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DYNAMICS OF EXTREME RIGHT PROTEST IN POLAND, 1989 - 2012

The general aim of the project is to find how Polish extreme-right movement mobilizes to turn against its opponents and how it expresses its political claims. I would like to demonstrate how the process of collective mobilization is constructed by social actors mounted in a specific political and social context. Project involves the creation of a data set on the whole range of extreme-right protest events from 1989 to 2012, in order to gain an overall view of its collective actions in Poland.

By tracing the trajectory of extreme-right protest events I will to answer the basic research questions: 1) How has the structure of protest mobilization changed during the 23 years of extreme-right movement activity in Poland? 2) How has the range of political repertoires used during the protests evolved over time? 3) What forms of protest were dominant during the certain periods of time? 4) Against whom the protest events were directed; how the movement participants selected slogans and symbols to name their enemies and to determine their political objectives? 5) Under what conditions polish extreme-right social movement revived and gained strength?

Systematic research on the dynamics of extreme-right collective actions requires detailed information about protest events in the structural context of political and social change in Poland after 1989. Analysis of the main features of protest events is most important for this study, because existing literature do not provide a sufficient knowledge about basic characteristics of the extreme-right social movement dynamics in Poland. From the other hand, there is a need to extend my analysis to much more conventional (institutionalized) forms of claim making, because I assume that nowadays protests has become more sophisticated. Social movements are sometimes more likely to make press releases and gain direct access and visibility for their claims on the public agenda than mobilize mass public protest demonstrations. In the case of polish extreme-right movement, for a long time the only visible form of mobilization was the celebration of national holidays and other forms of regular protests which implied incidents of violence into the streets. After a few years, it seems that its protest forms have subsequently taken on a more discursive form such as: campaigns, proclamations for the press, meetings, leaflets, performances, statements, public speeches and marches.

Investigation of Polish extreme-right protest events is guided by the general hypothesis: From the beginning of The Third Republic forms of extreme-right collective actions adapt to the changing cultural and social context. In the mid 90' collective actions started to take much more moderated forms; extreme-right movement reorganized its structures and formed coalitions with political parties; claim making has become much more accepted form of political expression than direct actions. There was a changing also in a thematic and symbolic scope of collective actions: extreme-right movement took much more "positive" slogans and symbols (political proposals and counter-proposals) to express their discontent and to turn against its opponents. In the same time, according to the research conducted in the Western Europe (Gentile 1999; Rucht & Koopmans 1999), the scale of violent acts initiated by the extreme-right movement remained constant. I assume that the same phenomenon will be observed over 23 years of Polish extreme-right movement existence. From the one hand, I assume to observe an increasing institutionalization of collective actions, on the other hand, it is not assumed to occur a significant decrease in violent actions initiated by the extreme-right movement.

It leads me to the general conclusion that extreme-right movement operate, like in the western countries (see: Gentile 1999), on two levels of organization. One is the extra-parliamentary level of non-institutionalized groups, as well as non-organized citizens with xenophobic feelings resorted to heavy violence to put pressure on the authorities. That part of the movement operates mostly on the local level. In this case, as Ruud Koopmans indicates, "much of the benefits of collective action are produced in the action itself (1990: 15). Second level involves political party organizations and could be characterized by the increasing number of protests and claims events with moderate repertoires.

Movement is a mosaic composed of divergent ideological tendencies mobilizing around different issues and using distinct action repertoires. Moreover, there are many interconnections between different forms of actions and organizations which could be seen only after the rigorous examination of every protest event reported by the daily press within 23 years of extreme-right movement existence in Poland.

Project is a type of exploratory research (Babbie 2010: 90). It means that I address a problem that does not actually exist in academic social movements studies in Poland but was repeatedly discussed in western literature (Klandermans & Staggenborg 2002). However, in contrast to the classical exploratory research characterized by Babbie (Ibidem), my project does not relies on secondary data or qualitative research approaches such as grounded theory or interpretive research. I base on a proven quantitative method of Protest Event Analysis (PEA) which will provide us with a detailed map of occurrences and patterns of large numbers of protest events that can be used for complex analyses linking protest to other events, structures, and developments.

BASIC CONCEPT

Efforts to gain an adequate picture of the long-term patterns of extreme-right protest actions face special problems of conceptualization and measurement of protest events reported form the daily press. The first major problem will be clarified in this section, the second in the section dedicated to the research methodology. Here I focus concretely on clarifying concretely the types of action, that would be excluded and included in a collection of extreme-right protest events, and theoretical elements of analysis built on this conceptualization. In doing so, I focus on two distinct components of the extreme-right protest actions concept in turn – *extreme-right movement* and *protest event*.

What makes extreme-right movement distinctive from other forms of social organizations is that it is rooted in the xenophobic ideology, and for that reason it has a special place in the social world.

The activities that encompass extreme-right protest events include both:

a) Struggles against political adversaries who are described as enemies of the race, nation or dominant ethnic group.

b) Struggles to win an important place in the political and public arena and gain supporters for its ideological points of view.

Historically, extreme-right movement is embedded in collective identity construction and implies a special type of relationship that binds its members and the outside world. Extreme-right movement excludes and includes its "people" on the basis of a shared and imagined belonging to an original *ethnie*. As an organization, collective ideology and action extreme-right movement remains open to political challenges from its opponents to extend its cultural basis and material resources. In the same time, this movement is directed against enemies, and closed on contacts with the outside world, trying to maintain its internal cohesion. In the case of extreme-right movement we are confronted with a difficulty since we do not want to ignore any elements of the basic components of extreme-right social movement: its tendency to use violence as a means of political struggle, and its willingness to appeal to the population in order to recruit new members. Such movement, then,

must be kept in a separate intermediate category, rather being simply excluded from the study of social movements.

Before I proceed with a discussion of theoretical issues, I must further specify the protest event component of my concept. According to Ruud Koopmans and Dieter Rucht: "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 heard and visible, and eventually to have an impact on politics and society" (2002: 231). Such an approach to protest is to assume that I am dealing with the social movement as a historical whole, which manifests itself through collective action (see: Tilly 1978). From the perspective of my concept, social movement is constituted by a set of protest events with the participation of collective social actors; social movement is a form of political contention holding a specific structure, tools of expression and symbols to justify and shape the way in which its participants perceive themselves.

In sum, I stress sorts of protest episodes which are continuous in time rather than sporadic, bringing extreme-right movement into play as a relatively new actor on the Polish political arena. I may formulate a general statement that determines how I understand the relationship between social movement and protest event: If episodes of social movements and protest episodes were completely different in their traits and properties, there would be neither the basis nor the justification for theorizing.

Theoretical concepts

Basing on theory of social movements (see: della Porta i Diani 2009) and collective mobilization (see: McAdam et al. 2001) my concept involves the research of protests events to direct attention to the complex correlations between three elements of analysis:

1) **Mobilizing structure** is a concept used by many scholars (McAdam 1999; Alimi 2007) to describe a formal and informal structures that bring people together, shape coalitions of leading organizations and confront opponents during the protest activity. Sidney Tarrow stress that mobilizing structure "refers to the connective structure that link 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" (1998: 124). Movements can depth and breadth of protest, and shape external conditions to their own purposes through organizational structure that link the leaders to the ordinary members of the movement.

In the case of Polish extreme-right movement concept of mobilizing structure will be used to analyze interconnections between different actors who participate in the protest events. Indicators of the mobilizing structure are as follows: the size of protest (number of participants), the presence of formal and informal organizations participating in the protest event, the presence of leaders of organizations (formal or informal) and other social groups that support extreme-right activities. All indicators will be recorded from the daily press mentions.

2) **Repertoire of protest.** Protest repertoire can be defined as a set of tools and modes of action which is used by protest event participants to show their disagreement on a specific government policy, opposition to the political enemies or political demands. Among various types of repertoires can be mentioned, for example, marches, demonstrations, strikes, occupations, blockades (sit-ins), as well as petitions, letters, appeals, press conferences and many more. Movements can mold external conditions to their own purposes and direct their actions by tactically embracing specific modes of protest in order to maximize political leverage.

Protest repertoire is a concept frequently used by Charles Tilly to count and classify the tools of protest and claim making presented during the specific historical events such as revolutions in France, Germany and Switzerland (Tilly 1989; Gugni, McAdam, Tilly 1998). In his very well known book *Social Movements, 1768-2004* (2004), Charles Tilly coined the term 'WUNC'.

'WUNC' is a form of protest repertoire display which consist of: a) *worthiness* – feeling and showing dignity by the protest participants (for instance: sober demeanor, presence of clergy (Ibidem: 4), and in the case of extreme-right movement: neat clothing, presence of movement leaders etc.); b) *unity* – social movement performs coherence using matching badges, headbands, banners or costumes (Ibidem). Marching in ranks fits to the repertoire of the extreme-right movement; c) *numbers* – protest event participants tend to emphasize their numbers with signatures on petitions, messages from constituents and filling streets (Ibidem). They often try to create an impression that there are more of them than in reality, trying to get attention: marching column, shouting slogans etc; d) *commitment* – social movement is trying to stress its resistance to all external conditions and repressions; ostentatious sacrifice, subscription, and/or benefaction corresponds to this form of protest (Ibidem). Displays of 'WUNC' may vary from one setting to another but four listed elements represent an ideal type of protest repertoire that could be used to analyze the real protest events recorded from the daily press.

Under the general concept of WUNC I will classify all events and claims with the participation of parties, organizations, groups and non-organized citizens sharing radical right point of view. In the case of Polish extreme-right movement the concept of repertoires will be used to analyze different modes of action and to aggregate descriptions of single events (encoded on the code sheets) into overall characterization of actions in time. Types of protest repertoires will be borrowed from the work of Dieter Rucht *On the Sociology of Protest Marches* (2007), which is currently the most comprehensive review of protest repertoires in the western world, and entered into the questionnaire. List of protest repertoires will be complemented by the forms of protest and claims specific for Polish extreme-right movement. All indicators will be recorded from the daily press.

3) **Concept of cultural frames** in social sciences comes from the famous work of Erving Goffman *Frame Analysis. An Essay on the Organization of Experience* (1974). The term *frame* (and framework) is commonly used to denote "schemata of interpretation" which help people, whether individual or collective, to "locate, identify, and label" (Ibidem: 21) world around them. Sociologists have utilized framing concept to explain the process of social movement mobilization (Snow, Benford 1988). In the social movement theory frames function to organize collective experience and guide action. Social movements construct symbolic frames to identify opportunities and threats in the process of collective mobilization. Movements act as carriers of beliefs, ideologies, symbols and signs. Ann Swidler proposes to treat frames as a *cultural "tool kit"* – a set of cultural elements "from which actors select differing pieces for constructing lines of action" (1986: 277). *Cultural "tool kit"* is closely connected with protest repertoire: during the protest event social actors use particular forms of repertoire rendering occurrences meaningful with symbols and slogans as an expression of movement ideology.

In the case of Polish extreme-right movement the above-mentioned concept will be used to analyze how movement attaches meaning to events by choosing specific frames. Indicators of the cultural frames are as follows: content of presented slogans, banners, shouts and signs, letters and petitions recorded from the daily press.

Models of process

Three basic elements linking social movement to the structure of opportunities for action constitute the main conceptual frame for analysis. However, social movement, which manifests itself through the protest action, is not an unchangeable whole. Movement evolves due to the changes in the external structures and opportunities; mobilizing structure changes, and with it also the forms of repertoire and cultural frames. Social movement changing characteristics can be grasped by introducing the concept of the process.

Each analytical element of my concept comes in a specific form of process. Extreme-right movement dynamics include processes as follows:

1) **Institutionalization of mobilizing structures**. Institutionalization refers to the process of embedding followers of the movement within an organization. Supporters of the movement organize its structures by establishing a leadership and kind of "book of status" – a set of "rules of conduct" that regulates positions and role functions in the social movement organization (SMO). SMO is usually an organized component of social movement or organized part of wider social movement coalitions (see: Zald, McCarthy 1997). In this sense, political parties sometimes derive from social movements or find support among members of non-institutionalized organizations or groups which adhere to the ideology of social movement. Process of mobilizing structure institutionalization can be identified as an increasing degree of organization of a single social movement. Special attention should be paid to the mobilization of protest by the political parties and to the regularity of this process, which, in the theory of social movements, used to be called 'cycle of protest' (Tarrow 1998: 195).

David Meyer writes that some movements can exhibit cyclical behavior (1990; 1993). Much of his work dedicated to 'cycles of protest' was focused on the dynamics of a single movement. Only in recent years, in the sociological researches on 'cycle of protest', scholars have been more apt to pay attention to the broader society-wide cycles of contention. In the case of my research I treat 'cycle of protest' as a phenomenon related to a single social movement and as the indicator of an increasing degree of its institutionalization, but my study could also bring some understanding about how this single-constituency oriented cycles overlap with the broader cyclical protest dynamics and aggregate to form them.

2) **From 'no repertoire' to 'rigid repertoire'**. Similarly to the previous process, repertoire has got its own dynamics. Repertoire may be strengthened or weakened in a single period of time. Although the repertoire, in fact, is not necessarily linked to the linear process, it might go, like in the previous case, through cyclical dynamics or regular waves of protest. However, for analytical purposes, I can classify changing repertoires in the systematic scale: form the lack of repertoire to the strongest form of repertoire, which takes the form of institutionalized collective action. Charles Tilly distinguished four stages of the process of strengthening the protest repertoire (2008:15): a) *no repertoire* – when collective action is impossible to predict "because their actions (movement participants) simply express the emotions of the moment" (Ibidem). In the case of extreme-right movement 'no repertoire' is expressed in the form of political violence; b) *weak repertoire* – this form of repertoire is based on "limited imagination" which "make repetition easier than innovations" (Ibidem), but it does not mean that it is more effective in achieving the objectives of the protest. Weak repertoire can be described as a form of political demonstration taking place on the street; 'weak' protest usually takes the traditional form of direct action; c) *strong repertoire* – is the most innovative form of protest repertoire. It involves parliamentary debates and rallies to enact "available scripts within which they (protest participants) innovate" (Ibidem). Strong repertoire is much more unpredictable than the previous one because it is mostly referring to the changing issues circulating among the public. Participants try to dramatize their message and direct attention to themselves. This form of protest contains mostly claims making as a form of protest display; d) *rigid repertoire* – is based on claims making and does not contain direct actions or street confrontations. Moreover, in contrast to previous form of repertoire, "participants repeat the same few routines over and over as exactly as they can" (Ibidem). Rigid repertoire is mostly repetitive. For example, in the highly developed democratic countries, this repertoire is displayed as a massive number of petitions sent to the courts. Nowadays, we find this type of repertoire in the repeated attacks on the mail boxes.

3) **Frame alignment**. Analytical image of my concept should be completed by the review of processes relating to cultural frames. Successful frames emerge through a variety ways and forms, but the basic precondition for movement success is the process of "frame alignment" taking place between movement participants and the society they intend to mobilize. Thus, successful collective action is possible at the point in which interpretative frames are integrated with some components from the wider culture. In simple words, frame alignment is a process of cultural and ideological

adaptation to the existing framework of cultural determinants. According to David Snow and his collaborators frames resonates with the larger social-belief system (Snow 1986) in the following ways: a) *frame bridging* – "linkage of two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames regarding a particular issue or problem" (Snow 1986); b) *frame extensions* – involves process in which movement "extends the boundaries of its primary framework so as to encompass interests or points of view that are incidental to its primary objectives but of considerable salience to potential adherents" (Ibidem: 472); c) *frame amplification* – refers to the "clarification and invigoration" of existing frames (Ibidem: 469). Movements use amplification to refresh or idealize their values. Extreme-right movement usually tries to highlight acts committed by the enemy, and reload the conviction of his continuous presence; d) *frame transformation* – takes place when a social movement faces the necessity of abandoning its traditional values and search for new ones. In some cases, as Snow and his collaborators indicate, radical shift in "attributional orientation is also frequently constituent element of mobilization for a participation in movements that seek change by directly altering sociopolitical structures" (Ibidem: 474). At the beginning of its activities in 1989, Polish extreme-right movement had to transform its frames of protest radically because the closest ideological patterns derive from the interwar period. Frame transformation is associated primarily with changes in the structure of political opportunities; violent collapse of the political system could serve as the best example.

Similarly to the protest repertoire, cultural frames might go, in fact, through cyclical dynamics, but for the purposes of the concept I classify framing processes as the linear dynamics.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This section first discusses the advantages of using PEA methodology before moving on to a discussion on the application and disadvantages of PEA method in the studies of extreme-right social movement.

Newspapers as a source of information

The research uses information gleaned from national newspapers to measure occurrences of the extreme-right protest events. PEA is a relatively new tool that compared to more established methods such as interviewing, has not yet become part of the standard methodological repertoire, but there is no doubt that in many ways it is a rewarding enterprise. Charles Tilly concluded that "the newspaper scanning provides a more comprehensive and uniform sample of events than any alternative source available to us" (1975: 315). The main advantage of PEA is simple. PEA will inform us about the real changes in the structures, forms, frames and scale of recorded protest events by means of content analysis on macro-level of analysis. It is a method that allows for a quantification of many detailed properties of protest events recorded from the daily press. In addition, PEA is a great tool for cross-national comparative studies and large comparisons undertaken by joint research teams (see:) because PEA is simply a method of using newspaper data from public newspapers archives (or electronic data collections) for quantitative analysis of protest events in periodical blocks of time. I emphasize that newspapers reflect the main lines of social conflicts and collective actions taking place in the public sphere and it is the best source of primary data for analyzing extreme-right contentious politics.

PEA methodology has been developed in the past few decades to systematically analyze and interpret the properties of large number of protest events. The early practitioners of PEA were concentrated on explaining of long-term changes and trends in political indicators and superficial counting of events. These analyses were not very sophisticated. However, in recent years many scholars used the statistical classification of events for making description of protests events available for much more advanced quantitative analysis. PEA has been applied to divers countries and has covered new issues, such as: political protest against corporations, world-scale labor unrest, protests of Polish peasant, and many more. No doubt the largest single PEA classification for

protest events is Prodat (Protest Data), research conducted by Dieter Rucht and collaborators, who collected records for almost 15 thousand of protest events in Germany from 1950 through 1997. All of this sociological studies relied of newspapers as their main source of information and all of them demonstrated high efficiency of PEA methodology.

Newspapers provide the most complete account of protest events and are, in fact, the only reliable source of information on many dimensions of protest events. But in case of societies transforming from real socialism to democracy the reliability of newspapers presents an important problem. The media in the Western countries for many decades were characterized by the high standards of journalists work, stable institutional position and democratic tradition in their relation to dissemination of information. In the newly democratized societies the robustness of journalists work were not guaranteed. It is the special problem particularly in relation to the first phase of my research. New situation in the country after the 1989 did not mean immediate change in the newspapers' profile. However, after few years there was an important shift among existing and newly funded newspapers. Actually, dominant position on the press market belongs to two national "prestige" newspapers: *Gazeta Wyborcza* and *Rzeczpospolita*.

In my project I will be aggregating information from above-mentioned major national newspapers and electronic base of Polish Press Agency (PAP). My reasoning is as follows:

1) ***Gazeta Wyborcza*** was established in May 1989 as an organ of Solidarity movement. It is the largest national newspaper in the country. *Wyborcza* has its local branches in every province in Poland. As a result, geographical bias rooted in the technological limits of newspaper reporting during the period of my research is not a major problem. Political profile of newspaper circulates around liberal and democratic options and it is the most visible bias of this source of information. From the beginning of its existence *Gazeta Wyborcza* has been extending network of regional offices. This is the most important advantage.

2) ***Rzeczpospolita*** is one of the most comprehensive dailies in Poland. From its beginnings it was a governmental newspaper, but after the transformation of 1989, it developed as the most objective newspaper in Poland. *Rzeczpospolita* represents moderate central-right political option and provides a counterbalance to the political option of *Gazeta Wyborcza*. This configuration of dailies helps to avoid biases associated with the selection of information due to the political points of views.

3) ***Additional sources of information***. These two dailies will be supplemented by electronic databases of PAP and the Brown Book (Published by Nigdy Więcej Association). The first source provides comprehensive information collected throughout the country because it is the only and largest news agency in Poland. The Agency is to collect objective and comprehensive information from across the whole country. Before 1898 PAP had been a governmental news agency, closely linked with the top elites of the communist regime. In the mid-80' PAP started modernizing reforms and after a change in personnel it emerged as a county's most reliable source of information. The second source is the Brown Book which is currently most comprehensive source of information on extreme-right violent actions in Poland. Temporal scope of the Brown Book covers almost 33 years of violent extreme-right political activities. Acts were recorded using a network of informants throughout the country.

POLISH EXTREME RIGHT

After 1989 Poland had begun the implementation of its difficult macroeconomic adjustment program. Some observers focused on the negative consequences of the fast transition to a capitalist-market type economy, predicting after-effects such us: rise in unemployment, a substantial decline in social spending, and an uncontrollable emergence of social inequalities. Others assumed that the rapid transition from central planning to the free market and political freedom is necessary and marveled over the boldness of the shock therapy based on "proven models which we know of from

real market economies" (Balcerowicz, 1995 p. 346). At the beginning of the system change the dominant image was the rejecting of Communism and the need of the overall privatization of state enterprises. Meanwhile, many sociologists faced the challenge of new theoretical and analytical problems involved in studying transition process. In the analysis and comments dominant metaphor was that of "revolutionary moment" (Pakulski, Higley 1992): the end of the old world (Pakulski 1991: 4), the state of social anomie (Szafraniec 1986), and also "a lack of wider theoretical breath" (Zybertowicz 1991: 117). After this period of "crisis and challenges" (Kolasa-Nowak 2010: 12) analytical effort has been taken to formalize the study of polish social change. Few topics has been especially important and consequential: the progressive institutionalization as a result of top-down reforms (Domański, Rychard 1997), transformation and disappearance of the old features of social structure (Domański 1995), the compatibility of institutions with social life (Marody, Kochanowicz 2007), the birth of the new middle class (Domański 1994), and finally, individual and social attitudes towards the new reality (Rychard 2000). This was associated with the methods of forming a new identity and problems of decision making in the new institutional environment (Hawrylik 2000, Machaj 2005). In brief, most of the literature on system transformation in Poland centered around the analysis of the institutional regime transitions and changing social identities and strategies of adaptation (including mental and cultural capacities or different ways to manage common resources in the new legal and institutional framework). The topic of social protest was largely overlooked. Existing analysis did not provided sufficient information to understand the role of collective actions and new forms of political identities in Poland as a bottom-up response to the institutional change.

These assumptions seem to be particularly important in the case of polish extreme-right movement which was contesting the newly established democratic order since 1989.

In the immediate aftermath of the fall of communism in Poland, popular discussion of the reemergence of the extreme right movement centered on concerns that it would take the form of ultra-nationalism, neo-Nazi youth movement or post-communist national populism (Pankowski 2009). However, these voices (mainly emphasizing sensational aspects of the events involving the militant neo-Nazis) tend to stress the cultural specificity (the extremist movement was attributed to indigenous origin because of their nationalistic slogans) of movement of extreme-right and the patterns of variation that underlie this emphasis on uniqueness. This was done without considering how the extreme-right movement should be conceptualized for Poland and how it really acts in the public sphere taking into account the long-term perspective analysis of protest events and claim making.

For several years, in the analysis of Polish social movements, the dominant paradigm was that of Alaine Touraine's interpretative sociology (2010). Many scholars dedicated their work to analyze the process of system transformation in Poland, concentrating on the macrostructural dimension of social change initiated by the social movements (Kuczyński i Frybes 1994). Most studies in the literature on Polish social movements has been written basing on outdated methodology (see: Żuk 2001; Gliński 1996). What is more, Polish scholars have been dedicating their work to the left-wing or alterglobalist movements, never referring to long-term transformations in the social movement environment (Krzemiński 2006).

For Polish studies on social movements *Dynamika życia społecznego* (2011) – a book edited by Krzysztof Gorlach and Patrick Mooney – is of great importance. This book is a collection of articles devoted to the major Western theories and methodologies of social movements analysis. However, this book does not contain chapters on PEA methodology.

The project was initially established as a response to the need for creation of basic academic knowledge on the extreme right movement in Poland. But the contribution of the project is also innovative in a theorethical sense: questioning whether social movements are best seen not as groups at all, but rather as structured series of protests. On the other hand, the emergence of social protest research methodologies in recent years enabled the analysis of the dynamics of protest events over a long period of time. Methodologically, project turns away from the search for invariant casual models toward a search for historically contingent combinations of mobilization structure, protest repertoire and cultural frame factors.

The thrust of this project is to analyze extreme right social movement in the time of structural transition in Poland after 1989.

As Grzegorz Ekiert and Jan Kubik argue:

> During transitions, when institutional orders of societies undergo major reformulation, protest actions may become the principal tools of institution building and an important mechanism through which the public sphere and the domain of the political are being reconstituted and new boundaries between the state and society established (Ekiert & Kubik: 10).

My effort to analyze the bottom-up radical right mobilization will help with understanding how a model of polish national identity, deeply embedded in the structure of social relationship in society, gives a potentiality not only to build new institutional boundaries, but mainly, to resist political, economic and social transformation by using political violence. The founding myths and cultural identities have a quality that influences the potential of social movements to put symbols and ideas into action. But it should be clear that, very frequently, extreme-right movement's collective actions are not a medium to present a political point of view but instead becomes the message in itself.

A serious research gap exists in studies of Polish extreme-right social movement. Rafał Pankowski's book *The Populist Radical Right in Poland* (2011) is an exception in Polish sociological literature dedicated to the extreme-right movement. Pankowski developed an innovative methodology of discursive opportunity structure to analyze culture of Polish nationalism after 1989. Although, in relation to Pankowski's work, my project goes much further. In the innovative ways I expand and deepen studies of relationships between mobilizing structures, protest repertoire and cultural frames in the context of long-time changes in the political opportunity structure.

The project also brings innovative proposals for the methodology of the study of social movements: a comprehensive study of a single Polish social movement, using all available data sources, has never been conducted. PEA methodology has been used in studies of collective mobilizations in Poland only on restricted research samples (four years, see: Foryś 2008; Ekiert & Kubik 2001). These analyzes were pioneering in relation to other studies of Polish social movements but soon new research challenges has come. Sociologists were faced with the task of constructing multidimensional research model of a single social movement functioning in a specific political and social setting.

Proposed project is a response to this challenge: I have created a multidimensional model of extreme-right movement dynamics to include the widest possible range of temporal and spatial analysis. However, the project is not only important for the scientific reasons. It refers to the extremely important social issue that has not been studied in the context of contentious political activity in Poland – collective violence. As Charles Tilly once stated: "Collective violence, than, is a form of contentious politics. It counts as contentious because participants are making claims that affect each other's interests. It counts as politics because relations of participants to governments are always at stake" (Tilly 2003:26). This means that political violence is a part of social life and as such should be carefully investigated.

THE DYNAMICS OF EXTREME RIGHT SOCIAL MOVEMENT IN POLAND

My concept includes the three stages of the historical changes of the extreme-right movement in Poland. These phases determine temporal scope of my research and the general assumptions (detailed hypotheses) about the extreme-right traits of change in time:

1) **Phase of "Organization", 1989-1995**. Polish extreme-right movement was reborn with the start of democratic reforms in Poland. At the beginning of 90' we have witnessed the re-establishment of the old, pre-war, nationalis)ts organizations (All-Polish Youth, National Party) and

the foundation of several new organizations (Tejkowski's Polish National Union, Polish National Front, National Rebirth of Poland). Before the local and central structures of the movement stood very important task; the formulation of prioriteis, rivarly with other extreme-right groups and trying to appeal to the population in order to recruit new members. Then, in 1993 the movement faild in attemp to take off in parliamentary elections. In the first period of the movement activity new extreme-right invested their political affinities without visible success. I assume that movement structures were dispersed and based primarly on the repertoire of political violence or direct manifestations of discontent. Frames of protest were concentrated mostly on the delegitimization of post-1989 political order.

2) **Phase of "Political Mobilization", 1996-2003**. In the next phase of activity movement tried the reunification of its structures uniting with the other political forces and also changed its repertoires of political actions trying to promote their candidates during the presidential elections in 1997. Both without results. In this phase of movement mobilization I expect to observe increasing number of protest events accompanied by political parties and protest repertoire enriched with public declarations, petitions and letters. The dominant frame in this phase was "the commune" – slogan in reference to the "corrupted" Polish government. In comparison with the previous phase interpretative frame has gained additional symbols and meanings; as enemies, Jews began to be present. Many frames in this category were used in slogans like "Judeo-commune", "Poland for Poles" or "Long live Great Poland".

3) **Phase of "Europeanization", 2004-2012.** Breakthrough came in the third phase of movement mobilization effort, between 2004 and 2012. The extreme-right movement gained a huge support of several media groups that helped them to unite again and take on influential governmental positions. Plenty of places in state institutions were filled by people who had the extreme-right connections or activist history; for example the nomination of Piotr Farfał, who was accused of spreading Nazi magazines, for Chairman of Polish Television. In this phase of movement development, what I expect to confirm through my research, mobilizing structures have become more institutionalized. Most political parties and groups legalized their activities and decided to carry on their struggle in the political arena. Protest events have become much more reasonable; there were more protests during which their participants have been dramatizing their actions (strong repertoire), using ready-made scenarios. The best example of such activities was specifically planed marches with stops at symbolic places (monuments etc.). However, the most significant change that has taken place in all these areas of analysis was "Europeanization" – movement started to take inspiration from the western extreme-right activists: protests have become more consolidated, accumulating growing number of smaller groups and individual activists; organizations whose roots come from Western Europe and the USA (Blood & Honour, Hammer Skins, Autonomous Nationalists), began to be visible in the public space. Frames of protest have been complemented by international and moral issues; critics of European Union and homosexuals.

1.1.Table below summarizes the phases of protest event development and processes related to the main areas of analysis.

	Institutionalization of mobilizing structure	Strengthening of the protest repertoire	Frame alignment
Phase of "Organization, 1989-1995	Attempts to consolidate particular organizations of the extreme-right social movement	Direct actions and street manifestations, prevalence of violent actions	Transformation of frames, frame bridging. Frames against new political order
Phase of "Political Mobilization", 1996-2003	Increasing participation of political parties in protest events	Petitions and letters, participation in elections, calls for	Frames amplification. "Negative"

		plebiscites, press statements	frame against political order; the presence of new symbols and topics
Phase of "Europeanization", 2004-2012	Coalition of social movements and political organizations; participation in joint events.	Repertoire innovations: dramatization of social movement message (performances, symbolic demonstrations, benefiting from emerging opportunities)	Extension of frames. "Positive" claims and political proposals

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