

**KONKURS SONATA 9
WNIOSEK
O FINANSOWANIE PROJEKTU BADAWCZEGO
REALIZOWANEGO PRZEZ OSOBĘ ROZPOCZYNAJĄCĄ
KARIERĘ NAUKOWĄ POSIADAJĄCĄ STOPIEŃ NAUKOWY DOKTORA¹**

dla którego wnioskodawcą jest osoba fizyczna niezatrudniona w podmiotach,
o których mowa w art. 10 pkt. 1-8 i pkt. 10 ustawy z dnia 30 kwietnia 2010 r. o zasadach finansowania nauki,
przy czym projekt nie może być realizowany w podmiotach wnioskujących o pomoc publiczną oraz podmiotach złożonych

¹ Należy przez to rozumieć osobę, która nie wcześniej niż 5 lat przed rokiem wystąpienia z wnioskiem uzyskała stopień naukowy doktora; do okresu tego nie wlicza się urlopu macierzyńskiego, urlopu na warunkach urlopu macierzyńskiego, dodatkowego urlopu macierzyńskiego, dodatkowego urlopu na warunkach urlopu macierzyńskiego, urlopu ojcowskiego, urlopu rodzicielskiego i urlopu wychowawczego udzielanych na zasadach określonych w kodeksie pracy.

DANE WNIOSKODAWCY

<p>(imię, nazwisko, tytuł lub stopień naukowy) dr Piotr Wojciech Plucienniczak Południowa 7, 97-505 Dobryszyc, łódzkie, Polska tel.: 792-282-678 email: pplucienniczak@gmail.com</p>	<p>Wypełnia Narodowe Centrum Nauki</p> <p><i>Nr rejestracyjny wniosku:</i></p> <p><i>Data wpływu wniosku:</i></p>
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A. DANE PODMIOTU REALIZUJĄCEGO

Status wnioskodawcy

9. Osoba fizyczna

Nazwa i adres podmiotu realizującego

Fundacja Socjometr Laboratorium Rozwiązań Społecznych
Socjometr Foundation - Laboratory of Social Solutions

Ojcowska 15/1, 32-087 Pękowice, małopolskie,
Siedmiocyfrowy identyfikator gminy: 120617 2
tel.: 609521485,
email: biuro@socjometr.pl
NIP, REGON, KRS
5130234526, 122802133, 000045428

Adres korespondencyjny

Ojcowska 15/1, 32-087 Pękowice, małopolskie

Status organizacyjny podmiotu

A8. Fundacja

Czy jednostka otrzymuje dotację na działalność statutową z budżetu nauki? **NIE**

Czy podmiot stanowi jednostkę zaliczaną do sektora finansów publicznych? **NIE**

Wnioskowane finansowanie na realizację projektu badawczego nie stanowi dla Podmiotu pomocy publicznej, o której mowa w art. 107 ust. 1 Traktatu o funkcjonowaniu Unii Europejskiej (dawny art. 87 ust. 1 Traktatu ustanawiającego Wspólnotę Europejską).

Kierownik podmiotu

Konrad Stępnik, prezes

Nazwa stanowiska w j. angielskim president

Tytuł w j. angielskim --

Nazwa i adres jednostki realizującej

Fundacja Socjometr Laboratorium Rozwiązań Społecznych

Ojcowska 15/1, 32-087 Pękowice, małopolskie

tel.: 609521485,

email: biuro@socjometr.pl

Czy jednostka otrzymuje dotację na działalność statutową z budżetu nauki? nie

B. INFORMACJE OGÓLNE

Tytuł projektu	Związki i sieci. Nowe protesty pracownicze w Polsce, 2004-2014		
Tytuł projektu w j. angielskim:	Unions and networks. New workers' protests in Poland, 2004-2014		
Obszar badawczy:	HS - Nauki Humanistyczne, Społeczne i o Sztuce		
Numer panelu dyscyplin	HS6 - Człowiek i życie społeczne		
Pomocnicze określenia identyfikujące	HS6_14 - Struktura i dynamika społeczna, zmiana środowiska i społeczeństwo HS6_15 - Socjologia idei, władzy, norm, organizacji		
Planowany okres realizacji projektu (w miesiącach)	24	Liczba wykonawców projektu	1
Słowa kluczowe	protest, ruch społeczny, ruch pracowniczy, związki zawodowe		
Słowa kluczowe w j. angielskim:	protest, social movement, labour movement, trade unions		
Planowane nakłady w zł:	Ogółem	Pierwszy rok realizacji	
	188 650,00	101 750,00	
Czy projekt jest realizowany we współpracy międzynarodowej?			nie

C. STRESZCZENIE PROJEKTU

1. Cel prowadzonych badań/hipoteza badawcza

Celem badania jest opisanie nowych form protestów pracowniczych oraz warunków ich występowania w Polsce w latach 2004-2014. Przemiany po transformacji ustrojowej, zwłaszcza prywatyzacja, odcisnęły głębokie piętno na organizacjach pracowniczych. Związki zawodowe zostały poddane marginalizacji, a niektóre z ich funkcji przejęli inni aktorzy. Prowadzi to do historycznej przemiany samej istoty ruchu pracowniczego: model neokorporacyjny zostaje zastąpiony przez model social movement unionism („związki społeczne”), w którym związki są jednym tylko z aktorów szerszego ruchu na rzecz sprawiedliwej pracy. Główna hipoteza projektu brzmi zatem: w odpowiedzi na niekorzystne struktury możliwości, protesty pracownicze przyjmować będą formułę związków społecznych. Przekłada się to na struktury mobilizacji, repertuary oraz ramy rozumienia protestu.

2. Zastosowana metoda badawcza/metodyka

Badanie używa metodologii analizy epizodów protestu (protest event analysis): na podstawie badania źródeł prasowych (dwóch ogólnokrajowych dzienników, dwóch tygodników związkowych oraz archiwów Polskiej Agencji Prasowej) zostanie skonstruowana baza protestów pracowniczych. Jej statystyczna analiza pozwoli na stworzenie socjologicznego obrazu protestów pracowniczych w czterech kluczowych wymiarach: form organizacyjnych, symbolicznych ram interpretacyjnych, form działania oraz struktur możliwości co pozwoli zweryfikować hipotezy badawcze. Analizę uzupełni analiza sieciowa oraz wywiady z przedstawicielami organizacji i ruchów pracowniczych.

3. Wpływ spodziewanych rezultatów na rozwój nauki, cywilizacji, społeczeństwa

Projekt przekracza tradycyjne podziały między socjologią stosunków przemysłowych i socjologią ruchów społecznych. Odpowiada tym samym na wyrażaną przez badaczy potrzebę pilnego „ożywienia” socjologii pracy i stosunków przemysłowych. Realizacja projektu przyczyni się do zdobycia całkowicie nowej ilościowej wiedzy na temat aktywności ruchów społecznych w Polsce, które bardzo rzadko badane są ilościowo. Teoretycznym problemem, z jakim mierzy się projekt, jest relacja między niekorzystnymi strukturami możliwościami, a kształtem jaki przyjmuje protest w odpowiedzi na nie.

C. ABSTRACT

1. Research project objectives/ Research hypothesis (in English)

The aim of the project is to study new forms of workers' collective action and conditions of their occurring in Poland after the access to the EU (2004-2014). Transformation of 1989 and its aftermath, especially mass privatization, has deeply influenced workers' self-organization. Trade unions became marginalized and some of their function were taken by different social actors. This situation leads to unprecedented change in the very nature of the labor movement: neocorporatism becomes superseded by social unionism model, in which trade unions are only one of broad alliance towards fair job and social justice. The main hypothesis of the project is: in response to unfavorable opportunity structures, labor protest will take social union formula. It has consequences for mobilizing structures, repertoires and interpretative frames of the protest.

2. Research project methodology (in English)

The project is based on protest event analysis methodology in its main part: using the study of press sources (two nationwide daily newspapers, two trade union weeklies and archives of Polish Press Agency) we will construct a historical database of labor protests. Its statistical analysis will allow constructing sociological image of workers' collective action in four crucial dimensions: organizational forms, forms of action, interpretative frames and opportunity structures. Protest event analysis will be supplemented by network analysis of data gathered and semi-structured interviews with representatives of labor organizations active in social union protests.

3. Expected impact of the research project on the development of science, civilization and society (in English)

The project rejects traditional distinction between sociology of industrial relations and sociology of social movements. It responds therefore to an urgent need to "reinvigorate" sociology of work and industrial relations. Realization of the project will allow creation of entirely new knowledge on collective action in Poland, which is very rarely studied using qualitative methods. The main theoretical problem the project strives to tackle, is a relation between unfavorable opportunity structures and forms of protest.

POPULARNONAUKOWE STRESZCZENIE PROJEKTU (W JĘZYKU POLSKIM)

Celem badania jest opisanie nowych form protestów pracowniczych oraz warunków ich występowania w Polsce w latach 2004-2014. Przemiany po transformacji ustrojowej, zwłaszcza prywatyzacja, odcisnęły głębokie piętno na organizacjach pracowniczych. Związki zawodowe zostały poddane marginalizacji, a niektóre z ich funkcji przejęli inni aktorzy. Prowadzi to do historycznej przemiany samej istoty ruchu pracowniczego: model neokorporacyjny zostaje zastąpiony przez model social movement unionism („związki społeczne”), w którym związki są jednym tylko z aktorów szerszego ruchu na rzecz sprawiedliwej pracy. Główna hipoteza projektu brzmi zatem: w odpowiedzi na niekorzystne struktury możliwości, protesty pracownicze przyjmować będą formułę związków społecznych. Przekłada się to na struktury mobilizacji, repertuary oraz ramy rozumienia protestu.

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Projekt przekracza tradycyjne podziały między socjologią stosunków przemysłowych i socjologią ruchów społecznych. Odpowiada tym samym na wyrażaną przez badaczy potrzebę pilnego „ożywienia” socjologii pracy i stosunków przemysłowych. Realizacja projektu przyczyni się do zdobycia całkowicie nowej ilościowej wiedzy na temat aktywności ruchów społecznych w Polsce, które bardzo rzadko badane są ilościowo. Teoretycznym problemem, z jakim mierzy się projekt, jest relacja między niekorzystnymi strukturami możliwościami, a kształtem jaki przyjmuje protest w odpowiedzi na nie.

DESCRIPTION FOR THE GENERAL PUBLIC (IN ENGLISH)

The aim of the project is to study new forms of workers' collective action and conditions of their occurring in Poland after the access to the EU (2004-2014). Transformation of 1989 and its aftermath, especially mass privatization, has deeply influenced workers' self-organization. Trade unions became marginalized and some of their function were taken by different social actors. This situation leads to unprecedented change in the very nature of the labor movement: neocorporatism becomes superseded by social unionism model, in which trade unions are only one of broad alliance towards fair job and social justice. The main hypothesis of the project is: in response to unfavorable opportunity structures, labor protest will take social union formula. It has consequences for mobilizing structures, repertoires and interpretative frames of the protest.

The project is based on protest event analysis methodology in its main part: using the study of press sources (two nationwide daily newspapers, two trade union weeklies and archives of Polish Press Agency) we will construct a historical database of labor protests. Its statistical analysis will allow constructing sociological image of workers' collective action in four crucial dimensions: organizational forms, forms of action, interpretative frames and opportunity structures. Protest event analysis will be supplemented by network analysis of data gathered and semi-structured interviews with representatives of labor organizations active in social union protests.

The project rejects traditional distinction between sociology of industrial relations and sociology of social movements. It responds therefore to an urgent need to "reinvigorate" sociology of work and industrial relations. Realization of the project will allow creation of entirely new knowledge on collective action in Poland, which is very rarely studied using qualitative methods. The main theoretical problem the project strives to tackle, is a relation between unfavorable opportunity structures and forms of protest.

JUSTIFICATION - BASIC RESEARCH

The aim of the project is to explore changes in the activity of the labour movement in Poland - an important, yet under-researched actor of the public sphere. It aims at creating entirely new knowledge concerning the movement and provide theoretical analysis of its activities. In general, project is concerned with issues of social and political inequalities and conflicts that form basis for mobilization of social movements.

INFORMATION ON THE PAST SUBMISSION(S) OF THE PROPOSAL (IN ENGLISH):

Czy wniosek został złożony w poprzedniej edycji konkursu OPUS, PRELUDIUM, SONATA? tak
 Numer rejestracyjny wniosku z poprzedniej edycji konkursu: 2014/15/D/HS6/05001

Nr rej.:	2014/15/D/HS6/05001	Kierownik projektu:	dr Piotr Wojciech Płucienniczak	Wnioskodawca:	Uniwersytet Jagielloński; Wydział Filozoficzny
Tytuł projektu:	Sieci i związki. Protesty pracownicze w Polsce 1994-2014				Wynik oceny: zakwalifikowany do II etapu oceny

(If the proposal has been submitted to the NCN before, on giving the ID of the former submission you can list reviewers' critical remarks, changes made to the proposal, and your explanations in response to reviewers' remarks (up to 10,000 characters) Please note: As the proposal is being re-submitted under a new call, changes applied to it in accordance with expert reviewers and external expert reviewers' remarks can be no guarantee of the proposal's success.)

The previous version of the research proposal was rejected on the basis of three major arguments: (1) the need for more emphasis on the theoretical dimension of the project, (2) topicality of the data gathered, and (3) critical remarks concerning the methodology (sampling of newspaper data and the number of interviews.)

1. Theoretical dimension

The previous research project was, in fact, exploratory. This time we have decided to put emphasis on the relation between changing opportunity structures the labor movement is bound with and forms of collective action. We have also introduced debate with Ekiert and Kubik's (1999) findings on the consolidation of democracy: positive verification of our hypothesis would mean that the process of deinstitutionalization of social conflict is happening.

2. Topicality of research problem

In the previous version the project aimed at study of workers' collective action in years 1994-2014. We agree, that this timescale was unnecessary for our research objectives and greatly increased both financial and labor costs of the research. Therefore we have decided to shorten the studied period to years 2004-2014. It allowed to further refine the theoretical models and clean up theoretical model.

3. Methodology

We have included reviewers' suggestions concerning the number of interviews and the need to put more emphasis on the qualitative side of the research. The number of interviews was increased and the balance of the methodology reconsidered. We cannot, however, agree with the argument that the newspaper in question should be sampled. With the shortening of the timeframe of the project, it becomes much more labor and time-consuming, and that alleviates some of reviewers' arguments. What is more important, we expect to create only small-N database of workers' protest and limiting of data sources could weaken correlations and make verification of our major hypothesis improbable.

D. ANKIETA DOROBKU NAUKOWEGO KIEROWNIKA PROJEKTU**1. Imienny wykaz***(tytuł naukowy, stopień naukowy, imię, nazwisko, charakter udziału w realizacji projektu)*

Tytuł zawodowy, stopień naukowy lub tytuł naukowy	Imię i nazwisko	Charakter udziału
dr	Piotr Wojciech Plucienniczak	Kierownik projektu

2. Ankieta dorobku naukowego*(obowiązkowa dla Kierownika projektu)***Kierownik projektu dr Piotr Wojciech Plucienniczak****1) Dane osobowe**

Imię i nazwisko: dr Piotr Wojciech Plucienniczak

PESEL: 84031518954

Kierownik projektu spełnia kryteria określone dla osoby rozpoczynającej karierę naukową, zgodnie z Art. 2 pkt. 3 Ustawy z 30 kwietnia 2010 r. o Narodowym Centrum Nauki?: tak

Czy w ostatnich pięciu latach przed złożeniem wniosku korzystał(a) Pani/Pan z urlopu macierzyńskiego, dodatkowego urlopu macierzyńskiego, dodatkowego urlopu na zasadach urlopu macierzyńskiego, urlopu ojcowskiego, urlopu rodzicielskiego i wychowawczego, udzielanych na zasadach określonych w przepisach Kodeksu Pracy lub pobierał zasiłek chorobowy lub świadczenia rehabilitacyjnego w związku z niezdolnością do pracy, w tym spowodowaną chorobą wymagającą rehabilitacji i leczenia? : nie

Typ zatrudnienia w projekcie: wynagrodzenie pełnoetatowe

Rodzaj stanowiska: pozostałe

Okres pobierania wynagrodzenia w projekcie (w miesiącach): 24

2) Adres zamieszkania, numer telefonu, numer faksu, email

Adres zamieszkania: Południowa 7, 97-505 Dobryszycze, łódzkie, Polska

Adres do korespondencji: Południowa 7, 97-505 Dobryszycze, łódzkie, Polska

numer telefonu: 792-282-678

numer faksu: --

E-mail: pplucienniczak@gmail.com

3) Miejsca zatrudnienia i zajmowane stanowiska**4) Informacje o liczbie cytowań oraz indeksie H dla paneli HS (nauki humanistyczne i społeczne), tam gdzie to możliwe podać:**

źródło: Publish or Perish

łączna liczba cytowań wszystkich dotychczasowych publikacji bez autocytowań: 1

indeks h: 0

5) Academic and Research Career (in English)*(Institution, Department/Faculty or any other Research Unit, Academic Training, Date of obtaining Academic Degree)***01.2014 - Ph.D. in sociology** at Jagiellonian University. Thesis title: *Krytyka Polityczna as a contemporary New Left movement. Sociological inquiry*, advisor: prof. Krzysztof Gorlach**06.2008 - M.A. in sociology** at Jagiellonian University. Thesis title: *Anti-institutional moods. May '68 and social theory*, advisor: prof. Mariola Flis.**6) Publication Record for HS (Art, Humanities and Social Sciences)***up to 10 most important works published over the period of 10 years prior to the submission of the proposal; during the evaluation emphasis will be put on the quality of the publications, i.e. if they are on the list by JCR, or on comparable lists (if any apply), and the monographs' nationwide or international impact will also be considered (where possible, please indicate current five-year impact factor of the journal and number of citations of each publication)*

No.	Author(s)	Publication title in the original publication language	Journal (volume, pages) / monograph or monograph by many authors (editor(s), place, publisher, pages. Important note: please do not translate into English journals' and monographs' titles)	Year of publication	Current five-year impact factor	Total number of citations excluding self-citations
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	P. Płucienniczak, D. Płatek	Mobilizing extreme right in Poland. Marginalization, institutionalization, radicalization	"The challenge of collective action: New perspectives on civil society and social activism in contemporary Poland". Eds: K. Jacobsson, E. Korolczuk. Oxford - New York 2015	2015	bd.	0
2.	P. Płucienniczak, K. Gorlach, M. Klekotko	Obywatelstwo - społeczeństwo obywatelskie - państwo	"Studia Socjologiczne", 1/2013	2013	bd.	0
3.	P. Płucienniczak	Artistic, social or political critique? The dilemmas of Krytyka Polityczna	"Emecon. Employment and Economy in Central Eastern Europe", 2/2012	2012	bd.	0
4.	P. Płucienniczak	Postmodernizm, fin-de-siècle	"Refleksje na temat ponowoczesności". Ed. M. Lubecki. Kraków 2012	2012	bd.	0
5.	P. Płucienniczak	Control cannot hold: polityka hałasu, ekonomia usterek	"Ha!art", 37/2012	2012	bd.	0
6.	P. Płucienniczak	Socjologia codzienności i socjologia na co dzień	"Światy i konteksty społeczne". Ed. G. Bryda. Kraków 2011	2011	bd.	0
7.	P. Płucienniczak	Od nowej lewicy do nowej prawicy? Droga przez mękę pokolenia '68	"Kultura i Społeczeństwo", 1/2012	2012	bd.	0

8.	P. Płucienniczak	Socjologia - poezja - kapitalizm. Bloom i inni o nauce	"Teoretyczne podstawy socjologii wiedzy", vol. III. Eds. P. Bytniewski, M. Chałubiński. Lublin 2011	2011	bd.	0
9.	P. Płucienniczak	Ciało/system. Cieleśność robotnika w systemie socjalistycznym	"Ciało symboliczne. Ciało medyczne. Ciało estetyczne". Ed. J. Jagła. Łódź 2009	2009	bd.	0
10.	P. Płucienniczak	Oprogramowanie deliberatywne. Jürgen Habermas i open source	"Nie/konsekwencje ponowoczesności. Wybór tekstów". Eds. P. Płucienniczak, A. Szczepan, W. Szymański. Kraków 2008	2008	bd.	0

and/or the research in art: music, fine arts, theatre, film (in English)

up to 10 most important artistic achievements and achievements in the research in art (dating from the period of 10 years prior to the submission of the proposal) with nationwide or international impact, e.g. authorship and publication of a work of art. (a musical score, a record), directing a film, a play, an opera, playing a lead role, authoring an individual exhibition, actively participating in a festival with international impact, directing an international artistic venture

n/a

7) Research projects led: both on-going and carried out in the period of 5 years prior to the submission of the proposal¹ (only those to which one contributed as the Principal Investigator, "Kierownik" in Polish), funded under national and international funding schemes (in English)

¹ This period does not include maternity/paternity leave or parental leave granted in compliance with the employment code.

(titles and ID numbers of projects, sources of funding, dates and places of project implementation and the list of the most important publications resulting from each project)

No research projects.

8) Information on similar research tasks funded from various sources (including the NCN) and tasks in projects submitted under current calls for proposals published by the NCN (in English)

(project title, ID number of project, principal investigator, main research tasks, source of funding, justification of the need to fund the proposed research tasks in the light of similar tasks listed above)

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9) Research experience (longer research visits, placements, etc.) in Poland and abroad over the past 10 years (in English)
(country, institution, type of research stay, duration)

Poland - Warsaw University, Institute of Sociology - research visit (scholarship) - 2010/2011 (winter semester)
Italy - European University Institute, Florence - library query - 2010 (summer)

10) Most important international and prestigious Polish awards for research (max. 5) as well as other research activity (plenary lectures at conferences; in case of research in art, also active participation in international exhibitions, festivals, artistic events and projects in fine arts, music, theatre and film)

(type of prize/award, place and date)

n/a

. PLAN BADAŃ

Lp.	Nazwa zadania badawczego		Podmiot realizujący zadanie
	w j. polskim	w j. angielskim	
1.	Badania pilotażowe i przygotowanie kwestionariusza kodowego	Pilotage and preparation of the questionnaire	Fundacja Socjometr Laboratorium Rozwiązań Społecznych
2.	Zbieranie i kodowanie danych dotyczących epizodów protestu	Gathering and coding of protest event data	Fundacja Socjometr Laboratorium Rozwiązań Społecznych
3.	Statystyczna analiza struktur mobilizacyjnych i repertuarów ruchu pracowniczego	Statistical analysis of mobilizing structures and repertoires of the labour movement	Fundacja Socjometr Laboratorium Rozwiązań Społecznych
4.	Badanie ram interpretacyjnych używanych przez ruch pracowniczy	Study of interpretative frames used by the movement	Fundacja Socjometr Laboratorium Rozwiązań Społecznych
5.	Analiza sieciowa struktur mobilizacji ruchu	Network analysis of mobilizing structures of the movement	Fundacja Socjometr Laboratorium Rozwiązań Społecznych

Zadania badawcze muszą mieć charakter syntetycznego opisu planowanych badań. Za zadanie badawcze nie jest uważany np. zakup aparatury, udział w konferencji, przygotowanie publikacji itp.

F. KOSZTORYS

Pozycja	Rok 2016	Rok 2017	Razem
1	2	3	4
Koszty bezpośrednie realizacji projektu, w tym:	92 500	79 000	171 500
- wynagrodzenia wraz z pochodnymi i stypendia naukowe	54 000	54 000	108 000
- koszty aparatury	0	0	0
- inne koszty bezpośrednie	38 500	25 000	63 500
Koszty pośrednie	9 250	7 900	17 150
Koszty realizacji projektu ogółem	101 750	86 900	188 650

Kalkulacja i uzasadnienie poszczególnych pozycji kosztorysu

1) Investigator / Staff Costs

a) Number of Investigators: 1

The number of individuals to constitute the basis for the calculation of additional remuneration budget: 0

b) Investigators: nature of their contribution in the project and a justification of investigator costs

No.	Full name / Nature of contribution in the project / Type and character of position	Employing entity	Project-related remuneration period (months)	Total salary cost on grant (PLN)
	dr Piotr Wojciech Plucienniczak Principal Investigator Position: full-time position, other	Socjometr Foundation - Laboratory of Social Solutions	24	108 000
1.	Scope of work within individual project tasks:	Preparation of the coding questionnaire; selection of protest events in the press and electronic archives; training and supervision of coders; gathering and coding of protest event data; database maintenance; interviews with labour movement leaders; statistical and theoretical analysis of data gathered; preparation and dissemination of research results.		
Total:				108 000

2) List of equipment to be purchased and/or built

No.	Nazwa aparatury	Equipment name	Purchasing entity	Year of purchase	Unit Cost (PLN)	Amount	Cost (PLN)	Contribution of the NCN (PLN)	
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

3) Other costs justification (in English)

(Please list and justify type of costs, estimated costs in accordance with the research plan)

Materials

(expendable goods for direct use in the project)

Cost: --

--

Outsourced services

(services ordered from entities external to the Host Institution)

Cost: 33 000,00

1. Transcription of 30-40 interviews with the labour movement leaders - **10,000 PLN**. Interviews will be performed by the principal investigator, yet they will be sent to external agencies for transcription.
2. Proofreading / adjustments of translations of research results publications - **5,000 PLN**. Unfortunately, the principal investigator is not an English native speaker.
3. Coding of newspaper material - to finish the data gathering process in the first year of the project it is required to employ two additional coders - **18,000 PLN (1000 PLN / month / coder)**.

Conferences and business trips

(by members of the research team)

Cost: 25 000,00

1. Participation in international conferences that deal with the civil society in CEE and/or the labour movement - **20,000 PLN**. Conference fees and similar costs.
2. Execution of semi-structured interviews - **5,000 PLN**. Travel and accommodation costs of research trips.

Visits and consultations

(travel expenses / travel expenses by external collaborators and/or consultants and costs of meetings)

Cost: 0,00

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Other costs

(such as do not fit into other categories, including the cost of disseminating the results)

Cost: 5 500,00

1. Access to electronic archive of "Gazeta Wyborcza" (3 months): **700,00 PLN**.
2. Access to electronic archive of "Rzeczpospolita" (3 months): **800,00 PLN**. Archives of the press will be used to verify (and correct if necessary) the quality of coders' work.
3. Access to electronic archive of Polska Agencja Prasowa (Polish Press Agency) (3 months): **4000,00 PLN**. Polish Press Agency archives are available only in an electronic format.

4) Investigators' qualifications

Qualifications required from investigators involved in the project

Candidates for positions of coders will have to fulfill certain requirements:

1. they should be students of sociology or other social science faculties;
2. they should have an experience with newspaper data research (gathering,
3. coding and/or analysis);
4. they should be interested in sociology of social movements or industrial relations.

The final decision will be made after personal interviews with possible candidates.

OŚWIADCZENIE WNIOSKODAWCY

1. Oświadczam, że zadania badawcze, objęte niniejszym wnioskiem, nie są i nie były finansowane z Narodowego Centrum Nauki, jak również z innego źródła.
Oświadczam, że równocześnie ~~nie ubiegam / ubiegam się~~ o finansowanie zadań z innych źródeł.
2. Oświadczam, że w przypadku uzyskania finansowania z innego źródła niezwłocznie poinformuję o tym fakcie Narodowe Centrum Nauki, i:
 - a. zrezygnuję z ubiegania się o finansowanie zadań badawczych w Narodowym Centrum Nauki, bądź
 - b. zrezygnuję z przyjęcia finansowania z innego źródła.
3. W przypadku przyznania finansowania na zadania objęte wnioskiem decyzją Dyrektora NCN zrezygnuję z ubiegania się o finansowanie z innych źródeł.
4. Oświadczam, że wszyscy wykonawcy wymienieni w projekcie zapoznali się z treścią wniosku i w przypadku zakwalifikowania projektu do finansowania zgadzają się uczestniczyć w wykonaniu projektu.
5. Jestem świadomy, że:
 - a. podstawę prawną przetwarzania danych osobowych przez Narodowe Centrum Nauki stanowi art. 23 ust. 1 pkt 2 ustawy z dnia 29 sierpnia 1997 r. o ochronie danych osobowych (tekst jednolity: Dz. U. z 2002 r. Nr 101 poz. 926, ze zm.) – dane osobowe są niezbędne dla realizacji zadań określonych w ustawie z dnia 30 kwietnia 2010 r. o Narodowym Centrum Nauki;
 - b. dane osobowe zawarte we wniosku o finansowanie projektu badawczego będą przetwarzane wyłącznie w celu dokonania jego ewaluacji, a w przypadku przyznania środków finansowych na realizację projektu badawczego w celu nadzoru i kontroli jego wykonania i sprawozdawczości;
 - c. dane osobowe zawarte we wniosku zostaną udostępnione osobom, które na zlecenie Narodowego Centrum Nauki dokonują ewaluacji wniosku, a w przypadku przyznania środków finansowych na realizację projektu uczestniczą także w sprawowaniu nadzoru i kontroli wykonania projektu badawczego i jego rozliczeniu;
 - d. podanie danych jest dobrowolne, aczkolwiek odmowa ich podania jest równoznaczna z nieprzekazaniem wniosku do oceny merytorycznej w konkursie;
 - e. osoby, których dane są przetwarzane przez Narodowe Centrum Nauki mają prawo dostępu do treści swoich danych i ich poprawiania zgodnie z przepisami ustawy o ochronie danych osobowych.
6. Oświadczam, że projekt obejmuje badania:
 1. ~~wymagające zgody i / lub pozytywnej opinii właściwej komisji bioetycznej;~~
 2. ~~wymagające zgody właściwej komisji etycznej ds. doświadczeń na zwierzętach;~~
 3. ~~wymagające zgody na podstawie przepisów o organizmach genetycznie modyfikowanych;~~
 4. ~~wymagające zgody i / lub zezwolenia na badania na gatunkach chronionych lub na obszarach objętych ochroną;~~
 5. ~~wymagające innych pozwoleń, zgodnie z zasadami dobrej praktyki w danej dziedzinie / dyscyplinie naukowej;~~
 i zobowiązuję się do uzyskania wymaganych zgód, opinii, zezwoleń oraz pozwoleń.
7. Oświadczam, że w przypadku zakwalifikowania wniosku do finansowania, wyrażam zgodę na zamieszczenie, wraz z informacją o wynikach konkursu, na stronie podmiotowej Narodowego Centrum Nauki popularnonaukowego streszczenia projektu.
8. Oświadczam, iż stopień doktora nauk **społecznych w zakresie socjologii** został mi nadany przez **Radę Instytutu Socjologii UJ** uchwałą z dnia **2014-01-09**.
9. Oświadczam, świadomy odpowiedzialności prawnej wynikającej z przekazania nieprawdziwych informacji, że dane i informacje zawarte we wniosku o finansowanie projektu badawczego oraz dokumentach do niego dołączonych (nr ID 295204) złożonym za pośrednictwem systemu OSF (Obsługa Strumieni Finansowania), są zgodne ze stanem faktycznym i prawnym.

Wniosek sporządzono (miejscowość, data):

[TO JEST WYDRUK ROBOCZY - NIE PRZEZNACZONY DO WYSŁANIA DO NARODOWEGO CENTRUM NAUKI]

ZAŁĄCZNIKI

Poniżej wymienione załączniki, wydrukowane i podpisane, są załączone do niniejszego wniosku.

Fundacja Socjometr Laboratorium Rozwiązań Społecznych

Informacje dotyczące badań naukowych zrealizowanych w ostatnich 2 latach przed złożeniem wniosku wraz z wykazem publikacji afiliowanych w podmiocie wnioskującym / realizującym.

Informacja nt. aparatury naukowo-badawczej i innego wyposażenia umożliwiającego prowadzenie badań naukowych.

Oświadczenie o niewystępowaniu pomocy publicznej wraz z wypełnionym kwestionariuszem.

CEL NAUKOWY PROJEKTU

Odejście od zorganizowanej gospodarki przemysłowej na rzecz zdeorganizowanego kapitalizmu postfordowskiego, doprowadziły w krajach Zachodu do reorganizacji stosunków władzy w przedsiębiorstwach. Zdaniem badaczy (Lash i Urry 1987, 232–284) związki zawodowe utraciły centralną rolę w organizowaniu relacji między pracą, państwem i kapitałem. Część ich funkcji przejęli inni aktorzy, tacy jak ruchy społeczne, część same firmy, które wdrożyły narzędzia aktywnego zarządzania zasobami ludzkimi (Boltanski i Chiapello 2007). Neokorporacyjny model regulowania konfliktu przemysłowego, który opiera się na reprezentacji interesów przez monopolistyczne, scentralizowane organizacje biorące udział w podejmowaniu decyzji na szczeblu centralnym, zastępowany jest przez model „**związków społecznych**” (*social unions*), gdzie związki są tylko jednym z uczestników szerszego ruchu na rzecz sprawiedliwych stosunków pracy (Fairbrother 2008). Podobne procesy zaczęły przebiegać w Polsce po transformacji ustrojowej. Choć ruch pracowniczy zdobył swobodę organizowania się w związki zawodowe, równocześnie w konsekwencji przemian gospodarczych, zwłaszcza prywatyzacji, utracił swoje tradycyjne, przemysłowe bastiony (Gardawski i in. 1999). Wedle jednych, same związki ponoszą winę za swoje osłabienie (Ost 2007), inni wskazują na aktywną rolę państwa w tłumieniu samoorganizacji pracowników (Vanhuysse 2006), dla innych jeszcze to przemiany w organizacji pracy podkopały potencjał solidarności (Dunn 2008). Ważnym czynnikiem wpływającym na aktywność pracowniczą jest również specyfika gospodarki: wielkość problematycznego dla organizacji związków sektora MŚP oraz powszechność atypowych form zatrudnienia (Trappmann 2011). Co więcej, zinstytucjonalizowany w postaci komisji trójstronnych dialog społeczny okazał się być częstkowym i nieskutecznym narzędziem regulacji konfliktów przemysłowych (Polakowski 2013). Jak przekonują badania nad aktywnością ruchów społecznych, odejście od formalnych dróg regulacji konfliktu może prowadzić do eskalacji działań zbiorowych i ich radykalizacji (della Porta i Diani 2009, 229–236; zob. również Płatek i Płucienniczak 2015). Należy oczekiwać, że aktywność ruchu pracowniczego będzie przyjmować w coraz większym stopniu formy niekonwencjonalne, a tradycyjne metody badania go (przez liczbę strajków czy gęstość uzwiązkowienia) będą niewystarczające.

Celem projektu jest opisanie **przemian w działaniach zbiorowych podejmowanych przez pracowników oraz identyfikacja warunków sprzyjających tym przemianom w Polsce po wejściu do Unii Europejskiej (2004-2014)**. Na podstawie badania epizodów protestu zorganizowanych w imieniu i na rzecz pracowników zrekonstruowany zostanie diachroniczny obraz pracowniczych działań zbiorowych w czterech kluczowych wymiarach: struktur mobilizacyjnych (uczestników, organizacji, koalicji), repertuarów (form sprzeciwu), ram interpretacyjnych (ideologii) oraz zmieniających się struktur możliwości (warunków działania). Generalna hipoteza brzmi: **w odpowiedzi na niekorzystną strukturę możliwości, działania zbiorowe pracowników porzucają formułę neokorporacyjną na rzecz formuły związków społecznych**. Przez niekorzystną strukturę możliwości rozumiemy tu przede wszystkim niski poziom uzwiązkowienia, politykę rządu oraz Unii Europejskiej niechętną samoorganizacji pracowniczey, oraz brak dostępnych innych form reprezentacji politycznej. Na fakt podejmowania działań związków społecznych mają niewątpliwie wpływ również inne czynniki, takie jak region czy sektor gospodarki. Doprecyzowanie hipotezy oraz model teoretyczny znajduje się w części „Koncepcja badań”. Zostanie ona zweryfikowana w toku jakościowych i ilościowych badaniach empirycznych.

ZNACZENIE PROJEKTU

Badania stosunków przemysłowych tradycyjnie utożsamiają ruch pracowniczy ze związkami zawodowymi: analizuje się gęstość uzwiązkowienia i aktywność strajkową, stosunek i zaufanie społeczne do związków, formy i jakość dialogu społecznego (Crowley and Ost 2001; Gardawski 2001). Znacznie mniej uwagi poświęca się innym formom samoorganizacji i aktywności pracowników. W literaturze dotyczącej konfliktów przemysłowych pomija się aktywności pracownicze inne niż strajki, takie jak demonstracje i pikety, sabotaż, kampanie informacyjne i solidarnościowe, bojkoty, akcje solidarnościowe oraz inne działania poza miejscem pracy (zob. Towalski 2001). Informacje na ten temat przynoszą częściowo studia jakościowe, uwzględniające perspektywę jednostek ponoszących konsekwencje przemian gospodarczych (Dunn 2008; Mrozowski 2011; Trappmann 2013). Między badaniami poziomu makro i mikro rozpościera się jednak niepoznana socjologicznie przestrzeń mezo. Podkreślając kontestacyjne, przygodne i niesformalizowane aspekty ruchu pracowniczego projekt nawiązuje do studiów, które traktują związki jak ruchy społeczne, nie grupy interesu: paradygmatycznym przykładem takiego podejścia pozostają badania Touraine'a (2013) na temat pierwszej „Solidarności”. Kluczowym jest zwrócenie uwagi na różnicę w celach działania związków zawodowych (zmiana dystrybucji zasobów) oraz związków społecznych (zmiana społeczna). Socjologia stosunków przemysłowych przyjmuje za pewnik istnienie rozwiązań i instytucji, które związki społeczne starają się zmienić bądź ustanowić nowe. Nie sposób zrozumieć ich działania bez wykroczenia poza ramy istniejącego porządku prawnego i poznawczego.

Najważniejszym odniesieniem projektu jest jednak nie socjologia stosunków przemysłowych, lecz ruchów społecznych, subdyscyplina wciąż mało w Polsce popularna. Również i w niej dominuje perspektywa, wedle której samoorganizacja obywatelska przyjmuje przede wszystkim formę działających w granicach prawa organizacji. Wedle autorów zajmujących się zagadnieniem, zadaniem takich organizacji ma być stabilizowanie systemu społecznego i wspieranie państwa w realizacji jego funkcji (Kościański i Misztal 2008). Analizy z tego nurtu skupiają się na zarządzaniu zasobami oraz formalnych aspektach funkcjonowania tzw. trzeciego sektora (Gliński, Lewenstein i Siciński 2002). Przyjęta w projekcie perspektywa jest odmienna: ruchy społeczne aktywnie zmieniają swoje otoczenie, niejednokrotnie wbrew państwu, a zrozumienie ich jest niezbędne dla rozumienia nowoczesnych społeczeństw (Bauman 1995, 356–357). Prace podzielające tę perspektywę nie są, niestety, liczne. Nurt badania *new social movements*, ruchów o charakterze ekspresyjnym i kulturowym, reprezentują prace Glińskiego (1996), Żuka (2001) oraz autorów związanych ze szkołą Touraine'a (Kuczyński i Frybes 1994). Jedyne poważne opracowania podejmujące problematykę kontestacji to *Rebellious civil society* Ekierta i Kubika (1999) na temat konsolidacji nowego ustroju oraz *Dynamika sporu* Forysia (2008) poświęcona protestom rolników. Zwłaszcza ta pierwsza książka stanowi ważny punkt dla odniesienia dla projektu: jest pionierską aplikacją metodologii PEA na polskim gruncie, częściowo również pokrywa się z nim tematycznie. Ekiert i Kubik dokonali gruntownego badania protestów społecznych w latach 1989–1993 i wskazali zachodzący wówczas proces konsolidacji demokracji, to znaczy instytucjonalizacji konfliktu społecznego. Niniejszy projekt ma ambicję wykazać proces przeciwny: zachodzący *obecnie* proces dezinstytucjonalizacji konfliktu oraz radykalizacji działań zbiorowych.

Celem projektu jest opisanie w języku socjologii ruchów społecznych przemian w kontestacyjnej aktywności pracowniczej w latach 2004–2014. Projekt ma szereg zalet w stosunku do korpusu wiedzy na temat ruchu pracowniczego: [1] przekracza granice między socjologią stosunków przemysłowych i ruchów społecznych; [2] poszerza badania aktywności pracowniczej o działania niekonwencjonalne; [3] stanowi bezprecedensowe, wieloletnie studium polityki kontestacyjnej w Polsce; [4] jest pierwszą ilościową próbą analizy fenomenu *social movement unionism* w regionie. Realizuje w ten sposób zalecenia Mrozowickiego (2011, 238–244), Kelly'ego (1998, 130–132) i innych autorów (Upchurch, Taylor i Mathers 2009, 168–169) co do konieczności podjęcia „na nowo” studiów z zakresu samoorganizacji i podmiotowości pracowników w związku z przemianami w organizacji pracy. Projekt ma również ambicję włączenia się w debatę na temat dziedzictwa pierwszej Solidarności, starając się odpowiedzieć na pytania: czy współczesne związki mogą powtórzyć jej sukces, czy mobilizacja pracowników w tej skali jest dziś możliwa? Jeśli nie, to dlaczego, a jeśli tak, to w jaki sposób?

KONCEPCJA I PLAN BADAŃ

Najogólniej rzecz ujmując, przez **ruch pracowniczy** rozumiem nie jednolitego aktora, lecz zróżnicowane pole społeczne, w którego ramach występują różnego rodzaju podmioty, praktyki i logiki działania (zob. Scheinberg and Lounsbury 2008, 665–666). Wedle koncepcji Charlesa Tilly'ego, ruch społeczny przejawia się przez kontestacyjne działania zbiorowe. Jednostkami badania ruchu są zatem epizody protestu, „nieciągłe interakcje polegające na wysuwaniu roszczeń: takie, które mają wyraźne granice, a adresatowi dają możliwość wyboru między realizacją roszczeń a pogorszeniem swojej sytuacji. Tak więc ataki, stosowanie siły, żądania, petycje i prośby zaliczają się do tej grupy, ale rozmowy przy pracy już nie” (Tilly 1987, 227). W opisywanym tu przypadku wyrazem aktywności ruchu pracowniczego będą protesty organizowane w imieniu i na rzecz pracowników (konkretnej firmy, sektora, bądź jako ogólnej kategorii): niezależnie czy będą to związki zawodowe, organizacje pozarządowe, nieformalne grupy czy partie. O pracowniczym charakterze wydarzenia decyduje deklaracja aktora, nie jego treść czy forma. Jakkolwiek taka definicja jednostki analizy może wydać się nieostrą, Fantasia i Stepan-Norris (2007, 557) przekonują, że jest to jedyny sposób, by ująć ruch pracowniczy szerzej niż tylko jako związki zawodowe i konflikty w miejscu pracy. Jest to również ukłon w stronę studiów podkreślających przygodny i intersekcyjny charakter samoorganizacji pracowniczej (Thompson 1966).

Konceptualizacja i operacjonalizacja problemu badawczego i hipotezy przebiegają w języku socjologii ruchów społecznych (zob. della Porta i Diani 2009) i działań zbiorowych (zob. McAdam, Tarrow i Tilly 2001). Za kluczowe dla badania uznane zostały cztery wymiary opisu pracowniczych działań zbiorowych. **Struktury mobilizacji** to formalne i nieformalne instytucje bądź sieci koordynujące i kształtujące działania zbiorowe, łączące liderów i zwolenników; opisuje się je badając uczestników, organizacje oraz koalicje. **Repertuar** to zasób metod działania oraz form wyrazu uważanych przez ruchy za prawomocne i skuteczne (strajki, demonstracje, listy otwarte, pikety i tak dalej), który dostosowywany jest do zmieniających się celów i sytuacji. **Ramy interpretacyjne** to schematy i kody kulturowe używane przez ruchy do mobilizacji zwolenników i osiągania celów, uzasadnienia protestów oraz ich postulaty. **Struktura możliwości** to

warunki społeczne, w których podejmuje się działanie: w literaturze zwraca się przede wszystkim na kondycję kanałów komunikacji między elitami a protestującymi (w naszym przypadku są to instytucje reprezentacji interesów i dialogu społecznego), stosunek elit do protestujących (neoliberalna polityka ograniczania roli związków), sojusznicy wśród elit (obecność pro-pracowniczej partii w parlamencie) oraz gotowość państwa do użycia przemocy. Dla weryfikacji hipotezy badania ważna jest również identyfikacja lokalnych struktur możliwości danego protestu, takich jak sektor gospodarki i poziom uzwiązkowienia w firmie oraz w branży.

Typy idealne	Formuła neokorporacyjna	Formuła związków społecznych
Struktury mobilizacji	Centralizacja, dominacja związków	Policentryczność, zróżnicowanie form
Repertuar protestu	Konwencjonalny	Zwiększona skala, dyfuzja
Ramy interpretacyjne	Wąskie	Szerokie, łączenie ram
Sprzyjające struktury możliwości	Względnie wysoki poziom uzwiązkowienia Instytucjonalizacja dialogu społecznego Polityczni sojusznicy <i>Przykład: górnictwo</i>	Brak związków Brak instytucji dialogu Brak reprezentacji politycznej <i>Przykład: handel, usługi</i>

Wedle przyjętej hipotezy **struktury możliwości dostępne pracownikom będą skłaniały ich do podejmowania działań zbiorowych wedle formuły związków społecznych**. Choć formuła ta nie doczekała się kanonicznego opracowania w socjologii (Ross 2007), na podstawie literatury zrekonstruowany został jego typ idealny. **Protest neokorporacyjny** można przedstawić jako działanie zbiorowe organizowane przez organizacje zrzeszone w centralach związkowych, wykorzystujące konwencjonalne formy protestu (strajki i demonstracje antyrządowe) oraz wąskie ramy interpretacyjne (związane z materialnym interesem pracowników, firmy bądź branży). Podjęciu działań tego rodzaju sprzyja wysoki poziom uzwiązkowienia w miejscu protestu, istnienie instytucji dialogu pośredniczących między protestującymi, pracodawcą i władzą, oraz społeczna akceptacja istniejącego porządku polityczno-gospodarczego. Ważna jest również charakterystyczna dla sektora przemysłowego tradycja zrzeszania się i podejmowania działań zbiorowych. **Protest związków społecznych** jest natomiast organizowany przez aktorów o zróżnicowanych formach organizacyjnych (ruchy społeczne, organizacje pozarządowe, grupy nieformalne), zwykle w postaci policentrycznych koalicji. Wiąże się on również z wykorzystaniem niekonwencjonalnego, innowacyjnego repertuaru, którego elementy zapożyczane są z innych obszarów działań zbiorowych. Oba modele różnią również struktury ram interpretacyjnych: w pierwszym przypadku ruch kieruje się wąsko rozumianym interesem sektora bądź organizacji, w drugim niezbędne są szerokie, inkluzywne ramy atrakcyjne dla różnych aktorów (myślenie w kategoriach „dobra społecznego”). Podejmowaniu działań tego rodzaju sprzyja zamknięta struktura możliwości politycznych, przede wszystkim brak organizacji i instytucji reprezentujących interes pracowniczy. Oczekujemy, że tego rodzaju działania charakteryzować będą nisko uzwiązkowany sektor usługowy.

Przejście od pierwszej do drugiej formuły wiąże się zatem z procesami: **(1) różnicowania i deprofesjonalizacji struktur mobilizacji**: wśród organizatorów protestów pojawiać się będą nowi aktorzy, a sieci koalicji zagęszczać się i decentralizować; **(2) zwiększania skali repertuaru oraz dyfuzji innowacji**: wzrostu liczby różnych metod działania, upowszechniania się metod niestosowanych wcześniej przez ruch, a także wzrostu liczby protestów transgresyjnych, czyli nieformalnych i spontanicznych (McAdam, Tarrow i Tilly 2001, 5); oraz **(3) łączenia i poszerzania ram**: współpraca między różnymi aktorami wymaga uwspólnienia podzielanych wizji rzeczywistości, oczekujemy zatem pojawiania się szerokich ram definiujących problemy pracownicze jako problemy społeczne, przekraczające podziały między konkurującymi centralami, ideologiczne czy branżowe. Obserwujemy swego rodzaju odwrócenie procesów, które opisywali Ekiert i Kubik (1999) w tomie *Contentious civil society*: następuje dezinstytucjonalizacja relacji między władzą a protestującymi, a co za tym idzie – radykalizacja działań zbiorowych.

METODYKA

Główna część badań przeprowadzona zostanie na podstawie metodologii *protest event analysis* (PEA) (Koopmans i Rucht 1999; 2002), stosowanej w ilościowych studiach ruchów społecznych: od globalnej aktywności strajkowej (Silver 2009) przez międzynarodowe porównania (Kriesi i in. 1995) po długoterminowe analizy mobilizacji w jednym kraju (Koopmans i Rucht 2002). PEA została użyta również w pracy doktorskiej kierownika projektu (zob. Płucienniczak 2012) oraz badaniach na temat skrajnej prawicy, w których bierze obecnie udział (zob. Płatek i Płucienniczak 2015). Metodologia opiera się na kodowaniu wzmianek o epizodach protestu pojawiających się w prasie: ich przebiegu, formie, uczestnikach, postulatach, okolicznościach itd. Rzecz jasna, analiza mediów nie dostarcza informacji na temat

bezwzględnej liczby protestów, miast tego umożliwia jednak identyfikację generalnych trendów oraz obserwowanie procesów w skali kraju. Analiza danych pozwoli na diagnozę przemian w **repertuarze** ruchu pracowniczego (upowszechnianie się bądź zanikanie typów protestu) oraz badanie korelacji (przykładowo V-Cramera) między repertuarami, strukturami mobilizacji (formami działania a formami organizacyjnymi) oraz strukturami możliwości.

Skonstruowana przy użyciu PEA baza posłuży jako podstawa dla **analizy sieciowej** (Diani 2008): diachronicznej rekonstrukcji powiązań między aktorami w obrębie ruchu pracowniczego. Za kluczową formę powiązania między aktorami uważa się koalicję, to znaczy współwystępowanie w ramach epizodu protestu. Ta część projektu pozwoli odpowiedzieć na pytania dotyczące przemian w **strukturach mobilizacji** ruchu pracowniczego: czy i w jakim stopniu centrale związkowe tracą swój centralny status w organizacji protestów pracowniczych.

Źródłem uzupełniającym będzie **30-40 ustrukturyzowanych wywiadów** z przedstawicielami dobranych celowo organizacji pracowniczych zidentyfikowanych jako aktorzy działający wedle logiki związków społecznych. Oczekuje się, że w prasie niedostatecznie reprezentowane będą zwłaszcza małe grupy używające nowatorskich repertuarów. Z drugiej strony, PEA nie dostarcza wielu danych na temat ram protestu (Diani 1992). Wywiady będą miały na celu zarówno uzupełnienie danych dotyczących powiązań między organizacjami, jak i zdobycie wiedzy na temat **ram interpretacyjnych** kierujących ich działaniami.

Projekt rozpocznie się od pilotażowego badania źródeł w trzech latach (2004, 2009 i 2014) i przygotowania kwestionariusza kodowego. Następnie rozpocznie się zbieranie i kodowanie danych na temat protestów przy użyciu metodologii PEA. W celu uniknięcia problemów charakterystycznych dla studiów prasy takich jak błędy selekcji i opisu (Earl i in. 2004; Ortiz i in. 2005), zostały wybrane możliwie zróżnicowane źródła: dwa ogólnopolskie dzienniki aktywne przez cały okres badania, „Gazeta Wyborcza” i „Rzeczpospolita”, oraz periodyki głównych central związkowych, „Tygodnik Solidarność” i „Związkowiec OPZZ”. Wybór ten uzupełniają elektroniczne archiwa Polskiej Agencji Prasowej. Reprezentatywność mediów weryfikowana będzie przez porównanie z danymi GUS oraz Komendy Głównej Policji (roczne podsumowania odpowiednio ilości strajków i zabezpieczanych demonstracji). Tak dobrane źródła wyczerpują możliwości badania ruchów społecznych w skali kraju. Wadą PEA jest czasochłonność, tym bardziej, że archiwa polskich gazet nie są dostosowane do celów naukowych i niezbędne jest ręczne przeglądanie oraz kodowanie wyników kwerend. Z tego powodu projekt wymaga zatrudnienia personelu pomocniczego. Bazując na doświadczeniu własnym oraz rozmów z członkami zespołu Ekierta i Kubika oceniliśmy tempo zakodowania całego materiału na dziewięć miesięcy przy wsparciu dwójki koderów. Wtedy też zostaną przeprowadzone uzupełniające projekt wywiady. Drugi rok projektu zostanie natomiast poświęcony na analizę zebranych danych, opracowywanie wyników oraz przygotowywanie publikacji.

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RESEARCH PROJECT OBJECTIVES

The wave of globalization that begun in the 1970s and the transit from organized industrial capitalism to so-called disorganized and postindustrial period have led to a deep shift in relations of power within economy all over the world. The movement of the core of industrial production to the global East and recurring economic crises that encouraged austerity and pro-employers agenda have destroyed traditional industrial bastions of trade union organizations. Political offensive of neoliberalism (embodied by Margaret Thatcher, Ronald Reagan and their successors around the world) succeeded in breaking the strength of the labor and started the process of dismantling of post-war social-democratic contract and welfare institutions in the global North. Certain parts of neoliberal program were included in the EU's strategic documents, slowly ousting so-called European social model that was one of the founding stones of the Union. According to some researchers (Lash and Urry 1987, 232–284), trade unions have ultimately lost their central role in regulation of relations between the labor, the state and the capital. It does not mean that such relations ceased to exist, but that their nature has irrevocably changed and cannot be no longer described in terms of neocorporatist model. Instead, there is a need for new understanding of industrial relations in the globalised economy that would include not only local but also transnational networks, interactions and conflicts, not only institutional order, but also consciousness, emotions and contentious episodes (B. Dunn 2004).

Because of the general weakness of unions in the face of hostile governments and their falling ranks, some of their functions, such as community organizing and awareness raising, were tapped by social movements. Other functions were ceded to non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that supplement the state in its social policies. Finally, some of unions' previous duties were intercepted by companies themselves that have introduced active human resource management schemes in an attempt to make workers' organization redundant (Boltanski and Chiapello 2007). Political demobilization of the labor movement has provided employers with the opportunity to break many of the restriction imposed on them by the socialdemocratic model supported by neocorporatist interest representation. Neocorporatism, that was based on the representation of interest through monopolistic, highly centralized and hierarchical organizations taking part in institutionalized decision-making processes, proved to be inefficient in this new situation and the labour movement is currently forced to rethink its strategies and to search for a new one (Upchurch, Taylor, and Mathers 2009). Austerity measures employed by governments of crisis-ridden countries sparked a new wave of contention, different from both so-called “old” and “new” social movements as described in the literature (Grasso and Giugni 2013). It seems that the most successful model is “social unionism” (or “social movement unionism”) model, where trade unions are only one (albeit important) of several actors within an informal movement for fair work and equal society (Fairbrother 2008). The details of the model are still debated (Ross 2007), yet certain characteristics seem to be proven: social unions rely on horizontal rather than vertical ties between organizations, employ innovative repertoires of contention and create a new, broad workers' identity that does not require one to be a member of union (proletariat, working class etc.) to adopt it. One of examples of such new interpretative frames that allow forming new networks within the labor movement is “precariat” (Standing 2011).

Similar processes have begun to function in Poland after 1989 with the sudden and deep transformation of the state and its economy (Hardy 2009). At the very same time the labor movement have gained a right to organize freely, it has lost its traditional bases due to privatization and a political decision to abandon model of development based on industry (Gardawski et al. 1999). The movement's organizational potential was further curtailed by the state's policy aimed at dividing labor and quelling potential unrest (Vanhuyse 2006). On one hand, growth of the SME sector made it difficult for employees to organize, on the second, changes in work organization in factories undermined potential for workers' solidarity (E. C. Dunn 2004). Some authors argue that the access to the legacy of the EU access is ambivalent for the labor movement (Trappmann 2011). But it is only one part of the story. Critical researchers, such as David Ost (2005), emphasize that the unions themselves expressed permissive or event supporting attitude towards economic transformation. Not only they were acting against interest of workers they were meant to represent, but in fact they were preparing ground for their own demise. Rise of atypical forms of employment (Trappmann 2011) and problems with unionizing of the private sector (Ostrowski 2009) have made unions virtually confined to the public sector companies and thus vulnerable. They are competing for members, are politically divided and aging (Trappmann 2012). Still, only one of three main trade union centrals (NSZZ “Solidarność”) has created an agenda dedicated to the task of recruitment and reinvigoration of the movement. What is more, institutions of social dialogue created in the first years of the Third Republic have proved to be partial and insufficient solutions for arising industrial conflicts (Polakowski 2013). In 2013 they even ceased to function at the central level because of the unions' rejection of the government's anti-employee policy. The number of contentious episodes, such as strikes, remains low with only short-lived and spatially limited waves of contention in 1992/3, 1999 and 2008. Comparing the number of strikes with the

number of other types of contention Urbański (2014, 188–192) argues that both existing social institutions and research methodologies do not grasp contemporary workers' activity as it turns more and more informal and radical. This is confirmed by other studies. Studies on contention and social movements have proved that the rejection of institutional tools for conflict regulation may lead to an escalation of collective action and its radicalization (della Porta and Diani 2006, 206–210; see also: Płatek and Plucienniczak 2015). It is expected that the labor movement will increasingly refer to unconventional and contentious forms of interaction with employers and the state, and – what follows – traditional ways of studying it (by counting strikes or measuring union density) will prove to be inefficient in this new situation.

The aim of the project is to study new forms of workers' self-organization and collective action in Poland after the access to the EU (2004-2014) and conditions of their occurring. We would like to answer following research question: (1) what influences the changes in the workers' collective action, (2) how do actors respond to unfavorable political opportunities, (2) and how in consequence their collective action changes, (3) what actors represent workers during protests, and (4) what are their aims and justifications. The study of protest events organized by or in the name of workers will allow reconstructing of sociological image of the labor movement in four dimensions: its (1) mobilizing structures (participants, organizations, coalitions and networks), (2) repertoires of contention (forms of action employed during protest events), (3) interpretative frames (symbols, claims and their explanations) and (4) changing political opportunities (political and economic context) it is bound to operate in. We aim to find significant correlations between three dimensions of collective action and opportunity structures, such as union density, the government and the EU policy towards labor, conditions of interest representation and social dialogue institutions, sector of economy (core, periphery etc.), national and regional economic indicators etc. With such conceptualization, we want to tackle an important theoretical problem, namely the nature of relation between the movement and its political and economical surroundings: how do economic and political change influence collective action? To capture the moment of change in the labor movement's strategy, it is necessary to distinguish between changes in opportunities structure and changes in responses to those changes (Kousis and Tilly 2005). This requires a qualitative approach and an in-depth study of protesters' motivations, diagnoses and interpretations.

The project is guided by the general hypothesis: in response to unfavorable opportunity structures, the labor movement adopts social unions mode of collective action. We argue that neoliberal, pro-employers policy of both the Polish state and the European Union leads to deinstitutionalization of industrial relations by stripping institutions of social dialogue of their power and importance. Yet workers constantly seek for new ways of expressing their subjectivity and pursuing their goals. Opportunity structures for the collective action of the majority of workers in the national economy is certainly unfavorable: with low union density, constant pro-employers policy and lack of institutional interest representation and political representation in the parliament, neocorporatist ways of pushing their interest seem unpractical and unachievable. This forces them to adopt innovative forms of collective action: growing out from their experiences, resources and opportunities. We expect those forms of protest to resemble social unions mode of labor's protest. More details on the hypothesis and theoretical model supporting it is to be found in the section “Research concept” of this project.

Verification of the hypothesis will make an important statement about the condition of democracy in Poland. In *Rebellious civil society* Ekiert i Kubik (1999) argue that the wave of contention of the early nineties initiated a process of consolidation of democracy, that means, of institutionalization of social conflict. During the contention both sides – contenders and government – have had an occasion to test their limits and to create shared understanding of situation. The positive verification of our hypothesis would mean that the reverse process is occurring at the very moment: social conflict is being deinstitutionalized with the government closing existing channels of communication and workers devising new ways to express their discontent. That could mean that a certain social contract that held together the public sphere of the Third Republic is being dismantled. It is too early, however, to push this argument and think of its consequences before the realization of the projected research.

The project has not only theoretical, but also an exploratory character. It means that it addresses a problem that lacks proper sociological analyses in Polish context, yet it was already identified and several studies on the case was already conducted in the region (Císař and Navrátil 2015). Traditionally, exploratory researches rely on qualitative methodologies such as grounded theory. Instead, this particular project relies on quantitative methodology of protest event analysis, that provides a fairly detailed map of contention in large time scales. The data will be further refined using network analysis of coalitions between actors within the labor movement. The quantitative data will be, however, supplemented with interviews with experts, unionists and activists that will allow for in-depth interpretations of trends identified using statistical analyses.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROJECT

The research on the labor movement is traditionally dominated by institutional perspective: trade unions are the only actor taken into account (Gardawski, Mrozowicki, and Czarzasty 2012; Kuszniir and Pleines 2008; Upchurch, Taylor, and Mathers 2009). Researchers study changes in union density and strike activity, attitudes and trust towards union organizations, forms and quality of social dialogue, performance of trilateral commissions etc. The weakness of trade unions is identified with the weakness of the labor movement as if the two were synonymous (Crowley and Ost 2001). The literature on industrial conflict largely ignores non-conventional forms of workers' resistance and activity, such as attending marches and picket lines, symbolic protests, putting flags on factories, strike threats and wild strikes, sabotages, blockades, awareness-raising and recruiting campaigns, consumer boycotts and many other forms of contentious activity outside of workplace (Towalski 2001). The only information concerning workers' agency outside of institutional framework can be found in qualitative studies, such as those on biographical consequences of economic restructuring by Dunn (2004), Mrozowicki (2011a) and Trappmann (2013). Between macro- and micro-level studies there is, however, an understudied mezo space of employees' activity. To explore this particular space, research has to employ an entirely different perspective: that of collective action. By doing it, it relates to studies that treat trade unions not only as interest groups, but rather organizations embedded in broader social movements: paradigm example of such approach is a classical study by Alain Touraine (1983) on the first Solidarity.

We do not want to say that trade unions are irrelevant and should not be studied, quite the contrary. Our ambition is rather to supplement existing studies with relatively new approach, that is undoubtedly also limited in its own way. It stands on the shoulders of giants, however. The need for more flexible and adequate approaches into studies on the labor is evident in the literature on the subject. Kelly (1998) argues for inclusion of the mobilization theory into industrial relations studies. For him the current crisis of industrial relations (both as a scientific endeavor and an institutional setting) calls for rethinking of the most basic concepts. The decline of union density should be studied not from the perspective of unions, but rather of workers: we should seek for their own definitions of injustice and tools of counteraction to it, seek for barriers to mobilization, collective identities and their contentious manifestations. Fantasia and Stepan-Norris also argue in favor of social movement perspective on the labor movement, yet they also voice their reservations: "we must resist the impulse to treat the labor movement as a clear and simple case of a «social movement» (...) the extra-institutional cannot be so easily disentangled from institutional practices. The must be analyzed in relation to one another, because they have been produced in relation to one another and because they can only be properly understood in such a reciprocally generating form" (Fantasia and Stepan-Norris 2007, 557). The need to re-focus studies on the labor movement and workers' protest is the more urgent with the falling levels of union density and deinstitutionalization of the social dialogue.

There is also a growing number that test whether social unionism is really a viable strategy within the labor movement and not only a theoretical construct or political postulate. Vanderberg (2006) studies Swedish cases when the labor movement succeeded by employing resonant cultural themes, such as notion of national dignity, and cooperating with different actors: from subcultures through foreign unions to transnational networks. D'Amours, Bellamare and Briand (2012) argue that "the crisis of unionism is less serious than it might seem". They emphasize changes in logics that unions pursue: instead of program of defending rights and privileges, they employ ideological frameworks that relate to lifestyles and life choices. After the review of such studies Ross concludes that "more nuanced understanding of contemporary social unionism requires that we examine the contingent combinations of union ethos, strategy and organizational form, as well as the struggles within and between unions to define such approach" (Ross 2007, 29).

The main point of reference for the project is not sociology of industrial relations, but rather sociology of social movements and of collective action. Likewise to what was said above, this sub-discipline of sociology in Poland also remains held in a firm grip of an institutional paradigm. According to it, civil society is commonly synonymous with "the third sector", that means a field on non-governmental organizations acting within certain legal framework. Gliński (1998) states that the primary function of civil society is to stabilize social system and to put into practice ideals of inclusive democracy. Their numbers, activity and membership level are treated as indicators of the health of civil society, development or regression of democracy (Gliński 2006). In both tasks NGOs are supposed to support the state or to supplement its functions (Kościański and Misztal 2008). Papers paradigmatic for such perspective can be found in volume titled *Samoorganizacja społeczeństwa polskiego* [Self-organization of the Polish society] (Gliński, Lewenstein, and Siciński 2002), where the title theme is understood in terms of resource management of non-governmental organizations and formal aspects of their functioning. A bit more politically inclined perspective can be found in work of Sojak and Zybortowicz (2008), who study informal channels of communication between civil organizations and

elites, and of Raciborski (2011), who emphasizes the opposite, that means formal and institutional of communication between citizens and the state. Even books explicitly focused on democratization, such as *Budowanie demokracji* [*Building of democracy*] (Grabowska and Szawiel 2003) focus on institutionalized actors (such as parties and parliamentary interest representation) rather than grass-root self-organization and contingent democratic practices.

Only recently institutional paradigm was criticized as an inadequate approach and a way of petrification of civil society in legal forms. Załęski (2012) attempts to analyze Polish civil society through lenses of historical sociology and of history of ideas. Other books characteristic for this socio-historical approach are Bartkowski's (2003) *Tradycja i polityka* or *O wspólnotcie obywatelskiej w cieniu kapitalizmu* edited by Żuk (2010). The essence of their approach to grass-root organization is a search for correlation between development of civil society and broad historical processes. In case of study by Bartkowski *longue durée* structures are considered crucial for understanding of differences between citizens' activities in different regions of Poland. For Załęski, ideological developments in the final years of real socialism gave shape to the civil society. Similar perspectives can be found in works focused on local communities as important factors for emergence of civil structures (Klekotko 2012; Kurczewska 2008). There is also cultural approach, that emphasizes civic ethos and culture, loyalty, trust and similar values, that form an immaterial basis for democracy (Sztompka 1999), yet it lacks proper empirical grounding. Other works study relations between norms, values and the condition of civil society in changing social environment (Szczepański and Cybula 1999).

Aforementioned authors rarely study the “uncivil”, dark side of civil society (see: Kopecký 2003), such as social movements, contentious politics, protests, controversies and conflicts. Polish sociological literature seriously lacks adequate empirical studies and theoretical reflection on the level, forms and contents of social protests, and, more generally, social conflict and contention in contemporary Poland. Beside numerous historical studies on various aspects of the Solidarity movement (Ciechorska-Kulesza, Kossakowski, and Łuczczko 2011), social movements have not yet succeeded in grasping academicians' attention. There are only several theoretically and methodologically viable studies on contemporary social movements. Phenomenon of new social movements was analyzed in books by students of Warsaw University (Krzemiński 2006), Żuk (2001) and Gliński (1996). All of these studies focus on small left-wing movements active primarily in the field of culture and cannot be treated as reliable sources of information on social movements in general. The only works on contentious civil society are those of Ekiert and Kubik (1999) and Forys (2008). The former is focused on the wave of social unrest in the first years of Third Republic and the consolidation of democratic regime, the latter on peasants' protests on the turn of centuries. Ekiert and Kubik's book is especially important point of reference for the project, as it is the first application of protest event analysis methodology in Polish context and is partially concerned with issues this project wants to analyze. Authors have thoroughly analyzed protests in years 1989-1993 – and even if *Rebellious civil society* is not solely focused on the labor movement, it studies it in such detail that no further analyses are needed for the period. As stated above, we want to verify hypothesis reverse to that stated by Ekiert and Kubik – that the social conflict in Poland is currently being deinstitutionalized.

The realization of the project will open entirely new paths in sociological research on social movements, and there are several arguments on its innovativeness in only Polish, but international context. (1) It is (almost) unprecedented long-term analysis of social movement activity in Poland. The data gathered will allow studying of changes within the labor movement and the field of contentious politics since the access to the EU. There is only one other research project in Central Europe of similar scope I know of – “Dynamics of extreme right mobilization 1989-2014” – that I am also member of (see: Płatek and Płucienniczak 2015). (2) Quantitative studies of protest and social movements are rare in Polish sociology. Social movement studies, when performed, are performed with use of qualitative methodologies and small research samples. The project intends to prove that there is an urgent need for large scale analyses of grass-root activism in Poland and to popularize tools for such endeavors. (3) The project transgresses the traditional border between sociology of industrial relations and of social movements, between analyses of class conflict and of social protests. Within it, trade unions are conceptualized not as unique and incomparable organizations, but rather as SMOs within a broader field that is the labor movement. As I have argued above, both sub-disciplines in Poland are dominated by institutional paradigms supplemented by small-scale qualitative studies. Leaving behind static and formal approaches to self-organization of workers and broader society, the project aims to blur lines between trade unions and other kinds of social movement organizations. The realization of the project would be an answer to calls by Mrozowski (2011a, 238–244), Kelly (1998, 130–132) and other authors (Upchurch, Taylor, and Mathers 2009, 168–169) to study the labor movement “anew”: by employing innovative perspective and methodologies borrowed, among other sources, from sociology of social movements and of collective action. (4) The project has also ambition to influence a debate on the legacy of

the first Solidarity and on weakness of the contemporary labor movement by answering questions such as: can contemporary trade unions repeat the success of Solidarity? Is mobilization on such a scale even possible in contemporary Poland? And if not, then why? How did the labor movement changed during last two decades and what we can say about its future? Are we witnessing a change in the patterns of social conflict in Poland? (5) Finally, we want to prepare a detailed framework for comparison of labor movement activity in Visegrad group countries. We strive to develop conceptual tools for studying labor protests in countries that joined the EU in 2004 and experienced relatively similar trajectories since. In all four countries in question neocorporationist collective action faces difficulties resulting from deep changes in the political opportunities: supranational regulations of the European Union, consistent pro-employers and anti-union government policies, activity of transnational corporations, new waves of populist and right-wing contention that influences labor movement's structures of mobilization to name a few. With colleagues from ELTE Budapest and Masaryk University (Brno) that have already performed studies on protests in the region (Císař and Navrátil 2015) we hope to expand the scope of the project after the initial research on the Polish case. Is there an emerging pattern of labor movement's response to new opportunities? How did access to the EU and the opening of new transnational networks influenced collective protest? Is there an increase in international solidarity of labor?

RESEARCH CONCEPTS AND WORK PLAN

The labor movement and its manifestations – In the most general sense, the labor movement is not a monolithic actor, but rather a social field, within which different actors, practices and logics of action can and do coexist (see: Scheinberg and Lounsbury 2008, 665–666). Following Oliver and Myers (2003, 173), we conceive of social movement as “diffuse action field in which actions affect other actions and the action repertoires of the different actors coevolve through time and through interaction with each other. (...) Over time, the action set of each actor evolves in response to the actions of the others and, thus, the whole field is one large coevolving environment in which the characteristics and actions of any actor is constrained and influenced by the characteristics and actions of all other actors in the environment”. This approach might seem similar to the already classical theoretical proposition by Mayer Zald and John McCarthy, *resource mobilization theory* (RMT). For them, social movement is “a set of opinions and beliefs in a population which represents preferences for changing some elements of the social structure and/or reward distribution of a society” (McCarthy and Zald 1977, 1217–1218). Then, social movements organizations are actors that attempt to implement those goals using available resources. RMT (and its derivatives) focuses on communication between elites and contenders, between organizations and sources of resources. Interactions between the movement and its outside (structure of power, support base, counter-movements) are crucial for studies of resources or contention. Approach employed in the project focuses also on relations within the movement. We are interested in ways connections between actors are tied and how do they influence collective action.

It is obvious that the labor movement is shaped and influenced by external factors, such as labor law, economic crises or booms, political competition and employers' actions. In many traditional accounts, those factors are considered to be crucial for the movement: for example, the unemployment rate are believed to determine the labor movement's relative strength. Yet to employ relational way of analysis means also to reject grievance theory of mobilization in favor of opportunities theory. According to the first one, movements mobilize because of various injustices people suffer and their activity is correlated to objective conditions. This approach is, however, criticized for oversimplification of processes having place during mobilization. The second approach, opportunity theory, treats movements as active agents that seek favorable conditions and actively shape their environment. That means, for example, that the unions could treat rising unemployment as an opportunity to change its strategies and to mobilize new groups rather than entrench. This does not mean embracing social constructivism in a broad sense, but rather it is a way to emphasize the value of interpretative frames that guide actions of the movement (Oliver and Johnston 2000). This theoretical decision is especially important in our case, as social unionism is only one of a wide range of strategies available to the labor movement. If the relative decline of trade unions, for example in terms of membership or the number of strikes, is an objective condition, diagnosis of the situation and response to it are entirely dependent on workers' agency, not any fundamental social law, correlation or mechanism. Labor activists are, just like any other human being, reflexive social actors (Archer 2003).

According to Charles Tilly (1978), social movements manifests itself above of all through contentious collective action, through protest events. In words of Sidney Tarrow (1998, 2), social movements are “sequences of contentious politics that are based on underlying social networks and resonant collective action frames, and which develop the capacity to maintain sustained challenges against powerful opponents”. Thus the unit of social movement analysis is an episode of protest, protest event: “discontinuous, claim-

making interactions: ones which have relatively well-marked beginning and endings, and give their object a choice between response and a change in welfare. Thus attacks, applications of force, demands, petitions, and supplications will qualify, while workday conversations will not” (Tilly 1987, 227). Koopmans and Rucht (2002, 231) add that protests are “messages directed to political adversaries, sympathizers, decision makers and the wider public. Besides more conventional activities, such as voting and lobbying, they are important tools for various actors, most notably social movements, to attract attention, to appeal or to threaten, to make claims visible and heard, and eventually to have an impact on politics and society”. Social movement in a form of political contention that has specific structure, tools of expression, own norms and values that justify its actions and members' participation.

In the case of the labor movement (“social movement of the labor”), the movement manifests itself through protest events that are either (1) organized by organizations representing employees, or (2) organized on behalf or in the name of employees. There are several types of actors that can act on behalf of workers: not only trade unions, but also formal and informal non-governmental organizations and social movement organizations, political parties, community groups, or even anonymous protesters as it is in the case of the Internet-mediated campaigns. In other words, whether event is an emanation of the labor movement is based on the actor's declaration, not the form, aim, claims or any other characteristic. Due to changing nature of the labor movement it is impossible – and inadvisable, as Fantasia and Stepan-Norris (2007, 557) argue – to provide more restricted definition.

Conceptualization and operationalization – Conceptualization and operationalization of the research problem is performed using theories of social movements (della Porta and Diani 2006) and of collective action (McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001). We consider three correlative dimensions of workers' protest to be crucial for our analysis: structures of mobilization, repertoires and interpretative frames.

Mobilizing structure – this concept describes formal and informal structures that bring people together, shape coalitions and confront opponents during protest events. For Sidney Tarrow, it “refers to the connective structure that links leaders and followers, center and periphery, and different parts of a movement sector, permitting coordination and aggregation between movement organizations and allowing movements to persist even when formal organization is lacking” (Tarrow 1998, 124). In a basic form, mobilizing structures consist of participants of protests, organizations and connections between them. In our case mobilizing structure will be studied twofold. Firstly, its indicators are: the size of protest (the number of participants), the presence of formal and informal organization and their types, the presence of leaders, social background of participants (such as sector of the economy or employment status). This will allow studying changes in the social composition of the labor movement and identification of contested sectors of the economy. Secondly, mobilizing structure will be analyzed as a way different actors within the movement interact with the use of network analysis. In our conceptualization, actors are connected when they appear together within one protest event or a series of protests concerning one particular issue. This will allow us to employ additional theoretical concepts (such as diffusion, hidden organizing, network effect) and enrich the study. “The same number of ties in a network has different effects depending upon their distribution, so that star-like structures (...) are, for example, quite different from circles in which each actor has exactly two ties to other actors and all actors are connected” (Oliver and Myers 2003, 178–179). We expect the structure of the network to change in time. This will be an important indicator of changes happening within the labor movement.

Repertoire of protest – Repertoires can be defined as sets of practical tools and modes of action that are used by protest participants to show their disagreement, express demands and so on. Among various types of repertoires are marches, demonstrations, strikes, occupations, blockades, as well as petitions, letters, appeals, press conferences and many more. Movements can, and in fact have to, use repertoire to bring attention to their claims or grievances and maximize their political influence. It is also important to select adequate repertoire for the job: different targets and audiences require different approaches, as the medium of contention is also its message. It is thus extremely important for the protest organizers to employ innovative repertoires and seek those that allow them to achieve their goals while rejecting the counterproductive. Repertoires are easily gathered from the media, as they are the most visible indications of protest.

Interpretative frames – introduction of the notion of frames was a way to analyze how movement actors “through various discursive practices (...) attempt to strike cords of existing cultural experiences, narratives, and knowledge within the cognitive language of targeted audience” (Lindekilde 2014, 196). In the social movement theory frames function as a way to organize collective experience and to guide the action. They are closely connected with repertoire, as during protest events actors use particular forms of action that are meaningfully connected with their postulates. Frames also influence mobilizing structures, as a way of framing can mobilize certain groups that find them appealing and legitimate, and throw away others. Frames are indicated by the content of slogans shouted during protests, by banners and signs used, letters and

petitions. In the project they will be analyzed by press analysis and interviews. The first method will allow identification of trends within the symbolic dimension of the protests, while the second will provide insight into how the protest organizers and participants understand their protests, what are their general aims and how do they plan to achieve them.

Opportunity structures – Opportunity structures constitute the context of any social movement, they “influence the choice of the protest strategies and the impact of social movements on their environment” (Kitschelt 1986, 58). Opportunity structures can be “open” or “closed”. The former designates that the political system is accessible for contenders, the latter opposite, that there are no institutional means to access the power. In the context of our study we pay special attention to the existence and condition of institutions of social dialogue and interest representation, union density, attitude of the government and the EU towards workers' self-organization and collective action, presence of pro-workers party in the parliament. It is important to distinguish national opportunity structures, that affect every protest event in a given time frame (nationwide legal and institutional context), and site specific opportunities, such as union density in given workplace and branch of the economy, availability of social dialogue institutions.

Two ideal types of the labor protest – To distinguish two possible logics of labor collective actions, we have reconstructed two ideal types of the workers' protest: neocorporatist one and the model of social unions. By exaggerating certain characteristics and contrasting them, we aim to provide points of reference – points of departure and of arrival – for the processes we aim to study. We are aware of highly fictional nature of both models, and we do not seek to claim them to be valid outside of the scope of this research project.

The table below provides a simple summary of the two.

	Neocorporatist protest	Social unions protest
<i>Mobilizing structures</i>	centralization dominated by trade union centrals	policentricity organized by networks of actors with different organizational forms
<i>Repertoire of protest</i>	conventional (rigid)	increased scale (strong)
<i>Interpretative frames</i>	narrow	extended bridging processes
<i>Favorable opportunity structures</i>	high union density institutionalized social dialogue political allies	low union density lack of social dialogue lack of political representation

Table 1: Two ideal types (models) of the labor protest

From neocorporatism to social unionism – Neocorporatism is a viable strategy in a well recognized and stable social environment: where all sides of conflict should share a common culture of communication, there are institutions of conflict resolution, contenders (unions) can count on their mass ranks and they have their friends among the power elite. This strategy of collective action becomes unpractical and even unachievable in the situation that the majority of workers in Poland is facing. Instead, we expect workers to organize in line with model described in literature as social unions (we doubt, however, that respondents will know this term, but instead reconstruct the strategy from their experiences). With trade unions absent from workplace, unavailable or not working institutions of social dialogue and lack of political representation, workers are expected to mount their collective action using tools at hand: various organizational forms (from informal groups and internet communities through non-governmental organizations to radical unions), unexpected methods of protest, often borrowed from different social movements and adapted to situation when traditional repertoire of the labor movement (such as labor dispute) is unavailable, and finally extended frames, than can span from wage to identity questions.

The change of dominant logic of the collective action from neocorporatism to social unionism is expected to be long and slow process based on trials and errors. We do not expect to conclude our research with an indication that it is finished or an estimation when or whether it will happen. We rather expect the neocorporatism to be prevailing strategy gradually giving place to new ways in certain social environments: especially non-unionised companies in service sector of the economy. We anticipate to identify certain cliques or broader alliances that (consciously or not) follow unwritten rules of social unionism or at least demonstrate a will and dedication to organize their protests differently. Even if small, they are of fair importance, as – if successful – they can become enclaves of “good practices” that will ultimately

disseminate within the broader movement. What is more, social unionism is a model that was created and described in Western countries, where traditions of the organized labor and of broader civil society are different from those in Poland. It is also important to take into consideration varieties of organization of capitalism itself in different countries (Lane and Myant 2007). It might be that the new model of unionism will be in a way different from our theoretical model based on the study of literature. Mrozowski (2011b), for example, speaks of bricolage unionism rather than social unionism in the context of the trade union revitalization in Poland.

From hierarchy to policentric networks – In the neocorporatist model the collective action is dominated by powerful unions centrals that are often tied to social-democratic or communist political parties. This vertical connection serves as an axis of the collective action. New actors in the field has to define themselves in relation to dominant actors and their activity is constrained by existing formal or informal regulations, divisions of power or influence. There is also an evident division between unionized core sectors of the economy and peripheral sectors devoid of representation or organized in community-type organizations.

In an ideal social unionist protest trade unions are surrounded by a dense supportive network of various organizations, both formal and informal. In the process of flattening of neocorporatist hierarchies, networks between actors within the movement become denser, providing new opportunities for joint actions. This process can lead, however, to different outcomes: either cohesive milieu concentrated around influential trade union centrals that do not dominate the action but rather encourage collective action and share their resources, or polycephalous, fragmented and dispersed network of organizations that is hard to coordinate and cooperate. It is also expected that strong ties between the labor movement and mainstream political parties will disperse and will be replaced by only occasional joint campaigns.

The foundation of Forum Związków Zawodowych (FZZ) in 2002 is an evident indicator of this process. The establishment of the third central was a response to a political struggle between right-wing conservative *Solidarność* and left-wing post-communist OPZZ within the labor movement. Unions associated in the FZZ claim to be politically neutral and to care only about employment-related issues. Emergence of small and radical trade unions active outside of workplaces is another example. In a recent case, one of them, *Inicjatywa Pracownicza*, started protesting on behalf of workers of factory in Myślenice one month before *Solidarność* that was present at the plant even noticed the problem. Situations such as this one prove that the established unions are not alone within the movement, as new organizations and unions enter the field and begin their own collective action, spreading new structures and repertoires, initiating their own campaigns for fair work and social justice.

From conventional to innovative repertoire – The neocorporatist protest employs conventional repertoire. First of all, the methods of protest are predictable and understandable for all involved. It consists of labor disputes, manifestations and strikes. What is important, the latter are held only if the former fail. That means that the priority for the unions and its partners is to maintain social peace rather than to escalate conflict between employers and employees (Lipietz 1987, 34–37). Conventional, predictable repertoire can be also described as rigid one. Using it, “participants repeat the same few routines over and over as exactly as they can” (Tilly 2008, 15). Organizations try to avoid unpredictable situations and try to confine contentious interactions with each other in well-known frames. Rigid repertoire is repetitive but at the same effective as long as the position of the movement vis-à-vis its opponents stays unchanged.

In contrast, when situation becomes unstable and outcomes of actions unpredictable the protest turns towards either weak or strong repertoire. The former is limited to well-known and in a way primitive forms, such as strikes or violent demonstrations. Such displays of power can be also counterproductive in an unfriendly social environment. Strong repertoire is the most innovative form of protest repertoire. It involves both legal interventions, demonstrations, happenings and rallies that allow new forms of expression. Participants try to dramatize their message and to focus media and audience attention at themselves. Strong repertoire is much more unpredictable than the other variants, because protest organizers change their ways accordingly to issues circulating among the public in any given moment. Repertoire increases in scale as it includes more and more different forms of exerting pressure available to protesters.

We expect the repertoire of the workers' protest to change from the rigid one in the beginning of the period in study to weak one (symbolized by iconic burning tires in front of the government) with only signs of its strengthening, especially among younger, more radical organizations. Protest waves often involve innovative forms of contention: we expect such events (such as those in 2008 and 2013) to create and then diffuse new repertoires. What is also important, small organizations rely on their innovativeness to spread their message: thus the progress of the shift from hierarchic to polycentric networks should be correlated with the emergence of new forms of protest. Technological progress also influences methods of contention, as it

allows not only Internet-based campaigns and organizing, but also aggressive actions such as hacking of corporate networks and DDOS attacks (see: Van De Donk et al. 2004). We have not yet seen them employed by the labor movement organizations, but as other movements (for example anti-racist) commonly use them, we expect cyber-protest to diffuse to the repertoire of the labor.

From narrow to broad frames – Finally, frames within the neocorporatist collective action are narrow, they focus on material well-being and human rights, but they are addressed above all to members of trade unions. Social unionism, on the other hand, involves “more aggressive organizing strategies that utilize confrontational tactics, like corporate campaigns that bring «third party» pressure on intransigent companies, that build community solidarity for union struggles by incorporating community and religious groups, and that reach out to other social movements” (Fantasia and Stepan-Norris 2007, 570). Successful frames of social union protest, ones that mobilize broader public, emerge through a variety ways, but the basic precondition for their effectiveness is the process of “frame alignment” taking place between the movement and the society it intends to mobilize. In search for support outside of their traditional enclaves, labor movement organizations are expected to transform interpretative frames they are using during protest to guide and justify their actions. According to Snow et al. (1986), there are several mechanisms they can use: bridging, “linkage of two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames regarding a particular issue or problem”, extension, when an actor “extends the boundaries of its primary framework so as to encompass interest or point of view that are incidental to its primary objectives but of considerable salience to potential adherents” and finally, amplification, that means “clarification and invigoration” of existing frames.

We expect the frames employed during workers' protest in unfavorable opportunity structure will shift from narrow, focusing on sectoral and political interests, to extend while trying to mobilize broader, predominantly non-unionised society. According to Ross (2007) there are two frames characteristic for social unions' protest. First is anti-economistic analysis of workers' problems: it holds that workers are more than merely wage-earners, but also citizens with a wide range of different identities. It leads to inclusion of different, not only employment-related issues into frames of collective action. Secondly, social unionists adopt an expansive, anti-sectionalist definition of the community of workers: actions are held on behalf of all workers, not only those that are members of the organization. This forms a basis for a new type of solidarity: one that is not based on the common membership in a given trade union, but rather perceived common interests as members of particular class, community or cultural group. It is especially important when protesters *are not* members of any trade organization.

As in the case of other dimension of the movement, we expect new actors in the field to create such innovative frames (such as anti-sectionalist idea of precarity or anti-economistic new leftist radicalism). At the same time we expect the politically-flavored competition between Solidarność and OPZZ to hinder efforts towards ideological unification of the movement.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Overview and work plan – In accord with critical paths developed above, the study employs three interconnected, yet different research methodologies to reach its goals. The major part of the research will be conducted using *protest event analysis (PEA)* methodology. PEA was used in numerous research projects: from studies on *longue durée* changes in global strike activity (Silver 2003), through international comparisons of new social movements (Kriesi et al. 1995), to detailed analyses of contentious politics in one country spanning over 50 years (Koopmans and Rucht 2002). It was also employed in the principal investigator's doctoral thesis (see: Płucienniczak 2012) and NCN-funded research project he is the main contractor of (see: Płatek and Płucienniczak 2015). In Polish context PEA was also used in the research by Ekiert and Kubik (1999) on democratic consolidation on the new regime and by Foryś (2008) on peasants' mobilization on the brink of centuries. To work with PEA means to gather, code and aggregate information concerning protest events in given period using (in most cases) daily or weekly newspapers. In a basic version, following data is gathered: date and place of the event, its form, number of participants, their organizational affiliations, claims or grievances voiced and their justifications, if given, addressees of these claims, reactions of other actors, including police and the state. Database constructed this way allows analysis of dynamics of protest, changes in levels of mobilization, and identification of phenomena such as series and cycles of contention, transformations in movements' repertoires, media attention to social movements and other data (Koopmans and Rucht 1999; 2002). It is obvious that the media studies do not provide information on the absolute number of protest events. However, it is the most accessible and reliable method for identification of general, nationwide trends or campaigns.

It is important to note that the realization of the project does not demand to gather data concerning all

contentious activities of the labor movement. Newspapers report only selected events, these deemed noteworthy by editors for various reasons. Studies has shown that only about one quarter of all protest events is reported in mainstream press (Koopmans and Rucht 2002, 232) (this margin is expected to be higher in case of PAP archives), however this amount is sufficient for identification of trends and changes in collective action. Project methodology allows for adequate measurement of relative labor movement activity, that means: trends concerning number of protests, their character and relations between them. We expect Polish press to be very selective in case of workers' protest and to create small-N database in result – to increase our coverage it is required to study carefully each and every issue of selected newspaper.

Statistical analysis of PEA database will allow studying changes in the repertoire of the labor movement, diffusion and dwindling of certain types of contention, and studying of correlations (for example Cramér's V) between dimensions of collective action and opportunity structures. Database will also serve as a foundation for network analysis: diachronic reconstruction of ties between actors within the movement (Diani 2002). The crucial form of connection between actors is a coalition, that means simultaneous participation in a given protest event. This part of the project will allow answering questions concerning changes in mobilizing structures of the labor movement and help to identify opportunity structures workers' collective action is bound with. The secondary method is 30-40 semi-standardized interviews with leaders or representatives of social movement organizations identified as actors following new protest model (social unions). Small groups employing innovative repertoires are expected to be underrepresented in the press. What is more, specificity of PEA and of newspaper data does not allow detailed studies of interpretative frames. Interviews will be used to supplement data on connections between actors and to gather information on interpretative frames (diagnostic, prognostic and motivational) that guide organizations.

All methods are described in detail below.

PEA: Data sources – Mass media, primarily newspapers, are essential data sources for social movements study. According to Koopmans and Rucht (2002, 252), the symbolic reality constructed by journalists of mainstream media “is of extreme importance for both policymakers and the wider public”. Major daily newspaper create the very space social movements seek to conquer and in effect to rally general audience in their cause. The project is based on gathering protest event data from two major daily newspapers, “Gazeta Wyborcza” and “Rzeczpospolita”, and digital archives of Polish Press Agency (PAP). Two weekly papers of main trade union confederations, “Tygodnik Solidarność” and “Związkowiec OPZZ” make for secondary, supplementing sources. Selected media had to fulfill certain criteria: (1) Nationwide coverage. As the project aims to study the labor movement activity in Poland, it requires sources that provide data in scale of the whole state. Both newspapers and PAP have such coverage. It is expected that they will focus on events in large cities or industrial centres. (2) Spanning entire time-period. There were and are more daily newspapers in Poland, but only “Wyborcza” and “Rzeczpospolita” span whole period 2004-2014 and can be considered stable and professional sources. Newswire since 1993 are available in archives of PAP. (3) Different ideological profiles. Selection of politically varied source can be a way to prevent description bias (more on this later). “Gazeta Wyborcza” represents liberal stance, while “Rzeczpospolita” is considered conservative. Unfortunately, there is no left-wing inclined newspaper in Poland that would fulfill all other criteria. PAP archives are presupposed to provide most neutral, objective coverage. (4) Ease of access. Physical issues of newspapers in regard are available in most public libraries. Both PAP, “Gazeta” and “Rzeczpospolita” have also digital archives that can be accessed on-line: it allows for search, verification and coding of protest event mentions. Gathering and coding will provide the most complete database of the labor movement's appearances in public sphere. The supplementation of database with data from trade union weeklies will allow enhancing it with more detailed information, especially interpretative frames, as it is expected that they will elaborate on causes and aims of collective action.

PEA: Data gathering procedure – Even as PEA is based on coding newspaper articles, articles are not the unit of analysis but only data source. The proper unit of analysis for PEA is a protest event. One such event can be described certain number of times in different articles – these descriptions are coded as distinct records, but on the next step they are merged into one. On the other hand, one article can describe couple of protest events or their series at the same time – in that case the number of records coded is adequate to the number of events described. The main problem of project methodology employed in the project is time- and labor-consuming. Digital archives of newspaper do not exist (as it is in the case of trade union medias) or are not prepared for scientific usage. Specifically, their capability for keyword search and machine coding is greatly limited. Only archives of PAP allow indexing and searching of whole content. That means that browsing of physical issues of newspapers and manual coding of protest mentions is necessary. This work is estimated (basing on experience of actual work with protest event analysis and discussion with members of Ekiert, Kubik and Foryś's research group members) to take about 9 months with two coders employed.

Protest event data will be gathered using questionnaire prepared during the first, preliminary stage of the research. All sources will be scanned in three different time periods (2004, 2009, 2014) to prepare indicators for conceptual elements of the project and refine questionnaire to minimize data losses due to its construction. After that, on the second stage, coders will be trained and test of inter-coder reliability performed: given time period will be coded by both coders, then their results compared and combined. In the final stage of data gathering, all records will be checked for duplicates and merged if such situations occur. After that database will be ready for statistical analysis using R: search for correlations between the elements of conceptual frame, that will lead to verification of the project's major hypothesis.

PEA: Problems and countermeasures – As every other methodology based on analysis of media data, protest event analysis is prone to biases resulting from non-objective reporting. Earl et al. (2004) point at two problems that require countermeasures on the very phase of planning of research. (1) Description bias. Newspaper articles are not scientific articles, their content is not neutral, but depends on the political stance of the author and media. One needs also to be aware of errors, misinformation and partial presentations of facts. To minimize influence of the media ideologies on data gathered, two sources with different profiles are used: liberal “Gazeta Wyborcza” and conservative “Rzeczpospolita”. Unfortunately, there is lack of left-wing oriented newspaper that could fulfill criteria mentioned earlier. Polish Press Agency archives are expected to be the most objective source and will help to stabilize the bias in daily newspapers. The same strategy applies to union media: we have selected papers issued by both of the two major Polish unions: “Tygodnik Solidarność” and “Związkowiec OPZZ”. Triangulation of the sources is recommended as the most efficient way to counter description bias in media (Ortiz et al. 2005, 412). (2) Selection bias. This problem is the consequence of the fact that newspapers do not report all events with equal attention, but their content is “structured by various factors such as competition over newspaper space, reporting norms and editorial concerns” (Earl et al. 2004, 69). The impact of the form of protest on its media coverage is especially important and has been studied: intensive and violent manifestations are reported more often than calm and conventional ones (Snyder and Kelly 1977). Aware of this fact, movements members themselves are forced to organize their actions in a way to gain journalists' attention (Oliver and Maney 2000). The selection bias is countered by framing analysis of the labor movement nationwide and in long timespan: lack of several protest events cannot influence the general image of trends resulting from the statistical analysis of the database (Hug and Wisler 1998). It is expected that labor protests are underrepresented in the mainstream press: database will be supplemented with data collected from union press (“Tygodnik Solidarność”, “Związkowiec OPZZ”) that should report on all events organized within their respective confederations. On the final stages, results of PEA coding will be also compared with yearly summaries issued by GUS and the police that report on the number of strikes and demonstrations in any given year (without any qualitative descriptions, however). This will allow measuring of selection bias of the mainstream press towards the labor movement. Knowledge obtained in the process will serve to prepare advice for further social movement research using Polish newspapers as data sources.

Network analysis – The connection of protest event analysis with network analysis was pioneered by Roberto Franzosi (1999). Following him, the diachronic reconstruction of connections within the movement is based on the co-presence of actors (joint action) during protest event. As we study only one side of the industrial conflict, namely workers, there is no need to extend this particular analysis on the opponents (employers' organizations and the state) – data on targets of collective action will be instead analyzed within repertoire research task. The aim of our analyses will be to identify processes occurring within mobilizing structures of the labor movement: changes in average distances between actors, density of networks, centrality of trade union centrals, and patterns of cooperation.

Our hypothesis presupposes an existence of one or more cliques of actors following social unionism model of collective action. They should be able to distinguish on the base of their high out-degrees and betweenness levels and also on the shared repertoires and organizational forms. We expect collective action to be more probable in the presence of dense social ties, which facilitate the exchange of resources and the construction of shared frames, whereas weak links can lead to processes of pacification (Caiani 2014, 373). Confirmation of the existence of such mechanism with the co-presence of divergent organizational forms and repertoires would be an argument towards the presence of social unionism model of collective action in the Polish context.

Interviews and frames – Study of PEA and network analysis results will allow identifying a group of agents that act in a way resembling the social unionism model: some of them will be union organizations, some of them social movement or non-governmental organizations. There might be other groups, such as Internet-based communities. Both research methods are however “too crude a tool to capture the nuances of meaning of the ideologies embraced by mobilizing groups, the cultural framing involved in mobilization and counter-

mobilization processes” (Franzosi 1999, 147). There is an obvious need to supplement those methods with qualitative account of processes in question. To study in-depth interpretative frames of activity of groups identified in previous research steps, we will approach 30-40 of them and perform semi-structuralized interviews with their leaders or key representatives.

Our aim is to identify three core framing tasks: diagnosis of the situation, prognosis and motivation for action (Snow and Benford 1988). The first is concerned with the identification of problems activists want to address: both the socio-economic issues social movement organizations want to tackle or raise awareness of, and problems within the labor movement itself. We expect activists to not only elaborate on their grievances concerning, for example, low wages or inadequate social security, but also shortcomings of the neocorporatist model, inadequacy of hierarchical trade unionism in the current situation or practical problems they have encountered in the process of mobilization of employees. The second one, prognosis, involves proposed solution to the problem. Here, again, we expect respondents to provide twofold answers: what are the ways to improve the economic situation of workers in Poland and how to respond to diagnosed problems with their interest representation. Their answers should indicate concrete strategies, tactics and goals. Finally, motivational framing means providing rationale for one's actions. We expect answers for this question to provide us not only with a list of motives for action as such, but also give us insight into the projected identity of the labor movement: first of all, how do they define workers, how do they define their common interests, are they described in moral, economic or political terms.

The above description is not equal with the list of questions, yet interviews will be structured according to this schema. Interpretation of results will allow pinpointing of cultural constraints and opportunities for workers' collective action in Poland and to answer research questions whether the processes of frame alignment and bridging are occurring in the predicted direction.

Access to instruments and materials – Physical access to newspapers required for the projected research (“Gazeta Wyborcza”, “Rzeczpospolita”, “Tygodnik Solidarność” and “Związkowiec OPZZ”) is free in Jagiellonian Library and many other public libraries. However, access to digital archives, that will be needed to verify the database, is paid and its cost is included in the calculation. Specialist software used for coding of protest event data, PC-ACE by Roberto Franzosi, is available to download for free from its creators' website. Statistical analyses will be performed using R, open source statistical package that is free to use. The successful realization of the project does not require any other special tools or infrastructure.

Work plan – The project will start with pilot study of newspaper sources in years (2004, 2009 and 2014) and preparation of the coding questionnaire. Afterwards, coders will be recruited, trained and the main research task will begin – gathering and coding of data on protest using PEA. Relying on our own experience with the method and discussions with members of Ekiert and Kubik's (1999) research team we expect to code about 10 years of press mentions from one source (counting each newspaper as a distinct two and two union weeklies together as a one) by one person in 9 months. That means that with team of three coders (principal investigators and two persons of auxiliary personnel), the whole material is expected to be coded and verified in 9 months, that means in the end of the first year of the project. Then, after the identification of the most important agents of social unions, their leaders, experts and representatives will be approached and interviewed. In the final, second year of the project we will study the results and then popularize them and prepare publications.

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