese	947	9.4
5	China/Chinese	887	8.8
6	Italy/Italian	653	6.5
7	Soviet Union/Soviet	477	4.8
8	Mexico/Mexican	400	4.0
9	Australia/Australian	257	2.5
10	Poland/Polish	229	2.3
11	Ireland/Irish	170	1.7
12	Turkey/Turkish	131	1.2
13	Brazil/Brazilian	125	1.2
14	Hungary/Hungarian	122	1.1
15	South Africa/South African	85	0.9
16	Korea/Korean	35	0.3
17	Arabia/Arab	25	0.2
18	Ukraine/Ukrainian	21	0.2
19	Nigeria/Nigerian	5	0.1

accessible country for original sociological research. In fact, this accessibility, not the formation of the Solidarity movement per se, was the reason my advisor at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Gerhard Lenski, recommended in 1980 that I study Poland rather than Russia. But accessibility does not augment Poland's place either. In fact, Poland slides in these rankings to 12<sup>th</sup> place, with the Arab world



Table 3  
**Articles in Sociology Journals Addressing Nations in 1947–89**

	Nation/Nationality	# articles	% of total
1	Soviet Union/Soviet	4653	17.3
2	France/French	4204	15.7
3	Germany/German	3570	13.3
4	China/Chinese	2456	9.2
5	Japan/Japanese	2096	8.1
6	Russia/Russian	1891	7.0
7	Italy/Italian	1160	4.3
8	Mexico/Mexican	954	3.5
9	Arabia/Arab	878	3.2
10	South Africa/South African	752	2.7
11	Australia/Australian	701	2.6
12	Poland/Polish	654	2.4
13	Nigeria/Nigerian	611	2.2
14	Korea/Korean	543	2.0
15	Ireland/Irish	539	2.0
16	Brazil/Brazilian	469	1.7
17	Turkey/Turkish	406	1.5
18	Hungary/Hungarian	319	1.2
19	Ukraine/Ukrainian	42	0.1

and South Africa moving ahead of Poland. Not surprisingly, perhaps, the principal enemy of the US, the Soviet Union, replaced Germany in first place.

I wondered, however, whether communism's collapse and the nearly iconic opening of this natural laboratory in the making of democracy and capitalism would have changed Poland's relative position once again. It has not. In fact, the Irish seem to have become more sociologically interesting in this period, edging out the Poles. In fact, the Hungarians have started to catch up, a point to which I shall return when I focus more on substance in American sociology's engagement with Poland.

At this most general level, the first thing we might say is that Poland's position in the American sociological imagination, at least in comparison to these 18 other nations, has not changed very much in this century. But that is not because substantive interests in Poland have remained the same. They have changed significantly over time.

One way to consider substantive shifts is to consider the books that are being reviewed in American journals. For the sake of consistency, if not total accuracy, I reviewed, between their founding and 2001, three leading American sociology journals that review books: *Contemporary Sociology*, *Social Forces*, and the *American Journal of Sociology*. The story is not different from what one would think.

#### **Substantive Concerns about Poland: American Sociology's Books and Articles**

I focused only on those books that addressed Poland specifically in their titles. Sometimes these were comparative studies, but more often than not they focused on Poland and Poles. Thus, I underestimate the ways in which Poland figures, especially if it is conceived as a variation on an East European, communist, or postcommunist theme.



Table 4

## Articles in Sociology Journals Addressing Nations in 1990–2001

	Nation/Nationality	# articles	% of total
1	France/French	1615	15.5
2	Soviet Union/Soviet	1505	14.4
3	Germany/German	1390	13.5
4	Japan/Japanese	1132	10.9
5	China/Chinese	738	7.1
6	Russia/Russian	505	4.8
7	Italy/Italian	471	4.5
8	Mexico/Mexican	456	4.4
9	Australia/Australian	406	3.9
10	Arabia/Arab	367	3.5
11	South Africa/South African	319	3.1
12	Ireland/Irish	268	2.6
13	Poland/Polish	248	2.4
14	Korea/Korean	229	2.2
15	Brazil/Brazilian	205	1.9
16	Hungary/Hungarian	204	1.9
17	Turkey/Turkish	170	1.6
18	Nigeria/Nigerian	164	1.6
19	Ukraine/Ukrainian	28	0.2

A substantial portion (slightly more than  $\frac{1}{3}$  (31 out of 90)) of these book reviews devoted to Poland or Polish matters are concerned with the Polish diaspora. Thomas and Znaniecki's volumes inspire seven of the first eleven reviews dealing with Poland or Polish social phenomena in *The American Journal of Sociology* and *Social Forces* between 1918 and 1941, with the last two instances being a review of Blumer's Social Science Research Council critique of Thomas and Znaniecki. After that intensive period, the work on Polish immigration continues. There are 24 reviews of books about Polish immigration after that period. These reviews appear to conclude in the mid 1980s with the 1985 review of the Zaretsky edition of Thomas and Znaniecki and a 1988 review of a book on Polish folkways in America and the major contributions made by Ewa Morawska about East Central Europeans in Johnstown, Pennsylvania.<sup>9</sup> In 1999–2001, a new generation of research about a new generation of immigrants appears with *Opposite Poles*.<sup>10</sup>

Although the diaspora was important in the first half of the century, the dominant theme over the whole century concerns inequality, political sociology and social change. More than half (45) of the reviews were so focused, and were remarkably

<sup>9</sup> Not all books about Poland and Polish matters are captured in titles. Where I know Poland features in a leading role, despite a title, I add it as in this instance. Otherwise, I leave the title as indicator of contributing centrally to imagining Poland as a place in the American sociological imagination, in contrast to postcommunism, for example.

<sup>10</sup> Of course this theme continues in a variety of ways. One book, recently published, details the persistence of values among members of the Polish intelligentsia in concentration camps and in exile in America. Written by Alicja Iwanska, herself an exile, and originally composed as a dissertation at Columbia University in 1957, was published only in 1998 as *Polish Intelligentsia in Nazi Concentration Camps and American Exile: A Study of Values in Crisis Situations*. Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1998. This book was not reviewed, however, in the leading journals of American sociology.





concentrated in time. A greater interest in inequality's study became apparent in the 1960s, with a more cultural and neo-Marxist approach to inequality being recognized as distinctively Polish, ranging from Stanislaw Ossowski (1963) to the much later translation of a 1966 work by Włodzimierz Wesółowski (1979). The latter's shortly subsequent work with Bogdan Mach (1986) reinforced the broader appreciation of Polish sociology's expertise in inequality's study.

Solidarity's formation made that interest in inequality even more political. American sociologists were not always the principal authors, but publications by sociologists from Poland (Staniszkis, 1986) and other nations (Touraine et al., 1983), as well as by American political scientists (Bernhard 1993, Kubik, 1994, Ost 1990, Curry 1990), helped to ensure that Solidarity would enter the American sociological imagination. The review of Ekiert and Kubik's book (1999) initiates a new wave of concern for Polish power, history and social change in comparative perspective after 2001, but that reflects the historical sociological work on transition more than anything especially Polish in this intellectual engagement. That stands in stark contrast to the political sociological emphasis between 1985 and 1995, when about 25 reviews were written addressing Polish power and history in these sociology journals. I have identified studies of Polish-Jewish relations separately, because these works generally focused on a different historical period and different themes deserving the separate attention I provide below.

Table 5

**Book Reviews Focused on Poland and Polish Affairs, 1918–2001 in *Contemporary Sociology*, *Social Forces* and *The American Journal of Sociology***

Dates	Substantive Foci						Total
	Diaspora	Political Historical	Stratification, Work	Culture	Religion and Jews	Other	
1918–1945	8	3.0		1.0			12
1945–1985	10	9.5	5.0	2.5	1	2	30
1985–1995	3	24.5	5.5		4	4	41
1995–2001	3	3.0				1	7
Total	24	40.0	10.5	3.5	5	7	90

If books focused on Poland and Polish affairs, and their reviews, shape the American sociological imagination about Poland, we would certainly be inclined, between 1918 and 1945, to see Poland as the land that sends its peoples abroad. Certainly if we looked at Poland in the decade or so after Solidarity's founding, American sociologists would also envision Poland as the land of class struggle and political conflict that bore fruit. Between 1995 and 2001, however, there's not so much evidence, in American sociology's book reviews at least, that the discipline finds political conflict and historical change in Poland so interesting. But what about the major distinctions of Polish sociology? What happens to the sociology of stratification and the sociology of culture?

Neither strength is reflected accurately; less than  $\frac{1}{10}$  (only 8) of the reviews focused on social structure, work and inequality. These were largely attributed to the





work of Mel Kohn, on the one hand, or Kazimierz Słomczyński, on the other, or the two of them together. Worse, the sociology of culture is hardly apparent, and the only works reviewed that are explicitly written on the sociology of culture are written by one American—Jeff Goldfarb. Of course, articles may be different.

I reviewed the same journals, and same period, for articles, essays, and opinion pieces about Poland and Polish affairs as I did for the overall listing that established Poland's relative place. This time, however, I focused on those articles that most intensively address Poland and matters Polish. This JSTOR search engine uses "two criteria to score articles. Articles score more highly the more times a given keyword appears in the article. Also, articles score more highly the closer the keywords are to the beginning of the article."<sup>11</sup> In the table that follows, I adjust the date for the sensitive Solidarity period in order to capture the speedier publication rate of articles than books and their subsequent reviews. The results are not too different than for book reviews, however.<sup>12</sup>

Table 6

**The Substantive Foci of the 200 Most Intensively Polish Articles in "American Sociology" Journals 1890–2001**

Dates	Diaspora	Political Historical	Stratification, Work	Culture	Religion and Jews	Other	Total
1918–1945	5	23.0				4	32.0
1946–1980	8	26.0	14.5	1.5	4.5	19	73.5
1981–1995	7	33.5	20.5	1.0	5.5	10	77.5
1996–2001	2	6.0	5.0		1.0	1	15.0
Total	22	88.5	40.0	2.5	11.0	24	200.0

In some ways, the results of this article search are even more striking, for the political historical emphasis of scholarship on Poland is even more dramatic. This is partly because this survey includes the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, which is relatively political and historical in its outlook, and a significant number—over 1/4—of these 200 articles appeared there. However, it is also important to note that the leading journals of American sociology were also prominently represented—with the *American Journal of Sociology* (22), *Theory and Society* (17), *American Sociological Review* (13), *Contemporary Sociology* (13), and *So-*

<sup>11</sup> JSTOR Technical Assistance correspondence. In subsequent elaboration, they report that their formula is the following: "(Number of hits in the article × 2) / (page number of first hit). As you can see, article length is not directly taken in to consideration by this formula. However, a longer article might have the first hit for a given search term at a higher page number than a shorter article, and thus score lower than the shorter article for the same number of hits.

You may be interested to learn that we are embarking on a major system rebuild project, which will include the introduction of a new search engine. We expect that with the new search engine, we will be able to refine the article scoring process to consider the number of hits in proportion to the length of the article."

<sup>12</sup> Some book review essays appear in this list of 200, but they are only 19 out of these 200.





*cial Forces* (10) being among the leaders in publishing these materials with substantial Polish content.<sup>13</sup>

It is useful here to see, too, that articles about the diaspora are not that prominent. This is, in part, because Americans understand the diaspora to be about how we made America, and less about Poland and Polish affairs, except as an exporter of people. To think about Poland itself, it's much more significant to think about its politics, economics or culture. There is much of the first two in these journals, but strangely little of the third. I think that is a mistake, and a danger, for a comparative American sociology. I'll conclude with that observation, both as a strategic and intellectual matter. But first, it's critical to recognize the importance of Solidarity.

### Global Transformations and Intellectual Leadership

Speaking autobiographically, but for many other American sociologists as well, *Solidarność* inspired great interest, which carried over through communism's collapse. But the distinctive interest inspired by this independent trade union and social movement begins to fade over time, not only absolutely, but also in comparison to Hungary.

I compared the number of publications that addressed Poland and Hungary in the *American Journal of Sociology*, *American Sociological Review*, *Social Forces*, *Theory and Society* and *Contemporary Sociology* between 1978 and 2000 (Table 7). One can appreciate a substantial increase in the number of publications about the two countries between the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1990s, reflecting the growing interest in the region and its increasing accessibility to American sociologists. The relative advantage of Poland's previous prominence in American sociology, and the

<sup>13</sup> Distribution of Intensively Polish Articles in Sociology Journals

58	<i>Annals</i>
22	<i>American Journal of Sociology</i>
17	<i>Theory and Society</i>
13	<i>American Sociological Review</i>
13	<i>Contemporary Sociology</i>
10	<i>Social Forces</i>
8	<i>British Journal of Sociology</i>
8	<i>Public Opinion Quarterly</i>
7	<i>European Sociological Review</i>
6	<i>Sociological Forum</i>
5	<i>Law &amp; Society</i>
4	<i>Comparative Studies in Society and History</i>
4	<i>Journal of Marriage and the Family</i>
3	<i>Social Psychology Quarterly</i>
2	<i>Social Problems</i>
2	<i>Gender and Society</i>
2	<i>Industrial and Labor Relations Review</i>
2	<i>Annual Review of Sociology</i>
1	<i>Sociological Theory</i>
1	<i>Social Science History</i>
1	<i>Journal of Health and Social Behavior</i>
1	<i>British Journal of Educational Studies</i>
1	<i>Sociology of Education</i>





Table 7

**Publications Addressing Hungary and Poland in *American Sociological Review*, *American Journal of Sociology*, *Social Forces*, *Theory and Society*, and *Contemporary Sociology* in 1978–2000**

Year	Hungary Publications	Poland Publications	Total	Hungary/Poland Ratio
1996–2000	39	36	75	1.10
1991–1995	50	78	128	.64
1986–1990	34	52	86	.65
1981–1985	24	43	67	.55
1978–1980	12	28	40	.42

distinctive advantage afforded by Solidarity's 1980–81 formation, also declines by the end of the 1990s.

Expressions of interest are not just a matter of scholarship reflecting the importance of social transformations, of course. There is clear intellectual entrepreneurship and leadership at work in setting up these countries in the American sociological imagination. Consider, for example, those years in which publications about Hungary and Poland soar.

In 1978 T. Anthony Jones organized a special issue in *Social Forces* devoted to social change in socialist societies, contributing by itself  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the articles concerning Hungary and  $\frac{1}{7}$  of those on Poland in that three year period. One reason the early 1990s appear so devoted is because *Theory and Society* devoted two special issues to the study of the postcommunist world, with one issue in 1994 devoted to understanding the collapse of state socialism and one issue in 1995 to understanding postcommunist elites. Hungary and Poland were the most important countries addressed in each of those issues, and Ivan Szelenyi was central to both.

One might even argue that Szelenyi has done more to elevate Hungary, and East Central European society and history, in the American sociological imagination than any other. In fact, Szelenyi was the only Central European to be mentioned more than twice by those American sociologists working on international affairs who replied to our inquiry about the five books or articles published in the last fifty years that contributed most to scholarship in their field.<sup>14</sup> He fell behind only Barrington Moore, Immanuel Wallerstein, Charles Tilly, Theda Skocpol, and Pierre Bourdieu in number of mentions. One can appreciate his influence, too, if one considers the 200 most intensive publications in American sociology about Hungary. Ivan Szelenyi's name appears ten times. There are, of courses, Polish analogies.

<sup>14</sup> Literally, Kennedy wrote the following between June 10 and June 19.

Together with Miguel Centeno, I am writing a chapter for the ASA Centennial history of sociology in America on international dimensions of American sociology. You can imagine the challenge, and therefore we seek your help, given your prominence in defining American sociology's extra-US scholarship. Improvising on Contemporary Sociology's question nearly a decade ago, we are asking you and several others the following question:

"Beyond your own contributions, which five books or articles, published in the last fifty years by those working in American sociology, are the most important contributions to scholarship in your field?"

Of course we recognize that you might define your field in several different ways thematically and regionally, but we also hope you might humor us, and suggest the best work in American sociology whose





It is unquestionable that in the early years of the twentieth century, W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki were central interpreters and promoters of Polish affairs in American sociology.<sup>15</sup> Since the 1980s, Mel Kohn has most obviously played that role. In the volume to emerge from Mel Kohn's 1987 presidential address to the American Sociological Association, 4 out of 17 chapters had Polish authors (Kohn 1989).<sup>16</sup> His partnership with Kazimierz Słomczyński is also evident in the 200 most intensively Polish articles described above, with each of these colleagues appearing 10 times in articles, more than twice as often as the next most frequent contributors. These collaborations produce even larger networks of consequence with a number of their coauthors and research collaborators appearing in the top 200. Kohn and Słomczyński themselves, however, identify the network's progenitor within Poland, in the person of Włodzimierz Wesółowski (Kohn and Słomczyński 1990). With these examples spanning the 20<sup>th</sup> century, we can see the value to American sociology of imaginations and networks born in Poland (Kohn 1993).

Of course there are many other networks at work tying American and Polish sociology together. I recently had the privilege to be associated with another in the fall of 2003, the results of which conference will appear in the next three issues of the journal edited by Tadeusz Krauze, *International Journal of Sociology*. I was struck not only by the fine work I have come to recognize and expect from my Polish colleagues, but also from the relative lack of cumulation across their work.

Much like American sociology, Polish sociology may be losing the coherence facilitated by its past peculiarities, whether around being the most sociologically research-

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data and/or perspective are grounded outside the US, whose scholarship has been important in its own field, and whose value might be recognized even more broadly.

For your reply to be most useful, we would appreciate receiving it by July 6.

We're not yet sure how these replies will inform our essay, but we will be pleased, if you are interested, to send an early draft of this essay to you for your comments. Because this work reflects a longer standing interest on our parts, your replies will certainly be guiding our subsequent work in this area too.

Thanks very much."

If they replied with a list of only American sociologists, we then wrote to ask them the following: "Would your answers change if we had not asked you to identify which five books or articles, published in the last fifty years by those working in AMERICAN SOCIOLOGY, are the most important contributions to scholarship in your field?" In other words, with this condition relaxed, would you have named any sociologists principally employed and engaged outside the USA, or scholars in other disciplines within the USA or beyond, in this list"?

<sup>15</sup> From time to time, the importance of Thomas and Znaniecki is remembered, for example in the 1983 Russell Sage Foundation sponsored conference at the University of Chicago, reproduced in the collection, Siegwald Lindenberg, James S. Coleman and Stefan Nowak (eds.) *Approaches to Social Theory*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1986. Nevertheless, given his past influence, it is not unfair to say that Znaniecki, as cultural sociologist and theorist, has faded from the American sociological imagination. Those reasons are not entirely clear, however, especially in light of his abiding significance in Polish sociology. Elzbieta Hałas has been among the most interesting and innovative analysts in his recent recovery for contemporary cultural sociology not only within Poland but also for the English-speaking world. See Elzbieta Hałas, "Classical Cultural Sociology: Florian Znaniecki's Impact in a New Light" *Journal of Classical Sociology* (forthcoming); "The Humanistic Approach of Florian Znaniecki," in Horst J. Helle, (ed.) (2000).

<sup>16</sup> Although Mel Kohn (1989) emphasizes that he did not give preference to authors from any particular place (p. 19), there were more Poles than any other nationality, apart from Americans, in the volume. They included Stefan Nowak, Włodzimierz Wesółowski, Kazimierz Słomczyński, Magdalena Sokolowska and Andrzej Rychard.





able socialist society, the most mobilized civil society against a communist state, or even the pioneer in state socialism's collapse. "Normal" societies inspire intellectual specialization and isolation and relative disinterest among American sociologists.<sup>17</sup> Given that most anticipate the continuation of this normal trajectory, Poland needs to develop a distinctive intellectual profile within American sociology in order to remain prominent.

Lucyna Kirwil and I offered one such profile, drawing on articles from those three special issues of the *International Journal of Sociology* attempting to provide a single answer to the question: what have we learned from social change in Poland? (Kennedy and Kirwil 2004).

I was struck by how Polish sociology's emergent pragmatic functionalism could not only tie the explosion of violence on the streets, the culture of complaint, and the dysfunction of the political sphere, among other things, together. I was even more intrigued by the underlying vision of global social change in which the incapacity of leaders to steer systems leads to the production of niches completely beyond their control which, depending on the motivations and capacities of the alienated, can produce variably disruptive effects. Poland may have helped to rejuvenate a theory of civil society in the 1980s; it already can help to generate a theory of dysfunction and disruption in the second millennium. But it might also offer something better, and that is what I want to conclude, building on what is already being done.



### Polocentric Trajectories for American Sociology



Poland has had four very special qualities that have contributed to its enduring prominence in the American sociological imagination—Thomas and Znaniecki's foundational work for American sociology on the Polish peasant and immigration more broadly; the establishment of a relatively open society for social research under communist rule and the search for similarities and differences; the mobilization of *Solidarność* in 1980–81 and the re-creation of civil society as movement and norm; and communism's collapse and postcommunism's sequel in 1989–2001 as a laboratory of social change. While each of these themes may facilitate Poland's recurrence in American sociology, it seems like important strategy to consider what additional themes might bring new Polish sociology more into American focus. Let me consider, then, three major areas of Polish sociology and consider their variable potential impacts on American sociology. In other words, what might make Poland, as a "normal" society, special to American sociology?<sup>18</sup>

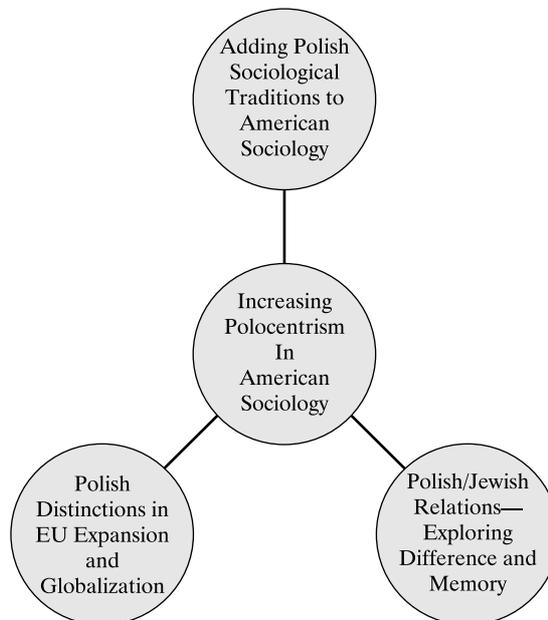
<sup>17</sup> Stukuls Eglitis (2002) has done a magnificent job, however, of explaining why "normal" is so sociologically important in explaining postcommunist social change and for developing social theory out of it.

<sup>18</sup> I asked that question years ago and wrote one essay about it for inclusion in the festschrift dedicated to Wesolowski, but now I can point to several things that have happened since then, and those on the horizon, that suggest a new possibility beyond what I expected. See (1999) "Poland's Critical Sociological Significance: A Comparative and Historical Approach to a Nation and Difference," pp. 239–63 in A. Jasinska-Kania, M. L. Kohn and K. M. Słomczyński (eds.) 1999.





Diagram 3

**Increasing Polocentric Tendencies in American Sociology**

Polish sociological capital is perhaps the most important thing assuring the potential for Poland's enduring and increasing prominence in American sociology. Consider, for example, how extensive the collaborations are among Polish and American scholars. This by itself is a foundation for continuation and development of Poland's place in the American sociological imagination. Too, with Polish sociologists located at American universities, including Maciek Słomczyński, Bronisław Misztal, and Tadeusz Krauze among others, we have important foundations for additional influence. But there should be more.

Consider, for example, that since 1999, in the three leading book review journals of American sociology, there have only been 4 reviews of books written or edited by sociologists living in Poland.<sup>19</sup> Consider, for instance, that cultural sociology's boom in America has not connected, sufficiently, with Polish expertise. It is good that

<sup>19</sup> Kazimierz Słomczyński and Goldie Shabad review John Higley, Jan Pakulski and Włodzimierz We-sołowski (eds) *Postcommunist Elites and Democracy in Eastern Europe* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998 in *Contemporary Sociology* 28:5(1999): 594–95; Edward W. Lehman reviews Piotr Sztompka, *Trust, A Sociological Theory* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999 in *Contemporary Sociology* 30:4:(2001): 418–21; Pamela Paxton also reviews Sztompka in *Social Forces* 79:3:1187–88. Genevieve Zubrzycki reviews Antonina Kloskowska, *National Cultures at the Grass-Roots Level* (Budapest: Central European Press, 2001) in *American Journal of Sociology* 107:4(2002): 1100–02. I would find it very helpful if Mike Forrest Keen and Janusz L. Mucha (eds), *Sociology in Central and Eastern Europe: Transformation at the Dawn of a New Millenium* (Praeger, 2003) would be reviewed and discussed more broadly. While I praised their first volume in in *Contemporary Sociology* 24:1(1995): 21–22, it was not reviewed in either *American Journal of Sociology* or *Social Forces*. The international publication strategy of Polish sociologists, and book review practice of America sociology journals, could merit further analysis.





Kłoskowska's book has been translated,<sup>20</sup> and I look forward to the ways in which it might inspire even those who are not directly tied to her to find ways that Polish social theory might inspire interpretations not only of Australian multiculturalism (Smolicz and Secombe 1999) but also American. Of course I would expect that if more American social theorists could read Polish, more outstanding Polish theorists, like Edmund Mokrzycki (2002) would find broader appreciation. But it's not only a matter of language.

It is critical to consider how particular theoretical traditions might find resonance with American currents. I find, for example, the identification of contributions to communitarian thought in Polish intellectual traditions to be vitally important, (Wesołowski, Gawkowska 2004; Kaczmarek 2002) not least of which because many American sociologists write as if transition culture's liberalism defines the universe of Polish discourse.<sup>21</sup>

By contrast, it is difficult for anyone interested in studies of the Holocaust or of inter-ethnic relations to miss the significance of Polish discourse on anti-Semitism and Shoah. Zygmunt Bauman (1989) has made a powerful case for the Holocaust's important in defining modernity. Even more recently, however, Jan Gross's book (2001) has had important effect. Of course some might express frustration with the attention Jan Gross's latest work has brought to Poland (Sulek 2002). Rather than identify this as a negative, however, the value of this historical sociology, and the quality of public discussion that has ensued, is invaluable if one seeks not only to show the relevance of sociology to abiding problems, but its contributions to the creation of a public culture of memory and forgetting (Ziółkowski 2002; Kaźmierska 2001), and of openness and enlightenment.<sup>22</sup>

Beyond this familiar example, I should also point to the work of my colleague at Michigan, Genevieve Zubrzycki, whose analysis of religion in Polish politics and everyday life suggests a powerful opening that can center Polish society even more in American sociology. By focusing on the constitutional debate but especially the war of the crosses in Auschwitz, she argues that the relationship between nation and religion might be flipped: "it is not political institutions and symbols that are sacralized and become the object of religious devotion, but religious symbols that are first secularized, and then *resacralized as national*... Catholic identity, symbols and acts, were secularized through their politicization and ultimate fusion with national identity" (Zubrzycki, forthcoming).

Zubrzycki clearly builds not only on her Polish research, but also on her Polish colleagues in developing this alternative sociology of the nation (Szacki 2004). We still find an extraordinary commitment in American sociology to treat national identity as a kind of repertoire of scripts (Lamont, Thevenot 2000), rather than a field in

<sup>20</sup> The translation by CEU Press of *Kultury Narodowe u korzeni* [National Cultures at the Grass-Root Level] Warszawa: PWN, 1996 is therefore quite important and promising.

<sup>21</sup> As my dear colleague, Margaret Somers, writes, in "Beware Trojan Horse Bearing Social Capital," in George Steinmetz (ed.) *The Politics of Method* Durham: Duke University Press, forthcoming.

<sup>22</sup> Here the symposium and associated articles in *Polish Sociological Review* 137(3)(2002) was quite important as well as *Thou Shalt Not Kill: Poles on Jedwabne* Warszawa: Więź, 2001.





which identity and power is renegotiated. If anything, the discussion of Shoah and Polish-Jewish relations is a matter of the cultural politics of community writ large, but within a global discourse.

While cultural politics are most apparent in discussions of the Holocaust, they are also present in globalization and Europeanization, even if they are not so obvious. One can find, of course, work on globalization in Poland inspired by Arjun Appadurai (1996) among others. Unless these cultural politics find a particularly innovative and intriguing quality within Poland, it is difficult to see why Poland, rather than any other society facing Europeanization and globalization, should become a major American interest.<sup>23</sup> We should consider, then, the ways in which this important tradition of work on what Jacek Wasilewski (2003) has called “accessology”<sup>24</sup> might inform a new American approach to globalization.

Poland has a particularly rich discourse on the cultural politics of Europeanization, especially evident in recent issues of the *Polish Sociological Review*. Anna Gasior-Niemiec (2003) for example has offered a very interesting account of how the regionalization discourse emanating from the European Union has altered the playing field of center/local governmental relations. Likewise, Anna Horolets (2003) has analyzed the ways in which metaphors have shaped Europeanization, drawing on a substantial body of research and discussion about how Europe has been represented, and used, in Polish cultural politics. Finally, Joanna Kurczewska (2003) has properly identified the difficulty of explicating the effects of these transformations on Polish collective consciousness while nonetheless suggesting the emergence of likely complexes of inferiority and superiority and the deconstruction of the nation per se as a simple united cultural political formation.

As interesting as these subjects are, they are unlikely to stimulate sufficient interest in American sociology given the dynamics of our nation’s ethnocentrism. While obviously terrifically interesting for Europeans and Poles, Europeanization as such has to be implicated in a problem in which Americans can see themselves. I have a suggestion that draws on two sources.

First, I draw on a conference in Washington the University of Michigan organized, in which various prominent Poles involved in and analyzing Europeanization joined other Europeans and Americans to discuss the dynamics of accession. As you can see from the webcast, this was dominated by a focus on trans-Atlantic relations, making expansion almost irrelevant to the West European/US debate.<sup>25</sup> Should we be able to

<sup>23</sup> For discussion of how national variations work within transition culture, see my *Cultural Formations of Postcommunism: Emancipation, Transition, Nation and War* (University of Minnesota Press, 2002). Although I don’t discuss it, I believe that one of Poland’s most potentially important contributions to the sociology of Europeanization and globalization rests in the study of its farmers before global change. Although other acceding nations have this class, Poland’s is not only the most numerous but also the most politically active. Already the benefits accruing to farmers have brought some surprise, but the negotiation of European identity through a peasant lens seems particularly important to consider.

<sup>24</sup> Jacek Wasilewski, (2003). One place where Poland stands out is in terms of its distinctive class of farmers. Although other acceding nations have this class, Poland’s is not only the most numerous but also the most politically active. Already the benefits accruing to farmers have brought some surprise, but the negotiation of European identity through a peasant lens seems particularly important to consider.

<sup>25</sup> “Politics and Business as Usual? Europe and the US after EU Enlargement,” Rayburn Building, Washington DC, 2004 (webcast [http://www.wdi.bus.umich.edu/events/eu\\_enlargement.htm](http://www.wdi.bus.umich.edu/events/eu_enlargement.htm)).





focus more on the likely impact of European expansion on Euro-American relations, at least political scientists, economists, and policy makers would be interested to learn more about Poland.

That, however, is unlikely to influence American sociology given that foreign relations has not been one of its enduring specialities. Given the growing interest in globalization, we might see just how Polish Europeanization could contribute enormously to understanding the cultural politics of globalization, however.

While a growing number of American sociologists have studied globalization, it remains still a European-led field and thus, by itself, is not a simple gateway to American thought. However, given the clear recognition of American implication in globalization itself, it becomes a pathway. But what particular pathway exists?

Of course Polish scholarship has already developed the problematic of globalization substantially and much more is forthcoming. Reviewing one issue of *Polish Sociological Review*, we might consider it as an ethical and moral challenge (Bauman 2003; Offitserova Smith 2003) question of power (Staniszki 2003), alternative roadmaps (Morawski 2003), or questions of cultural diversity (Kempny 2003) and poverty (Tarkowska 2003). Although all potentially interesting, one might argue that Jadwiga Staniszki's essay, and the second part of the volume, *Wladza Globalizacji* [Power of Globalisation] (2003) could stimulate interest in the US when it asks about the particular challenges postcommunist capitalism faces in globalization.

An even greater potential interest might be found, however, in considering Poland's role in American empire alongside this globalization. The cultural politics of identifying this world order with a politically charged imperial label rather than benign noun like globalization suggests the problem. But before it is dismissed as a descriptor owned by the left (Mann 2003; Harvey 2003) its use by a broader range of scholars should be considered.<sup>26</sup> It would be especially useful to consider how Polish perspectives and data could inform the articulation of economic and military power, national securities and global security in this regard. One would find great interest in America, no doubt, if one were to explain how Europeanization articulates with that intriguing notion, asked by *Gazeta Wyborcza*, about whether Poles are in fact Bushmen,<sup>27</sup> here of the American not African variety.

### Conclusions

I have proposed that Poland's prominence in American sociology is not automatic. I have argued that its past prominence was based not only on its excellent sociology, but also on its peculiarity in global transformations, as an exporter of people, as a familiar socialist society, as the home to an inspiring and mobilized civil society, and

<sup>26</sup> Gopal Balakrishnan (ed.) (2003) *Debating Empire* London: Verso, 2003 suggests one range, while Chalmers Johnson (2004) suggests another.

<sup>27</sup> Poland was one of just a few countries, in the company of the Philippines, Nigeria and Thailand, that reported favoring Bush's reelection over Kerry. "Backing for a Man who Made the Country Feel It Counted" *Financial Times* September 9, 2004, p. 4. and reported on the front page of *Gazeta Wyborcza*, September 10, 2004 with the title, "Are Poles Bushmen?."





as the pioneer in producing communism's peaceful end. Each epoch has produced distinctive theory and consequential networks of collaboration, all of which should provide important spaces for maintaining Poland's place in the American sociological imagination. But we should also anticipate new networks and issues, and develop an appropriate collaboration for bringing that Polish sense to American sociology. Globalization, especially one that thinks about its cultural politics, might provide one such avenue. But by itself, globalization does not draw American sociology to Poland.

Polish sociology is already quite developed in the study of cultural politics, especially with regard to the contest among Poles and Jews, but also among different groups with regard to the articulation of Poland and Europe. If we were to extend that study of how contests for influence and recognition by both the powerful and the destitute are structured around globalization's meaning and its strategic reformulations, we could draw on an existing strength of Polish sociology even while invoking important if unreflectively formulated questions in American sociology. We might ask, therefore, under what conditions globalization becomes a symbolic and material resource for the empowerment of certain groups and the development of particular social trajectories.

Attending to cultural politics does not only invite us to consider globalization's articulation with winners and losers. It also asks us to consider how different cultural strategies might challenge globalization's production of winners and losers, and how it might elevate or deflate certain ethical or moral frames for that evaluation. American sociologists have been drawn to comparisons of Polish religiosity with other European and American patterns (Froese, Pfaff 2001) but they have not been particularly involved in the rich Polish tradition in the sociology of morality, extending at least from Maria Ossowska (1963) through Janusz Mariański (2002).

This moral sociology has great potential, it seems, for considering the articulation of empire and globalization that vexes American public discussion today. I have especially appreciated some of those discussions in Więż (2004), although additional sociological research around the ways in which war is justified on political and moral grounds to publics recently emancipated from another empire would be exceptionally useful and helpful for understanding America in the world. And that brings me to Poland in Europe and the world, the title of the sociological congress for which this paper was written.

For those who have the patience to reach this conclusion, one should ask why we should even care, whether we are Polish or American, why Poland is prominent in the American sociological imagination at all. Shouldn't we expect with Poland's entry to the European Union that Poland's sociology will have an increasingly European, and not American, reference point? And what would be wrong with that?

Nothing is wrong with that, of course, but I would propose that Polish and American collaboration might be especially useful for enhancing each nation's tradition of reflexivity in sociology.

Reflexivity is not only realized through the scientific analysis of the rules, resources, and strategies of scientific study, but also in collaboration with others beyond, but familiar, with one's national assumptions. To the extent European, Polish, and local





identities become more integrated (Jasińska-Kania 2004), the American “Other” may become simultaneously more distant and important at the same time. To the extent that America loses touch with one of its abidingly important partners in the social scientific enterprise, it may lose its ability to recognize its peculiarity in the world.

It seems to me that each national sociology’s reflexivity is enhanced when it has partners sufficiently distant to make problematic presumptions visible, and critical questions central. And sometimes it takes more than a century to develop the kind of partnership that makes reflexivity, and not just replication, part of the payoff.

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