

Artykuły

Zeszyty Naukowe KUL 66 (2023), nr 4 (264)

DOI: 10.31743/znkul.16242

MAREK RYMSZA*

Solidarity Mobilisation Capital and Its Conversions. From the Solidarity Movement of 1980–1981 to the Movement to Help War Refugees from Ukraine in 2022–2023

Solidarnościowy kapitał mobilizacyjny i jego konwersje.
Od ruchu Solidarności w latach 1980–1981 do ruchu
pomocy uchodźcom wojennym z Ukrainy
w latach 2022–2023

Abstract

The initiative to help war refugees from Ukraine undertaken in Poland after the Russian Federation's attack on Ukraine in February 2022 is explained in the paper as a social phenomenon with reference to the author's concept of *solidarity-mobilisation capital*. In this respect, at the foundation of the mobilisation competence of Poles lies the experience of social self-organisation related to the activity of the Solidarity movement of 1980–1981. This experience consolidated patterns of social self-organisation understood as the ability to launch mass social actions on an *ad hoc* basis. The development of the movement was interrupted by its delegitimisation by the imposition of martial law in December 1981. This meant that the mechanisms for converting the capital of extraordinary mobilisation into solidarity capital as a collective disposition for organised action for the common good – as a normalised state of affairs – did not have time to develop. This intense collective experience, however, left a lasting mark as an intergenerationally transformed disposition for extraordinary mobilisation in specific situations requiring society-wide solidarity, recorded in collective memory. Such a situation was created in 2022 in connection with the influx of war refugees from Ukraine into Poland, and the

* Dr hab. Marek Rymsza – Zakład Socjologicznych Analiz Polityk Publicznych, Instytut Stosowanych Nauk Społecznych, Uniwersytet Warszawski, e-mail: marek.rymsza@uw.edu.pl, ORCID: 0000-0002-8419-8813.

solidarity mobilisation capital activated at that time made it possible to launch a grass-rooted social aid campaign, thanks to which there was no need to set up refugee camps. At the same time, due to the need to continue providing assistance to war refugees in connection with Ukraine's protracted defence war, the war-refugee aid movement provides an opportunity to convert the activated capital of extraordinary mobilisation into a social, institutional and moral capital of solidarity. If this happens, the refugee-aid movement will be an immensely important general social experience of citizen empowerment.

Keywords: Solidarity movement, refugee support campaign, social self-organisation, social mobilisation, social capital, solidarity capital, moral capital, institutional capital

Abstrakt

Akcja pomocy uchodźcom wojennym z Ukrainy prowadzona w Polsce po napaści Federacji Rosyjskiej na Ukrainę w lutym 2022 roku jest przykładem nadzwyczajnej mobilizacji społecznej. Fenomen tej akcji pomocowej jest analizowany w artykule z odwołaniem do autorskiej koncepcji *solidarnościowego kapitału mobilizacyjnego*. Podstawą kompetencji mobilizacyjnych Polaków są doświadczenia samoorganizacji społecznej związane z działalnością ruchu Solidarności w latach 1980–1981. Doświadczenia te utrwaliły wzory samoorganizacji społecznej w postaci umiejętności uruchamiania *ad hoc* masowych akcji społecznych. Przerwanie rozwoju ruchu przez jego delegalizację po wprowadzeniu stanu wojennego w grudniu 1981 r. sprawiło, że nie zdążyły się wówczas wytworzyć mechanizmy konwersji kapitału nadzwyczajnej mobilizacji w kapitał solidarności jako zbiorową dyspozycję do zorganizowanego działania na rzecz dobra wspólnego w stanie normalizacji. Niemniej jednak doświadczenie zbiorowego zaangażowania w ruch Solidarności pozostawiło trwały ślad w pamięci zbiorowej w formie przekazywanej międzypokoleniowo dyspozycji do nadzwyczajnej mobilizacji społecznej w sytuacjach szczególnych. Taką sytuację wywołał w 2022 roku kryzys migracyjny związany z napływem uchodźców wojennych z Ukrainy, a aktywowany solidarnościowy kapitał mobilizacyjny pozwolił na społeczną absorpcję uchodźców bez konieczności tworzenia obozów dla uchodźców. Potrzeba udzielania pomocy uchodźcom w dłuższej perspektywie czasowej stwarza okazję do przekształcania aktywowanego kapitału nadzwyczajnej mobilizacji w społeczno-instytucjonalno-moralny *kapitał solidarności*. Jeśli tak się stanie, ruch pomocy uchodźcom będzie niezwykle ważnym ogólnospołecznym doświadczeniem o charakterze uobywatelniającym.

Słowa kluczowe: ruch Solidarności, akcja pomocy uchodźcom, samoorganizacja społeczna, mobilizacja społeczna, kapitał społeczny, kapitał solidarności, kapitał moralny, kapitał instytucjonalny

Introduction

Social self-organisation patterns are an important resource of any civil society. Indeed, it is the ability to activate and carry out collective action in public sphere oriented towards the common good that makes members of the territorial community citizens – the collective hosts of the locality and active participants in the political community. The modern history of Poland provides numerous examples of community-wide mobilisation in emergencies. These include the movement for the sanitation of the country associated with the adoption of the Constitution of 3 May in 1791, the two national uprisings of 1831 and 1863, the social movement around the restoration of the Polish state after World War I,

the organisation of the structures of the Polish Underground State during the occupation of the country during World War II and the Solidarity movement of 1980–1981 – a phenomenon of peaceful self-organisation of millions of Poles under adverse conditions of the communist system. The repetition in successive generations of the phenomenon of mass mobilisation in situations requiring society-wide solidarity suggests that these mobilisation experiences – however each constituted a mobilisation effort limited in time, which left lasting traces in the collective memory – creating a kind of “cultural DNA code” that translates into a disposition to take *ad hoc* mass collective action using proven patterns of self-organisation.

This paper attempts to conceptualise this disposition as *solidarity mobilisation capital*, pointing out that it is not only the mobilisation capacity itself but also the “essence” of civic engagement – the solidarity-based aspect of the actions taken. The basis for this conceptualisation is the identification of the similarities of civic engagement in the 1980–1981 Solidarity movement and the 2022–2023 aid movement for Ukrainian war refugees.

Massive Social Mobilisation – the Experience of the Solidarity Movement of 1980–1981

A year and a half of Solidarity Movement activity – from its inception in the wake of workers’ strikes in August 1980, through its structured activities in the form of a nationwide Independent Self-governing Trade Union Solidarity (Polish acronym – NSZZ “Solidarność”) with separate territorial and industry structures, to its delegitimation as a result of the repressions of martial law in December 1981 – is a collective experience that “awakened civil society”.¹ This first period of the movement’s public activity,² to distinguish it from later stages of its activity, is referred to in the literature as the “first Solidarity”.

The Solidarity movement of 1980–1981, as well as the first pilgrimage of the newly elected Pope John Paul II to his homeland (2–10 June 1979)³ that preceded it, generated solidarity mobilisation capital. The activities of the movement constituted a unique experience on a transnational scale. The Solidarity movement revived the idea of civil society in Europe,⁴ demonstrating the strength and creative power of civil self-organisation under the extremely difficult con-

¹ E. Wnuk-Lipiński, *Solidarność – na fali procesów globalnych*, in: *Solidarność. Wydarzenia, sekwencja, pamięć*, ed. A. Sułek, Wyd. IFiS PAN, Warszawa 2006, p. 44.

² Cf. J. Holzer, *Solidarność 1980–1981. Geneza i historia*, Omnipress, Warszawa 1990.

³ Cf. S. Sowiński, *Jan Paweł II solidarny*, „Więź” 2005, no. 7, p. 37–43.

⁴ J.L. Cohen, A. Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1994; G. Crow, *Social Solidarities. Theories, Identities and Social Change*, Open University Press, Buckingham

ditions of the communist totalitarian regime “to free society from the party.”⁵ In the realities of the “jungle of communism,”⁶ the public sphere became, for a period of a year and a half, a sphere of structured civil action not controlled by the totalitarian state apparatus. It was an experience not only of collectively enjoying freedom in the public space but also of becoming its collective host. Grassroots social activities oriented towards the common good were undertaken,⁷ the sense of citizen engagement⁸ and its moral value⁹ and the spirit of a republican community¹⁰ were discovered, and the recognition of the voice of society was restored.¹¹ The name of the movement aptly captured its essence: by activating the mobilising capital of solidarity at the level of the national political community, the movement carried great bond-building potential.¹²

The power of the Solidarity movement grew out of the “commonality of the sense of moral reasons.”¹³ However, the experience of Solidarity was not only about the awareness that “we were right” as citizens. It was also about the conviction that the authorities at the time were aware that they were wrong and that, in the end, they were left with only the option of violence; that, finally, the people in the nomenklatura realised that society knew what the authorities actually thought. The strength of the conviction that moral righteousness was on their side made it possible for Solidarity activists to maintain the peaceful nature of the activities carried out by the movement despite numerous provocations by the state apparatus.

The first Solidarity movement had 10 million active participants, i.e. around half of the Polish adult population. Their commitment to public affairs on a macro scale (nationwide Solidarity events) and a mezzo scale (activity in workplaces)

2002; Z. Krasnodębski, *Solidarność i jej wpływ na Europę, dawną i nową*, in: *Solidarność. Wydarzenia, sekwencji, pamięć*, ed. A. Sulek, Wyd. IFiS PAN, Warszawa 2006, p. 242–254.

⁵ A. Touraine, F. Dubet, M. Wiewiorka, J. Strzelecki, *Solidarité: Analyse d'un mouvement social, Pologne 1980–1981*, trans. C. Tilly, Fayard, Paris 1982, p. 93.

⁶ J. Staniszkis, *Samoorganizująca się rewolucja*, Europejskie Centrum Solidarności, Gdańsk 2010, p. 15.

⁷ T. Szawiel, *Solidarność jako wydarzenie i jako trwanie*, in: *Solidarność. Wydarzenia, sekwencja, pamięć*, ed. A. Sulek, Wyd. IFiS PAN, Warszawa 2006, p. 137–154.

⁸ I. Krzemiński, *Solidarność – organizacja polskich nadziei*, in: *Solidarność. Wydarzenia, sekwencja, pamięć*, ed. A. Sulek, Wyd. IFiS PAN, Warszawa 2006, p. 13–34.

⁹ J. Tichner, *Etyka Solidarności oraz Homo sovieticus*, Znak, Kraków 2005, p. 11–138.

¹⁰ E. Ciżewska, *Filozofia publiczna Solidarności. Solidarność 1980–1981 z perspektywy republikańskiej tradycji politycznej*, NCK, Warszawa 2010; D. Gawin, *Sierpień 1980 w świetle tradycji republikańskiej*, in: *Solidarność. Wydarzenia, sekwencji, pamięć*, ed. A. Sulek, Wyd. IFiS PAN, Warszawa 2006, p. 45–74.

¹¹ J. Staniszkis, *Podwójna przemiana; refleksje 25 lat po Sierpniu 80*, in: *Solidarność. Wydarzenia, sekwencja, pamięć*, ed. A. Sulek, Wyd. IFiS PAN, Warszawa 2006, p. 213–224.

¹² J. Tichner, op. cit.

¹³ E. Ciżewska-Martyńska, K. Mazur, *Sprawy społeczne w programie ruchu Solidarność*, in: *Stulecie polskiej polityki społecznej 1918–2018*, eds. E. Bojanowska, M. Grewiński, M. Rymśza, G. Uścińska, MRPIPS i NCK, Warszawa 2018, p. 109.

translated into the micro level – the “Solidarity” atmosphere in families. The family was that institution of social life which also brought the non-working strata of society into the collective experience of Solidarity. In this way, the experience of solidarity in operation became a general social experience.

The mass character of the Solidarity movement was linked to its inclusive nature. Anyone could join Solidarity, including members of the communist party.¹⁴ The movement was pluralistic, and three “formats of engagement” developed and were included in its framework based on trade-union, social and national-oriented activities.¹⁵ What attested to the movement’s inclusive nature was that its programme activities¹⁶ took into account the needs of all social strata and groups, also those socially “invisible”, such as prisoners or the homeless (who did not officially exist in the Polish People’s Republic).

The experience of the Solidarity movement consolidated the model of social self-organisation in the form of *ad hoc* mass social actions. The civil empowerment effect of social mobilisation within the Solidarity movement manifested itself in four aspects:

- (1) the ability of citizens to organise a public sphere and manage it in the context of initiated mass civil actions;
- (2) the capacity to make moral reasons common as moral capital and as binding force for collective action;
- (3) the inclusiveness of the actions conducted which were open to all interested citizens;
- (4) keeping the activities peaceful, especially in situations of social and political tension.

The social self-organisation of 1980–1981 was more than simply a generational experience, i.e. the collective experience of a single generation. In sociological terms, the first Solidarity was a collective experience establishing civil society¹⁷ and building its socio-cultural¹⁸ capital as a reservoir of permanent, inter-gen-

¹⁴ B. Fedyszak-Radziejowska, *NSZZ Solidarność – niedocenione dziedzictwo*, in: *Dla Niepodległej. Obywatele i ich organizacje 1918–2020*, ed. E. Leś, KPRP, Warszawa 2020, p. 223.

¹⁵ J. Wratny, *NSZZ Solidarność w obronie praw społecznych i obywatelskich*, in: *Dla Niepodległej. Obywatele i ich organizacje 1918–2020*, ed. E. Leś, KPRP, Warszawa 2020, p. 199–214; B. Fedyszak-Radziejowska, op. cit., p. 217–231; M. Latoszek, „Solidarność”: *ruch społeczny, rewolucja czy powstanie?*, in: „Solidarność” *w imieniu narodu i obywateli*, ed. M. Latoszek, ARCANA, Kraków 2005, p. 240–282.

¹⁶ Cf. *Program NSZZ „Solidarność” uchwalony przez I Krajowy Zjazd Delegatów*, „Tygodnik Solidarność” 1981, no. 29.

¹⁷ The importance of grassroots community action in making civil society a reality – see: N. Deakin, *In Search of Civil Society*, Palgrave, New York 2001, p. 1–23.

¹⁸ See: I. Słodkowska, *Spółczesność obywatelska na tle historycznego przełomu. Polska 1980–1989*, ISP PAN, Warszawa 2006, p. 110–147. Understanding socio-cultural capital – cf. A. Bartoszek, *Kapitał społeczno-kulturowy młodej inteligencji wobec wymogów rynku*, Wydawnictwo UŚ, Katowice 2003.

rationally transferable disposition for grassroots self-organisation and the strengthening of social bonds.¹⁹

The Experiences of Solidarity after the Outlawing of the Movement

Martial law imposed in December 1981 outlawed NSZZ “Solidarność” as a legal entity, but the repression that followed was not able to “erase” the trace in collective memory left by the experience of Solidarity as a social movement in 1980–1981.²⁰ Instead, there was a far-reaching “privatisation” of public life after the 1980–81 period of increased civil engagement. The de-legitimised Trade Union Solidarity union formed underground structures that carried out illegal activities based on the involvement of small teams and ethos groups.²¹ This activity was first clandestine and then quasi-clandestine, partly tolerated by the authorities. However, most of the activists withdrew into private life and some emigrated abroad.

The experience of the 1980s of dissident activity of “human resources” was also imprinted in the collective memory, modifying the transcript of self-organising DNA in the “cultural code” from the beginning of the decade. The solidarity mobilisation capital was briefly activated during successive papal pilgrimages to Poland:²² in June 1983 and June 1987. This capital was also activated during the “plebiscitarian” parliamentary elections (4 June 1989) and the electoral campaigns of candidates of what was termed the “side of Solidarity and the society”.²³

The socio-cultural capital of the Solidarity movement’s legacy and upon which we can draw after the rejection of communism is a package that comprises three types of collective experience:

- (1) the experience of 1980–1981 of mass involvement in the civic movement formed on the basis of grassroots mobilisation for social action;

¹⁹ See: J. Bartkowski, *Więź społeczna i aktywność stowarzyszeniowa*, w: *Teorie wspólnotowe a praktyka społeczna. Obywatelskość, polityka, lokalność*, eds. A. Gawkowska, P. Gliński, A. Kościański, Wyd. IFiS PAN, Warszawa 2005, p. 129–146.

²⁰ E. Hałas, *Konstruowanie tożsamości państwa-narodu. Konflikt symboliczny o Preambułę do Konstytucji*, in: *„Solidarność” w imieniu narodu i obywateli*, ed. M. Latoszek, ARCANA, Kraków 2005, p. 56–85; E. Hałas, *Symboliczna konstrukcja Solidarności: konflikt interpretacji i polityki pamięci*, in: *Solidarność. Wydarzenia, sekwencje, pamięć*, ed. A. Sułek, Wyd. IFiS PAN, Warszawa 2006, p. 225–241.

²¹ K. Siellawa-Kolbowska, *Niezależne inicjatywy społeczne w Polsce końca lat osiemdziesiątych*, in: *Samoorganizacja społeczeństwa polskiego: trzeci sektor*, eds. P. Gliński, B. Lewenstein, A. Siciński, Wyd. IFiS PAN, Warszawa 2002.

²² S. Sowiński, op. cit.

²³ A term coined during the Round Table negotiations between communist regime officials and democratic opposition representation based on the Solidarity movement.

- (2) the experience of internal emigration during the times of martial law repression, which resulted in an attitude of ambivalence: a readiness for short-term civic commitment in exceptional situations, followed by a tendency to withdraw into everyday privacy;
- (3) the experience of underground and overt elite civic engagement (1982–1988), which is conducive to the pursuit of organised civic activity based on the involvement of small, proven teams.

The collective civic empowerment experience of August '80, interrupted by martial law, was a “shortfall” experience. The years 1980–1981 were a period of self-organisation and sustained social and civic activity on a mass scale in the formula of an “extended celebration”, referred to as the “carnival of Solidarity”,²⁴ but without embedding this experience in the normalising framework of everyday life. The activated social mobilisation capital in the formula of the mass social movement was thus accumulated through its transformation into socio-cultural capital: deeply anchored (cultural anchors) disposition for mass social mobilisation in special situations. At that time, this social capital was not transformed into institutional capital – the ability to build the infrastructure of civil society and sustain it in daily functioning. In simple terms, thanks to the experience of the first Solidarity, Poles – as a society – learned to organise mass actions in emergency situations, but they did not manage to learn how to run Tocquevillean associations.²⁵

Harnessing Solidarity Mobilisation Capital in the Time of Third Polish Republic

The Solidarity movement unsettled the foundations of the totalitarian system,²⁶ which within a decade led to a change in the political system and the release of space for unfettered civic activity.²⁷ In 1989, the legality of the Solidarity Trade Union was restored and a law was passed guaranteeing freedom of association. In 1990, local self-government was restored.

²⁴ “Solidarity Carnival. It is not clear who coined the term. Certainly, it gained its greatest popularity ex post – after 13 December 1981 (...) There was a vague premonition that a period of outbreak of freedom in a country living in the shadow of the Soviet Union was something impermanent and fragile but at the same time necessary for the mental balance of the nation”; P. Semka, *Karnawał Solidarności*, in: *Alfabet Solidarności*, ed. K. Nowak, Instytut Dziedzictwa Solidarności, Gdańsk 2020, p. 46.

²⁵ See: A. Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, trans. H.C. Mansfield, D. Winthrop, University of Chicago Press, Chicago 2002.

²⁶ J. Staniszkis, *Samoorganizująca się rewolucja...*

²⁷ E. Leś, *Od filantropii do pomocniczości. Studium porównawcze rozwoju i działalności organizacji społecznych*, Dom Wydawniczy Elipsa, Warszawa 2000, p. 204–212.

Civic committees (*Komitety Obywatelskie* in Polish), established as a grass-roots initiative at the beginning of the transformation by Solidarity activists in many Polish cities, were an attempt to revive the mass formula of civic actions from the times of the first Solidarity.²⁸ They quickly lost their significance as a result of political conflicts within the Solidarity camp, which was a manifestation of a broader tendency – the launching of transformation mechanisms, as it were, over the heads of citizens.²⁹ The Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity (NSZZ “Solidarność”) once again became a mass trade union organisation but on a scale incomparably smaller to that of 1980–1981.

Five spaces of activity can be distinguished which have channelled and formatted the social and civil engagement of Poles after 1989:

- (1) spontaneous mass activity of Poles in the public sphere undertaken on special occasions;
- (2) civic activity channelled into local government structures;
- (3) social activity carried out within the institutional framework of the third sector (NGOs);
- (4) trade union activity of NSZZ “Solidarność” and other trade union structures;
- (5) informal voluntary activity carried out in non-formalised movements and actions of the so-called fourth sector (informal sector).³⁰

In the various liberated spaces of social and civic activity, diverse patterns of social self-organisation have been activated, representing, to a greater or lesser extent, the transposition of previously accumulated socio-cultural capital. However, these *ad hoc* mass mobilisation-based actions are the most spectacular manifestation of the use of the experience of the Solidarity movement, with the activated capital of solidarity mobilisation being converted here into forms adequate to contemporary mass culture.

Polish society is not only distinguished by the scale of *ad hoc* social actions and the ease with which they are launched but also by the speed with which they spread. It has the capacity to react as a community almost in real time

²⁸ I. Słodkowska, *Komitety obywatelskie 1989–1992. Rdzeń polskiej transformacji*, ISP PAN, Warszawa 2014.

²⁹ I. Pańkow, *Tożsamość członków elit politycznych a tradycja solidarnościowa: konfuzja i iluzja*, in: „Solidarność” w imieniu narodu i obywateli, ed. M. Latoszek, ARCANA, Kraków 2005, p. 99–131; D. Zalewski, *Zagubione dziedzictwo „Solidarności”*, „Polityka Społeczna” 2021, no. 2, p. 21–25.

³⁰ M. Rymsza, *Solidarność po polsku – przez wielkie „S” i małe „s”*, in: *Efekt motyla. Scenariusze rozwoju sektora społecznościowego w Polsce*, eds. R. Krenz, S. Mocek, B. Skrzypczak, Collegium Civitas i CWAL CAL, Warszawa 2015, p. 46–51; see also: A. Juros et al., *From Solidarity to Subsidiarity: The Nonprofit Sector in Poland*, in: *Future of Civil Society. Making Central European Nonprofit Organizations Work*, eds. A. Zimmer, E. Priller, WS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Wiesbaden 2004, p. 557–599; P. Gliński, *Samorządna Rzeczpospolita w Trzeciej Rzeczpospolitej*, in: *Solidarność. Wydarzenia, sekwencji, pamięć*, ed. A. Sulek, Wyd. IFiS PAN, Warszawa 2006, p. 181–210.

to the occurrence of specific events. It is worth illustrating this capacity with a few examples.

Almost 2 million of our compatriots spontaneously travelled to Rome, using all available means of travel, to attend the funeral ceremonies following the death of the Polish Pope John Paul II on 8 April 2005.

In April 2010, when the bodies of those who died in the Smolensk catastrophe were transported to Warsaw from Russia by plane, Warsaw residents not only lined up in crowds along the route of the procession carrying the coffin of President Lech Kaczyński, but also organised mass marches, taking over parts of the roadway without police support. The car traffic, however, proceeded smoothly, as the drivers were active participants in the event (let us note that this was happening before the beginning of the heated dispute over the place of the Presidential Couple's burial which catalysed the process of deep political polarisation).

The Great Orchestra of Christmas Charity (Wielka Orkiestra Świątecznej Pomocy) – yearly fundraising events is a phenomenon of Polish self-organisation on a scale that transcends national borders, with Polish communities scattered all over the world taking part every year in fundraising for charitable causes and accompanying festivities.

It is not only solemn events of historical significance or noble causes that drive Poles to react en masse. When in March 2007 Adam Małysz, after failing to win a ski jumping competition in Scandinavia, unexpectedly won the next competition in Planica in Slovenia, several thousand Polish fans spontaneously set off by car immediately after the end of the TV broadcast of the competition to cheer him on in the last two competitions of the season after an all-night journey.

These and other numerous examples illustrate that the capacity for spontaneous mobilisation and self-organisation is permanently in the “toolkit” of Polish society; its permanent disposition to take collective action in public space.³¹

The Aid for the Victims of War in Ukraine – Towards a Community Model of Help for War Refugees

After 24 February 2022, assistance to war refugees from Ukraine was mobilised in Poland on an enormous scale, commensurate with the extent of the refugee situation, with millions of people crossing the Ukrainian-Polish border

³¹ The models of solidarity self-organisation can also be traced back to historical experiences earlier than the Solidarity movement – cf. K. Murawski, *Państwo i społeczeństwo obywatelskie. Wybrane problemy rozwoju demokracji w Polsce 1989–1997*, Wyd. WAM, Kraków 1999.

as a consequence of the Russian Federation's invasion of Ukraine. In the first two months of the full-scale war,³² more than three million refugees from the areas of armed conflict arrived in Poland. By the end of September 2022, the number of war refugees crossing the Ukrainian-Polish border had doubled to over six million people.³³ Leaving refugees free to decide where to stay resulted in a significant number of displaced persons subsequently leaving for other countries; returns to Ukraine were also triggered. The number of reverse border crossings in February-September 2022 amounted to more than four and a half million,³⁴ with the phenomenon of multiple round-trip border crossings by the same Ukrainian citizens. According to official estimates, one year after the Russian Federation attacked Ukraine, more than one and a half million displaced Ukrainians are staying on Polish territory and benefiting from the comprehensive support offered to them.

The response of international, and especially Western, countries to the aid activities conducted in our country has shown that Poland is a model country in Europe and the world when it comes to ad hoc responses to a massive refugee crisis. One can speak of a growing fascination with Poland, which was expressed in 2022 by the arrival of numerous foreign volunteers in Przemyśl and other Polish border towns in order to participate in the aid effort and feel the "spirit of solidarity". This was reminiscent of the fascination shown half a century ago by the free societies of the West with the Polish August '80 and the Solidarity movement. Again, this fascination was accompanied by a certain disbelief that this "spirit of solidarity" had somehow materialised in Poland. In the 1980s, this disbelief centred around the question of how it was possible that a civil movement of 10 million people, entirely peaceful and with a constructive social programme, was born and developed dynamically for several months under conditions of total surveillance of social life by the apparatus of the communist state. In 2022, fascination was in turn accompanied by the question of how it was possible that solidarity with Ukrainian refugees was shown by a society that in 2016 did not accept the idea, pushed by the European Commission, of compulsory relocation among all EU Member States of migrants illegally arriving in southern European countries from North Africa. At the same time, the Polish culture of hospitality in 2022 was not limited to a friendly welcome to the

³² Armed operations have been taking place on Ukrainian territory since 2014. They began with the Russian Federation's annexation of Crimea, followed by the occupation of part of Donbas – cf. A. Gromkowska-Melosik, *Agresja rosyjska na Ukrainę. Źródła, przebieg, konsekwencje*, in: *Ukraińskie uchodźczynie wojenne. Tożsamość, trauma, nadzieja*, eds. A. Boroń, A. Gromkowska-Melosik, Impuls, Kraków 2022, p. 89–108.

³³ M. Fuszara, *Wojna, ucieczki i pomagania*, in: *Masowa pomoc w masowej ucieczce Społeczeństwo polskie wobec migracji wojennej z Ukrainy*, ed. M. Fuszara, ISNS UW, Warszawa 2022, p. 7.

³⁴ Ibidem.

war refugees, but meant their real social absorption, including opening family homes to the newcomers. Therefore, fascination dominated over disbelief and public sympathy towards Poland increased in many countries around the world.

Foreign commentators and volunteers coming to Poland from various countries have aptly identified the essence of the “aid reflex (imperative)” activated in Poland.³⁵ It is the phenomenon of practising social solidarity. Taking this phenomenon into account allows one to understand the origin of the ability to launch aid action in “real time” when faced with the emergence of the refugee issue and on a scale corresponding to the identified needs. Some experts are aware of the importance of the experience of the first Solidarity, but recall it as a past, socially “closed” event and write about organising aid to Ukrainian refugees in terms of building the resources of a “new solidarity”.³⁶ It is not a “new solidarity” that is involved here, but a known and recognised one. Indeed, the similarities between the Solidarity movement of 1980–1981 and the refugee aid movement of 2022–2023 are far-reaching.³⁷ The evocation of the category of solidarity mobilisation capital, together with the concept of its accumulation and conversion, makes it possible not only to explain this similarity, but to put forward a thesis of continuity in social behaviour in the practice of solidarity in emergencies.

The immediate aid measures launched in Poland addressed to war refugees from Ukraine had four distinctive features. These are:

- (1) The prompt opening of the borders to war refugees following the aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine on 24 February 2022. Queues of people waiting to cross the border formed not in front of the Polish border barriers, but on the Ukrainian side, as a result of controls by the Ukrainian services aiming, among other things, to prevent men obliged to participate in activities for the defence of the homeland from leaving the country.
- (2) Bottom-up animated cross-sectoral cooperation. Reception centres activated immediately after the opening of the borders for refugees in towns along the border with Ukraine (Dorohusk, Zosin, Hrebenne, Korczowa, Medyka, Budomierz, Kroskienko) and at the railway station in Przemyśl, followed by relocation centres in large urban agglomerations away from the border, were run by the local administration with the cooperation of the state administration and with the immense commitment of volunteers – locals and visitors, as well as tangible material support from the business world.

³⁵ M. Fuszara, op. cit., p. 7.

³⁶ See: *Inicjatywa Nowa Solidarność*, MSAP–Uniwersytet Ekonomiczny w Krakowie, Kraków 2022.

³⁷ Cf. the analysis of the similarities of the two movements in the form of a popular text – M. Rymsza, *Solidarnościowy kapitał mobilizacyjny. Polacy wobec ukraińskich uchodźców*, „Więź” 2022, no. 2, p. 65–74.

- (3) The reception of a very large number of refugees in a short period of time and their smooth relocation on the territory of Poland as a host country, while leaving refugees to decide where to stay, including the possibility to return to Ukraine or go to third countries. The support was (and still is) of an auxiliary nature and does not deprive refugees of the right and space to decide their own fate.
- (4) The activation of a system of social-public support without setting up refugee camps as places of prolonged stay “in limbo” between the society of origin and the host society. It is this aspect that most strongly distinguishes the emerging Polish aid model and determines Poland’s uniqueness on a European scale as a country receiving war refugees on a mass scale.

The launch of a system of social absorption of refugees and large-scale relief efforts was based on extraordinary social mobilisation. Community involvement transcended the social divisions perpetuated by several years of social polarisation as a result of permanent division on the political scene, the development of ideological identity media and the growing phenomenon of people functioning in so-called social bubbles as self-isolating living environments.³⁸

The Similarity of Solidarity Actions and Their Common Axio-Normative Basis

Analysing the Polish nationwide relief campaign addressed to war refugees from Ukraine, one finds the same constituent elements of the “mobilising energy” as in the Solidarity movement of 1980–1981. The first common element is the sense of civil causative power associated with the real managing of actions in the public space by active citizens. Aid actions towards refugees undertaken in many different localities were spontaneously initiated by volunteers. The Polish state after 24 February 2022 turned out to be a “republic of citizens”,³⁹ i.e. “the common good of all its citizens”,⁴⁰ where “supreme power [...] shall be vested in the Nation.”⁴¹ In the debate about the beginnings of the aid campaign, the image of a government official who, in the first days after the outbreak of war, appeared at various aid centres, where work in direct contact with refugees was already being carried out by volunteers, and asked what he was supposed to do and how he could help, was often evoked. This image was supposed to

³⁸ See: M. Rymśza, *Spółeczeństwo obywatelskie i sektor obywatelski w Polsce: stan, trendy rozwojowe i rekomendacje dla polityki publicznej*, in: *Aktywne społeczeństwo w mieniającej się rzeczywistości*, eds. W. Kaczmarczyk, K. Burdyka, NIW-CRSO, Warszawa 2022, p. 78–80.

³⁹ Cf. W. Osiatyński, *Rzeczpospolita obywateli*, Rosner i Wspólnicy, Warszawa 2004.

⁴⁰ Konstytucja RP z 1997 r., art. 1.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, art. 4.

be an illustration of the thesis of the confusion of the state. Meanwhile, it is an illustration of the implementation of the idea of subsidiarity enshrined in the preamble of the Basic Law. The constitutional principle of subsidiarity is, it should be recalled, the principle of subsidiarity OF the state, not subsidiarity TO the state.⁴² The republic is, in republican terms, a political community of citizens, being a collective, well-organised host in its territory. The subsidiary state does not suppress social self-organisation but supports it, directs it and formats it. Poles would not welcome Ukrainians into their homes if this were an expression of helping public services. They were helping those directly affected, expecting support from public authorities. And they were helping in the name of solidarity with those in need.

Second, both in 1980–1981 and in 2022, a generalised sense of moral reason was a factor in social mobilisation. In 2022, this was associated with a conviction of unjustifiable harm inflicted on Ukrainians by a stronger aggressive neighbour. There was no such unequivocal conviction of injustice in the case of the “migration of peoples” in 2016; the certainty of the definition of the situation was then undermined by images of numerous migrating young men.⁴³ In 2022, an important “activator” of the imperative to help was to see the bravery and sacrifice of Ukrainians in defence of the invaded country. When the Polish-Ukrainian border after 24 February 2022 was crossed en masse mainly by mothers with children,⁴⁴ as well as senior citizens, numerous young Ukrainian men were moving in the opposite direction to defend the invaded homeland. And it was seeing them, it seems, that decided about the commonality of the moral reason for providing aid.

The attitude of solidarity of Poles with the victims of the war was reinforced by the shared experience, including recalling their own national experience of being attacked by Soviet Russia in 1920 and the awareness that after the eventual forcible subjugation of Ukraine, Poland could be the next target of the Russian Federation.⁴⁵ Finally, it is worth bearing in mind that the activation of solidarity actions was facilitated by the cultural proximity of the refugees and the host

⁴² M. Rymśa, *Uwagi o Ustawie o działalności pożytku publicznego i o wolontariacie, czyli o tym, na ile można zmienić rzeczywistość społeczną za pomocą regulacji prawnych*, „Polityka Społeczna” 2007, special issue: „Ustawa z dnia 24 kwietnia 2003 r. o działalności pożytku publicznego i o wolontariacie... i co dalej”, p. 8–11.

⁴³ M. Rymśa, *Ethical and Effective Aid: Europe and Poland Facing the Refugee Issue*, in: *Social Services in Work with Refugees on Polish German Cross-Border Region*, eds. B. Kromolijca, A. Linka, University of Szczecin, Szczecin 2018, p. 13–25.

⁴⁴ A. Boroń, A. Gromkowska-Melosik, op. cit.; O. Tashkinova, *Czasowy pobyt Ukraińców w Warszawie w czasie wojny*, in: *Masowa pomoc w masowej ucieczce Społeczeństwo polskie wobec migracji wojennej z Ukrainy*, ed. M. Fuszara, ISNS UW, Warszawa 2022, p. 36–47.

⁴⁵ Cf. CBOS, *Polacy wobec uchodźców z Ukrainy. Komunikat z badań Nr 62/2022*, oprac. M. Feliksiak, Centrum Badań Opinii Społecznej, Warszawa 2022, rys. 1, p. 2.

society, including the ability of basic communication related to the similarity of the Polish and Ukrainian languages.⁴⁶ Not without significance was also the positive experience of many Poles from direct contacts with representatives of the over one million-strong community of Ukrainian economic migrants residing in Poland. Nevertheless, the key bonding factor was the aforementioned commonality of the sense of moral reason.

Third, the aid movement resembled the first Solidarity movement because of its inclusive nature. Anyone could (and can) join the aid movement, regardless of their political views, their attitude to the current political power, their age, their profession or any other component of the social identity of individuals and communities.⁴⁷ Of note, it is this very inclusiveness that has been missing from actions under the white and red banners, undertaken in recent years by both sides of the political barricades: be it the actions of the Committee for the Defence of Democracy, or the Smolensk monthly commemorations. At manifestations of both political camps, national flags were carried, but inclusivity was absent. Indeed, the energy mobilised was the energy of protest directed against the other camp and its political representatives. The resources of mass self-organisation consumed in manifesting one's own superiority over one's opponents hardly converted into mobilisation capital for positive action, and over time even became a kind of "inbred social energy" generating bonding capital in Robert Putnam's terms, but without the possibility of converting it into bridging capital.⁴⁸ And it is precisely the activation of bridging capital that is essential for the realisation of an inclusive "spirit of solidarity".

The mobilisation capital generated and used in the refugee relief operation was of a bridging nature. At the peak of the refugee influx – that is, in the first months after the Russian Federation's aggression against Ukraine – a consensus was formed in Polish society on helping war refugees. In a survey conducted by

⁴⁶ M. Fuszara, op. cit., p. 7.

⁴⁷ The continued state of general consensus was confirmed by subsequent opinion polls – cf. CBOS, *Polacy wobec uchodźców z Ukrainy...*; CBOS, *Polacy wobec wojny na Ukrainie. Komunikat z badań Nr 73/2022*, oprac. J. Scovil, Warszawa 2022; CBOS, *Polacy o wojnie na Ukrainie i Rosjanach. Komunikat z badań Nr 114/2022*, oprac. J. Scovil, Warszawa 2022; CBOS, *Polacy o wojnie na Ukrainie. Komunikat z badań Nr 123/2022*, oprac. J. Scovil, Warszawa 2022; CBOS, *Polacy o wojnie na Ukrainie i zagrożeniu bronią jądrową. Komunikat z badań Nr 136/2022*, oprac. J. Scovil, Warszawa 2022; CBOS, *Polacy o wojnie na Ukrainie i pomocy dla uchodźców. Komunikat z badań Nr 152/2022*, oprac. U. Chankowska, Warszawa 2022; CBOS, *Polacy o wojnie na Ukrainie i zaangażowaniu NATO. Komunikat z badań Nr 162/2022*, oprac. J. Scovil, Warszawa 2022; CBOS, *Polacy wobec wojny na Ukrainie i ukraińskich uchodźców. Komunikat z badań Nr 12/2023*, oprac. J. Scovil, Warszawa 2023; CBOS, *Aktywności i doświadczenia Polaków w 2022 roku. Komunikat z badań Nr 18/2023*, oprac. M. Feliksiak, Warszawa 2023; CBOS, *Polacy wobec wojny na Ukrainie. Komunikat z badań Nr 41/2023*, oprac. J. Scovil, Warszawa 2023.

⁴⁸ See: R.D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, Simon & Schuster, New York 2000.

the CBOS Public Opinion Research Centre at the end of March/early April 2022 on a representative sample of adult Poles, 91% of respondents were in favour of helping, only 4% were against,⁴⁹ and acceptance for helping the victims of war was definitely prevailing in all social groups and environments irrespective of worldview.⁵⁰ Support for the aid campaign that was launched was therefore universal and, in a way, suspended in this particular case the logic of social polarisation, which involves more or less the same division over an increasing number of new socially significant issues.

The nationwide solidarity with refugees as a response to the armed aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine is well illustrated by comparing the results of the aforementioned March/April 2022 survey with earlier surveys by CBOS, which monitored the attitude of Poles towards war refugees from Ukraine after the annexation of Crimea. In 2015–2018, 50–60% of the public was in favour of accepting refugees, with 30–40% against and around 10% undecided.⁵¹ Importantly, after the annexation of Crimea and Russia's occupation of part of Donbas, the influx of war refugees to Poland was not a mass phenomenon, as the migration of war victims was mainly internal migration within Ukraine.⁵² This state of affairs fundamentally changed with the start of the invasion on 24 February 2022 and the arrival of a wave of refugees in Poland. The rise of solidarity attitudes came at a time when pro-social views demanded real action.

Therefore, the key manifestation of solidarity was not a change of views as such – a significant increase in the level of acceptance for accepting refugees and an almost complete (temporary) disappearance of negative votes. A manifestation of the activation of solidarity mobilisation capital was the active involvement of Poles in aid activities. As many as 63% of adult citizens declared one month after the attack that they themselves or someone from their household was helping refugees.⁵³ In the following months, this percentage gradually decreased, but by the end of 2022, it had not dropped below 50%.⁵⁴ Active involvement in aid activities (through volunteer involvement or financial support) was thus at a level similar to involvement in the Solidarity movement in 1980–1981.

⁴⁹ CBOS, *Polacy wobec uchodźców z Ukrainy...*, rys. 1, p. 2.

⁵⁰ Ibidem, p. 2.

⁵¹ Ibidem, rys. 2, p. 2.

⁵² M. Fuszara, op. cit., p. 7.

⁵³ CBOS, *Polacy wobec uchodźców z Ukrainy...*, rys. 9, p. 7. The constitutive features of a household are a shared home and the pooling of income. Thus, the commitment of one member to helping (and active volunteering and financial generosity) is part of the life of the others.

⁵⁴ CBOS, *Polacy wobec wojny na Ukrainie. Komunikat z badań Nr 28/2023*, oprac. J. Scovil, Warszawa 2023, rys. 5, p. 6.

Conversion of Capitals – How to Produce and Accumulate Solidarity Capital?

In economic terms, capital is any resource in one's possession that can be used to produce goods of any kind. Using the term here means not so much consuming a resource (and thus no longer disposing of it) but using it as a factor of production to generate another good. A good produced can be consumed, but it can also be used as a resource to produce another good. In such a production process, there is not only the use (and inevitable consumption) of available resources but also the conversion of capitals.

Financial capital (money) is the easiest to use, as it can be easily invested and exchanged for a range of other, tangible and intangible, goods. The history of the market economy is the history of capitalisation, i.e. the discovery of further types of tangible goods as factors of production. In contemporary economics, there is a growing interest in intangible goods as resources that can be capitalised. Intangible resources-capitals include, among others, human capital, social capital, cultural capital and institutional capital.⁵⁵

Human capital is the personal competence resources owned by and at the disposal of individuals, acquired, for instance through education, both in the formal and non-formal systems, as well as through informal learning efforts.⁵⁶ Social capital is a resource owned and used by the community in its entirety, which therefore cannot be privatised, for example, taken away when leaving a community. Examples of this are the generalised trust or competences for self-organisation of collective life.⁵⁷ Cultural capital is a habitus-based resource⁵⁸ which manifests its value in the ability to communicate (language is an important carrier of this capital. Cultural capital is also the collective experiences accumulated in the “cultural DNA” of large communities, such as nations. Finally, institutional capital is the “memory of the organisation”, the patterns of action recorded in the procedures developed, standards implemented or official pragmatics. Institutional capital allows the organisation to continue its activities despite the fluctuation of the human factor. It is therefore a resource held by the organisation, not by individuals or communities. Moral capital is also worth mentioning. Moral capital is a special form of renewable capital:

⁵⁵ M. Rymśa, *Polskie wzory samoorganizacji społecznej: jakim społeczeństwem obywatelskim jesteśmy*, in: *Dla Niepodległej. Obywatele i ich organizacje 1918–2020*, ed. E. Leś, KPRP, Warszawa 2020, p. 241–242.

⁵⁶ See: A. Walker, *Human Capital*, in: *International Encyclopedia of Social Policy*, eds. T. Fitzpatrick et al., Routledge, London 2010, p. 614.

⁵⁷ A. Rymśa, *Klasyczne koncepcje kapitału społecznego*, in: *Kapitał społeczny. Ekonomia społeczna*, eds. T. Kaźmierczak, M. Rymśa, Instytut Spraw Publicznych, Warszawa 2007, p. 23–40.

⁵⁸ A. Walker, *Cultural Capital...*, p. 250.

it is any intangible resource that increases as it is (correctly) used. An example of such capital is the commonality of moral reason as the bonding force of social action.⁵⁹

The ability to mobilise collective action in public space is a type of socio-cultural capital, which here is referred to as solidarity mobilisation capital. Some communities are more capable of this, others less. Collectivities in a state of anomie (breakdown of the community) do not have it at all, and in societies subjected to totalitarian rule, this capacity remains in a “dormant” state. Polish society has (1) a high competence to undertake mass social action in emergencies using activated solidarity mobilisation capital and, at the same time, (2) a deficit in the ability to convert this capital into forms enabling the normalisation of civil action, i.e. its continuation after the circumstances arousing the emergency mobilisation subside.

The Carnival of Solidarity of 1980–1981, the papal pilgrimages and the other collective manifestations of inclusive solidarity cited in the article contributed to generating extraordinary situations conducive to the ad hoc activation of mobilisation capital. As important community-wide experiences, they became imprinted in social consciousness and collective memory, generating a “cultural code” that enables the activation of the mobilisation factor in special circumstances. This phenomenon has been described by Graham Crow as the “solidarity of Solidarity”.⁶⁰ At the same time, the deficit in the ability to convert the activated mobilisation resource means that between spectacular civil actions carried out on a mass scale, periods of social stagnation are observed, and researchers then note the low results of measurements of such components of social capital as generalised trust, associational activity or the strength of bridging social ties.⁶¹

Appreciating the experience of the Solidarity movement, which made it possible to generate cultural and social capital for mobilisation in extraordinary situations, should not lead to marginalising the importance of the “good organisation” of social activity. On the contrary, it should be recognised that grassroots civil activation needs to be linked to the efficient organisation of structures for its orderly operation in the long term.

The movement to help war refugees from Ukraine offers real prospects for this. It is possible to format the aid action addressed to the refugees in such a way that this capital of social mobilisation – instead of being depleted – can be

⁵⁹ See: Ch.L. Brown, *Moral Capital. Foundation of British Abolitionism*, University of North Carolina Press, Wilmington 2006.

⁶⁰ G. Crow, op. cit.

⁶¹ Por. W. Szymczak, *Zaufanie społeczne i kondycja społeczeństwa obywatelskiego w Polsce*, in: *Spoleczeństwo obywatelskie. Między ideą a praktyką*, eds. A. Kościański, W. Misztal, Wyd. IFiS PAN, Warszawa 2008.

transformed into a more durable resource: a collective disposition for organised civic action in a state of normalisation. The idea is to learn how to transform the energy of social mobilisation into solidarity capital understood as a combination of three types of capital, which are:

- (1) (bonding and bridging⁶²) social capital understood as a fundamental factor in the socialisation of the activities carried out;
- (2) institutional capital understood as the ability to stabilise these activities, to “normalise” and order them while maintaining their social character;
- (3) moral capital understood as the transformation of a state of commonality of moral reason into permanent “normative structures” that legitimise the actions carried out and ensure their inclusive character.⁶³

The conversion of mobilised social support resources into solidarity capital will be facilitated by:

- (1) After a period of reactive grassroots aid actions based on “all-hands-on-deck” volunteering, programme actions based on “competence volunteering” should be initiated, in conjunction with the development of grassroots aid leaders and the use of their experience in developing community care methodologies;⁶⁴
- (2) Practising intersectoral cooperation at the local level in such a way that the administrative factor does not replace the “tired” voluntary factor, but channels social activity into an institutional framework requiring less intensive involvement with more efficient organisation of activities;⁶⁵
- (3) Activating (as converted capitals) resources held by the refugee community, for the benefit of both itself and the host society.⁶⁶

Unfortunately, events and public sentiment in the second half of 2023 point to a shrinking societal consensus on helping Ukrainian refugees. The effect of the expected fatigue with aid actions is compounded by the growing influence at the level of public debate of sceptical voices questioning the moral sense of sustaining the “aid community” and the noticeable tensions in political relations

⁶² See: R.D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone...*

⁶³ See: J.M. Kurczewski, *Ius in situ obowiązek pomocy i prawo do pomocy*, in: *Masowa pomoc w masowej ucieczce Społeczeństwo polskie wobec migracji wojennej z Ukrainy*, ed. M. Fuszara, ISNS UW, Warszawa 2022, p. 135.

⁶⁴ The latter is an objective of Uniwersyteckiego Obserwatorium Deinstytucjonalizacji Praktyk Pomocowych UODI – por. www.uodi.uw.edu.pl.

⁶⁵ Gminy jako samorządowe wspólnoty terytorialne złożone z ogółu mieszkańców i wyposażone w zdolności działania administracyjnego są ważnym miejscem wytwarzania kapitału solidarności – cf. M. Rymśa, *Polska samorządna jako urzeczywistnienie doświadczeń Ruchu Solidarności*, Centrum Myśli Jana Pawła II, Warszawa 2014, www.skarbsolidarnosci.pl.

⁶⁶ See: *Gościnna Polska 2022+*, eds. M. Bukowski, M. Duszczyk, WISE Europa, Warszawa 2022; *Inicjatywa Nowa Solidarność*, op. cit.

between Poland and Ukraine.⁶⁷ However, the phenomenon of helping refugees en masse was not interrupted by any sudden turn of events, reminiscent of the effects of banning the first Solidarity movement in December 1981. Thus, the question of to what extent the extraordinary mobilisation capital triggered in February 2022 will be converted into solidarity capital and to what extent it will be deactivated (dormant) remains open.

Solidarity capital is activated by, to use Jacek Kurczewski's term, forward-looking "structures of emancipation".⁶⁸ In this view, civil society "happens" rather than exists. We are a civil society when we are becoming one; it is realised again and again and sustained in existence by the collective efforts of citizens of "self-organisation based on solidarity and consensus".⁶⁹ It grows out of the collective experience of civil self-organisation accumulated in the "cultural code", but in order to last, it must reveal itself on a daily basis in the socially oriented actions undertaken. To be a civil society and to continue to become one again and again, it is necessary to have certain resources of citizenship and to be able to use them on a daily basis. This accumulation and active use of resources is well described by the concept of resources as convertible capitals.⁷⁰

Civil society is a pluralistic relational community of citizens oriented towards the common good⁷¹ (republican approach), in which conflicts arising from differences of interest are resolved peacefully through compromise⁷² (liberal tradition). It is a community based on a consensus on fundamental values and, at the same time, a space for practising pluralism. It is an inclusive society: open⁷³ and at the same time providing a sense of belonging⁷⁴ and cohesion, in which

⁶⁷ The most high profile of these is the Polish-Ukrainian dispute over the export of Ukrainian grain and other food products.

⁶⁸ J. Kurczewski, *Ius insitum obowiązek pomocy i prawo do pomocy...*, p. 45–66.

⁶⁹ A. Siciński, *Spółczesność obywatelska a polskie transformacje ustrojowe*, in: *Ludzie i instytucje. Stawianie się ładu społecznego*, t. 1, eds. A. Sułek, J. Styk, I. Machaj, Wydawnictwo UMCS, Lublin 1995, p. 118.

⁷⁰ Zastosowanie teorii kapitałów do badania społeczeństwa obywatelskiego w Polsce – cf. B. Levenstein, M. Theiss, *Kapitał społeczny, lokalne społeczeństwo obywatelskie, aktywizacja; zachodnie koncepcje, polskie doświadczenia*, in: *Teorie wspólnotowe a praktyka społeczna. Obywatelskość, polityka, lokalność*, eds. A. Gawkowska, P. Gliński, A. Kościański, Wyd. IFiS PAN, Warszawa 2005; W. Sadłoń, *Religijny kapitał społeczny. Kapitał społeczny a Kościół katolicki w społecznościach lokalnych w Polsce w świetle badań empirycznych*, Bezkrzesy Wiedzy, Saarbrücken 2013.

⁷¹ Cf. W. Misztal, A. Kościański, *Spółczesność obywatelska jako dobro wspólne?*, in: *Dla Niepodległej. Obywatele i ich organizacje 1918–2020*, ed. E. Leś, KPRP, Warszawa 2020, p. 59–73.

⁷² Cf. P.S. Załęski, *Neoliberalizm i społeczeństwo obywatelskie*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, Toruń 2012.

⁷³ Cf. K.R. Popper, *Spółczesność otwarta i jego wrogowie*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa 1993.

⁷⁴ Cf. S. Börner, *Belonging, Solidarity and Expansion in Social Policy*, Palgrave Macmillan, London 2013.

Putnam's "lubricant" is solidarity, made up of bond-building aid activities with a *many-to-many* and *one-to-one* profile.⁷⁵

Polish society has a durable disposition for ad hoc civil self-organisation in public space in emergencies, when citizens want to and see the need to show solidarity. *Solidarity mobilisation capital* is an important resource of Polish civil society. When this is realised, the phenomenon of reactive aid movement after the outbreak of war in Ukraine, including the speed and impetus of the grassroots relief efforts launched, is not surprising. Time and opportunity have arisen to activate something more: solidarity capital as a resource to continue extraordinary civic action in a normalised situation.

Closing Remarks

This article discusses the specificity of the Solidarity movement of 1980–1981 as a collective experience, whose echo emerged 40 years later through the social movement to help war refugees from Ukraine. The similarity between these two empowering collective experiences, which are manifestations of society-wide solidarity, is striking, as this study seeks to show. This similarity can hardly be considered a coincidence, and as C. Wright Mills⁷⁶ suggests, it is useful to engage the sociological imagination to explain it. This article proposes an explanation with reference to solidarity mobilisation capital (SMC) as the primary "driving force" of society-wide events, mobilised under extraordinary conditions and in response to emergent needs. This extraordinary mobilisation for collective action cannot be sustained over extended periods of time. At the same time, the scale and intensity of such a society-wide experience of solidarity make it difficult to assume that this capital simply "fades away" after a period of extraordinary mobilisation.

Instead, it should be assumed that an intense collective experience leaves a lasting mark, not only in forming a specific generation consisting of individuals personally taking part in specific collective events and co-creating a specific social movement. This paper assumes that these experiences are permanently recorded in the collective memory as a "cultural DNA" transferred intergenerationally, thus becoming the basis for a given community's permanent disposition to extraordinary mobilisation in extraordinary situations requiring society-wide solidarity. In other words, solidarity mobilisation capital aggregates as a dormant resource that, under favourable conditions, can be reactivated by

⁷⁵ J. Tichner, *op. cit.*

⁷⁶ C.W. Mills, *The Social Imagination*, 40th Anniversary Edition, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2000.

its conversion into an active resource – capital that triggers collective action at the community-wide level. In the author's opinion, such an activation of the dormant pool of solidarity mobilisation took place in Poland in 2022–2023 as part of a community-wide campaign to help war refugees arriving in Poland after the Russian Federation invaded Ukraine.

The concept of SMC as a resource of collective action fits in with researchers' inventories of social movement resources. For example, Bob Edwards and John D. McCarthy distinguish moral, cultural, social-organisational, human, and material resources.⁷⁷ In contrast, other researchers such as James Coleman⁷⁸ and Robert Putnam⁷⁹ point to the importance of social capital – a resource held by the community and thus distinguishable from human capital as the sum of resources in the possession of individual community members. It is social capital that underpins social bonds (Colman) and enables organised social activity (Putnam). SMC is a type of social capital that is not only used (consumed) in collective action but also accumulated by conversion into “dormant” cultural capital and capable of being reactivated under favourable conditions.

Solidarity mobilisation capital undoubtedly requires further conceptualisation, especially as it stands out in certain respects against the background of well-established concepts in the literature explaining the specificity of social movements and the dynamics of the collective actions conducted. In the sociology of social movements, the dominant interpretation of the phenomenon of social movements as movements of social mobilisation is an indication of their democratising nature, consisting in the mobilisation of vulnerable groups and backgrounds.⁸⁰ Social protest movements in the form of “action against a wide range of injustices”⁸¹ essentially seek fairer distribution of various goods by increasing their accessibility to poorer or discriminated groups. Movements based on the mobilisation of such groups and social backgrounds can (and do) maintain continuity of action over a prolonged period – necessary to achieve the goals of levelling the position of a particular group when the factors of their social marginalisation are strong and underpin a particular collective order.

⁷⁷ B. Edwards, J.D. McCarthy, *Resources and Social Movement Mobilization*, in: *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, eds. D.A. Snow, S.A. Soule, H. Kriesi, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford 2004, p. 116–152.

⁷⁸ J.S. Coleman, *Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital*, “American Journal of Sociology” 1988, no. 94 (Supplement).

⁷⁹ R.D. Putnam, *Making Democracy Work. Civic Tradition in Modern Italy*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 1993; R.D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone...*

⁸⁰ C. Tilly, L.J. Wood, *Democratization and Social Movements*, in: *Social Movements, 1768–2018*, eds. C. Tilly, E. Castañeda, L.J. Wood, Routledge, New York and London 2020, p. 128–148.

⁸¹ C. Tilly, L.J. Wood, *Social Movements as Politics*, in: *Social Movements*, eds. C. Tilly, E. Castañeda, L.J. Wood, Routledge, New York and London 2020, p. 6.

The natural history⁸² of such movements tends to consist of alternating periods of heightened voluntary action, where mass involvement of people is key, and periods of more personnel-based activity, relying on a smaller number of committed activists, using accumulated institutional and material resources.⁸³

The phenomenon of extraordinary society-wide mobilisation is difficult to trigger and harder to sustain. The state of readiness for collective action thus occurs much less frequently than mobilisation around the group interest of a particular class, stratum or minority. Such a consensus is an extraordinary situation in the collective life. At the same time, as a strong societal experience, it has the power of collective empowerment, leaves a permanent mark, and changes the society as such. Because of this effect, such extraordinary experiences can be considered the “founding myths” of civil society. Examples of such a society-wide mobilisation include the independence movement in India initiated by Mahatma Gandhi and open to Indians of all social classes (castes),⁸⁴ or the movement opposing discrimination against the black population in the United States initiated by Martin Luther King, which was programmatically open to the involvement of white Americans as well.⁸⁵ The same was true of the first Polish Solidarity movement. The reference to SMC brings out the agency of this founding experience not by attempting to describe the continuity of the initiated social movement (which in the long term is de facto non-existent) but by showing that at a different time, other people, acting under a different “banner”, put the same values into practice, drawing on the accumulated experience of earlier generations.

This article only hints at the potential for converting SMC into more permanent solidarity capital. Solidarity capital, with institutional capital as one of its components, is an active resource that enables collective action to be carried out also in periods of normalisation and that are a continuation of actions from a period of extraordinary social mobilisation. In order to determine the conditions and factors of the potential conversion of SMC into solidarity capital signalled here, it is necessary to follow the further course of the aid campaign for Ukrainian war refugees conducted after the wave of extraordinary social mobilisation in Poland subsided, which is the subject of the author’s current research interest.

⁸² *Natural history* is the interpretative frame for analysing collection action proposed by R. Fuller and R. Myers. See: R. Fuller, R. Myers, *The Natural History of a Social Problem*, “American Sociological Review” 1941, vol. 6, no. 3.

⁸³ For example, see the analysis of the dynamics of selected social movements in: *Repertoires and Cycles of Collective Action*, ed. M. Traugott, Duke University Press, Durham and London 1995.

⁸⁴ See: M. Gandhi, *An Autobiography – The Story of My Experiments With Truth*, trans. M.H. Desai, Beacon Press, Boston 1993.

⁸⁵ *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, ed. C. Carson, Warner Books, New York 2001.

References

- Bartkowski J., *Więź społeczna i aktywność stowarzyszeniowa*, in: *Teorie wspólnotowe a praktyka społeczna. Obywatelskość, polityka, lokalność*, eds. A. Gawkowska, P. Gliński, A. Kościński, Wyd. IFiS PAN, Warszawa 2005, p. 129–146.
- Bartoszek A., *Kapitał społeczno-kulturowy młodej inteligencji wobec wymogów rynku*, Wydawnictwo UŚ, Katowice 2003.
- Börner S., *Belonging, Solidarity and Expansion in Social Policy*, Palgrave Macmillan, London 2013.
- Boroń A., Gromkowska-Melosik A., *Ukraińskie uchodźczynie wojenne. Tożsamość, trauma, nadzieja*, Impuls, Kraków 2022.
- Brown Ch.L., *Moral Capital. Foundation of British Abolitionism*, University of North Carolina Press, Wilmington 2006.
- CBOS, *Aktywności i doświadczenia Polaków w 2022 roku. Komunikat z badań Nr 18/2023*, oprac. M. Feliksiak, Warszawa 2023.
- CBOS, *Polacy o wojnie na Ukrainie i pomocy dla uchodźców. Komunikat z badań Nr 152/2022*, oprac. U. Chankowska, Warszawa 2022.
- CBOS, *Polacy o wojnie na Ukrainie i Rosjanach. Komunikat z badań Nr 114/2022*, oprac. J. Scovil, Warszawa 2022.
- CBOS, *Polacy o wojnie na Ukrainie i zaangażowaniu NATO. Komunikat z badań Nr 162/2022*, oprac. J. Scovil, Warszawa 2022.
- CBOS, *Polacy o wojnie na Ukrainie i zagrożeniu bronią jądrową. Komunikat z badań Nr 136/2022*, oprac. J. Scovil, Warszawa 2022.
- CBOS, *Polacy o wojnie na Ukrainie. Komunikat z badań Nr 123/2022*, oprac. J. Scovil, Warszawa 2022.
- CBOS, *Polacy wobec uchodźców z Ukrainy. Komunikat z badań Nr 62/2022*, oprac. M. Feliksiak, Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej, Warszawa 2022.
- CBOS, *Polacy wobec wojny na Ukrainie i ukraińskich uchodźców. Komunikat z badań Nr 12/2023*, oprac. J. Scovil, Warszawa 2023.
- CBOS, *Polacy wobec wojny na Ukrainie. Komunikat z badań Nr 28/2023*, oprac. J. Scovil, Warszawa 2023.
- CBOS, *Polacy wobec wojny na Ukrainie. Komunikat z badań Nr 41/2023*, oprac. J. Scovil, Warszawa 2023.
- CBOS, *Polacy wobec wojny na Ukrainie. Komunikat z badań Nr 73/2022*, oprac. J. Scovil, Warszawa 2022.
- Ciżewska E., *Filozofia publiczna Solidarności. Solidarność 1980–1981 z perspektywy republikańskiej tradycji politycznej*, NCK, Warszawa 2010.
- Ciżewska-Martyńska E., Mazur K., *Sprawy społeczne w programie ruchu Solidarność*, in: *Stulecie polskiej polityki społecznej 1918–2018*, eds. E. Bojanowska, M. Grewiński, M. Rymsza, G. Uścińska, MRPIPS i NCK, Warszawa 2018.
- Cohen J.L., Arato A., *Civil Society and Political Theory*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1994.
- Coleman J.S., *Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital*, "American Journal of Sociology" 1988, no. 94 (Supplement).
- Crow G., *Social Solidarities. Theories, Identities and Social Change*, Open University Press, Buckingham 2002.
- Deakin N., *In Search of Civil Society*, Palgrave, New York 2001.
- Edwards B., McCarthy J.D., *Resources and Social Movement Mobilization*, in: *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, eds. D.A. Snow, S.A. Soule, H. Kriesi, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford 2004, p. 116–152.
- Fedyszak-Radziejowska B., *NSZZ Solidarność – niedocenione dziedzictwo*, in: *Dla Niepodległej. Obywatele i ich organizacje 1918–2020*, ed. E. Leś, KPRP, Warszawa 2020, p. 217–231.
- Fuller R., Myers R., *The Natural History of a Social Problem*, "American Sociological Review" 1941, vol. 6, no. 3.
- Fuszara M., *Wojna, ucieczki i pomagania*, in: *Masowa pomoc w masowej ucieczce. Społeczeństwo polskie wobec migracji wojennej z Ukrainy*, ed. M. Fuszara, ISNS UW, Warszawa 2022, p. 7–18.

- Gandhi M., *An Autobiography – The Story of My Experiments With Truth*, trans. M.H. Desai, Beacon Press, Boston 1993.
- Gawin D., *Sierpień 1980 w świetle tradycji republikańskiej*, in: *Solidarność. Wydarzenia, sekwencje, pamięć*, ed. A. Sułek, Wyd. IFiS PAN, Warszawa 2006, p. 45–74.
- Gliński P., *Samorządna Rzeczpospolita w Trzeciej Rzeczpospolitej*, in: *Solidarność. Wydarzenia, sekwencje, pamięć*, ed. A. Sułek, Wyd. IFiS PAN, Warszawa 2006, p. 181–210.
- Gościnną Polską 2022+*, eds. M. Bukowski, M. Duszczyk, WISE Europa, Warszawa 2022.
- Hałas E., *Symboliczna konstrukcja Solidarności: konflikt interpretacji i polityki pamięci*, in: *Solidarność. Wydarzenia, sekwencje, pamięć*, ed. A. Sułek, Wyd. IFiS PAN, Warszawa 2006, p. 225–241.
- Hałas E., *Konstruowanie tożsamości państwa-narodu. Konflikt symboliczny o Preambułę do Konstytucji*, in: *Solidarność w imieniu narodu i obywateli*, ed. M. Latoszek, ARCANA, Kraków 2005, p. 56–85.
- Holzer J., *Solidarność 1980–1981. Geneza i historia*, Omnipress, Warszawa 1990.
- Inicjatywa Nowa Solidarność*, MSAP–Uniwersytet Ekonomiczny w Krakowie, Kraków 2022.
- Juros A., Leś E., Nałęcz S., Rybka I., Rymśza M., Wygnański J.J., *From Solidarity to Subsidiarity: The Nonprofit Sector in Poland*, in: *Future of Civil Society. Making Central European Nonprofit Organizations Work*, eds. A. Zimmer, E. Priller, WS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Wiesbaden 2004, p. 557–599.
- Krasnodębski Z., *Solidarność i jej wpływ na Europę, dawną i nową*, in: *Solidarność. Wydarzenia, sekwencje, pamięć*, ed. A. Sułek, Wyd. IFiS PAN, Warszawa 2006, p. 242–254.
- Krzemiński I., *Solidarność – organizacja polskich nadziei*, in: *Solidarność. Wydarzenia, sekwencje, pamięć*, ed. A. Sułek, Wyd. IFiS PAN, Warszawa 2006, p. 13–34.
- Krzemiński I., *Solidarność. Niespełniony projekt polskiej demokracji*, Europejskie Centrum Solidarności, Gdańsk 2013.
- Kurczewski J., *Ścieżki emancypacji. Osobista teoria transformacji ustrojowej w Polsce*, Trio, Warszawa 2009.
- Kurczewski J.M., *Ius insitum obowiązek pomocy i prawo do pomocy*, in: *Masowa pomoc w masowej ucieczce Społeczeństwo polskie wobec migracji wojennej z Ukrainy*, ed. M. Fuszara, ISNS UW, Warszawa 2022.
- Latoszek M., *„Solidarność”: ruch społeczny, rewolucja czy powstanie?*, in: *Solidarność w imieniu narodu i obywateli*, ed. M. Latoszek, ARCANA, Kraków 2005, p. 240–282.
- Leś E., *Od filantropii do pomocniczości. Studium porównawcze rozwoju i działalności organizacji społecznych*, Dom Wydawniczy Elipsa, Warszawa 2000.
- Lewenstein B., Theiss M., *Kapitał społeczny, lokalne społeczeństwo obywatelskie, aktywizacja: zachodnie koncepcje, polskie doświadczenia*, in: *Społeczeństwo obywatelskie. Między ideą a praktyką*, eds. A. Kościański, W. Misztal, Wyd. IFiS PAN, Warszawa 2008.
- Mazur K., *Przekroczyć nowoczesność. Projekt polityczny ruchu społecznego Solidarność*, Ośrodek Myśli Politycznej, Kraków 2017.
- Mills C.W., *The Social Imagination*, 40th Anniversary Edition, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2000.
- Misztal W., Kościański A., *Społeczeństwo obywatelskie jako dobro wspólne?*, in: *Dla Niepodległej. Obywatele i ich organizacje 1918–2020*, ed. E. Leś, KPRP, Warszawa 2020, p. 59–73.
- Murawski K., *Państwo i społeczeństwo obywatelskie. Wybrane problemy rozwoju demokracji w Polsce 1989–1997*, Wyd. WAM, Kraków 1999.
- Osiatyński W., *Rzeczpospolita obywateli*, Rosner i Wspólnicy, Warszawa 2004.
- Pańkow I., *Tożsamość członków elit politycznych a tradycja solidarnościowa: konfuzja i iluzja*, in: *Solidarność w imieniu narodu i obywateli*, ed. M. Latoszek, ARCANA, Kraków 2005, p. 99–131.
- Popper K.R., *Społeczeństwo otwarte i jego wrogowie*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa 1993.
- Program NSZZ „Solidarność” uchwalony przez I Krajowy Zjazd Delegatów*, „Tygodnik Solidarność” 1981, no. 29.
- Putnam R.D., *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, Simon & Schuster, New York 2000.

- Putnam R.D., *Making Democracy Work. Civic Tradition in Modern Italy*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 1993.
- Repertoires and Cycles of Collective Action*, ed. M. Traugott, Duke University Press, Durham and London 1995.
- Rymsza A., *Klasyczne koncepcje kapitału społecznego*, in: *Kapitał społeczny. Ekonomia społeczna*, eds. T. Kaźmierczak, M. Rymsza, ISP, Warszawa 2007, p. 23–40.
- Rymsza M., *Ethical and Effective Aid: Europe and Poland Facing the Refugee Issue*, in: *Social Services in Work with Refugees on Polish German Cross-Border Region*, eds. B. Kromolijca, A. Linka, University of Szczecin, Szczecin 2018, p. 13–25.
- Rymsza M., *Polska samorządna jako urzeczywistnienie doświadczeń Ruchu Solidarności*, Centrum Myśli Jana Pawła II, Warszawa 2014, www.skarbsolidarnosci.pl.
- Rymsza M., *Polskie wzory samoorganizacji społecznej: jakim społeczeństwem obywatelskim jesteśmy*, in: *Dla Niepodległej. Obywatele i ich organizacje 1918–2020*, ed. E. Leś, KPRP, Warszawa 2020, p. 241–242.
- Rymsza M., *Solidarnościowy kapitał mobilizacyjny. Polacy wobec ukraińskich uchodźców*, „Więź” 2022, no. 2, p. 65–74.
- Rymsza M., *Solidarność po polsku – przez wielkie „S” i małe „s”*, in: *Efekt motyla. Scenariusze rozwoju sektora społecznościowego w Polsce*, eds. R. Krenz, S. Mocek, B. Skrzypczak, Collegium Civitas i CWAL CAL, Warszawa 2015, p. 39–54.
- Rymsza M., *Spółeczeństwo obywatelskie i sektor obywatelski w Polsce: stan, trendy rozwojowe i rekomendacje dla polityki publicznej*, in: *Aktywne społeczeństwo w mieniającej się rzeczywistości*, eds. W. Kaczmarczyk, K. Burdyka, NIW-CRSO, Warszawa 2022, p. 78–80.
- Rymsza M., *Uwagi o Ustawie o działalności pożytku publicznego i o wolontariacie, czyli o tym, na ile można zmienić rzeczywistość społeczną za pomocą regulacji prawnych*, „Polityka Społeczna” 2007, special issue: „Ustawa z dnia 24 kwietnia 2003 r. o działalności pożytku publicznego i o wolontariacie... i co dalej”, p. 8–11.
- Sadłoń W., *Religijny kapitał społeczny. Kapitał społeczny a Kościół katolicki w społecznościach lokalnych w Polsce w świetle badań empirycznych*, Bezkręsy Wiedzy, Saarbrücken 2013.
- Semka P., *Karnawał Solidarności*, in: *Alfabet Solidarności*, ed. K. Nowak, Instytut Dziedzictwa Solidarności, Gdańsk 2020, p. 46–47.
- Siciński A., *Spółeczeństwo obywatelskie a polskie transformacje ustrojowe*, in: *Ludzie i instytucje. Stawanie się ładu społecznego*, t. 1, eds. A. Sułek, J. Styk, I. Machaj, Wydawnictwo UMCS, Lublin 1995.
- Siellawa-Kolbowska K., *Niezależne inicjatywy społeczne w Polsce końca lat osiemdziesiątych*, in: *Samoorganizacja społeczeństwa polskiego – trzeci sektor*, eds. P. Gliński, B. Lewenestein, A. Siciński, Wyd. IFiS PAN, Warszawa 2002.
- Słodkowska I., *Komitety obywatelskie 1989–1992. Rdzeń polskiej transformacji*, ISP PAN, Warszawa 2014.
- Słodkowska I., *Spółeczeństwo obywatelskie na tle historycznego przełomu. Polska 1980–1989*, ISP PAN, Warszawa 2006.
- Sowiński S., *Jan Paweł II solidarny*, „Więź” 2005, no. 7, p. 37–43.
- Staniszkis J., *Podwójna przemiana; refleksje 25 lat po Sierpniu 80*, in: *Solidarność. Wydarzenia, sekwencji, pamięć*, ed. A. Sułek, Wyd. IFiS PAN, Warszawa 2006, p. 213–224.
- Staniszkis J., *Samoograniczająca się rewolucja*, Europejskie Centrum Solidarności, Gdańsk 2010.
- Szawiel T., *Solidarność jako wydarzenie i jako trwanie*, in: *Solidarność. Wydarzenia, sekwencji, pamięć*, ed. A. Sułek, Wyd. IFiS PAN, Warszawa 2006, p. 137–154.
- Szymczak W., *Zaufanie społeczne i kondycja społeczeństwa obywatelskiego w Polsce*, in: *Spółeczeństwo obywatelskie. Między ideą a praktyką*, eds. A. Kościański, W. Misztal, Wyd. IFiS PAN, Warszawa 2008, p. 151–169.
- Tashkinova O., *Czasowy pobyt Ukrainek w Warszawie w czasie wojny*, in: *Masowa pomoc w masowej ucieczce. Spółeczeństwo polskie wobec migracji wojennej z Ukrainy*, ed. M. Fuszara, ISNS UW, Warszawa 2022, p. 36–47.

-
- The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, ed. C. Carson, Warner Books, New York 2001.
- Tichner J., *Etyka Solidarności oraz Homo sovieticus*, Znak, Kraków 2005.
- Tilly C., Wood L.J., *Democratization and Social Movements, 1768–2018*, eds. C. Tilly, E. Castañeda, L.J. Wood, Routledge, New York and London 2020, p. 128–148.
- Tilly C., Wood L.J., *Social Movements as Politics*, in: *Social Movements, 1768–2018*, eds. C. Tilly, E. Castañeda, L.J. Wood, Routledge, New York and London 2020, p. 3–17.
- Tocqueville A., *Democracy in America*, trans. H.C. Mansfield, D. Winthrop, University of Chicago Press, Chicago 2002.
- Touraine A., Dubet F., Wieviorka M., Strzelecki J., *Solidarité: Analyse d'un mouvement social, Pologne 1980–1981*, trans. C. Tilly, Fayard, Paris 1982.
- Walker A., *Cultural Capital*, in: *International Encyclopedia of Social Policy*, eds. T. Fitzpatrick et al., Routledge, London 2010.
- Wnuk-Lipiński E., *Solidarność – na fali procesów globalnych*, in: *Solidarność. Wydarzenia, sekwencji, pamięć*, red. A. Sułek, Wyd. IFiS PAN, Warszawa 2006, p. 35–44.
- Wratny J., *NSZZ Solidarność w obronie praw społecznych i obywatelskich*, in: *Dla Niepodległej. Obywatele i ich organizacje 1918–2020*, ed. E. Leś, KPRP, Warszawa 2020, p. 199–214.
- Zalewski D., *Zagubione dziedzictwo „Solidarności”*, „Polityka Społeczna” 2021, no. 2, p. 21–25.
- Załęski P.S., *Neoliberalizm i społeczeństwo obywatelskie*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, Toruń 2012.