

POLAND'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SCHOLARLY COMMUNITY AND ITS DISTINGUISHING FEATURES ACCORDING TO THE 2014 TRIP SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SCHOLARS¹

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ABSTRACT

In 2014, Poland was the first Central and Eastern European (CEE) country to be included in the Teaching, Research, and International Policy (TRIP) project. This article characterizes the Polish International Relations (IR) scholarly community and compares it with other IR scholarly communities throughout the world that also participated in the 2014 TRIP project. The 2014 TRIP survey, the Survey of International Relations Scholars (SIRS) asked Polish participants to identify: the strengths and weaknesses of the Polish IR discipline, influential Polish scholars and books published in Poland, and useful divergent study areas for practical policy purposes. Polish SIRS participants were also asked to share their research interests in both substantive areas and geographical regions, their opinions on economic and social issues, and their predictions concerning important developments in international policy. We concluded that while Polish scholars have much in common with their counterparts around the world, there are also significant differences. For example, Polish scholars identify themselves as more conservative than their international peers in social and ideological matters, more liberal in the economic sphere, and were more pessimistic about relations between the US and Russia in the near future.

Keywords: Polish political science, International Relations discipline, TRIP survey, Survey of International Relations Scholars.

INTRODUCTION

The discussion on the state and development of the international relations (IR) discipline has intensified over the last decade. Multiple projects examined and documented the current condition of the discipline in various countries and regions (Jørgensen, 2003; Jørgensen and Knudsen, 2006; Tickner and Wæver, 2009; Acharya and Buzan, 2010b; Aalto, Harle

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and Moisis, 2011; Lizée, 2011; Zajączkowski, Gawrycki and Bógdał-Brzezińska, 2014). Such projects were also conducted in several CEE states (Drulák, Königová and Karlas, 2004; Drulák, 2009; Kubalkova, 2009; Batora and Hynek, 2009; Roter, 2009; Berg and Chillaud, 2009; Czaputowicz, 2012; Czaputowicz and Wojciuk, 2014; Stadtmüller, 2014; Czaputowicz, Ławniczak and Wojciuk, 2015). The IR discipline was discussed at the Ninth Central and East European International Studies Association (CEEISA) convention in Kraków in 2012 (Drulák, 2013; Guzzini, 2013; Jørgensen, 2013; Šabič, 2013; Volgy, 2013; Wojciuk, 2013; Czaputowicz, 2013a). The discussion has been on going in Poland since 2008, when the Polish Association of International Studies (*Polskie Towarzystwo Studiów Międzynarodowych*, PTSM) was established. Yearly PTSM conventions are dedicated to further developing Polish IR and include topics such as: the interdisciplinary nature of IR research, levels of research analysis, realist theory applications, institutions and norms in international relations, and liberal and neoliberal paradigms of IR.

Since 2004, IR scholars have been regularly surveyed—as part of the Teaching, Research, and International Policy (TRIP) project—by American scholars at the College of William & Mary in Virginia (Peterson, Tierney and Maliniak, 2005). The first edition of what has become TRIP's Survey of International Relations Scholars (SIRS) only included US-based scholars, but subsequent surveys carried out in 2006, 2008, and 2011 surveyed IR scholars in countries around the world (Maliniak et al., 2007; Jordan et al., 2009; Maliniak, Peterson and Tierney, 2012). The fifth edition of the SIRS, conducted in 2014, included participants from 31 countries and was administered in nine languages. The 2014 SIRS was the first to include Polish scholars, who represented the only participating country in the CEE. The Polish SIRS responses may be representative of the region. Even though the political situation in communist countries was not uniform across the Soviet bloc, CEE countries share a common historical experience—the communist period—and many similarities in the organisation of their academic institutions and in the ways their IR disciplines function.

This article is divided into four sections. In the first section, we explain the methodology of the TRIP survey and presents basic information on the Polish sample. In the second section, we characterize Polish IR as an academic discipline. We use the participants' responses to questions posed in the national section of the survey—particularly opinions on the development of the discipline after 1989, as well as its current strengths and weaknesses—throughout this article. In the subsequent section, we focus on research, comparing the interests in particular topics and geographical regions of Polish scholars with those of respondents in other countries that participated in SIRS in 2014. We also analysed scholars' perceptions of the usefulness of different kinds of research for practical policy purposes. Finally, in the fourth section of this article, we explore the opinions of SIRS respondents on economic and social issues, as well as their predictions concerning important international policy developments.

1. THE SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SCHOLARS AND ITS PARTICIPANTS

An American team of principal investigators coordinated and conducted the SIRS, together with country partners. The teams of country partners were responsible for creating databases of

IR scholars and for translating the survey into the national language when necessary. Scholars were included in the sample if they: 1) conducted IR research or taught IR courses, understood as a sub-field of political science; 2) had an active affiliation with a tertiary education or research institution. The Polish SIRS database was created using data from Poland's National Information Processing Institute and the websites of universities and research institutes. The survey was sent to 376 individuals and 193 responded—a response rate of 51.3 per cent. Altogether, 13,532 individuals from 31 countries² took part in the survey. 4,903 responses were received. The SIRS overall response rate was 36.2 per cent.

The TRIP team consulted with country partners to improve the relevance of SIRS questions to national IR communities. The Polish TRIPS partner team proposed adding a separate geographical region category, Central and Eastern Europe, to the existing list of possible answers. This category comprises countries of the former Eastern bloc that have integrated with Western structures like NATO and the EU since 1989. In previous TRIP surveys, all CEE countries—including, the Baltic states, the Czech Republic, Poland, or Romania—were labelled “Eastern Europe” and combined with all countries that had been part of the Soviet Union. Polish SIRS respondents received an additional ten questions concerning their views on the IR discipline in Poland. Respondents' answers to questions specifically developed for Polish IR scholars are related in appropriate sections of this paper.

Individuals younger than 45-years-old comprised the majority of Polish respondents (69 per cent, compared to 52 per cent among all SIRS participants, see Table 1).

TABLE 1: Ages of SIRS respondents in Poland and ages of all SIRS respondents in 31 countries

Respondent's age range	Poland, N=176	All countries, N=4515
<35-years-old	19.89	16.88
35-44-years-old	49.43	35.13
45-54-years-old	15.91	24.21
55-64-years-old	11.93	14.75
≥65-years-old	2.84	9.04

Source: authors' elaboration based on TRIP 2014 Faculty Survey Report, https://trip.wm.edu/reports/2014/rp_2014/ (16.10.2015).

Respondents in the range 35 to 44-years-old age range (almost 50 per cent of Polish respondents) started their academic careers when the number of students in IR programmes at universities was growing dynamically. At that time, it was relatively easy to find employment in IR departments. The small number of Polish SIRS respondents aged 65-years-old or older distinguishes Poland's IR scholars from their international peers. The relatively young age of Poland's SIRS respondents may be due to the reluctance of older Polish scholars to take part in online surveys. Overall, the mean age of Polish SIRS respondents was lower than that of the SIRS sample.

² Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Hong Kong, India, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Singapore, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, Taiwan, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The results of the survey have been published online, see https://trip.wm.edu/reports/2014/rp_2014/.

2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IR DISCIPLINE IN POLAND FOLLOWING 1989

The most important change in the IR discipline in post-1989 Central and Eastern Europe was the departure from compulsory Marxist doctrine and the introduction of the freedom of research. Nevertheless, other theoretical paradigms were not easily assimilated and Marxism has been replaced with common-sense realism, a practical approach that focuses on identifying national interests and analysing foreign policy without referencing a theoretical framework (Czaputowicz, 2012, pp.196–212).

In the 1990s, Polish researchers focused on Polish foreign policy challenges, as well as the functioning of NATO and the European Union. In Poland, as in other CEE countries, the IR discipline was attracting more students and professional scholars than it had previously. This change was visible in the increasing enrolment in IR programmes. In 2012, there were 28,000 IR students in Poland. The research development has been concentrated in just a few universities: in Warsaw, Kraków, Wrocław, Poznań, and Lublin. These universities award the majority of Poland's PhD degrees (Czaputowicz, Ławniczak and Wojciuk, 2015, p.78).

Polish researchers publish markedly fewer papers that appear in international databases, like the Web of Science, than their colleagues in the West. When Polish researchers' articles are published in prestigious journals, they are cited two to three times less often than those written by German or Italian authors (Wolszczak-Derlacz and Parteka, 2010, p.28). This phenomenon can be better understood via the SIRS comments written by Polish scholars on the weaknesses of the IR discipline in Poland. The issues raised most frequently by Poland's SIRS respondents were Polish IR scholars' theoretical and methodological shortcomings. Participants cited, an "inadequate development of theoretical studies," an "atheoretical, descriptive, and derivative publications," "theorising without proper knowledge of theories," a "lack of theoretical and methodological expertise," a "lack of reliable knowledge about the proper use of various research methods," and an "aversion to quantitative methods." Moreover, the respondents pointed out petrified hierarchical academic department structures, as well as their colleagues' psychological complexes, a general lack of academic originality, and parochialism within Polish universities and research institutes. The surveyed also mentioned the influence of Poland's communist past on some researchers, and cited "post-communist thinking."³

Another weakness highlighted in the Polish SIRS responses was a low level of internationalization, reflected in Polish IR scholars' limited presence in the international community. The Polish researchers surveyed said that they rarely participate in international research projects, rarely publish in high impact academic journals, and are seldom cited in the West. Their work is infrequently translated and therefore unknown abroad. One Polish SIRS participant characterized Polish IR publications as "opportunistic and focused on less competitive, marginal topics."

More optimistic signs of development of the IR discipline in Poland are evident in an increase in human resources, an increase in the number of IR MA and PhD degrees awarded, as well as the establishment of new IR journals. The growing number of Poland's talented

³ If not indicated otherwise, the statements are quoted from Czaputowicz and Ławniczak, 2015.

young researchers is a sign of generational change within the IR discipline. The quantitative increase of students and the development of IR as a programme of studies have improved scholars' earnings and living standards. However, these changes have also resulted in increased teaching duties and additional administrative burdens. An important change in Polish IR departments in recent years, according to some Polish SIRS respondents, is the introduction of a new system of assessing the academic achievements of scholars and evaluating their performances. Fundamental scientific standards (e.g., double-blind reviews) have been implemented and the National Science Centre is introducing new research grant schemes. However, while these changes are being formally adopted, not all of these changes are impacting established practices. For example, because of the large number of journals, most of which are weakly financed, it is difficult for journal editors to introduce rigorous review procedures.

Recently the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education initiated several changes regarding the evaluation of research institutions, stressing a quantitative measure of research quality assessed by the number of publications in peer-reviewed journals. Decisions regarding financing research projects submitted to the National Science Centre are made by considering citation indexes based on instruments such as the Web of Science, Publish or Perish (until 2015), and Scopus (from 2015). The Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education grants particular institutions financial support and the right to award academic degrees according to these new criteria, which stress publication in peer-reviewed journals (Ministerstwo Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego, 2007).

Polish SIRS Respondents indicated that with improved access to international publications since 1989, there has been a popularization of important texts and an increased awareness of trends in the global scientific community. When SIRS participants were asked to assess the impact of individual researchers on the development of the IR discipline over the past 20 years, the Poles responded quite similarly to researchers worldwide (see: Table 2).

TABLE 2: Most influential IR researchers, as indicated by Polish SIRS participants and by all SIRS participants in 31 countries

Most influential IR researcher, as offered by respondent	Poland, N=113	All Countries, N=3337
Joseph S. Nye Jr.	39.8	18.0
Alexander Wendt	35.4	38.6
Samuel Huntington	31.0	11.9
Kenneth Waltz	28.3	22.5
Robert O. Keohane	24.8	26.1
Francis Fukuyama	23.9	–
Barry Buzan	12.4	11.3
John J. Mearsheimer	10.6	19.8
Andrew Moravcsik	10.6	–
Zbigniew Brzeziński	9.7	–

Source: authors' elaboration based on TRIP 2014 Faculty Survey Report, https://trip.wm.edu/reports/2014/rp_2014/ (16.10.2015).

The differences between the top ten Polish responses offered by SIRS participants and the top ten answers given by all SIRS responses regarding the most influential researchers differed by just three scholars in each list. Francis Fukuyama, Andrew Moravcsik, and Zbigniew Brzeziński were respectively in the sixth, ninth, and tenth places among the Polish SIRS respondents, but these researchers were missing from the overall SIRS responses, which placed James Fearon, Stephen M. Walt, and Martha Finnemore in the respective eighth to tenth places. Compared to all SIRS participants, Polish SIRS participants recognized Samuel Huntington as an influential IR researcher more often than all SIRS participants did (identified in 31 per cent and 12 per cent of responses, respectively). A similar difference can be observed in the case of Joseph S. Nye (40 per cent of Polish SIRS respondents and 18 per cent among all SIRS participants). It should be noted that works by Joseph S. Nye, Samuel Huntington, Francis Fukuyama, Alexander Wendt, and Kenneth Waltz were translated and published in Poland, which could why Poles consider these researchers more influential than their peers in other countries do.

In the section of the 2014 SIRS created specifically for Poland, participants were asked to identify Polish scholars who had influenced the development of IR in Poland. Respondents could list up to four influential scholars in their answer. Ninety-one participants answered the question: 52 identified Józef Kukułka and 33 identified Ziemowit Jacek Pietraś. Kukułka founded the Institute of International Relations at the University of Warsaw in the 1970s and was the Institute's long-time director. Pietraś was Kukułka's equivalent in this regard in Lublin. Both passed away ten years ago. Among living researchers most often identified were Roman Kuźniar (37), Teresa Łoś-Nowak (24), Jacek Czaputowicz (22), Edward Haliżak (21), and Marek Pietraś (21).

TABLE 3: Books identified by Polish SIRS participants as the most influential IR books by Polish authors on the development of IR in Poland

Title	Number of indications, N=64
Czaputowicz (2007) <i>Theories of International Relations: Critique and systematisation</i>	20
Kukułka (2000) <i>Theory of International Relations</i>	14
Kukułka (1994) <i>Contemporary History of International Relations 1945–1994</i>	12
Łoś-Nowak (2000) <i>International Relations: Theories, systems, participants</i>	11
Kukułka (2003) <i>Introduction to International Relations</i>	8
Kuźniar (2005) <i>Politics and Power: Strategic studies – an outline</i>	8
Pietraś (1986) <i>Foundations of Theory of International Relations</i>	8
Haliżak (eds) (2012) <i>Geoeconomics</i>	6
Pietraś (1998) <i>Political Decision-making</i>	6

Source: Czaputowicz, Ławniczak 2015

Another question specific to the SIRS administered in Poland concerned the most important Polish books on IR. Table 3 shows that the respondents most often identified theoretically oriented books as the most influential. Again, the respondent could provide up to four titles.

3. RESEARCH INTERESTS

The 2014 SIRS respondents were asked to indicate their primary and secondary subfields within politics or political science (see Table 4).

TABLE 4: Primary and secondary subfield within political science (per cent, sum for both questions) identified by Polish and all SIRS participants

Research interest identified by 2014 SIRS participant	Poland, N=179	All countries, N=4713
Country X politics	10.56	7.73
Area studies/Regional studies (including European studies)	53.3	35.1
Comparative politics	12.84	25.59
Development studies	2.94	6.87
International relations/Global politics	73.46	72.1
Methods	4.13	5.65
Political philosophy/Political theory	8.78	8.84
Public policy/Public administration	7.04	4.09
Political sociology	3.5	3.98
Other	14.89	19.49
I study international relations, but not within the discipline of politics or political science	3.35	4.8
I am not a scholar of politics or political science	2.23	2.27
No secondary subfield	2.98	6.2

Source: authors' elaboration based on TRIP 2014 Faculty Survey Report, https://trip.wm.edu/reports/2014/rp_2014/ (17.08.2015).

Among SIRS participants, both in Poland and around the world, almost three-quarters indicated international relations as their primary or secondary subfield of research. Polish participants chose regional studies (including European studies) much more often than SIRS participants in other countries, but indicated comparative politics significantly less often. Relatively fewer respondents reported engaging in development studies. The large share of Poles involved in public policy or public administration can be the result of a relatively larger share of respondents who study or research European studies.

In the country-specific questions added to the Polish SIRS, respondents pointed out the development of international economic relations, regional studies (area studies), and European studies as strengths of the IR discipline in their country. They also observed, however, that

this development took scholars' attention away from other important international relations issues and areas.

Another question revealed that research in Poland is focused on several subject areas (see Table 5).

TABLE 5: IR research areas identified by Polish SIRS respondents and all SIRS respondents (per cent)

Participant's IR Research area	Poland, N=179			All countries, N=4703		
	Main	Secondary	Total	Main	Secondary	Total
Country X's foreign policy	2.79	24	26.79	7.72	17.68	25.4
Comparative foreign policy	8.38	35.43	43.81	2.98	11.19	14.17
Development studies	0	6.86	6.86	3.53	8.32	11.85
European studies or / European integration	18.99	19.43	38.42	7.51	8.32	15.83
Gender	0	2.86	2.86	1.19	3.26	4.45
Global civil society	1.68	2.29	3.97	1.02	4.66	5.68
History of the international relations discipline	0.56	5.71	6.27	0.74	4.5	5.24
Human rights	1.68	5.14	6.82	2.74	7.05	9.79
Human security	1.68	6.29	7.97	1.85	6.71	8.56
International/global environment	0	4.57	4.57	2.57	4.48	7.05
International/global ethics	0	4.57	4.57	1.28	2.78	4.06
International/global health	0	0	0	0.51	1.31	1.82
International/global history	0.56	13.71	14.27	1.98	6.44	8.42
International law	2.23	8	10.23	1.91	5.61	7.52
International organisation(s)	0	23.43	23.43	4.49	14.27	18.76
International/global political economy	4.47	10.29	14.76	9.65	10.15	19.8
International relations of a particular region / country X	21.79	29.71	51.5	9.06	15.98	25.04
International relations theory	6.15	22.86	29.01	7.51	17.05	24.56
International/global security	17.32	28.0	45.32	17.24	15.8	33.04
Philosophy of science	0	4	4	0.28	2.62	2.9
U.S. foreign policy	1.68	10.29	11.97	1.51	5.72	7.23
Other	7.82	6.86	14.68	9.42	9.59	19.01
I am not an IR scholar	2.23	NA	NA	4.87	NA	NA

Source: authors' elaboration based on TRIP 2014 Faculty Survey Report, https://trip.wm.edu/reports/2014/rp_2014/ (16.10.2015).

The most popular research areas among Polish SIRS respondents were the international relations of a particular region or country (22 per cent), European studies or European integration (19 per cent), and international (or global) security (17 per cent). These results are consistent with the participants' answers to open-ended questions about the importance of these areas, which were also interpreted as strengths of Polish IR studies. The Polish SIRS participants also indicated that it was important to have a good "understanding of issues related to energy security." The distribution of answers given by all SIRS participants to the above question is more diversified. Most respondents chose international security (17 per cent), followed by international political economy (10 per cent), and the international relations of a particular region/country (9 per cent). It should be noted that six per cent of Polish respondents and eight per cent in all SIRS participating countries chose IR theories as their main area of research.

Among the secondary areas of research (several could be chosen), Polish respondents most frequently indicated comparative foreign policy (nearly 44 per cent total in both questions) and Polish foreign policy (27 per cent total). The share of respondents who chose options related to the study of the foreign policies of other countries clearly distinguished Poles from researchers in all SIRS participating countries, which may indicate the importance of regional studies within Polish IR. This explanation is further supported by the fact that many respondents declared the international relations of a particular region as their main or secondary area of research. Again, European studies and studies on international security were also among the most popular options. Furthermore, Poles often indicated the study of international organisations and international history as their secondary areas of research.

It is worth noting that Polish respondents indicated, on average, 2.7 secondary areas, compared to 1.8 among respondents from all countries. This difference might hint at more dispersed research; while researchers in other SIRS participating countries are more focused on their main subject area.

Another issue raised in the TRIP SIRS was the region of the world that the respondents study. They were asked, "In your research, what regions of the world do you study, if any?" (main region and other regions, see Table 6).

Unsurprisingly, Polish researchers reported that they focus on Europe. Fifty-six per cent of Polish SIRS participants indicated interest in Western Europe (26 per cent as their main region), 50 per cent chose Central and Eastern Europe (13 per cent as their main region) and 25 per cent indicated Russia or the former Soviet Union (9 per cent as their main region). A relatively large share of respondents declared that their research is global in geographical scope (32 per cent total). Similarly, 31 per cent of respondents chose the option describing their interests as concerned with transnational actors or international organisations. 17 per cent of respondents indicated the Middle East and North Africa as their main or additional region of interest.

In their answers to open-ended questions added to the Polish version of SIRS, the respondents argued that Poland's IR discipline is "too Western-oriented", which results in insufficient interest in other regions of the world. One respondent remarked that the country's IR discipline is "Poland-centric, Eurocentric, and US-centric." Chinese or African studies are not well developed in Polish IR departments. At the same time, there are some geographical specializations, which the respondent considered strengths of Polish IR; they remarked on

TABLE 6: Regions of the world studied by Polish and all SIRS participants (per cent)

Region studied by participant	Poland, N=180			All countries, N=4674		
	Main region	Other regions	Total	Main region	Other regions	Total
Antarctic	0	1.7	1.7	0.04	0.70	0.74
Arctic	2.22	3.41	5.63	0.60	1.99	2.59
Central and Eastern Europe (including the Baltic states)	12.78	36.93	49.71	3.44	11.99	15.43
Central Asia (not including Afghanistan)	0	6.25	6.25	0.75	5.23	5.98
East Asia (including China)	5	13.07	18.07	8.37	14.51	22.88
Latin America (including Mexico and the Caribbean)	1.11	2.84	3.95	8.71	17.32	26.03
Middle East and North Africa (including Turkey)	6.67	10.8	17.47	9.95	15.82	25.77
North America (not including Mexico)	4.44	13.07	17.51	5.46	15.12	20.58
Oceania	0.56	1.14	1.7	0.58	2.20	2.78
Russia or the former Soviet Union (excluding Baltic states)	9.44	15.34	24.78	3.98	8.89	12.87
South Asia (including Afghanistan)	1.11	4.55	5.66	4.75	2.18	6.93
Southeast Asia	1.67	5.68	7.35	3.17	9.57	12.74
Sub-Saharan Africa	2.22	7.39	9.61	5.76	8.58	14.34
Western Europe	25.56	30.68	56.24	13.35	19.16	32.51
Global or uses cross-regional data	17.78	14.2	31.98	11.83	15.38	27.21
Transnational actors, International organisations, International non-governmental organisations	7.22	23.86	31.08	11.45	23.33	34.78
None	2.22	8.52	NA	9.63	9.67	NA

Source: authors' elaboration based on TRIP 2014 Faculty Survey Report, https://trip.wm.edu/reports/2014/rp_2014/ (16.10.2015).

their Polish peers' "knowledge of the situation in Central and Eastern Europe," "understanding of the post-Soviet area," and on their attention to the role of Russia in international relations.

It is difficult to make comparisons between Poland and all 31 SIRS countries in this regard, because researchers are generally more likely to focus on the region in which they work. Therefore, a large share of researchers who indicated Latin America as their main region of interest might reflect a relatively high number of participants in this region. In turn, the strong interest in the Middle East and East Asia (including China) can be explained by the importance of these regions in the foreign politics of all countries.

The TRIP SIRS also asked about the impact of diverging research areas on the foreign policy of the respondents' countries (see Table 7).

Polish researchers recognize the impact of foreign policy analysis on the foreign policy of their country more often than their peers in other countries; 56 per cent versus 26 respectively. Respondents from Poland are also more convinced than the respondents in all SIRS participating countries about the importance of security studies (52 per cent versus 44 per cent) and international law (36 per cent versus 22 per cent). On the other hand, the

TABLE 7: Areas on which international relations research had the largest impact on foreign policy (per cent) indicated by Polish and all SIRS participants

IR research area impacting foreign policy identified by SIRS participant	Poland, N=77	All countries, N=2008
Comparative foreign policy	55.84	23.51
Development studies	9.09	25.45
Global civil society	0	4.68
History of the international relations discipline	2.6	3.69
Human rights	18.18	22.06
Human security	5.19	14.24
International/global environment	2.6	9.06
International/global ethics	0	2.04
International/global health	5.19	3.49
International law	36.36	21.81
International organisation(s)	23.38	13.25
International/global political economy	12.99	24
International relations theory	3.9	7.87
International/global security	51.95	44.12
Intrastate conflict	20.78	18.68
Other	1.3	4.68
None of these have had any impact on foreign policy	7.79	9.06

Source: authors' elaboration based on TRIP 2014 Faculty Survey Report, https://trip.wm.edu/reports/2014/rp_2014/ (16.10.2015).

study of development, international political economy, and international issues related to the environment enjoy less recognition as having much impact on foreign policy among Polish respondents than among all SIRS respondents.

4. OPINIONS ON ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

Two questions in the TRIP survey asked respondents to identify their positions on economic and social issues. In both cases, there are significant differences between answers given in Poland and in all countries. Regarding economics, Polish scholars were much more likely to describe their position as somewhat or very right or to describe themselves as economically liberal—44 per cent versus 15 per cent of all respondents 31 surveyed countries (see Table 8).

TABLE 8: Polish and all SIRS respondents report positions on economic issues (per cent)

Participant's position on economic issues	Poland, N=173	All countries, N=4529
Very left	0	14.99
Somewhat left	14.45	41.91
Middle of the road	41.62	30.05
Somewhat right	39.88	13.53
Very right	4.05	1.35

Source: authors' elaboration based on TRIP 2014 Faculty Survey Report, https://trip.wm.edu/reports/2014/rp_2014/ (16.10.2015).

The global SIRS results show a clear majority of scholars, 57 per cent, described their positions on economic issues as “somewhat or very left,” compared to only 14 per cent in Poland. Indeed, it should be noted that not a single Polish respondent chose “very left.” This difference might arise from the negative connotations of left-wing economic policy leftover from Poland’s communist period, when Marxism was the official ideology and the economy was controlled by the state. The Polish respondents were more moderate when asked about their positions on social issues than they were on economic issues (see Table 9).

TABLE 9. Polish and all SIRS respondents positions on social issues (per cent)

Participant’s position on social issues	Poland, N=174	All countries, N=4542
Very left	13.79	28.31
Somewhat left	29.31	44.83
Middle of the road	29.89	21.38
Somewhat right	22.99	7.91
Very right	4.02	1.01

Source: authors’ elaboration based on TRIP 2014 Faculty Survey Report, https://trip.wm.edu/reports/2014/rp_2014/ (16.10.2015).

More Polish scholars describe their positions on these issues as “very or somewhat” liberal or left, than “very or somewhat” conservative or right—43 per cent versus 27 per cent, with 30 per cent declaring themselves moderate. However, compared with answers gathered from all SIRS participant countries, the Polish IR community appears to be significantly more conservative. The results for all participating countries show that only 9 per cent of researchers described their positions on social issues as somewhat right or very right, while 73 per cent indicated left-wing positions.

In another group of questions, respondents were asked to assess the likelihood of an armed conflict between the United States and China within the next ten years and to assess the likelihood of an armed conflict between the United States and Russia within the next ten years. Respondents were asked to gauge their prediction on a scale of zero to ten, with *zero* indicating conflict would not occur or was very unlikely and *ten* indicating a conflict was highly likely or certain. In the case of the US and China, the average prediction offered by Polish respondents was 2.1, compared to 1.8 among respondents in all SIRS participating countries. The question about the likelihood of a conflict between the US and Russia revealed a more pessimistic outlook among Polish researchers, with an average prediction of 3.0, while all SIRS participants answers averaged to 2.5. In both questions, Polish researchers consider the possibility of armed conflict more likely than their counterparts in other countries do (see Tables 10 and 11).

These differences between Polish respondents and all SIRS participant researchers were confirmed in another question, one that asked whether Russia and the United States are heading towards a new cold war. In Poland, 55 per cent of Polish SIRS participants and 33 per cent of all participants predicted a new cold war, while 32 per cent in Poland and 57 per cent in all participating countries did not believe the US and Russia were heading towards a new cold war (see Table 12).

TABLE 10: Likelihood of war between the United States and China over the next decade as indicated by Polish and all SIRS participants (per cent, except the last column)

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Average
Poland, N=74	21.62	22.97	28.38	12.16	4.05	4.05	1.35	1.35	1.35	1.35	1.35	2.07
All countries, N=2044	24.27	29.79	20.89	12.28	5.04	4.89	2.1	1.27	0.93	0.15	0.29	1.83

Source: authors' elaboration based on *TRIP 2014 Faculty Survey Report*, https://trip.wm.edu/reports/2014/rp_2014/ (16.10.2015).

TABLE 11: Likelihood of war between the United States and Russia over the next decade as indicated by Polish and all SIRS participants (per cent, except the last column)

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Average
Poland, N=74	16.22	18.92	14.86	14.86	9.46	12.16	2.7	2.7	6.76	0	1.35	2.95
All countries, N=2040	15.78	20.39	23.43	16.52	9.31	8.92	4.17	1.86	1.23	0.15	0.15	2.45

Source: authors' elaboration based on *TRIP 2014 Faculty Survey Report*, https://trip.wm.edu/reports/2014/rp_2014/ (16.10.2015).

TABLE 12. Polish and all SIRS participants' responses to: Are the United States and Russia heading towards a new cold war? (per cent)

Answer to: Are the US and Russia heading towards a cold war?	Poland, N=75	All countries, N=2046
Yes	54.67	32.99
No	32	57.43
Don't know	13.33	11.49

Source: authors' elaboration based on *TRIP 2014 Faculty Survey Report*, https://trip.wm.edu/reports/2014/rp_2014/ (16.10.2015).

CONCLUSIONS

In this article, we presented selected results of the fifth edition of the Teaching, Research, and International Policy project's 2014 Survey of International Relations Scholars, which for the first time included scholars from a Central and East European country—Poland. The SIRS answers Polish scholars provided allowed us to determine: the characteristic features of Polish IR defined by Polish IR scholars, the research interests of Polish scholars, and Polish IR scholars' views on social, economic, and international policy issues.

The survey enabled us to compare the Polish community of IR researchers with IR scholars from other countries. The Polish IR community is relatively large and its researchers

are younger than those in most of the 31 countries that participated in SIRS in 2014. Polish researchers have much in common with their counterparts around the world; there are however significant differences between Polish IR scholars and the IR scholars surveyed in the other countries included in the 2014 SIRS. Regional studies and foreign policy analyses are more popular in Poland than they are among all SIRS participants. Regarding geographical interests, Polish researchers focus on Europe (Western, Central, and Eastern), as well as on the post-Soviet area than their peers in the other countries that participated in SIRS. These findings are consistent with earlier research on the IR discipline in the CEE region (cited in the introduction).

Polish IR scholars were revealed to be, by Western standards, more conservative than their IR colleagues surveyed in other countries on both economic and social issues. They are also slightly more pessimistic in their predictions concerning potential conflicts between the US and China and between the US and Russia. Polish SIRS participants posited a greater likelihood of armed conflict between the United States and Russia, or the possibility of a new cold war between these countries than all SIRS participants did.

Respondents recognized the isolation of the Polish IR community during Poland's communist period, which continues to have negative consequences on the IR discipline in Poland. Encouraging further and higher quality internationalization of IR research could be supported by reforms introduced by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education. A large group of survey participants emphasized the need to strengthen theoretical and empirical research and to develop the skills necessary to design and conduct empirical research; some pointed out the need for improved quantitative methods in particular. These findings correspond to the results of previous research on the state of IR discipline in Poland. The analysis of papers from top Polish IR journals and PhD theses on IR related topics has shown the shortcomings of Polish IR scholarship concerning the use of methods and application of theories in research (Czaputowicz, Ławniczak and Wojciuk, 2015).

The survey confirmed that among Polish IR scholars, there is an increasing awareness of their community's identity within political science. The establishment of the Polish Association of International Studies helps to further integrate the IR community. Polish respondents were also asked whether IR in Poland should aim to achieve disciplinary autonomy by separating itself from political science: 60 per cent of participating scholars responded that it should, while 22 per cent responded that it should not, and 18 per cent answered that they did not have an opinion on the issue.

The SIRS showed that within the Polish IR scholarly community, there is a tension between proponents of continuity and proponents of change. The latter are critical of the current situation, calling for more "westernization" of academic practice and more international engagement. The former emphasise the need for the establishment of a self-reliant "Polish school" of international relations and are against imitating western scholarship. Arguably, there is a middle ground: Polish IR scholars should conduct original, well designed, and methodological research, while also capitalizing on their competitive advantages (e.g. regional focus) to build an independent identity within global academia.

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