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From Military Sociology to Sociology of Security? —the Development of Sociological Reflection on the Military in Poland

Abstract: The article presents the birth and development of military sociology in Poland. It discusses changes in the identity dimension of a subdiscipline which were determined by historical, social and political contexts and the ideology dominant in a particular period of time and which contributed to shaping of Polish model of military sociology differs from the ones of Western Europe and the United States of America. The paper demonstrates the history of development of a subdiscipline in Poland can be divided into a few defined periods: 1) 1957–1968—the creation and institutionalization of a subdiscipline; 2) 1969–1989—the development of a subdiscipline exclusively within the military organization; 3) since 1990 until present—the birth of new paradigms. The study ends with an attempt to answer the question regarding to the future development of this area of knowledge on the grounds of sociological thought.

Keywords: history of sociology, army, military sociology, sociological research in a military organization, Polish model of military sociology

Introduction

Military sociology in Poland has a post-war tradition. Despite the fact that sociological analyses and studies of different aspects of the functioning of the armed forces preceded the institutionalized differentiation of military sociology,¹ 1957 is considered to be the beginning of this subdiscipline. That year, the Department of General Sociology and Military Sociology was established at the Dzerzhinsky Political-Military Academy

¹ The end of the interwar period was the time, when the phase of the increasing interest of sociology and sociologists in the military began. Rapidly progressing militarization of Europe made social researchers focus their attention on the army, which, since the 1930s, began to play a dominant role in many societies. The first attempt to define military sociology and determine its scope of research in Poland was made in the interwar period by Aleksander Hertz. In his famous article, *Zagadnienie socjologii wojska i wojny* [Problems of the Sociology of the Military and War] (1946), written in 1939 and published after the end of the World War II, he made a kind of “stocktaking” of what aspects of the military could be interesting for a sociologist. Hertz narrows the most important problems which the military sociology and the sociology of war should focus on to three fundamental issues: 1) research on the military as a social group and the attitudes of other social groups towards it 2) the research on the impact of the military on other social groups 3) the research on and observations of the processes taking place within the army and influencing its functional efficiency (Hertz 1946: 126–136); The development of military sociology in Poland in 1918–1957 is further discussed in A. Baranowska 2016. *Socjologia wojska w Polsce — pytania o przeszłość, teraźniejszość i przyszłość subdyscypliny* [The Sociology of Army in Poland—Questions About the Past, Presence and Future of the Subdiscipline]. *Roczniki Historii Socjologii* [History of Sociology. Annual Review] 6: 45–66.

in Warsaw (Ciupiński 1986: 41; Klementowski 1966: 197). The aforementioned date constitutes the beginning of the institutionalization of the subdiscipline in Poland.

In spite of the fact that Polish military sociology was developing at a similar pace as in other research centres, it had distinctive features distinguishing it from the military sociology of Western Europe or the United States. That was a consequence of the political situation in Poland and in the whole Eastern Block. Undemocratic form of government as well as the confidentiality of all actions related to the military caused difficulties in accessing the subject of research. Adam Kołodziejczyk (2001: 20) indicates that in relation to a bipolar division of the world and a broad scope of issues incorporated in military sociology, two schools of research emerged: the American one—inspired by liberalism and based on the achievements of different sociology schools and the Marxist one which was developing in some of the countries of the real socialism (especially in Poland and Yugoslavia) within the framework of Marxist sociology and historical materialism. Jerzy J. Wiatr (2017: 119) claims that in the American model, the research on the military was performed in civilian research institutions (usually at universities), while, in comparison, Polish military sociology emerged and developed within military academies and was practiced mainly by serving officers of the army who were obtaining degrees in this subdiscipline. At the same time, the Polish model of military sociology involved close cooperation with civilian scholars and research institutions. Marek J. Tomczak (1996: 262) emphasizes that the concentration of all kinds of research on the military within the scientific institutions controlled by the Ministry of National Defence was a rule which was strictly obeyed in all socialist countries.

The knowledge of Polish military sociology and its problems is not very broad. Both handbooks and more general synthesis usually omit military sociology as a highly specific, not very useful and quite unknown subdiscipline. The literature on the subject lacks texts which would present the chronological and problem-oriented approach to the history of the subdiscipline. There are works which discuss the subject partially (Szopka 1987; Staciwa 1998; Tomczak 1996; Kołodziejczyk 2001; Wiatr 2017; Baranowska 2016, 2019), however no complete and comprehensive picture is available. This article is a reflection on the cognitive identity and the subject of research of military sociology from the moment of its birth to the present, focusing on the changes in these aspects of the subdiscipline, which have taken place in the course of its development.

From the perspective of self-knowledge of the subdiscipline, as well as out of cognitive curiosity, this article constitutes an attempt to answer the following questions: What has Polish sociology accomplished in terms of research on the military so far? Where did it get its main inspirations, theoretical base and scientific concepts from? How did military sociology operate the tension between the scientific and the ideological? Is there such a thing as the Polish model of practicing and studying military sociology? Can the theoretical and conceptual apparatus which was being established through the post-war period of the development of the subdiscipline be applied to new challenges which came together with the political transformation? How was the fate of military sociology related to the changing ways of thinking about security and national defence? What are the possibilities of further development of this area of knowledge on the grounds of sociological thought?

The Case of Polish People's Republic: The Birth of Military Sociology in Real Socialism (1957–1968)

The birth and the development of military sociology in post-war Poland, the times of the Cold War and limited sovereignty, was a unique phenomenon. At the end of 1950s and at the beginning of 1960s, Poland was an exception in this respect among other socialist countries (Wiatr 2017: 115–116). The emergence of the subdiscipline was determined by a combination of a few factors. The first one was related to the political changes taking place in Poland, especially as a result of the groundbreaking convention of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party in October 1956. Władysław Gomułka became the first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party. Taking over the leadership by him brought moderate reforms and relaxation. Poland took the road to liberalisation of its political system and reduced its dependence on the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Bucholc 2016: 29–42). As a result of these transformations, sociology regained its status of an academic discipline.²

After the political breakthrough in 1956, serious changes were introduced in the military as well. Soviet servicemen were stripped of their superior positions. Among them was Poland's Defence Minister, Marshal Konstantin Rokossovsky, who was the symbol of enslavement and sovietization of the Polish People's Republic in the Stalinist period. A series of changes were initiated in order to make Polish armed forces a formation significantly different from the Soviet model. Those changes were related to, among others, military education, political apparatus and political propaganda methods. Reorganisation of the Felix Dzerzhinsky Political-Military Academy in Warsaw constituted a part of these transformations (Sułek 2017: 63). The academy was established after the war as a school, based on the Soviet model, which would educate political and pedagogical officers. One of the first decisions of the new administration of the Ministry of National Defence after the October breakthrough was a fundamental transformation of the school. Action was taken to transform the institution not only into a school fulfilling all of the formal requirements, but into a model military university of humanities (Ciupiński 1986: 41). As a result of the decision made by the Scientific Council of the Political-Military Academy, faculties of History and Pedagogy were established. In the Faculty of Pedagogy, four departments were created: Pedagogy, Philosophy, Psychology as well as General Sociology and Military Sociology.

Another stimulus was the increasing importance and crucial role attributed to the military in the socialist society (Graczyk 1982: 9). High status and position of the army and military professionals were determined by many factors, two of which should be emphasised. First of all, in this particular social reality, the military, being the holder of power, was equipped with a weapon of great destructive power. Secondly, as a consequence of a complex socio-historical process, the military significantly increased its presence in politics. It was this new role of the army in socio-political life which provoked strong interest in and the need for empirical research.

² In Poland, between 1940s and 1950s, together with the consolidation of the Communists' power, teaching sociology at universities and social research were suspended, since sociology was considered as a bourgeois science. It was to be replaced with historical materialism.

On 12 February 1957, in the Political-Military Academy, the Department of General Sociology and Military Sociology was established, which, in 1960, was transformed into the Department of Military Sociology (Szopka 1987: 111; Klementowski 1966: 197). It should be emphasized that this research and educational institution had a pioneering character on an international scale. From the moment of its establishment, Poland became not only the first socialist country where the research in the field of military sociology was conducted systematically, but also the first country in the world in which military sociology was introduced to military education on an academic level as a separate subdiscipline.

Adam Uziembło, a contemporary Political-Military Academy commandant, brigadier general, has particularly contributed to the establishment of the Department of Military Sociology. He was the main initiator of the changes which took place in the academy after 1956. As a result of his efforts, the school profile has changed and the cooperation with civilian lecturers has started. In the curricular article published in *Wojsko Ludowe* [People's Army], a monthly magazine for officers, he strongly emphasised that, without rejecting Marxism and Leninism, political work in the army should be based on scientific grounds. Uziembło (1957: 4) claimed:

In the field of sociology and sociological research, we have a lot to do in order to achieve the level of knowledge, not lower than in, for example, the United States, regarding the actual public perception and social attitudes of working class, broad masses of people and, in the army, masses of soldiers.

The first head of the Department of General Sociology and Military Sociology in the Political-Military Academy and its actual coordinator was Jan Szczepański (Sulek 2018: 4). He tried to serve this function, while simultaneously fulfilling his professional responsibilities as a rector of University of Lodz, a member of parliament, a full-time employee in the Polish Academy of Sciences and a participant of various scientific organizations. After a year, it turned out that managing these numerous and often mutually exclusive duties effectively is simply impossible. Consequently, the control over the department was passed to the deputy of Jan Szczepański, Jerzy J. Wiatr (Klementowski 1966: 197). He was a researcher who had the most significant influence on Polish military sociology and who is considered to be the founding father of military sociology in Poland.

Under his management, the department was transformed into the Department of Military Sociology. The transition was not only related to the change of the institution's name. Under the new name, the department was to offer classes not only on general sociology but also military sociology, a subdiscipline which was yet to be defined. The department was to become a research centre conducting sociological research for the military and on the military. One of the first challenges that the department had to face was creating a textbook on military sociology. It was not possible to model it on foreign standards as such a handbook was not available anywhere in the world at that time. Initially, a book in the field of research on the military entitled *Military Organization and Society* (1954) by Stanisław Andrzejewski was used, among others, during classes. In 1959, two first volumes of *The American Soldier* (1949a, 1949b) were translated to Polish in the department on the initiative of J. J. Wiatr and published (including a comprehensive

introduction by him)³ by the Main Political Board of the Polish Army a year later for so-called “internal use” (Wiatr ed. 1960).⁴ In 1960, *Armia i społeczeństwo* [Army and Society] was published.⁵ It was the prototype of *Socjologia wojska* [Military Sociology] by Wiatr published four years later, which was the only contemporary handbook on military sociology written in Polish.⁶ The definitions of the subject of military sociology and systematised fields of research presented in the book were valid for many following years. According to Wiatr’s assumptions (1964: 12):

Military sociology deals with the army as a social institution, its role in a society, its impact on other spheres of social life and, at the same time, the impact of social circumstances on the development and operating of the army as well as internal social relations in the army as a social environment.

General theoretical and methodological basis of the subdiscipline defined as above was formed by historical materialism and Western (mainly American) political sciences and American empirical sociology and notions of Polish sociological tradition (Kilias 2017: 184–185). The synthesis of military sociology was presented by Wiatr (1964: 14–15) as follows:

1. The growth of the army as a product of and a factor in the development of society:
 - the relation between evolution of manufacturing technology and production ratio, martial technique, army organisation and its role in a society;
 - the evolution of types and forms of state authorities in relation to the evolution of forms and functions of the armed forces.
2. The role of the army in the life of contemporary societies:
 - the army and other political institutions and state authorities;
 - the army and economic, educational and cultural institutions;
 - the army and political parties and social organisations.
3. The social position of professional soldiers:
 - class structure of the group of professional soldiers and its place in the general social class structure;
 - self-perception of social position of professional soldiers and perception of their position by the military environment.
4. Public attitudes to the army:
 - expressed by popular ideologies,
 - existing in public opinion.

³ Wiatr emphasized the importance of this work for military sociology in Poland. Firstly, he claimed that this book presents the American Army as an environment and a social institution. Secondly, it allows one to get an insight into conducting and using sociological research in the American Army. Thirdly, it teaches methodologies of sociological research in military conditions and for practical use of the Army. In his numerous works: *Armia i społeczeństwo* [Army and Society] (1960), *Wojsko — społeczeństwo — polityka w Stanach Zjednoczonych* [Military, Society and Politics in the United States] (1962), *Socjologia wojska* [Military Sociology] (1964), he stressed the value of Stouffer’s research, constituting the evidence of the great potential of sociology. At that time, these works were an important carrier of ideas and methods of “Western sociology” to “socialist countries,” discussed further in Sułek, A. 2017. *Polski szlak „The American Soldier”. Przyczynek do historii wędrówek idei socjologicznych* [A Polish Career of the American Soldier. A Contribution to the History of Circulation of Sociological Ideas], *Studia Socjologiczne* [Sociological Studies] 1(224): 65.

⁴ It is the only known translation of Stouffer’s work in the world.

⁵ See Wiatr (1960).

⁶ Second, longer and more detailed issue was published in 1982.

5. Social relations within the army:

- the system of power and relationships in the army;
- social hierarchy;
- social groups and leadership issues.

The above classification reflected the subject area of the studies on sociological aspects of the army during the subdiscipline formation period. It has undergone certain modifications in time. While assessing the scientific achievements of J. J. Wiatr and the team of young sociologists led by him, what should be indicated above all else is the formulation of complete theoretical and methodological foundations of Polish military sociology incorporating the achievements of Western sociologists in this area.

Undoubtedly, in that period, the development of military sociology in Poland was influenced by contacts with American sociologists whose research on the army was much more advanced than in the case of European sociology. In 1960, Jerzy J. Wiatr travelled to the USA for six months. He spent a significant part of this time at the University of Michigan, where the father of military sociology on an international scale, Morris Janowitz, was a professor. He shared his library with J. J. Wiatr and familiarized him with the research on the army, which was being conducted in the USA (Wiatr 2012: 79–80). When his new monograph, *The Professional Soldier* (1960), was published, he gave one of the first copies to the Polish researcher. The cooperation with Janowitz had profound and positive consequences. In 1966, during the World Congress of Sociology in Evian, at his request, Wiatr was appointed a vice-chairman of International Sociological Association (ISA) Research Committee on Armed Forces and shortly after, Wiatr became a member of the editorial office of *Armed Forces and Society*, an academic publication whose founder and editor-in-chief was Janowitz. During a conference in Opatija (1959), Wiatr also had an opportunity to meet Samuel Huntington, the author of a book *The Soldier and the State* (1957) published two years before and winning popularity around the world, in person. Contacts abroad became a starting point for subsequent scientific papers.

Polish military sociology, in the initial period of its development, involved relatively close cooperation with civilian scientific institutions, especially with the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Department of Sociology of Political Relations at the University of Warsaw. One of the outcomes of this cooperation was a collective publication about the position of an officer, thanks to which military sociologists participated in the extensive research on sociology of professions led by Jan Szczepański at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Another result of their collaboration was the publication, in 1967, of a special issue of the Journal *Studia Socjologiczno-Polityczne* (published by the University of Warsaw) entirely devoted to military sociology. Cooperation with civilian scientific institutions influenced the level of conducted research projects and was one of the reasons for the high rank of Polish military sociology in the world of international science.

Further institutionalized development of military sociology in Poland was successful. The Department of Military Sociology in the Political-Military Academy was not the only

institution conducting a sociological research programme in the field of the military at that time. At the beginning of 1960s, two other scientific institutions carrying out research work and studies in this area in a planned and well-organised way were established. Those institutions were the Sociological Research Centre of the Main Political Board of the Polish Army (1960) and the Centre for Social Research in the Political-Military Academy (1966) (Staciwa 1998: 430–431; Olczyk et al. 1974: 95–96; Szopka 1982: 29). Experts in such scientific fields as pedagogy, psychology and sociology analysing social aspects of the operation of the armed forces were hired there. The fundamental difference between these institutions and the department was the aim of the conducted research. In the case of the department, they had a long-term character and focused on developing a synthesis of the gathered knowledge, whereas in the other institutions, they contributed to current pedagogical and party-political activities.

The approach to research work undertaken by the Department of Military Sociology in the Political-Military Academy and other institutions gradually led to the development of specific characteristics of Polish military sociology. According to Wiatr (1967: 13–15), theoretical and methodological features contributing to the uniqueness of Polish military sociology are the following:

- a) well-developed comparative studies in the foreign armies area, thanks to which Polish military sociology could objectively confront Western military sociology as well as “adopt” the elements valuable for domestic research from their achievements;
- b) combining macro- and microsociologist points of view meaning “such a methodological approach in which research on micro-society of the army is put in the broader context and, at the same time, this context is specified by the analysis of smaller components building it”;
- c) conscious combining of historical perspective with the research on contemporary times, which differentiates Polish studies from the majority of Western sociological works, including the works of Morris Janowitz’s so called “Chicago school”;
- d) the pursuit of complexity on a research phase by combining different research methods and techniques as well as developing complex monographs.

The contemporary achievements of Polish military sociology were acknowledged and well-received around the world. In an international bibliography of the subdiscipline (Lang 1972), out of 1325 enumerated positions, there are 22 works of authors from Poland. Furthermore, the reference list of military sociology and sociology of war after World War II published in 1967 and focusing on the research axis of the Department of Military Sociology of the Political-Military Academy includes 141 publications (Wójcik 1967: 296). It proves that, despite the fact that military sociology in Poland was initiated in an organized way only ten years before, it already had considerable academic achievements.

The year 1968 constitutes a date which closes the period discussed in this part (Baranowska 2016: 55; Baranowska 2019: 131). After the turbulent events of “March,” numerous “administrative” and often illegal actions were taken towards the department and its employees. J. J. Wiatr, who consistently expressed his criticism against anti-Semitism and dissociated himself from the fierce anti-Semitic campaign, was forced to leave the academy. He was one of the last civilian employees of the Political-Military Academy. His departure marked the end of the first period of the development of military sociology in Poland.

Second Period of the Development of Military Sociology in Poland: “A Science in the Uniform”

The next period of the development of Polish military sociology began after 1968. It continued until the end of 1980s. Taking into account personnel and institutional criteria, this period is defined as a “military stage” and is considered as the most difficult in the process of military sociology development (Baranowska 2016: 56–59; Baranowska 2019: 131–132). The organizational changes which were introduced in institutions dealing with this subdiscipline at that time did not contribute to the shift in research orientation, however they had a negative influence on the level of conducted research and classes. Due to the aforementioned factors, Polish military sociology did not manage to keep its high status within the framework of international military sociology developing rapidly during that period.

At that time, cooperation with civilian academic institutions was practically stopped mainly due to political reasons. The isolation of Polish military sociology from the civilian sociological environment continued until the beginning of 1980s and consisted in refraining from addressing military issues. What is more, there was a tacit approval for institutional placement of military sociology in military organizations meaning a kind of demilitarization of other sociological subdisciplines as well as military sociologists’ monopoly on conducting research in the field of the military. The absence of civilian sociologists in the discussion of the military sociology working party during Polish Sociological Congress in 1977 was the indication of the lack of interest of Polish sociology in this area. Another indication of this peculiar phenomenon, which has not emerged anywhere else outside Poland, was almost complete absence of not only any works by military sociologists but of military issues, in general, in Polish sociological journals. During that period, all non-military sociological subdisciplines, except for political sociology, carefully avoided the subject of the army. Even the sociology of education and upbringing omitted the phase of socialization of an individual in the army, which applied to millions of young men.

A great indication of lowering of Polish military sociology status was its isolation from the international debate. In the 1970s, Polish sociologists did not participate in international conferences and conventions, even those of the Socialist Bloc. Their publications were not present in international literature as well as in the national one. E. Szopka (1987: 115), enumerating a number of factors influencing the weakening of Polish military sociology, stresses that the sociological research conducted in the army constituted solely service research for practical reasons and not the theoretical ones.

E. Szopka (1987: 118) states that the new period of military sociology development began in 1985. The chronology proposed by the last director of the Sociology Division of the Political-Military Academy was related to the process of formulating the concept of further development of military sociology and sociology of war. The remediation plan included, among others, aiming at achieving the progress in the area of theory and scientific generalisations, at formulating a theoretical model of key social problems of the army as the basis for formulating specific research questions; aiming at the use of the results of sociological research in practice to a greater extent than previously; planned cooperation

with sociologists working in civilian scientific institutions in the country and abroad; enhancing methodologies of social research in the army; enhancing and accelerating the system of academic staff development in the field of military sociology; strengthening and broadening relationships between civilian and military academic and research institutions; expanding the scope of research in the field of military sociology to include the issue of war (Szopka 1987: 118–124; Olczyk et al. 1974: 99). The aforementioned objectives, especially the shift towards sociological research on military conflicts, were not accomplished due to the transformations of 1989.

In 1990, the Political-Military Academy was dissolved and consequently, the Sociology Division stopped existing. The Political-Military Academy was replaced by the National Defence Academy, transformed into the War Studies University, conducting research in the field of military sociology, in 2016. However, since social and political reality has changed completely, it cannot be considered as an unaffected continuation of the research carried out between 1957 and 1989.

New Research Perspectives in Military Science: Sociology of Security and Sociology of Dispositional Groups

After the period of political transformation, numerous controversies regarding both the status and the achievements of the theoretical nature of military sociology emerged among Polish sociologists. More and more questions and doubts were arising: What will the military sociology of the Post-Cold War era be like? How will it deal with theoretical and empirical neglects of the previous period of development? How will the fall of communism influence changes in relations between the army, the state and the citizens? How will the army, as a social subsystem, respond to social and political changes? Zdzisław Zagórski (1998: 17) claims that, at that time, military sociology:

on the one hand, had to make up for the times of Polish People's Republic, when its unrestrained development was impossible...on the other hand, new research problems were to be addressed by it.

According to the scholar, the existing way in which the army had operated had to undergo transformation, which created the need for the development of new theoretical and methodological concepts.

Additional challenges for military sociology were related to Poland's admission to NATO (1999) and the EU (2004). The Polish army was required to go through organizational changes following Western patterns, adhere its standards to the structures of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (new training systems, new command and control systems, new communication systems, changes in doctrines, rules and regulations, and procedures), as well as provide and ensure civil control of the military. The integration with the Western European organizations was a priority of Polish security policy after 1989. As it is presented in a work under the editorship of Anton Bebler (1997), what was fundamental to the efficient implementation of it was the functioning of two discourses deriving from military sociology in the Polish society (similarly to other Eastern European societies). The first one of those was related to the development of democratic civil control of the

professional army and the second one was connected to the admission to transnational institutions being in opposition to the Russian sphere of influence. The transformations in political situation and directions of defence policy brought new prospects for military science, including military sociology.

Theoretical and empirical neglects of the previous period of military sociology development made it more difficult for it to develop in the Post-Cold War era. Kazimierz Doktór, who provided a reflection on problems of military sociology after 1989, indicated that contemporarily the subdiscipline has, to a great extent, using Antoni Sulek's words, "oral" and "limited" character. A significant part of research and study results regarding the military is analysed mainly by specialists and a narrow circle of those who ordered the research. At the same time, the studies presented during scientific meetings, conferences and symposia usually have oral form or, alternatively, the form of occasional publications, which also reach only a small audience. What is more, the scholar indicated a series of observations regarding the scope of interest and research methods of military sociology. He emphasized that, regarding the scope of the material, it belongs to macrosociology. He added that military researchers, focusing on "the army and the society," "the army and the state" and "the army and social structure" relations, omit the issues of primary groups in the army, the processes of socialization, the processes of personality development and many other problems belonging to the scope of micro-level and meso-level analyses (Doktór 2009: 18). According to Doktór, the dominant trend in Polish military sociology has empirical orientation and involves mainly research based on a survey technique (Doktór 2009: 17). Due to these observations, he made a request to researchers to introduce methodological pluralism and avoid a one-sided approach to the subject of the study. Apart from the scope of interest and research methods, the third element criticised by K. Doktór was applicability of the military sociology research. He indicated a relatively low level of pragmatism of sociologists of military organisations. According to the scholar, it was a result of the characteristics of the subject of their studies and the way of public presentation of the research results as well as the attitudes of military researchers, who, discouraged by the lack of trust and ignorance of the military institution to sociology and sociologists in general, did not pay attention to the implementation of their achievements.

After the fall of socialism, the way of thinking about security issues changed. It evolved in the direction of integrated and complex security systems. In such a context, military security is treated as one of many components of national security in a broad sense. The issue of the relationship between a modern state and the armed forces in the Post-Cold War era became an inspiring aspect. It applies especially to new emerging types of dangers and leads to blurring of the differences between external and internal security (Kołodziejczyk 2001: 22). While, in the past, the issues of security were linked mainly to the national and military security sphere, currently, this sphere seems to have not only horizontal but also vertical dimension.

The aforementioned transformations triggered subsequent ideas supporting the paradigm shift in the existing way of perceiving military sociology—sociology of security, sociology of dispositional groups. Adam Kołodziejczyk (2001: 9) indicated that, nowadays, we are witnessing a number of changes, which allow to formulate a thesis about "collapsing" of military sociology and undermine the reasons for practicing and studying

it as an independent sociological subdiscipline. It did not mean to him the end of research and reflections on the military, since the main subject of the research—the army—still exists and enjoys significant public recognition. What needs to be remodelled, according to him, is the existing form of practicing military sociology, so that it is practiced in the framework of a broader field of sociology, which he described as national security sociology. He formulated a thesis about the possibility and necessity of the change in the way of thinking about the army as the subject of interest of military sociology into thinking about the armed forces in the wider context, as one of important aspects of research on security using sociological methods and sociological conceptual apparatus, including the possible implementation of sociological theories into the aforementioned research and reflections. The need for the establishment of sociology of security was also expressed by Zdzisław Zagórski (1999), Eugeniusz Moczuk (2009), Jerzy J. Wiatr (2017), Maciej Ciesielski (2019), Mirosława Jaworska (2019).

Jan Maciejewski (2012) proposes the establishment of a new subdiscipline—sociology of dispositional groups. The term “dispositional groups” has been introduced to Polish sociology by Zdzisław Zagórski (1997). This researcher has narrowed its application to uniformed service groups claiming that they constitute:

an exceptionally stable type of the segments of society. Their members, being dispositional, earn livelihood by submission to command, hierarchy, discipline, drill, living in barracks, wearing uniforms and significant restraints on private and family life for the benefit of performing segmentational social roles outside and inside their group (Zagórski 1997: 25).

In such a sense, being dispositional means a special kind of submission of one social actor to the other social actor involving a substantial part of potentially possible behaviours of the submissive actor, which can lead to the power of one subject over the other (Zagórski 2000: 16). According to Zdzisław Morawski (2005: 31), dispositional layers are to a significant extent, identical to a part of specialized State apparatus, the decisions of which are considered as the decisions of the State.

Jan Maciejewski, defining dispositional groups and their availability, moves the emphasis from structural relation (between the dominant social actor and the submissive social actor) to the readiness to perform strictly specified action. Maciejewski (2012: 39) distinguishes being dispositional in a broader sense, meaning the being dispositional in relation to generally acknowledged scenario to perform typical actions for which a particular structure was established and being dispositional in a narrow sense meaning “specific availability” defined by, for instance, the scope, the speed and the intensity of intervention.

Attempting to specify the issue of dispositional groups, the researcher adopts a systemic approach. Maciejewski (2012: 42) distinguishes social systems of military, paramilitary and civilian nature, within which specialized dispositional groups, able to act in emergency situations, are developed. Unquestionably, the functions of each of the aforementioned systems are different; however, together, they constitute a complementary configuration, which contributes to effective operation of the whole society and its development through, among others, elimination or reduction of different kinds of dangers. The researcher proposed the following definition of the new subdiscipline which, as he emphasizes, has projecting character:

Sociology of dispositional groups is one of sociology's domains, which is concerned with organized structures prepared for acting immediately, which are found in military, paramilitary and civilian systems, in order to execute specific tasks connected with preventing or overcoming any dangers threatening particular communities or given society and its country's resources (*Ibidem*).

Attempting to specify in greater detail the subject of the research of sociology of dispositional groups, Maciejewski (2012: 42–43) identifies the following issues:

1. Specifying the differences between dispositional groups within:
 - a) military systems, e.g. Polish Armed Forces, Polish Border Guard;
 - b) paramilitary systems, e.g. State Fire Service of Poland, Prison Service;
 - c) civilian systems, existing in particular national departments, e.g. emergency medical services, and in various local government and voluntary structures, e.g. Mountain Volunteer Search and Rescue or Voluntary Water Rescue Service.
2. Social conditions determining the selection to dispositional groups in particular systems.
3. The secondary selection of the members of dispositional groups taking place during their service through constant improvement of their skills and qualifications due to their duty to overcome successive civilizational challenges.
4. The development of social ties within each type of dispositional groups.
5. Social conditions determining the authority and prestige of individuals responsible for commanding and managing within dispositional groups.
6. The relationship between dispositional groups and the social environment in which they function.
7. Issues arising from situational challenges related to socio-political disasters and other similar phenomena.

Certainly, sociological analysis of dispositional groups allows identification of common qualities of many diverse special purpose structures established within military, paramilitary and civilian systems. Such a research approach can be attributed to so-called Wrocław school of sociology of dispositional groups centred around professor Jan Maciejewski and his associates. There is a high probability that, in the future, research achievements in this area will be standardized and will become the basis for formulation of certain generalizations and development of another new subdiscipline of sociology.

When summarizing the period of development of sociology after the end of the Cold War, the tendency to consider the army not exclusively as a part of broader security systems but also as a part of non-military social systems can be observed (*Wiatr 2002: 351*). Such a tendency, apart from being the effect of the integration of military sociology with overall sociological knowledge, reflects the processes taking place in the armed forces. Despite the fact that they keep their distinctiveness, they are more integrated with the society as a whole and increasingly dependent on how the society transforms. After the Cold War period, the situation has changed and facilitated the cooperation of military sociologists with the representatives of other sociological subdisciplines, such as political sociology, sociology of organizations, social psychology, sociology of professions, sociology of management, sociology of gender, sociology of education and upbringing, sociology of law or sociology of morality. Moreover, the analysis of the military has been performed on the occasion of building a scientific instrumentation for related fields of studies, including history, political

science, social psychology, cultural anthropology or legal sciences. The main areas of research are: the process the professionalisation of the army (Chojnacki 2008; Maciejewski 2002; Jarmoszko 2002, 2003), relations between the army and society (Baran-Wojtachnio et al. 2006; Czekał 2021), the influence of the changes in the political system on processes taking place in the army (Trejnis 1997; Jarmoszko 2000), new (postmodern) military missions (Kołodziejczyk 2002; Baranowska 2013), cultural diversity of military organization (Dębska 2011; Czuba 2015), new wars (Moczuk, Czekał 2024).

Prognosis for the Subdiscipline

Summing up the scientific heritage of military sociologists in Poland, from the period of over the 70 years when this subdiscipline has been developed, the formulation of theoretical and methodological objectives of this subdiscipline needs to be emphasized. During the first development stage of military sociology in Poland, the major source of inspiration, terminological apparatus and theoretical categories were not only Marxist works but mainly the Western philosophy—in particular, the Western, primarily American, political sciences as well as theoretical and empirical sociological concepts. Regardless of rightly made accusations of ideologisation of research on the army as a part of so-called Marxist sociology and “militarisation” of researchers in the Communist period—which was a price that had to be paid for practicing the sociology in general—many researches and sociological studies had significant scientific value. The importance of this research can be fully appreciated only when compared to the research performed in the West, particularly in the USA. After the end of the Cold War, the changes in the political situation and the course of defence policy of Poland brought new research prospects for military sociology. They focused mainly around the issues related to the transformation of the Polish Armed Forces into the direction of the postmodern army model (particularly, military professionalisation and the relations between the army and society). International cooperation became possible again. Changes introduced into the security environment following the Cold War provided impetus to the emergence of new scientific paradigms—sociology of security and sociology of dispositional groups. The peculiarities of contemporary Polish military sociology include mixed (“departmental and university”) model of practicing, the advantage of studies of empirical character over the theoretical ones, the advantage of the views typical of macrosociology over the microsociology research, domination of survey methodology (however, the increase in the number of projects combining the methodologies of different social sciences can be observed), relatively low level of pragmatism, low level of institutionalization, low level of interest in the military among academic sociologists.

Polish military sociology has been developing at its own pace and according to different patterns than military sociology in the West. There were three factors that influenced shaping of military sociology in Poland: 1) changing of historical and political conditions, 2) migration of sociological concepts, 3) problems experienced by Polish society and changing of the role of the army in Polish society. The history of the development of this subdiscipline in Poland can be divided into a few clearly defined periods:

- a) the period of creation and institutionalization (1957–1968)—characteristics: fast theoretical and methodological progress in close cooperation with civilian scientific institutions; formation of Polish model of practicing and studying military sociology; specification of research directions in socialist countries; high status in the field of international military sociology; ideologization;
- b) the period of development of the subdiscipline exclusively within the framework of the military organization (1969–1989)—characteristics: change of direction “from the outside to the inside”; narrowing of research perspective; ancillary role of sociology in relation to the army, lower level of research and classes, isolation of Polish military sociology from civilian research environment, lowering of Polish military sociology status in the world;
- c) the period of searching for new concepts and paradigms (since 1990 until present)—characteristics: new development opportunities, rejection of ideologization, reactivation of international cooperation, reintroduction of international theoretical and research perspectives, emergence of new research paradigms (sociology of security, sociology of dispositional groups), emergence of new research problems in military sciences.

The analysis of the modern security environment not only shows the direction of the development of national security system but also indicates research problems that the “new military sociology” will confront, which include:

- 1) The influence of demographic changes, in case of Poland—mainly ageing and depopulation, on the functioning of the armed forces and national defence capabilities (staff shortages caused by the lack of young people in the population, the necessity to compete for employees with the civilian labour market, transfer of national budgetary resources for the defence to such areas as healthcare or social security);
- 2) The importance of social polarization to the army (a social profile of servicemen and their place in the social structure);
- 3) The impact of climate changes on security environment and professional roles of servicemen (the necessity to prepare the army to participate in dealing with natural disasters as well as new conflicts and risks caused by rapidly advancing climate changes in the world: climate wars, climate genocide, climate migration);
- 4) New social division of work on the security market (disappearing differences between military and non-military subsystems; the introduction of new actors in the security system; different motivations for work: a duty, a vocation, a profession, voluntary work);
- 5) The impact of new technologies on the military (the reliance on the newest scientific achievements in the context of arming the military, which leads to changes in a professional profile of military staff);
- 6) The influence of service abroad on the lives of servicemen (psychological and social profile of military personnel, communication between the front and home; veterans’ problems; stress in veterans’ families; the quality of life of veterans’ families; social alienation, PTSD, suicides, social support);
- 7) The impact of diversity on the military (integration of minorities in the army; women as commanders; women on the battlefield; sexual minorities in the army; religious minorities in the army);

- 8) The training of the reserves after the abolition of compulsory military service, including the issues of the effectiveness of territorial defence.

Currently, the research on the military is located on the peripheries of Polish sociology, which constitutes the weakness of the subdiscipline, considering the influence that a military conflict and violence has on society. The future of military sociology in Poland depends on the degree of openness of military organisation (commanders, ministry, military agencies) towards the world of science and social research, harmonisation of civil and military relations, promotion of civil control of the military, an increase of the level of institutionalization of military sociology, a growth in the number of military sociologists and overcoming the attitude of “suspiciousness” and “reserve” expressed by the military institution towards sociology and sociologists, in general.

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