

## ***Abstrakty Societa/Comunitas 2(4)/2007-1(5)/2008***

## ***Abstracts Societa/Comunitas 2(4)/2007-1(5)/2008***

### ***Dyskusja: Aktywność społeczna we współczesnej Polsce.***

### ***Discussion: Social Activism in Contemporary Poland.***

Participants: Teresa Bogucka, Piotr Gliński, Ireneusz Krzemiński, Ewa Korulska, Paweł Śpiwak, Magdalena Środa. Moderators: Aldona Jawłowska, Jan Kubik

Is the recent decline of social activism as dramatic as many studies indicate, and if so, what are its reasons? - are the key questions that frame the discussion. An alternative view is also considered: there is no dramatic decline, but the purposes and forms of activism have changed in contrast to those traditionally investigated by sociologists. The most pessimistic assessment of the situation, albeit from opposite positions, is offered by Piotr Gliński and Magda Środa. According to Gliński, the "elite-driven strategy of Polish democratization" and the "appropriation of the field of movement activity by the political left," are responsible for "the death of social movements". For him, the growing passivity of the Poles may be also attributed to the expansion of a consumer culture. Środa, by contrast, emphasizes the "negative" impact of increasingly influential right-wing ideologies and the encroachment of the Catholic Church on the public space intended for the development of spontaneous grass-roots activism. Teresa Bogucka and Ireneusz Krzemiński offer a more moderate criticism of the current state of public activism. Bogucka claims that Poles are collectively more effective when they oppose, rather than support, a specific cause. Still, although many NGOs are often lifeless, collective activity on a local scale is far from non-existent. Krzemiński notices the same phenomenon and points out that while mobilization is often short-lived and self-serving, it is fundamentally conducive to solving local problems without the mediation of the state institutions. In his opinion it is only natural that after a long period of material deprivation under state socialism people have turned to the task of rebuilding their material status. Paweł Śpiwak does not share Środa's pessimistic vision of a "feeble" and passive society. He talks about support groups and various types of informal activism that have escaped both the media spotlight and sociologists' interest, but which nevertheless help to generate the tissue of civil society. Ewa Korulska has an equally optimistic view of social activism. It comes from her experience of working with the Szkoła Liderów (School of Leaders). She believes that a model of the community worker as a "martyr," popular among the elites and enhanced by the media, has an essentially negative effect on

social activity. In Korulska's opinion, there exist many useful and interesting local community initiatives.

Both moderators express modest optimism, pointing out that the absence of large-scale social movements does not necessarily indicate that all forms of spontaneous social activism have atrophied. They, like most participants, are of the opinion that new forms of activity are emerging especially at a local level, in small-town and village communities, where they are extremely valuable as tools reinforcing democracy.

Jan Kubik

### **Polityka kontestacji, protest, ruchy społeczne: logika rozwoju teorii .**

#### **Contentious Politics, Protest, and Social Movements: The Logic of Theory Development**

Having reviewed the history of theories dealing with contentious collective action, protest, and social movements, I analyze in detail the political process theory (PPT) formulated primarily by Zald, McCarthy, Tilly, Tarrow, and McAdam and subsequently revised in *The Dynamics of Contention* (2001) by the latter three. I discuss the main analytical and theoretical innovations proposed in this work and review the main critical reactions it evoked. In the second part, I offer an overview the newest trends in the study of contentious politics, emphasizing three processes: 1) increasing role of constructivism in sociological theory, 2) turn towards culture, and 3) growing significance of studies on the transnationalization of contention.

Jan Kubik, Michał Wenzel

### **Logika społeczeństwa obywatelskiego: Polska, Węgry, Korea Południowa i Tajwan.**

#### **Krótki zarys projektu i wstępne wyniki**

#### **The Logic of Civil Society: Poland, Hungary, South Korea and Taiwan. Project's Outline and Preliminary Results**

The goal of our research project is to reconstruct the logic governing the Relations between civil society and the effectiveness of democracy. The project is in early stages, so we present here only its basic assumptions and some preliminary conclusions. The selection of countries was dictated by two considerations: (1) to control the impact of cultural, regional and historical

differences, and (2) to set a "natural experiment" of sorts as we have two countries where the democratic transformation was to large degree driven by social mobilization (Poland, South Korea) and two where it was conducted mostly "from the top down" (Hungary, Taiwan). Theoretically, our main task is to explore the possibility of studying various types of civil society (for example: more active versus more passive) and their relationship with democratic consolidation through the tools developed in the study of social movements and protest politics. The main method is event analysis. Team of coders analyzed the content of two main dailies in each country, covering 15-year periods after the democratic breakthrough.

Preliminary data analysis indicates that protest intensity increases during periods of economic boom. In Poland, more frequently than in other countries, a significant role in initiating social protests is played by workers. organizations, with Solidarity still being the main protest organizer. An increasing number of protests are caused by other than economic problems; there are also more protests of local nature. We also observe (particularly in Hungary) the emergence of what Bela Greskovits has termed "nasty civil society;" Its main manifestation being rallies employing racist framing and resorting to violence.

Rafał Pankowski

### **Uwagi o badaniu radykalnych ruchów nacjonalistycznych**

#### **Remarks on the Study of Radical Nationalist Movements**

The article presents some dilemmas and possibilities for further research concerning contemporary radical nationalist movement (RNM) in Poland. It is a moot point whether the name "social movement" is fitting, since this label is more frequently used to describe progressive movements. Nevertheless, formal definition criteria are satisfied: RNM depends on collective action determined by certain common aims. Its ideology, centered on exclusivist mono-ethnic idea of nation, overrides internal differences, e.g. concerning the role of religion. As radical nationalist ideology is promoted by a number of political organizations, it seems vital to reach beyond formal structures and to analyze the cultural resources that form the real backbone of RNM, especially the popularization of its ideology among members of the younger generation (e.g. by means of rock music). The appearance of radical nationalist groups in the mainstream of Polish politics is analyzed in terms of political process theories, arguing that

RNM's relative success was made possible not by its own merits but rather by the weaknesses of the liberal-democratic consensus that had been forged in Polish politics in the 1990s.

Jacek Kochanowski

### **Poza horyzont heteronormatywności. Ruchy społeczne lesbijek i gejów**

#### **Beyond the Horizon of (Hetero)normativity: Gay and Lesbian Social Movements**

I present an analysis of Polish LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual and transsexual) movement which is still relatively small. As a starting point I propose a definition of LGBT as a social movement, whose activity seems to be guided principally by the idea of transforming a *heteronormative* society into one *respecting sexual difference*. In the course of analysis deriving from Michel Foucault's knowledge/power theory, I arrive at the conclusion that LGBT functions mainly through a paradoxical appropriation of antihomosexual expert discourse which hugely affects its dynamics and type of activity. Precisely this kind of appropriation has determined the stages of LGBT world movement which I discuss in this paper, with special emphasis on changes of strategy aimed to gain political impact and related changes in the way collective identity of lesbians and gays is constructed. Against this background the Polish LGBT movement appears less than modest and, in my opinion, is just setting out on its specific road of development. I conclude that it is not likely that a strong lesbian and gay movement resembling similar American organizations will emerge in Poland; what can be expected is a comprehensive "freedom" movement formed as a coalition of groups within the so-called New Left, and including, besides LGBT, various environment protection groups, feminist organizations, pacifist and anti-war movements, and others.

Małgorzata Fuszara

### **Polityka i karnawał, czyli nowy ruch kobiecy w Polsce**

#### **Politics and Carnival, or the New Women's Movement in Poland**

I present several non-registered women's groups whose declared aims, strategies and methods of activity situate them among new social movements. These groups are informal, nonhierarchical, fluid with respect to structure and membership, and inclusive, i.e. trying to attracting people from outside the movement. Their members, conscious of the political nature

of their actions, also consciously choose to play carnival-like games involving convention reversal. Main strategies and domains of activity include semitheatrical forms, musical performances, playing with conventions, exposing stereotypes and the limitations they produce, self-realization projects with special emphasis on the experience of sisterhood, noncompetitive togetherness, and creating feminine space. These groups have common goals, such as opposition to discrimination, struggle for the equality of the sexes, the rights of women, their freedom and possibility of self-expression. In other respects they are extremely diverse: there are groups whose members consider the right to terminate pregnancy to be a fundamental human right, and Catholic groups rejecting the right to abortion on religious grounds; all-feminine groups and those open to both sexes. The links between new womens' movements and womens' organizations in Poland are very close. They have common goals, they cooperate on various events and projects, the nonregistered groups often use the institutional infrastructure of officially recognized movements. Sometimes they merge, since the same people participate in both kinds of structures. So, despite all differences, they do not constitute separate worlds, but coexist and frequently cooperate in aid of a shared ideal: equality of the sexes, non-discrimination and freedom of self-realization for women.

Marcin Jewdokimow, Magdalena Garncarek

### **W pół kroku. Single o sobie samych**

#### **In Mid-Step. Singles on singles**

*I want to stop being single, but meanwhile I'm fine with it* - the contradiction within this statement (an affirmation and denial of the current state of affairs) is typical for singles' discourse. In our paper we investigate an area where the confrontation of individual experiences related to being single with popcultural and expert-generated visions of this pattern makes itself most obvious. We analyse the opinions of people who consider themselves single and who have discussed this phenomenon on a forum at the grono.net webserver. As these are concerned mainly with questions of identity in the context of everyday life, we were able to research the following areas: single identity, his/her attitude to love, friendship and relationships, certain aspects of singles' consumption and their specific language.

Viktor Tarnawski

### **Kulturowy ruch młodzieżowy rolewików w Rosji**

#### **Roleviks - a Cultural Youth Movement in Russia**

I discuss one of the most interesting youth movements in Russia in recent years - *Rolevoye Dvijenie*, known as the Rolevik movement. The Roleviks gained a large following in the 1990's due to their main form of activity: the organization of LARP (Live Action Role Playing) games in Poland and Western Europe. The present analysis is based on my own empirical research, in the form of 30 interviews conducted with Roleviks in 2001 and 2002 in four Russian cities: Sankt Petersburg, Novosibirsk, Irkutsk and Ekaterinburg. Using the in-depth interview method with a small degree of standardization I have gained a comprehensive insight into a community of young people, so far undescribed in any general scientific publication.

I present in turn the history of the Roleviks in Russia; various forms of their activity; the self-organization of the movement; the relationship between the movement and Russian society; significant values and attitudes shaping people linked with the movement. I point out the importance of LARP to thousands of young Russians, while attempting to show that this activity is not mere "childishness" but can be viewed as a conscious creation of an alternative reality, enhancing the everyday world of the Russian youth.

The results of my research demonstrate that the emergence of the Roleviks - especially their style of life and involvement in culture - is closely related to the radical cultural and social changes, which took place in Russia in recent years. Within the Russian culture of postmodernism, with its enormous variety of truths and visions of reality, the Rolevik movement has become an eloquent example of new cultural trends.

Tomasz Wrzosek

### **Młodzież Wszechpolska i Kościół: ureligijnienie polityki i polityzacja religijności**

#### **Młodzież Wszechpolska (All-Polish Youth) and the Church: When Religion becomes Political and Politics – Religious**

I describe the basic traits of religiousness of the Catholic-Nationalist organization All-Polish Youth. My analysis focuses on three types of religious expression: interpretation of the elements of Catholic religious doctrine, religious practices observed by members of the movement, and quoted religious authorities. I claim that APY members manage to combine Catholicism (by

definition a universal religion) with particularistic nationalism, owing to their selective emphasis on isolated fragments of theology, supported by selected quotes of authorities such as pope John Paul II or the late primate of Poland Stefan Wyszyński. This means that APY members treat religion as an instrument to promote their political and social views. I also demonstrate that APY religiousness is essentially traditionalistic, as its members do not accept the modern concept of separation of Church and State, while their interpretation of Catholic doctrine is closer to the spirit of the Council of Trent than to Vatican II.

Ariel Zieliński

**Pomiędzy odnową a rozłamem. Nowe ruchy religijne w Kościele katolickim w Polsce**  
**New Religious Movements vs New Social Movements. The Case of Catholic Charismatic Movement**

The concept of New Religious Movement (NRM) is rarely associated with Christianity; it appears even more rarely in discussions of New Social Movement (NSM). This grievance is indicative of the two goals I set myself in this paper. The first of these is to juxtapose, for the sake of academic order, the concepts of NRM and NSM and to consider the advantages of such a juxtaposition. The second is to introduce the problems of Catholic charismatic movement, with special emphasis on the conflicts related to its activity, as vividly illustrated by instances of groups which have abandoned the movement. Although not typical for the movement's dynamics, these conflicts illustrate the tension existing within the Polish Catholic Church between "voluntary religiousness" and the Church institutional framework.

Paweł Możdżyński

**Sacrum - przekroczenie – zaangażowanie w sztuce Althamera, Janin, Kozyry i Żmijewskiego**  
**Sacrum - Transgression - Commitment in the Art of Althamer, Janin, Kozyra, and Żmijewski**

I start with an argument contesting an often encountered view on contemporary art that artists interested in the sphere of the sacred do not relate to the real world and common social problems. I also discuss the situation of art in Poland after 1989.

I go on to discuss the art of the Polish contemporary artists: Paweł Althamer, Zuzanna Janin, Katarzyna Kozyra, and Artur Żmijewski, claiming that it is justified to speak of an emerging artistic movement. I point out some common

features of their work, ie. quest for variously perceived *sacrum*; investigation of alternative states of consciousness; interest in the body and carnality; involvement with the present, the commonplace, the social; (auto)therapeutic actions; curiosity about death; transgressive activity.

I conclude with a rough interpretation of this art in the light of anthropological and sociological ideas (V. Turner and A. Giddens).