

SŁAWOMIR KAPRALSKI  
Warsaw School of Social Sciences and Humanities

## The Problem of ‘Struggles for Recognition’ in Polish Sociology<sup>1</sup>

*Abstract:* The author studies the reception of the theory of recognition, represented by Axel Honneth and Nancy Fraser, in Polish sociology. Even if this reception is at present not very wide, one can still identify at least three problem areas in which Polish sociologists work on similar issues and with similar approaches as those present in the theory of recognition. These areas are: studies on identity and agency, gender studies, and research on various dimensions of marginalization. The author argues that the theoretical perspective of the ‘struggles for recognition’ would be an interesting inspiration for the research of Polish sociologists and shows some indicators of the growing interest in that perspective in recent years.

*Keywords:* Polish sociology; theory of recognition; identity; agency; gender; marginalization; exclusion; solidarity; nationalism; ethnicity; minorities.

The intention of this paper was originally to present the reception of the theory of struggles for recognition in Polish sociology. In order to do it, I have reviewed the texts that have been published since 1990 in two Polish leading sociological magazines: *Studia Socjologiczne* [Sociological Studies] and *Polish Sociological Review*. The first of them is a quarterly published by the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences and by the Academy’s Committee on Sociology. Since 1961 it has been the main place for Polish sociologists to submit the reports from their research and more theory-oriented papers. The second one is an English-language magazine of the Polish Sociological Association (until 1993 appeared as *Polish Sociological Bulletin*). Together, they offer a comprehensible insight into the mainstream of the Polish sociology. In addition, I have reviewed a number of books published more recently in the fields where one would expect a reference to the theory in question or by the authors whose orientation could classify as close to the theory.

The results of my query indicate that theory of struggles for recognition is largely nonexistent as a frame of reference for Polish sociologists. With one exception, there are no texts that belong to that theory translated into Polish, and there are practically no direct references to it in the material reviewed. Therefore, I have decided to present those contributions and areas of research that focus on similar problems and where a dialogue with the theory of struggles for recognition could be established in

---

<sup>1</sup> This text has been originally prepared and presented for the participants of the research project “Transnational Struggles for Recognition: Women and Jews in France, Germany and Poland,” financed by Volkswagen Stiftung and administered by the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung, in which I have served as a project advisor in 2007–2010.

the future, starting with the presentation of the only one direct reference to the theory I have found. It should be noted that it is by no means an exhaustive presentation and the text selected often serves as a mere illustrations or examples of the way in which the problems have been approached by Polish sociologists.

‘Struggles for recognition’ is a key phrase of a theory which has many antecedents in philosophy and social theorizing but which has materialized in an elaborated shape in Axel Honneth’s *The Struggle for Recognition: The Moral Grammar of Social Conflicts*.<sup>2</sup> This book has developed a number of philosophical and sociological inspirations: from Hegel (especially the ‘young’ Hegel) and Habermas to an in-depth reading of George Herbert Mead, and showed their implications for social theory. In this way, Honneth attempts to return to the ‘grand tradition’ of critical theory with its avid philosophical self-reflection mixed in with an ethically informed focus on social problems and a concern with contemporary polity, especially with emancipation for a more just society. Moreover, Honneth attempts to provide an approach which would integrate the psychological, social and political aspects of human life—one could say almost in the spirit of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century’s giants of social thought or, to a lesser degree, of Honneth’s intellectual master—Jürgen Habermas.

Honneth’s attempt is also to connect the ‘utilitarian’ and ‘moral’ vision of society or, to put it differently, to connect ‘interest’ and ‘value’ as the two most important frames of human action. As Stéphane Haber rightly observes, Honneth has assumed that

these struggles, which seem to be oriented solely towards gaining a more advantageous distribution of riches and power, in fact have other stakes... These stakes are related to the preservation of the conditions of what one may call the consciousness of the dignity of a social group—the consciousness of its value, of its importance, and of its respectability (Haber 2007).

Honneth’s theory can therefore be read as a theory of identity, which is simultaneously understood as a psychological problem of a personality caught in a network of interpersonal relations, as a sociological problem of a group to be recognized legally and in the inter-group practices of everyday life, and finally as a political and economic problem of having been recognized (or not) for one’s contribution to the economic effort and the quality of political life. Love, rights, and solidarity are therefore three main values constituting the frame, in which Honneth’s *persona* strives for—correspondingly—self-confidence, self-respect, and self-esteem.<sup>3</sup>

The wide scope of Honneth’s theory and its promise to connect the finesse of philosophers with the ‘real stuff’ of social workers and human rights activists, won him high regard as a potential rejuvenator of critical theory, immersed in crisis since the decline of various New Left movements in the 1970s, aggravated by the ‘rectifying revolutions’ of the post-communist world (Alexander; Lara 1996). This is still the case in spite of the criticism Honneth’s theory has received from various sides. One should list here first of all Nancy Fraser’s (2005) ‘sympathetic criticism’ of Honneth’s

<sup>2</sup> A. Honneth (1995). The German original text (*Kampf um Anerkennung. Zur moralischen Grammatik sozialer Konflikte*) has been published in 1992 by Suhrkamp in Frankfurt am Main.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Honneth, *op. cit.* Chapter 5.

neglect of the fact that identity-building is perhaps not the first thing on the agenda of those economically impoverished and that the shift of poverty into the cultural dimension can only veil the real problems and human suffering. Secondly, one should mention here the apparent lack of a political dimension to Honneth's theory, which—according to some critics—constitutes a hidden dimension waiting to be revealed and activated.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, one should agree that Honneth's theory is among those which could open up new possibilities not only for critical theory but also for social theory in general, and which could serve as an intellectual framework for the most important problems of the contemporary world (Fleming 2011).

### **The (Non)presence of the Theory of Struggles for Recognition in Polish Sociology**

Among the most important texts contributing to the theory of struggles for recognition is only *Redistribution or Recognition? A Political-Philosophical Exchange* by Nancy Fraser and Axel Honneth which has been translated into Polish and published by a local publisher without wider distribution.<sup>5</sup> Monika Bobako (2005), in her Introduction to that volume outlines briefly the history of the problem of 'recognition,' tracing it back to the ambiguous legacy of the Enlightenment and the problems of modern society: the collapse of traditional social hierarchies and the disconnection of identity and social position. Then, she outlines two intellectual reactions to the problem of modernity: the universal conception of equal dignity of human beings and the individualist approach that emphasized 'authenticity' of each particular human being. The liberal tradition attempted to reconcile the politics of equality implied by the first perspective and politics of difference that has been implied by the second standpoint. However, the liberal solution through the division into the public sphere (the space of 'the universal') and the private sphere (the domain of differentiated individual 'authenticities') has failed and resulted in the political expulsion or marginalization of difference. Therefore, one of the main tasks of the theory of struggles for recognition appears to be the reconciliation of universality and particularism or, in other words, the creation of a theoretical formula that would simultaneously secure the right 'to be the same' (as the others) and the right 'to be different.'

As Bobako observes, contrary to the liberal solution, the perspective of critical theory focuses recently mostly on the issue of identity. It is precisely the critical reaction to this 'cultural turn' that formed Nancy Fraser's approach to the problem of recognition which is the central theme of the Bobako's introductory essay.

For Fraser, neither 'liberal dualism,' nor the focus on cultural politics of identity can be a viable solution. The first strategy marginalizes the problem of cultural identity, the second exaggerates it while at the same time neglects the problem of economic justice. It is indeed paradoxical, Bobako points out after Fraser, that in the 'postsocialist' condition the most highly debated form of injustice is cultural domina-

---

<sup>4</sup> J.-P. Deranty, E. Renault (2007).

<sup>5</sup> N. Fraser, A. Honneth (2005).

tion and not economic exploitation, and the main form of social conflict is struggle for recognition and not for social equality.

Fraser's intention is not to bring in the agenda the issue of economic redistribution at the expense of the politics of identity. Her theory is rather a negative reaction to the

widespread decoupling of the cultural politics of difference from the social politics of economic equality. Some proponents of redistribution reject the politics of recognition outright, casting claims for the recognition of difference as "false consciousness," a hindrance to the pursuit of social justice. Conversely, some proponents of recognition see distributive politics as tied to an outmoded materialism, simultaneously blind to and complicit with many injustices (Fraser 2005: 445).

Therefore, Fraser's task should be seen as an attempt to integrate the 'emancipatory aspects of the two paradigms ... into a single, comprehensive framework' (ibid). This task may be accomplished, according to Bobako, through the deconstruction of the reified identities and symbolic structures of domination on the one hand, and, on the other hand, through the transformation of the economic structures.

Axel Honneth's approach to the problem of recognition has been presented in a less detailed way in the Introduction and placed within the agenda set up by Fraser's version of the theory. According to Bobako, Honneth's theory should be interpreted as a theory of social justice and emancipation based on the category of recognition. In this approach social injustice and inequality may be interpreted as a lack of or insufficient recognition. Correspondingly, emancipation in Honneth's theory is perceived not as a rationalization of the communicative action (as it was the case of Habermas' approach) but as a socially institutionalized relation of recognition.

In that way, Honneth attempts to integrate within his theory the problem of social/economic justice with the problem of identity. For the absence of social justice can be, according to Honneth, interpreted as a refusal of the certain claims for identity: identity formation process can be developed only when social justice secures the conditions of recognition of the developing identities.

The final part of Bobako's introduction is devoted to the chances for emergence of the political postulates of recognizing difference in Poland and to the meaning and consequences such postulates would have in Polish society. Generally, Bobako is rather skeptical regarding the Polish reception of the recognition theory. The main reason she has pointed out is the unaccomplished separation of the Church and the State in Poland, the country where religious identity has a strong political articulation and legal regulations happen to be interpreted as principles that should have their roots in God's will. Another obstacle may be caused by the fact that Polish society strongly emphasizes national identity, which may be a factor suppressing other possible collective identities. Moreover, the national identity in question is largely past-oriented and Polish debates on identity focus predominantly on the reinterpretation of the past, mostly traumatic, events. Additionally, Polish society for most of its history did not identify with its political institutions, including the state which, indeed, was often not a guarantee of the legal regulations but to the contrary. This may negatively affect a potential critical debate of the universal subject of law. Eventually, it would be difficult to argue for the transformation of the economic structure in the

country in which there are still visible negative outcomes of the post-communist economic transformation on the one hand, and, on the other, in which the very concept 'redistribution' still bears strong associations with the communist economic experiments and is often ideologically presented as the opposition of the economic freedom (Bobako 2005: 18–19).

Even if the assessment of the possible reception of the theory of recognition in Poland is perhaps too pessimistic and does not take into account the full picture of recent cultural and economic developments, the remarks of Bobako may help to understand why this theory is largely absent in Polish sociology. This is an astonishing 'non-presence', especially when there is indeed a number of research areas in which Polish sociologists are particularly active and in which this theory would fit very well, providing an additional value and offering new perspectives of exploration. In the following sections, I would like to present a few of such research areas, pointing out the approaches which seem to be the closest to the theory of recognition, even if they do not refer to it directly, and which could be the first intellectual partners in the future debate about recognition.

### **Theory of Identity and Agency**

#### **The Absence of the Public Sphere: The Poles in a Sociological Void**

One of the key features of the Polish sociology in the 1990's was a conflict between the external and the internal explanations of identity. Quite strong position in Polish sociology has been won by the theories approaching identity as a result of structural, macro-social features and their characteristics, which are 'external' from the point of view of an individual or group. In this spirit, for example, generational identities have been analyzed as a result of tensions between the factors of social dynamics and stagnation.<sup>6</sup>

On the other hand, the beginning of 1990s witnessed a number of publications focused on the emancipatory perspectives and actions.<sup>7</sup> The main problem of Polish sociology of that time seemed to be that the internal perspectives, emphasizing individual and collective strategies of emancipation as factors of social change, have been expressed in the language centered around the concept of 'agency,' rather than in one of 'identity.' This can be partly explained (although at the price of a simplification) by the 'collectivist' orientation of Polish sociology regarding the issue of identity that has been perceived mostly as static and taken for granted sense of 'belonging' to a 'primordial,' *Gemeinschaft*-type of community that needs to be 'maintained,' 'protected' or equipped with 'agency' against the external threat.

This highly, even if unconsciously, politicized vision has developed throughout 1980s and can be interpreted in terms of two complementary commonsense perspectives on Polish society. The one expressed in the widespread distinction 'Us—Them'

<sup>6</sup> K. Wielecki (1990).

<sup>7</sup> For example I. Uhl (1991).

where a collective 'We' has been opposed to the evil world of 'Them' the system, the communists, but also public sphere and politics in general. The other one has been captured by the concept of 'sociological vacuum' a term coined by Stefan Nowak (1979) to present the findings of his research on Polish society conducted in the second half of 1970s.

The main result of Nowak's research was that Poles identify with two spheres of social life: family and to some extent family-like groups of close friends, sometimes working as a caucus, and with the abstract ideas of 'nation' and 'Church' at the other end of something what usually is a continuum of social identifications. In the Polish case the continuum was broken: between family and the nation there was nothing with which Poles would identify. Therefore, the whole sphere of public activity, where we usually construct our identities through our activities and interactions with others, has been declared the 'enemy's territory,' a part of the evil world of 'Them.' In consequence, identity was defined rather as passive and self-evident and thus non-reflective belonging to family and national group. If an activist approach emerged, it was mostly focused on agency understood as a securing for the ready-made identities a sphere for self-realization, or even as a 'de-colonization' of the social world by the family-like collective subject guided by national values. This approach could easily be 'confirmed' by empirical research conceptualized in terms of agency. For example, in Anita Miszalska's research, (1993) where alienation, understood as the lack of agency, is measured or 'operationalized' in terms of 'non-belonging' and attributed to those socially isolated, who do not participate in organizational activities.

The absence of 'the social' in the sphere of identity production and negotiation leads to the failure of drawing conclusions from the 'Solidarity' movement as one in which the fight for redistribution merged with the demands for recognition. What was to be recognized has been however defined in terms of traditional undisputed constructs of familial, national and religious values. The dream of 'Solidarity' and the shortcomings of civil society in contemporary Poland were thus founded in the incapability of conceptualizing society in terms different than family, nation or religious group. It may also shed some light on contemporary Polish politics with its inability for cohabitation, consensual solutions and cooperation in spite of the existing differences.

### **The End of 1990s: the 'Cultural Turn' in Polish Sociology?**

The situation described above has been changing throughout the 1990s. More emphasis has been put on identity as a dynamic, self-transforming construct and on cultural mechanisms of its transformation. Various theories of identity have enriched the background of Polish sociology (Barth, Bourdieu, Eisenstadt, Gellner, Touraine, Turner), and identity started to be perceived not only as a result but also as an active factor of social change, for example when the evolving patterns of identity form a part of an ongoing process of social transformation (Boksański 1993).

Various studies of Zbigniew Boksański from 1990s have been generalized in a broader perspective in two important books published more recently. In the first of

them (2005) the author asks important questions regarding the status of the concept (its static vs. dynamic aspects, continuity and transformation of identities, the relation of identity with conformity and contestation). Then the author focuses on ethnic and national identities, to finally discuss various theoretical approaches to postmodern identities, but without a reference to the theory of struggles for recognition.

The second book (Boksański 2007) analyzes the growing individualism of Polish society which offers a radical change of the frame in which identity used to be interpreted in Polish sociology. In a society rapidly moving from collectivism to atomization, identity cannot be perceived any longer as taken-for-granted sense of belonging, the rampant of 'community' we guard, try to perpetuate in an unchanged form, and, if circumstances allow, try to arm with 'agency.' In general, however, the results of the 'cultural turn' in Polish sociological approaches to identity in the 1990s have not been revolutionary, especially regarding the issue of constructed vs. inherited character of identity. A good example of such a 'moderate conservatism' can be found in a text by Marek Ziółkowski (2002). The author claims that social identity is to a much larger degree a given rather than chosen by an individual. Although Ziółkowski observes that in a contemporary world social identification depends more on the acts of choice, he nevertheless emphasizes that those acts deal only with less durable, superficial aspects of identity. In fact, the author claims, 'construction' of identity must be limited to the communicative play with already existing elements: impression management or hiding and revealing stigma.

#### **Towards a New Approach: 'Specific' Identities**

The area in which a meaningful dialogue with the theory of the struggle for recognition, at least with their cultural version, could be easily established, are the studies on various 'specific' identities: previously oppressed and/or hidden, hybrid, problematized and constructed in a dialogue with the environment rather than inherited from the past and protected against the external world. Małgorzata Melchior's (1990) study on the identities of the Polish Jews pointed out a variety of strategies of 'being Jewish' in the post-Holocaust Poland, focusing on a difficult attempts to be 'recognized' as Jewish, Polish, or Jewish and Polish at the same time. Magdalena Waligórska (2005) has studied Polish 'culture brokers' involved in the process described sometimes as the 'revival of Jewish culture in Poland without Jews,' sometimes as 'creating virtual Jewishness.' The involvement in the 'things Jewish' by the ethnic Poles has problematized their Polish identity and lead to a struggle for recognition for their self-appointed 'in-between position.' Jennifer Mitchel (2005) has analyzed contemporary identity politics of Roma in Eastern Europe, focusing on the politicization of the ethnic identities, ethnicization of the social identities, and the role of the emerging Roma political organizations and NGOs for their fight to be recognized as a transnational 'political nation' in diaspora. Eventually, Grażyna Kubica (2006) has examined the problems with the recognition of gay and lesbian identities in the Polish society, studying the social conflict regarding the public expressions of such identities and Polish attitudes towards them.

### Women's/Gender Studies

Various brands of the feminist social theory are currently in the process of delayed expansion within Polish universities, and although still they do not have a legitimate and firm place in the academic mainstream, their impact is not limited to slightly 'ghettoized' departments of gender studies. On the most abstract, theoretical level, it is however difficult to find direct or even indirect references to the theory of recognition. A notable exception is Joanna Mizielińska's book (2006), the only one among those reviewed here, in which such a direct reference can be found (to the Fraser's version of the theory). Mizielińska introduces Fraser's theory in the context of the feminist critique of the concept of citizenship. She rightly claims that the relation between equality and identity, implied by the concept of citizenship, is difficult and problematical within feminist theoretical perspective, because of the tendency of the dominant liberal discourse to assume that 'equal' means essentially 'the same.' Contrary to that, feminist theory argues that such an approach erases the difference and dissolves gender identities into the political equality, which in fact may lead to the reproduction or even deepening of discrimination. Fraser's theory has been presented, along with the conceptions of Iris Young and Anne Philips, as an example of the feminist attempt to include 'difference' into the concept of citizenship and as a perspective that emphasizes that political equality does not eliminate material oppression, often associated with cultural one.

Unfortunately, the problems of recognition are non-existent in the reflection on the political representation of women in Poland, a very accurate place for them to be touched upon. For example, in a publication prepared by the Parliamentary Women's Group of the *Sejm*, the Polish Parliament, the political representation has been largely reduced to the description of the international contacts of the Group with the analogous structures in the parliaments of other countries (Marszał 2005). The situation looks slightly better on the local level, although the texts that document activities of various local women's organizations are largely descriptive and focus rather on the list of activities than on the problems they encounter.<sup>8</sup>

The literature on the self-organization of women's movement in Poland offers an interesting and theory-inspired area, in which the issue of recognition may be successfully conceptualized in the future. Ewa Malinowska (1999), for example, analyzes the processes of self-organization within women's movements in Poland and the attempts to define their goals. Malinowska defines her task as a description of formative processes among Polish women. Adopting as her theoretical starting point Touraine's theory of social movements, the author distinguishes two main 'fields of action' in which women's organizations in Poland conceptualize their goals: ideological-political and social-economic. The key issues within the first of these fields are the modification of legislation, fighting stereotypes, modification of the traditional patterns of behavior related to gender roles, and the implementation of concrete values (e.g. those related to women's health). The most important goals within the second field are those re-

---

<sup>8</sup> For example G. Stolarz (2006).



lated to equality regarding wages and employment. The structure of the argument presented by the author is particularly close to Nancy Fraser's argument against the 'decoupling of the cultural politics of difference from the social politics of economic equality.'

An interesting attempt to bridge the perspective of identity theory and the one of women's studies can be found in a book by Anna Titkow (2007). Author's main topic is the articulation of group interest within various groupings of women in Poland. The author argues that the knowledge of group interest is rather weak and that this has been caused by the lack of cultural patterns of articulation, the lack of political tradition of organization (the only existing cases were largely artificial, communist-sponsored organizations before 1989), and the 'deficit of solidarity' among Polish women. On the other hand, the author claims that 'there is no universal group interest of women; there are, however, women's interest groups' (Titkow 2007: 281). Titkow's conclusion is far from optimism: the identities of Polish women are to a large degree imprisoned in the 'familio-centric individualism' and protected by various forms of 'false consciousness', which exclude the emergence of a meaningful, recognized and durable form of women's group identity.

Elżbieta T. Woźniakowa and Celina Matysiak (2006) arrived at a similar conclusion in their more empirically oriented study. The perspective of this study is more culture-oriented and confirms the nonexistence of the cultural patterns that would serve as tools for representing women's interest. The authors have presented a typology of various forms of self-identification they discovered among Polish women. Thirty percent of them can be classified as 'pogodne' ['cheerful']: their 'mission,' with whom they identify, is to 'make others happy.' Seventeen percent of the Polish women constitute the category of 'spełnione' ['accomplished'], who value harmony and love. 'Twarde' ['tough'], who are pragmatist and reject the traditional conception of woman, and 'damy' ['ladies'], who appreciate beauty and quality of life, are the forms of identification for the fifteen percent of the Polish women each. Eventually, thirteen percent of Polish women can be qualified as 'nieufne' ['distrustful'], who emphasize their independence.

The typology provided by Woźniakowa and Matysiak indicates rather the ambiguous character of self-identification than the total lack of cultural patterns for expressing specifically women's identities, liberated from the corset of patriarchal culture. Thus we would have a minority of 'tough and distrustful' that break up with the traditional perception of a woman, and, at the other end of the continuum, the majority of 'cheerful ladies,' who rather reproduce traditional stereotypes, with the category of 'accomplished' in between, as it is rather complex and heterogeneous unit.

Such an ambiguity is a dominant feature of the more ambitious segments of popular culture, as for example Alicja Pietrzyk (2006) claims in her content analysis of *Wysokie Obcasy* [High Heels] magazine, a weekend women's magazine of the most popular, liberal Polish daily, *Gazeta Wyborcza*. The author claims that even in the apparently 'sophisticated' cultural representations, as in the analyzed magazine, feminist postulates may mix up with the traditional picture of 'feminine woman,' busy in the kitchen and focused predominantly on the new brands of cosmetics.

The issue of ambiguity has been approached from a different angle in an article by Joanna Kaliszuk (2000). The author focuses on the goals of women's movement in Poland and studies them within the broader context of stereotypes and attitudes. The ambiguous situation of the movement consists of the dilemma between the activities aiming at the practical improvement of the situation of women (in the workplace, legislature, healthcare etc.) and the political fulfillment of the feminist postulates, for which, according to the author, large sectors of Polish society, including women, are not prepared yet. As we can see, this approach would particularly benefit from the recognition debate, where the problem 'redistribution vs. recognition' has been stated and placed within a sound theoretical perspective, which is still missing in the more empirically oriented Polish approaches to the problem of women's identities and strategies.

An interesting class of text, especially for a student of 'transnational struggles for recognition' is provided by historical-sociological studies of women's movement. For example J. Kamińska-Kwak (1998) has studied Polish women's movement in that part of the Silesia region that belonged to Poland before WWII. The picture of the movement that emerges out of this study is striking insofar there were practically no specifically women's agenda present and the whole movement seemed to be dominated by nationalist ideology and programs of nationalist political parties. In this way, the study presents the main goal of the women's organizations in Silesia as diminishing of the German influences in the Silesia Voivodship. If 'transnational' issues were mentioned at all, they would refer, for example, to the 'terror against the Poles' administered by the Germans in Oppełn's Silesia (Śląsk Opolski), then in Germany. The 'German threat' served as an impulse towards a closer collaboration between various branches of the Polish women's movement in 1930s, as well as toward a growing penetration of the movement by political ideologies. As an example of that process, which has not been limited to the issue of Polish-German relations, the author mentions the support given by the Catholic Association of Polish Women (Katolickie Towarzystwo Polek) to the program of the economic boycott of the Jewish businesses in Poland, advocated by National Democracy, a right wing, nationalist party.

### **National, Ethnic, Local**

Studies on national, ethnic, and local identities, together with the research into the problem of minorities, constitute the next area of Polish sociology, in which we can find approaches close to the theory of recognition and in which the theory of recognition could easily fit. From this point of view I would like first of all to mention the work of Sławomir Łodziński (2005), whose main book, *Equality and Difference*, indicates even in its title the proximity to the approach of the theory of recognition. Indeed, the theoretical inspirations of Łodziński fall close, since he frequently refers to the liberal presentation of the recognition problem, in particular to Charles Taylor's concept of 'equal recognition,' Will Kymlicka's idea of 'ethno-cultural justice,' and John Rex's 'egalitarian multiculturality.' Łodziński presents an elaborated criticism

of those conceptions but generally accepts their tenet: that the 'politics of difference' is an important attempt to find a solution to the dilemmas of the protection of ethnic diversity and securing the harmless functioning of democratic state. He also places the debate on recognition in the context of theoretical reflection on citizenship and bridges the ongoing theoretical discussion and the Polish context by finding historical antecedence in the work of Florian Znaniecki, the founder of modern Polish sociology. Łodziński's book offers a detailed analysis of the changing political and legal frameworks, in which ethnic and national minorities have been functioning in Poland since 1989 and of the way those changes have been perceived and utilized by the minorities in their attempt to participate politically and to protect their distinct identities. In the final chapter, Łodziński summarizes the Polish context of the recognition debate as marked on the one hand by sound institutional development towards a 'civil nation', in which various identities can be culturally and—partly—politically recognized within an umbrella of citizenship, and, on the other hand, by the persistence of the strong national identification of the majority in cultural terms, which by and large remains the cornerstone of the Polish 'banal nationalism,' to use Michael Billig's expression. Eventually, Łodziński outlines the changing agenda of the 'politics of difference,' which, not only in Poland, has to include new phenomena (like 'new minorities' with blurred boundaries of identity, social memory and its public representations as the main cultural expression of identity, the process of 'liquidization' of ethnic identities), which may transform the debate on recognition in future.

The book by Łodziński constitutes an elaborated answer to the problems that have been introduced to the sociological reflection in Poland in the 1990s and which have been usually labeled as 'multiculturality.' Due to the homogenizing strategies of the communist state the issue have been largely neglected and only in the beginning of the 1990s Polish sociology could eventually start projects on the already existing minorities as well as focus on the new ones, emerging with the process of 'opening' Poland and its transformation into a 'receiving' country regarding international migration. In a book edited by Marian Kempny, Alina Kapciak and Sławomir Łodziński in 1997 there was a section on 'politics of identity and difference,' which contained an important text by Hanna Bojar (1997) on the institutionalization of minorities in Poland, the situation of which has been presented by the author as balancing between political representation and cultural expression. The section contained as well a number of case studies, for example on Silesians, Cassubians, Lemko and Roma. Theoretical contributions published in this volume by, among others, Wojciech Burszta, Joanna Kurczewska, Marian Golka and Elżbieta Tarkowska helped very much to ground research conducted by Polish sociologists in the previously neglected perspectives.<sup>9</sup>

In consequence, we may speak of the avalanche of research projects and publications on the national, ethnic, cultural, and other forms of differentiation that characterize Polish society, which have appeared in the last ten years. Currently, there are three main centers for studying the issues related to the politics of difference and equality in Polish sociology. The first of them, associated with the University

---

<sup>9</sup> All texts in Kempny, Kapciak, Łodziński (1997).

of Warsaw and lead by Ewa Nowicka (often collaborating with Sławomir Łodziński), focuses on the attitudes towards various groups of 'Others' and the ways 'Otherness' is culturally and politically constructed category in Polish society. Their research use various methodologies and provide important insights into the way Poles construct their visions of 'Polishness' and 'Otherness' and their attitudes towards minorities, as well as into the methods which are used by minorities to institutionalize their status, win acceptance and preserve distinctiveness.<sup>10</sup>

The second center of research is located in the Polish Academy of Sciences and lead by Joanna Kurczewska (often collaborating with Marian Kempny until his untimely death). This group focuses on theoretically inspired empirical research on local and regional communities, pointing out the revival of regionalism in Poland and the importance of 'locality' as a space in which various aspects and dimensions of identity merge. Joanna Kurczewska (2002) has presented this program as the analysis of the outcomes of the economic/political transformation in Poland and their consequences for local communities. In particular, Kurczewska's text focuses on the emergence of new types of social bonding, related to the defense of local interests against central decisions, which emerged as a result of administrative reform and the redrawing of administrative boundaries. Numerous protests that followed have contributed to the activation of local identities. The author claims that the defensive reactions of local communities create an opportunity for developing collective responsibility, recognition of local majority's interest (rather in a sense that local community realizes what exactly such interest is in its particular case), and organization for defending of such recognized interest. Reforms forced local communities to redefine their identities that then form the basis of their 'further existence and development of the local civil societies' (Kurczewska 2002: 312).

Similar conclusions have appeared in the work of Marian Kempny (2000) who offered one of the soundest theoretical reflections on identity in Polish sociology. Having been inspired by Giddens' thesis that globalization does not destroy local contexts but, to the contrary, causes the emergence of new ones, Kempny developed a formula, according to which permanently self-transforming character of contemporary identities paradoxically coexists with the processes of their 'localization.' In the context of Polish society such localization offers a chance for a meaningful public activity and a sense of 'agency' in the otherwise fragmented society and alienated public sphere. In other words, it is precisely the sphere of local identities that may have a chance to fill in the 'sociological void' detected in Nowak's pioneering research. However, the real strength of local identities is, according to Kempny, still weak if we measure it by the actual participation in the life of the local community and not by declarations. We may call it a dormant identity, which 'wakes up' only when local communities mobilize to solve particular problems or to form an opposition to the decisions of the 'center.' But in the longer run, Kempny claims, the 'liquid' nature of globalized society may force individuals to construct their identities in the local contexts as the only directly available public sphere. This will be, however, a differ-

---

<sup>10</sup> For example: E. Nowicka (1990); E. Nowicka, J. Nawrocki (1996); E. Nowicka and S. Łodziński (2001).

ent, largely 'deterritorialized' sphere, where local traditions will be a characteristic of an 'imagined community' rather than of any structure of interactions occurring in a concrete place (Kempny 2004).

The leader of this group has edited, among others, two important volumes, which offer a fair balance of the reports from fieldwork and more theory-oriented texts (Kurczewska 2004; 2006). These two volumes are perhaps the most comprehensible research into the relation between local and national identities in Poland and into the efforts of the local communities to have their identities recognized. In addition, Joanna Kurczewska and Hanna Bojar have edited a volume on the local identities in the borderland areas, which presents interesting case studies on the relation between the local and national identities in the specific areas, very much exposed to diversity and, in the same time, to the official homogenizing strategies in the past (2005).

Borders and borderlands, as well as local identities constitute one of the main research fields of the third center of research that consists of scholars from University of Warsaw and Warsaw School of Social Sciences and Humanities. The researchers, led by Bohdan Jałowiecki and Wojciech Łukowski, employ an interactionist perspective and present local and borderland identities as a product of various individual acts of negotiation within the web of numerous groups and institutions. Particularly important in this context are their analyzes of the economically impoverished areas in North-Eastern Poland and on the Polish-Russian border with its specific 'microcosm' of identities and professions related to the proximity of the border. They approach the local identities they study as multilayered phenomena, characterized by internal tensions that may take the shape of struggles for recognition between different groups (for example the old and the new inhabitants of a given area).<sup>11</sup>

Very important projects of that group focus on the city as sociological phenomenon, in particular as a kind of public space in which a specifically urban iconic sphere codes the claims of groups, traditions and cultural models to be represented or to dominate the landscape. In the last years the groups specializes in studying a phenomenon new to Polish urban space: the 'gated communities' and their consequences for the cultural identity of the city and social identities of its inhabitants (Łukowski, Jałowiecki 2007; 2008).

One should also list here some approaches to the problem of national minorities that assume theoretical positions close to the theory of struggles for recognition. A book by Małgorzata Budyta-Budzyńska (2003) on the process of the institutionalization of minorities offers for example an interesting view on the fight of minorities to be recognized in the legal system, for self-organization and national mobilization. Conflict theory has been used as the author's theoretical reference, mixed with a careful analysis of the legal regulations. Jürgen Habermas' theory of the public sphere is a theoretical point of departure of Beata Klimkiewicz (2003) in her study of the representations of national and ethnic minorities in the mass media in Poland and the UK. In addition to its comparative approach, the book examines various theories of ethnicity in the media and interprets the public sphere as essentially mass-mediated in

---

<sup>11</sup> See for example W. Łukowski (2002); B. Jałowiecki, W. Łukowski (2006).

which minorities fight for an appropriate representation. The problem of combining the right to be the same and the right to be different has been thus transplanted in the sphere of mass media and presented as a conflict over media resources to secure an equal access and the right to express group's own difference.

### Marginalized and Excluded

The area of inequality, marginalization and social exclusion is naturally one of the 'home grounds' for the theory of recognition. It is, in the same time, one of the most intensively studied areas in Poland. The contemporary Polish approaches to inequality, marginalization and exclusion can be characterized by the growing interdisciplinarity that implies merging of various fields of inquiry, styles of thought and research methodologies. A good illustration of this trend has been provided in two volumes edited by Jarosław Klebaniuk and published in 2007. These two huge collections of essays focus on various perspectives in studying inequalities: economic, social-political, cultural and social-psychological; on various fields, in which inequalities emerge: mostly education and gender; on different problems associated with inequality: marginalization and exclusion, the attitudes towards and experiences of inequality; finally—on the philosophical and macrosocial aspects of inequality.

Having been rich in the empirical content, the two volumes discussed do not offer much in terms of a broader theoretical reflection. Notable exceptions are the texts by Jacek Raciborski (2007) on the consequences of the political inequality for the idea of citizenship, Mariusz Turowski (2007) on the critical conception of Gerard Allan Cohen, and Małgorzata Borkowska-Nowak (2007) on Julien Freund's interpretation of the principle of equality. The text, however, that offers perhaps the best chance of bridging the Polish reflection on inequality and theory of recognition, is one by Leszek Koczanowicz, (2007) on inequalities and ideologies in Poland. The author's approach has been strongly influenced by the theoretical perspective of Mouffe and Laclau in that he takes as the starting point of his critical analysis of Polish 'politics of identity' (mostly national) a response to the economic transformation with all its problems and a symptom of the crisis of consensual politics. The author in an interesting way presents the absence of the problem of inequality in two main post-communist Polish ideologies: liberal and conservative-national. In the first, inequalities express the objective regularities of the transformation process and thus a critical attitude to inequality has been in this ideology stigmatized as a communist residuum, '*homo sovieticus*' mentality, and irrational resistance to the 'economic necessities.' In the second ideology the issue of inequality was glossed over as unimportant in the otherwise homogeneous nation and the attempts to bring them to public attention and to give voice to those affected were treated as the destruction of national unity.

This unexpected ideological similarity helps to understand, why the most important issues in the public debate in contemporary Poland, almost twenty years after the collapse of the communism, are decommunization, national and religious values, collaboration with the political police under the communism and the shape of national

memory. Koczanowicz shares the view of David Ost that this ideological landscape is responsible for the contemporary situation of Polish society, characterized by social inequalities which cannot find political articulation, which leads to the channeling of emotions in the politics of identity, which on its part has a dangerous exclusionary potential and forms a threat to liberal democracy.

A good deal of Polish sociological literature on inequalities focuses on the 'passivity' of the poor which apparently transforms lower social strata into impoverished segments of society. For example, Danuta Zalewska (1997) points out a vicious circle, namely that Polish system lacks mechanisms of activating the poor and that, on the other hand, that the poor do not undertake activities aiming at their recognition as active members of society. The poor in Poland are convinced that they cannot have any impact on the social frame, in which their groups function. It is because of the systemic lack of stimulus and individual passivity that the poor are doomed to be represented by other social groups, which do not always see their specific needs. This situation is reflected in the economic and political strategies applied to the poor. The perception of the poor as dependant allows for treating them as a burden for a developing consumer society. To secure social peace, various strategies of marginalization are employed, which develop certain institutional mechanisms and means available exclusively for the poor and thus stigmatize them. This secures peace but makes it practically impossible for the poor to get out of poverty and in consequence excludes them from the society.

A similar mechanism has been analyzed by Henryk Domański (1999) in his approach to new class identifications developed in Poland in 1990s. He concludes that for many of those who identify with lower class, such identification is in fact an act of acceptance of the status quo and an expression of the resignation from any attempt to improve their situation. Correspondingly, many of those who identify with newly emerging middle class may through that identification express their frustrations and aspirations rather than objectively measured class position. In both cases class identification is simultaneously directed towards one's own aspirations and towards the external world. In case of the first group it expresses the feeling that 'nothing can be done' and a wish to be 'left alone,' out of the dangers of competition. In case of the second group the message goes 'we are in' and want to be recognized as such, even if in fact there are no predictors of any possible upward mobility in their situation.

A special case is constituted, according to Domański, by those who identify with lower class but do not accept such identification: it is in fact a contestation of the actual class position and a message that calls for recognition of the 'unjust' character of such situation. Class identification may be thus a sign of resignation, escapism, or contestation, and can be interpreted as a call for recognition of a particular constellation of the 'objective' class position and related perceptions.

Maria Jarosz (2008) locates the problem of exclusion and marginalization in Poland within a broader context of global transformation of economic and social relations. As the main problems for the Polish society Jarosz identifies the collapse of social communication (even in the form of conflict) which leads to a growing alienation of those excluded, the marginalization of the whole sectors of social structure,

and the deepening cleavage between the ‘winners’ and ‘losers’ of the process of the economic transformation in Poland. The most interesting part of Jarosz’s approach consists of the presentation of the specific character of the exclusion in Polish society. First, exclusion is a multi-dimensional phenomenon and those excluded in one dimension do not have to be excluded in others. That blurs a clear-cut distinction between excluded and non-excluded. A good example of such a situation is a large social category of village-dwellers—farmers who largely exist in the margins of social and cultural dynamics and are socially passive, but whose material existence is not threatened.

Another specificity of the Polish context is the fact that the difference between the excluded and not excluded is not very big, and that phenomena like alienation and social isolation may characterize even the beneficiaries of the transformation process.

Particularly important from the point of view of the recognition theory is the fact that those forms of social solidarity and cultural expressions that are available and attractive for the excluded categories are in the same time potentially dangerous to civil society: religious fundamentalism, xenophobic nationalism and racism. It is indeed true that the excluded categories in Poland ‘recognize’ their identities precisely in those social/cultural forms (if at all), and it is indeed important from intellectual as well as from the practical point of view to investigate into other options that may exist and/or be created for those social categories. Theory of recognition would be here an interesting contribution to the better understanding of the development that has taken place in the Polish society since 1980s, which may be described as a movement from the ‘solidarity of the marginalized’ to the ‘marginalization of solidarity’ (Kapralski 2008).

An interesting attempt to merge two dimensions of exclusion: economic and geographical, has been presented by Hanna Palska (2006) who describes a process that she calls ‘localization’ of poverty: the concentration of poverty in peripheral, stigmatized and spatially segregated communities. The author rightly points out that such an overlapping of the material and spatial aspects of exclusion results in the strengthening and deepening of the negative consequences of social isolation, among others, in the development of various strategies of adaptation that together constitute a durable ‘culture of poverty.’ In this way the article is also a part of the debate on this controversial term, advanced in Polish sociology by Elżbieta Tarkowska (2000). Palska’s contribution is particularly valuable in terms of the potential application of the theory of recognition. She claims that the local or peripheral character of the culture of poverty means not only spatial and social isolation, but mainly the ‘impossibility of the expansion into the space reserved for the non-poor.’ This exclusion from the public space is largely conditioned by the lack of the means of self-expression and the lack of mechanisms that would activate the communication between different segments of society.

### Conclusions

In this review, I have focused only on the ‘sociological mainstream’ and presented particular texts as examples of the existing approaches. It has turned out that while the



theory of struggles for recognition is virtually nonexistent in Polish sociology, Polish sociologists do research in areas of sociology in which this theory can be used. That is why, I pointed to the theory of identity, women and gender studies, and researches on local communities and on the poor and marginalized as four such areas where Polish sociology could benefit from including the theory of struggles for recognition into its conceptual apparatus. It is also likely that the theory of struggles for recognition would help to bridge separate research areas and therefore facilitate the process that has already started: research on women in Poland draw upon the existing debates on identity, those who study the impoverished sectors of Polish society and economically challenged regions or neglected urban spaces do in fact research the very same range of phenomena, researches on national and ethnic minorities contribute to the general study of identity. The theory of struggles for recognition could be thus an important addition to the theoretical perspectives employed in particular research areas but also it would help to build collaborations between different areas of research.

We can actually see indicators of such a development in the growing inclusion of Polish social scientists in international research projects based on the theory of recognition, as for example the RANLHE project devoted to the study of the social conditions and consequences of education, especially for social participation and exclusion, researched by scholars representing eight universities from several European countries.<sup>12</sup> In one of the papers presented in a thematic session of the 14<sup>th</sup> Convention of the Polish Sociological Association, devoted to the contemporary situation of critical theory, the phenomenon of social marginalization has been studied within the conceptual perspective of recognition theory; it was employed in empirical research on the situation of the sex workers in Poland (Ratecka 2010). Elements of the theory of recognition are entering Polish legal studies as textbooks employing that perspective are translated into Polish, and students in Polish universities are starting to select theory of recognition as the topic of their MA theses (Blumer 2010). All this allows us to say that theory of recognition may soon gain a more important position as a theoretical perspective in Polish sociology.

## References

- Alexander, Jeffrey C; Lara, Maria Pia. 1966. "Honneth's New Critical Theory of Recognition." *New Left Review*, Vol. A.: 125.
- Bobako, Monika. 2005. "Wstęp" [Introduction], in: N. Fraser, A. Honneth, *Redystrybucja czy uznanie? Debaty filozoficzno-polityczne* [Redistribution or Recognition? A Political-Philosophical Exchange], translated by M. Bobako and T. Dominiak. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Dolnośląskiej Szkoły Wyższej Edukacji TWP we Wrocławiu.
- Blumer, Beata. 2010. "Próby reinterpretacji Hegłowskiej teorii uznania" [On Re-interpreting of the Hegelian Theory of Recognition]. MA thesis. [https://apd.uksw.edu.pl/index.php?page=cert&cert\\_cid=12610](https://apd.uksw.edu.pl/index.php?page=cert&cert_cid=12610)
- Bojar, Hanna. 1997. "Mniejszości społeczne na polskiej scenie publicznej lat dziewięćdziesiątych: między kulturą a polityką" [Social Minorities on the Polish Public Stage of the 1990s: Between Culture and Politics], in: M. Kempny, A. Kapciak, S. Łodziński (eds.), *U progu wielokulturowości. Nowe*

<sup>12</sup> See: <http://www.ranlhe.dsw.edu.pl>

- oblicza społeczeństwa polskiego* [At the Doorstep of Multiculturality. New Faces of Polish Society]. Warszawa: Oficyna Naukowa, Warszawa.
- Bokszanski, Zbigniew. 2007. *Indywidualizm a zmiana społeczna* [Individualism and Social Change]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.
- Bokszanski, Zbigniew. 2005. *Tożsamości zbiorowe* [Collective Identities]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.
- Bokszanski, Zbigniew. 1995. "Tożsamość aktora społecznego a zmiana społeczna" [The Identity of a Social Actor and Social Change], *Studia Socjologiczne* 3–4.
- Borkowska-Nowak, Małgorzata. 2007. "Demokratyzacja czy egalitarny nieład? Julieta Freunda interpretacja zasady równości" [Democratization or Egalitarian Disorder? Julien Freund's Interpretation of the Equality Principle], in: J. Klebaniuk, *Fenomen nierówności społecznych. Nierówności społeczne w refleksji humanistycznej* [The Phenomenon of Social Inequalities. Social Inequalities in the Reflection of Humanities]. Warszawa: Eneteia. Wydawnictwo Psychologii i Kultury.
- Budyta-Budzyńska, Małgorzata. 2003. *Mniejszości narodowe—bogactwo czy problem?* [National Minorities—Treasure or Problem?]. Warszawa: ISP PAN.
- Burszta, Wojciech J. 1997. "Wielokulturowość. Pytania pierwsze" [Multiculturality. The Primordial Questions], in: M. Kempny, A. Kapciak, S. Łodziński (eds.), *U progu wielokulturowości. Nowe oblicza społeczeństwa polskiego* [At the Doorstep of Multiculturality. New Faces of Polish Society]. Warszawa: Oficyna Naukowa, Warszawa.
- Deranty, Jean-Philippe; Renault, Emmanuel. 2007. "Politicizing Honneth's Ethics of Recognition." *Thesis Eleven* 88.
- Domanski, Henryk. 1999. "Nowe identyfikacje klasowe i nowe podziały społeczne" [New Class Identifications and New Social Divisions], in: J. Kurczewska (ed.), *Zmiana społeczna. Teorie i doświadczenia polskie* [Social Change. Theory and Polish Experience]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN.
- Fleming, Ted. 2011. "Recognition in the Work of Axel Honneth: Implications for Transformative Learning Theory," in: M. Alhadeff-Jones, A. Kokkos (eds.), *Transformative Learning in Time of Crisis: Individual and Collective Challenges*. New York and Athens: Teachers College, Columbia University and The Hellenic Open University.
- Fraser, Nancy; Honneth, Axel. 2005. *Redystrybucja czy uznanie? Debata filozoficzno-polityczna* [Redistribution or Recognition? A Political-Philosophical Exchange], translated by M. Bobako and T. Dominiak. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Dolnośląskiej Szkoły Wyższej Edukacji TWP we Wrocławiu.
- Fraser, Nancy. 2005. "Toward a Nonculturalist Sociology of Culture: On class and Status in Globalizing Capitalism," in: M. D. Jacobs, and N. W. Hanrahan (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to the Sociology of Culture*. Malden, Oxford, and Carlton: Blackwell Publishing, p. 445
- Golka, Marian. 1997. "Oblicza wielokulturowości" [The Faces of Multiculturality], in: M. Kempny, A. Kapciak, S. Łodziński (eds.), *U progu wielokulturowości. Nowe oblicza społeczeństwa polskiego* [At the Doorstep of Multiculturality. New Faces of Polish Society]. Warszawa: Oficyna Naukowa, Warszawa.
- Haber, Stéphane. 2007. "Recognition, Justice and Social Pathologies in Axel Honneth's Recent Writings." *Revista de Ciencia Política* 2: 159.
- Honneth, Axel. 1995. *The Struggle for Recognition: The Moral Grammar of Social Conflicts*. Cambridge: Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Jałowiecki, Bohdan; Łukowski, Wojciech. 2008. *Szata informacyjna miasta* [The Informational Apparel of the City] Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Academica and Wydawnictwo Naukowe SCHOLAR.
- Jałowiecki, Bohdan; Łukowski, Wojciech (eds.). 2007. *Gettoizacja polskiej przestrzeni miejskiej* [Ghettoization of the Polish Urban Space]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe SCHOLAR.
- Jałowiecki, Bohdan; Łukowski, Wojciech (eds.). 2006. *Spoleczności lokalne. Teraźniejszość i przyszłość* [Local Communities. The Present and the Future]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe SCHOLAR.
- Jarosz, Maria. 2008. "Wstęp. Obszary wykluczenia w Polsce" [Introduction. The Areas of Exclusion in Poland], in: M. Jarosz (ed.), *Wykluczeni. Wymiar społeczny, materialny i etniczny* [The Excluded. The Social, Material and Ethnic Dimensions]. Warszawa: Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN.
- Kalisz, Joanna. 2006. "Społeczny ruch kobiet na rozdrożu" [The Social Movement of Women in the Crossroads], in: E. T. Woźniakowa (ed.), *Kobiety w społeczeństwie. Trudne drogi wychodzenia z polskiego zaścianka* [Women in Society. Difficult Paths of Getting Out of Polish Parochiality]. Wrocław: Stowarzyszenie Kobiet Aktywnych i Twórczych.

- Kamińska-Kwak, Jolanta. 1998. *Polski ruch kobiecy w województwie śląskim w latach 1922–1939* [Polish Women's Movement in Silesia Voivodship 1922–1939]. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.
- Kaprański, Sławomir. 2008. "Democratization in the Post-Communist Europe: A View From the Margins." *Polish Sociological Review* 3 (163).
- Kempny, Marian. 2004. "Tradycje lokalne jako podstawa kapitału społecznego" [Local Traditions as a Foundation of Social Capital], in: J. Kurczewska (ed.) *Oblicza lokalności. Tradycja i współczesność* [The Faces of Locality. Tradition and the Present]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN.
- Kempny, Marian. 2000. "Jedna Polska i wiele ojczysz. Między wspólnotą narodową a wielością wspólnot lokalnych" [One Poland, Many Fatherlands. Between National Community and Plurality of Local Communities], in: H. Domański, A. Ostrowska i A. Rychard (red.), *Jak żyją Polacy* [How Poles Live]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN.
- Klimkiewicz, Beata. 2003. *Mniejszości narodowe w sferze publicznej. Reprezentacje, praktyki i regulacje medialne* [National Minorities in the Public Sphere. Representations, Practices and Regulations in the Media]. Kraków: Wydawnictwo UJ.
- Klebaniuk, Jarosław (ed.). 2007. *Fenomen nierówności społecznych. Nierówności społeczne w refleksji humanistycznej* [The Phenomenon of Social Inequalities. Social Inequalities in the Reflection of Humanities]. Warszawa: Eneteia. Wydawnictwo Psychologii i Kultury.
- Klebaniuk, Jarosław (ed.). 2007a. *Oblicza nierówności społecznych. Studia interdyscyplinarnej* [The Faces of Social Inequalities. Interdisciplinary Studies]. Warszawa: Eneteia. Wydawnictwo Psychologii i Kultury.
- Koczanowicz, Lech. 2007. "Nierówności i ideologie w Polsce 1989–2006" [Inequalities and Ideologies in Poland 1989–2006], in: J. Klebaniuk, *Oblicza nierówności społecznych. Studia interdyscyplinarne* [The Faces of Social Inequalities. Interdisciplinary Studies]. Warszawa: Eneteia. Wydawnictwo Psychologii i Kultury.
- Kubica, Grażyna. 2006. "Tęczowa flaga przeciwko wawelskiemu smokowi. Kulturowa interpretacja konfliktu wokół krakowskiego marszu dla tolerancji" [Rainbow Flag Against the Wavel's Dragon. Cultural Interpretation of the Conflict About Krakow's March for Tolerance]. *Studia Socjologiczne* 4.
- Kurczewska, Joanna (ed.). 2006. *Oblicza lokalności. Różnorodność miejsc i czasu*. [The Faces of Locality. The Diversity of Spaces and Time]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, Warszawa.
- Kurczewska, Joanna (ed.). 2004. *Oblicza lokalności. Tradycja i współczesność* [The Faces of Locality. Tradition and the Present]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN.
- Kurczewska, Joanna. 2002. "Local Civil Societies in Poland in the Nineties. A Diagnosis." *Polish Sociological Review* 3.
- Kurczewska, Joanna. 1997. "Odkrywanie wielokulturowości i współczesne ideologie. Rozważania wstępne" [Discovering Multiculturalism and Contemporary Ideologies. Opening Discussion], in: M. Kempny, A. Kapciak, S. Łodziński (eds.), *U progu wielokulturowości. Nowe oblicza społeczeństwa polskiego* [At the Doorstep of Multiculturalism. New Faces of Polish Society]. Warszawa: Oficyna Naukowa, Warszawa.
- Kurczewska, Joanna; Bojar, Hanna (eds.). 2005. *Granice na pograniczach* [Borders in Borderlands]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN.
- Łodziński, Sławomir. 2005. *Równość i różnica. Mniejszości narodowe w Polsce po 1989 roku* [Equality and Difference. National Minorities in the Democratic Order in Poland after 1989]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe SCHOLAR.
- Łukowski, Wojciech. 2002. *Spoleczne tworzenie ojczyzn* [The Social Construction of Fatherlands]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe SCHOLAR.
- Malinowska, Ewa. 1991. "Organizacje kobiece w Polsce" [Women's Organizations in Poland]. *Studia Socjologiczne* 1.
- Marszał, Karolina (ed.). 2005. *Lobby kobiet w polskim parlamencie 1989–2005* [Women's Lobby in the Polish Parliament 1989–2005] Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe.
- Melchior, Małgorzata. 1990. *Spoleczna tożsamość jednostki* [The Social Identity of an Individual]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.
- Mitchel, Jennifer. 2005. "Negotiating Identity Politics: Emerging Roma Ethnogenesis in the Post-Socialist States of South Eastern and Central Eastern Europe." *Polish Sociological Review* 4.
- Miszalska, Anita. 1993. "Transformacja ustrojowa a poczucie podmiotowości—alienacji politycznej" [The Systemic Transformation and the Sense of Agency—Political Alienation]. *Studia Socjologiczne* 1.

- Mizieleńska, Joanna. 2006. "Płeć, ciało, seksualność: od feminizmu do teorii queer" [Gender, Body, Sexuality. From Feminism to Queer Theory]. Kraków: UNIVERSITAS.
- Nowak, Stefan. 1979. "System wartości społeczeństwa polskiego" [The Value System of Polish Society]. *Studia Socjologiczne* 4.
- Nowakowska, Urszula (ed.). 2000. *Polish Women in the 90's. The Report by the Women's Right Center*. Warszawa: Women's Rights Center.
- Nowicka, Ewa. 1990. (ed.), *Swoi i obcy* [The Homeys and the Strangers]. Warszawa: Instytut Socjologii.
- Nowicka, Ewa and Łodziński, Sławomir. 2001. *U progu otwartego świata. Poczucie polskości i nastawienia Polaków wobec cudzoziemców w latach 1988–1998* [At the Doorstep of the Open World. The Sense of Polishness and the Attitudes of the Poles to Foreigners 1988–1998]. Kraków: Zakład Wydawniczy NOMOS.
- Nowicka, Ewa; Nawrocki, J. (eds.). 1996. *Inny—obcy—wróg* [The Other—the Stranger—the Enemy]. Warszawa: Oficyna Naukowa.
- Palska, Hanna. 2006. "O peryferyjności polskiej kultury ubóstwa" [On the Peripheral Character of the Polish Culture of Poverty], in: J. Kurczewska (ed.), *Oblicza lokalności. Różnorodność miejsc i czasu* [Faces of Locality. Diversity of Spaces and Time]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN.
- Pietrzyk, Anna. 2006. "Wizerunek kobiety w czasopiśmie *Wysokie Obcasy*." [An Image of Woman in the *Wysokie Obcasy* Magazine], in: E. T. Woźniakowa (ed.), *Kobiety w społeczeństwie. Trudne drogi wychodzenia z polskiego zaścianka* [Women in Society. Difficult Paths of Getting Out of Polish Parochiality] Wrocław: Stowarzyszenie Kobiety Aktywnych i Twórczych.
- Stolarz, Grażyna. 2006. "Blaski i cienie dziesięcioletniej działalności organizacji kobiecej na Dolnym Śląsku" [Ups and Downs of the Ten-Year Long Activity of A Women's Organization in Lower Silesia], in: E. T. Woźniakowa (ed.), *Kobiety w społeczeństwie. Trudne drogi wychodzenia z polskiego zaścianka* [Women in Society. Difficult Paths of Getting Out of Polish Parochiality]. Wrocław: Stowarzyszenie Kobiety Aktywnych i Twórczych.
- Raciborski, Jacek. 2007. "O konstytuowaniu się obywatelstwa. Przyczynek do kwestii nierówności w sferze polityki" [On the Constitution of Citizenship. A Contribution to the Problem of Inequality in the Sphere of Politics], in: J. Klebaniuk, *Fenomen nierówności społecznych. Nierówności społeczne w refleksji humanistycznej* [The Phenomenon of Social Inequalities. Social Inequalities in the Reflection of Humanities]. Warszawa: Eneteia. Wydawnictwo Psychologii i Kultury.
- Ratecka, Anna. 2010. "Teoria uznania jako narzędzie krytycznej analizy sytuacji grup marginalizowanych na przykładzie prostytucji" [Theory of Recognition as a Tool for a Critical Analysis of the Situation of Marginalized Groups: The Case of Prostitution]. See: [http://www.zjazd14.socjologia.uj.edu.pl/index.php?navi=grupy\\_tematyczne.php&entry\\_id=940](http://www.zjazd14.socjologia.uj.edu.pl/index.php?navi=grupy_tematyczne.php&entry_id=940)
- Tarkowska, Elżbieta. 2000. *Zrozumieć biednego* [To Understand a Poor]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN.
- Tarkowska, Elżbieta. 1997. "Niepewność kulturowa a stosunek do inności" [Cultural Uncertainty and the Attitude to Otherness], in: M. Kempny, A. Kapciak, S. Łodziński (eds.), *U progu wielokulturowości. Nowe oblicza społeczeństwa polskiego* [At the Doorstep of Multiculturalism]. New Faces of Polish Society]. Warszawa: Oficyna Naukowa, Warszawa.
- Titkow, Anna. 2007. *Tożsamość polskich kobiet. Ciągłość, zmiana, konteksty* [The Identity of Polish Women. Continuity, Change, Contexts]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN.
- Turowski, Mariusz. 2007. "Niespójności, racjonalizacje, hipokryzja. Egalitaryści a filozofie równości i nierówności" [Inconsequences, Rationalizations, Hypocrisy. Egalitarianists and Philosophies of Equality and Inequality], in: J. Klebaniuk, *Fenomen nierówności społecznych. Nierówności społeczne w refleksji humanistycznej* [The Phenomenon of Social Inequalities. Social Inequalities in the Reflection of Humanities]. Warszawa: Eneteia. Wydawnictwo Psychologii i Kultury.
- Uhl, Izabella. 1991. "'Podmiotowość' i 'wolność' w refleksji socjologicznej." [Agency' and 'Freedom' in Sociological Reflection]. *Studia Socjologiczne* 1–2.
- Waligórska, Magdalena. 2005. "A Goy Fiddler on the Roof. How the Non-Jewish Participants of the Klezmer Revival in Krakow Negotiate Their Polish Identity in a Confrontation with Jewishness." *Polish Sociological Review* 4.
- Wielecki, Krzysztof. 1990. "Społeczne czynniki tożsamości pokoleniowej młodzieży" [The Social Determinants of the Generational Identity of the Youth]. *Studia Socjologiczne* 1–2.
- Woźniakowa, Elżbieta, T.; Matysiak, Celina. 2006. "Sytuacja kobiet w Polsce" [The Situation of Women in Poland], in: E. T. Woźniakowa (ed.), *Kobiety w społeczeństwie. Trudne drogi wychodzenia z polskiego zaścianka* [Women in Society. Difficult Paths of Getting Out of Polish Parochiality]. Wrocław: Stowarzyszenie Kobiety Aktywnych i Twórczych.

- Zalewska, Danuta. 1997. *Ubóstwo. Teorie, badania* [Poverty. Theories, Researches]. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego.
- Ziółkowski, Marek. 2002. "Dziedziczenie i wybór. Zwiększone możliwości wyboru, nierówności społeczne i problemy społecznej tożsamości" [Inheritance and Choice. Increased Possibilities of Choice, Social Inequalities and the Problems of social Identity]. *Studia Socjologiczne* 3.

*Biographical Note:* Sławomir Kaprański (Ph.D.), sociologist, for thirteen years associated with the Central European University in its three campuses: Prague, Warsaw, and Budapest. At present he is a Lecturer at the Warsaw School of Social Sciences and Humanities and at the Centre for Social Studies in Warsaw. Since the end of 1980s he has been involved in various research activities and educational initiatives in the field of Polish-Jewish relations and among Roma communities of East/Central Europe. His research interests focus on nationalism, ethnicity and identity, collective memory, anti-Semitism and the Holocaust. He is a member of the Gypsy Lore Society, of the Association for the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism, and of the European Association for the Holocaust Studies.

E-mail: [slawomir.kapralski@swps.edu.pl](mailto:slawomir.kapralski@swps.edu.pl)