

Mapping Catholic Governance Practices in Poland after 1989

Rafał Smoczyński

Polish Academy of Sciences

This article lays out some of the major features of the proposed research on Catholic governance practices in a context of Polish post-communist social change. Firstly, it proposes to examine how market action in Poland was embedded in socio-normative structures influenced by Catholic social agency. In such a perspective, it is suggested that the attention should be paid to the role of Catholic cognitive structures in affecting social practices that aimed to solve the coordination problems, which were being experienced by market actors. Secondly, it is recognized that the proposed research should analyse the social control practices inspired by Catholic agency, particularly this project focuses on moral panic of the 1990s that was targeting new religious movements labeled as folk devils. The proposed research constitutes an attempt to demonstrate that moral panic may be seen as a struggle to impose a strict definition of the collective religious identity and its association with the national identity.

Key words: Catholicism • governance • emerging markets • social change • moral panic • discourse theory

ENTERING THE PROBLEM

While there have been produced many studies on the secularization/desecularization processes of Catholic community in Poland (see Borowik and Doktor 2001; Mariański 2001, 2004; Szlendak 2004) as well as studies on the intertwining legacy of religion and nationality (see Borowik 1997, 2002; Koseła 2003; Mandes and Marody 2005), very little is known about its role in governance practices. Thus the proposed research aims at exploring the rule setting role of Catholic community and examining its regulatory effects that have been established in the public sphere and in the field of emerging markets in Poland after 1989.

The objective of the proposed project seeks to conduct an empirical research reinforced by discourse analysis in effort to systematize the knowledge about the possible involvement of Catholic community in setting agenda/framing issue within the public sphere/markets sphere in Poland. The proposed project will employ: a) in-depth interviews with the representatives of Catholic communities (e.g., “Radio Maryja community”, renewal movements, traditionalist groups, “Catholic Inteligencia Clubs”) as well as in-depth interviews will be held with the Catholic business associations’ representatives, Catholic-oriented political bodies, Catholic social movements, expertise institutions embedded within the Catholic semiotic community¹, b) derivative analysis of existing files, documents and research outcomes of the project “Pluralisation and Transformation of Catholic Community in Poland after 1989” that is being carried out at the Department of Religious Studies at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, c) discourse analysis.

The proposed project is also drawing on the research findings collected within the international collaborative project REVACERN (Religion and Values Central and Eastern European Research Network) founded under the EU’s 6th Framework Programme.

Interplay of religion and economy

Firstly, since Max Weber’s (1996) famous thesis on Protestant ethics and the spirit of capitalism it is widely acknowledged that the religious convictions may act as a significant factor in influencing the shape of markets. We may indicate a number of publications which have recently attempted to show this interplay of economy and religion. Gusfield (1986) has elucidated the crucial role of Puritan doctrine that has contributed to the introduction of prohibition of the manufacture, transportation, import, export and sale of alcoholic beverages in the US; Zelizer (1979) has analyzed the role of religious convictions in her study of the emergence of the life insurance industry in the US; Evers and Padarayan (1993) have shown that religious enthusiasm may be linked with the economic growth in Singapore; Casanova (forthcoming) has examined the role of Opus Dei technocrats in Spain who in line with their religious commitment introduced successful changes in the economic policies of the Franco’s regime. The author of the proposed project seeks to contribute to the studies on the role of the normative and institutional pre-conditions of the markets through a development of insights articulated, on the one hand by the classical approach of sociology, e.g., Weber (1972), Durkheim (1984), on the other by contemporary new economic sociologists, e.g. Beckert (2002), Dobbin (1994), Fligstein (2001), and show how market action in Poland after 1989 was embedded in socio-normative structures influenced by Catholic social agency.

According to Beckert (2007a) contemporary markets are demanding fields of pre-suppositional social interactions, which compel market participants to solve coordination problems (e.g., the value, competition and cooperation problems) and form stable expectations concerning social actions of the other market participants and expected market outcomes. In contrast to the neo-classical economy thesis that self-interest of market participants brings about economic equilibrium, Beckert (2007: 6) in line with other new economic sociologists (i.e., institutional approach), claims that “market actor’s stable expectations are formed by the structural, institutional and cultural embeddedness of market exchange”. Drawing on such defined argument, the author of the proposed project is seeking to broaden understanding of this tightly focused problem by conducting the empirical and theoretical analysis on the interplay between Catholic social structures and economy in Poland after 1989. Empirical objective requires systematic examination of the role of Catholic cognitive structures in influencing institutions and social practices that aimed to solve the coordination problems, which were being experienced by market actors during the Polish transitory period.

This problem is particularly relevant when tackling the position of Catholic social actors who were experiencing the phenomenon of corruption, which was considered by many researchers as a crucial indicator in the processes of capital accumulation and political reproduction in Poland, but also in Central and Eastern Europe at large (Kubiak 2001; Kurczewski and Łaciak 2000; Holmes 1997; King and Szelenyi 2005). Corruption constitutes one of the major risks which imposes a portion of uncertainty into the arena of markets and interrupts their adaptive social functions. Therefore it is interesting whether Catholic agency has managed to contribute to restrain risks related to the wide spread corruption in Poland – i.e., through institutionalizing ethical standards, business codes, regulatory practices etc. on the micro/meso/ macro economical levels (see Dylus 2002, 2004), which have eventually allowed the stabilization of market participant’s expectations.

Additionally, since universal economic rationality as articulated in neoclassical theory has been questioned and demonstrated that economic action is embedded in the contingent socio-institutional structures (Dobbin 2004), this project is going to show the relevance of Laclau and Mouffe’s theory of discourse and concept of hegemonic decision-making for the scholarship of the sociology of markets (see Laclau and Mouffe 1985; Laclau 2005; Mouffe 2005).

Moral panics and the impact of Catholic social agents

Secondly, this project recognizes that religions are society-builder factors but at the same time they constitute the potential for a social conflict (see Dawson 2003; Hunt 2003; Bromley 2007), thus the other objective of the project is meant to

elucidate the deployment of Catholic governance practices in a context of anomie of the early 1990s in Poland; during this period the public sphere was affected by various moral panics, including so called anti-cult moral panic. The author of the proposed project while being engaged in the REVACERN network has been using theoretical framework of hegemonic decision making (Laclau 1994) and moral panics (Cohen 1972) in order to explain dynamics of the development of anti-new religious movements (NRMs) hysteria, which has marked the imposition of successful Catholic agenda leading to social control effects (see Borowik 2006; Doktor 2002).

Theory of moral panic explores the dynamics of collective concern towards an alleged menace to social order. According to Cohen modern societies appear to be subject to periods of moral panics: “a person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to social values; its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media, politicians, and interest groups” (Cohen 1972: 3). Examples of analyzed cases of moral panics include drug abuse, child abuse, ritual abuse, youth delinquency, threats posed by immigrants, etc. (see MacDonald and Merchant 1994; Waddington 1986; Thornton 1995; Buckingham 1996). Panics serve to reassert the dominance of an established value system at a time of social anxiety, and folk-devils provide an external threat (see Ben Yehuda and Goode 1994).

Combining moral panics and concept of hegemony may be valuable for examining the dynamics of reproduction of collective identities and normative structures (e.g., the REVACERN research has shown that hegemonic practices in many analyzed cases of anti-NRMs moral panic in Poland have cemented the conventional moral order composed from a variety of particular social subjects). On the other hand, in order to multi-mediated nature of the contemporary societies theory of moral panic needs to be revised (de Young 2004). In opinion of the author of the proposed project the introduction of Laclau and Mouffe’s approach may meet these needs (see Thornton and McRobbie 1995)².

From the perspective that the very possibility of society is conditioned by its intrinsic antagonism (see Marchart 2008) the proposed research draws its attention to the hegemonic construction of Catholic collective wills and their links with political networks which were capable of exercising social control practices during the anomie period in the early 1990s. In line with Laclau and Mouffe’s hegemonic project, the author of this proposal is interested how particular social demands of Catholic social formation have been universalized through a process of articulation which has introduced the regulatory effects (see Laclau 1990; Mouffe 1993)³. This approach offers an understanding of practice of an imposition of a social-control decision by producing identifiable NRMs deviants.

Following Thompson (1998) and Critcher (2003) the author of the proposed project asserts that anti-NRMs moral panic is a moment when, in the context of post-Communist social change, collective moral certainty has become defined. Therefore the aim of this research is to demonstrate that anti-NRMs moral panic may be seen as a struggle to impose a strict definition of the collective religious identity and its association with the national identity. Research findings are set in the broader context of signifying elements available in Central and Eastern European anti-cult discursive field, such as the role of children in the late modern social control practices, medicalization and criminalization of religious deviance in the practice of anti-cult discourse⁴.

Following the argument of Critcher (2006) that the vast number of moral panics is being played out on the level of the mass media the author of the proposed project interprets press cuttings, official documents, historical records but also employs semi-structured questionnaires and qualitative in-depth interviews to collect information from participants involved in an anti-cult moral panic (e.g., representatives of the anti-cult movements and representatives of new religious movements).

Public religion and taming social antagonism

Thirdly, mapping regulatory effects imposed by Catholic community this project is dedicated to examine analytical hypotheses about the conditions of the possibility of the emergence of modern public religion in contemporary Poland. In other words, the proposed research seeks to investigate the transformation process of Polish Catholicism towards modernization and to determine either deprivatization of Catholicism after 1989 fits model of the public religion, or reversely it has turned into the anti-modern form of collective mobilization, which opposed the differentiated structure of modern society (Casanova 1994). In line with Casanova, the proposed research attempts to find out either articulations formulated by Catholic social formation endeavored to abolish the frontiers between private and public spheres and its ideological agenda was aiming at influencing the political sphere, or deprivatization practices were situated within the sphere of civil society and, in this case, they represented a legitimate critique of particular forms of the institutionalized modernity (e.g., abortion and sexual ethics, the role of markets in shaping the normative systems etc).

The integral part of this analysis will be aimed at identifying the conditions of transformation antagonism into agonism within the terrain of social conflict related to the intersections of religion and public sphere. According to theorists like Mouffe (2005) opposition between antagonism and agonism provides the distinction between relations of enemies (antagonism) and relations of adversaries

(agonism). Agonistic formulation seeks to introduce “conflictual consensus” based on a common symbolic terrain among legitimate opponents. Mouffe indicates that agonistic approach acknowledges the irreducible existence of social conflict which cannot be ultimately reconciled by rational deliberation as Habermas (1998) would envisage this, but at the same time it demonstrates the possibility of relation where adversaries although accepting that there is no rational solution to their difference, nevertheless recognize legitimacy of their opponents.

The proposed project plans to show the fruitfulness of the antagonistic/agonistic approach for understanding the rise of moral panics in Poland during the 1990s. In line with Mouffe’s argument the proposed project is seeking to identify the problem of lacking proper channels through which social conflicts related to sacred and values could take agonistic shape. Following this argument the project emphasizes that due to not available mechanism of taming moral oriented conflicts, moral panics in Poland used to turn into antagonistic level, what means, that they were being transformed into the confrontation between enemies (see Barker 1997). Such situations have led to the weakening of social cohesion.

The proposed project will focus on the following questions: (i) it will seek to determine particular conditions of the rise of social antagonism in a given process of Catholic deprivatization after 1989, (ii) it will examine the emergence of social practices that has led to the possible taming of social conflicts, that is, it will analyze these strategies that have embraced the agonistic logic, (iii) it will indicate the open and pluralistic nature of Catholic social formation that was not governed by the homogenous ideological principle. On the contrary, the proposed project is seeking to develop analysis on heterogeneous nature of Catholic formation that included groups of various persuasions (see Mariański 1998; Marody, Mandes, Trutkowski, Batorski, Rogaczewska 2004-2006). Careful examination of this internal clash of ideological positions will constitute one of the goals of the proposed project.

RELEVANCE OF THE PROJECT

Further investigations which will combine qualitative sociology, discourse analysis, concept of hegemony and sociology of markets should advance the state of the art in the field of studies on religion and social change in Poland as well as enhance interdisciplinary interplay in the researched areas. This project is innovative especially when one considers the experience of contemporary social sciences which exposes the crisis of essentialist universalism and the absence of final social foundations which would create the ultimate ground for a decision making (Laclau 1983; Mouffe 2000; Lefort 1988, 1986; Norval 2008). Deconstruction of foundationalism leads therefore attention of social scientists to the historical “contingent grounds”, hegemonic conditions of their emergence, and ethico-

political strategies of construction of normative contours (see Howarth, Norval, Stavrakakis 2000). If there is no pre-given center in social (see Derrida 1987) or “socio-economic base” that would be able of ultimately stabilizing differential social structure, hegemonic political strategy gains the privileged position, as it constructs social relations and economic actions (Howarth and Torfing 2005)⁵.

Taking into account the existence of undecidability and irreducible contingency embedded in social field the proposed project aims to investigate historical processes that have led to the emergence of concrete forms of institutions and normative/cognitive structures, influenced by Catholic articulations. This project will examine the political competition between various social subjects that have been trying to transcend their particular positions into a universal horizon of political demands and the moment of Catholic decision-making, which attempted to impose a particular regulatory strategy within the field of public sphere. The next step is to analyze how hegemonic decisions were translated into concrete forms of market regulations, behavior and preferences of market actors. The proposed project will also examine traces of concealment of originary political struggles and acts of exclusion of alternative interpretative schemas which have brought regulatory mechanism affected by Catholic formation into being (see Smith 1998).

MAPPING THE CATHOLIC INFLUENCE UPON THE MARKET FIELD

What was the efficiency of Catholic regulatory efforts to solve the coordination problems in the field of markets after 1989? The crucial task seems to be related to the cooperation and competition problems. Did Catholic articulations play any significant role in the development of personal networks and social capital when CEE countries were lacking an institution-based trust during the 1990s? Did Catholic actors manage to develop formal procedures for the production of trust, namely, through the distribution and establishment of ethical standards but also through formal standardizations on the companies and state’s institution level as a response to the surge of corruption after 1989? (e.g., Catholic actors in Poland were initiating campaigns and public debates to tame „wild capitalist market” that was not constrained by ethical regulations) (see Filipowicz 1997; Kosmicki 1996).

The proposed research will examine the role of Catholic agency on the shaping the structures of the competition policy within the market (e.g., was the structure of the labor market remodeled according to the social convictions of Catholic social formation or not; did Catholic decision makers embrace option for the poor and vulnerable to improve conditions for socially excluded; did Catholic political agents impact the state’s regulatory practices in effort to restrain competition, influence state’s economic policy?)

The proposed project will also explore the possible Catholic influence on the evaluation of the selected market products, the constitution of subject preferences. Is it possible to distinguish any effects of religious restrictions or convictions on the evaluation attitude? In this respect, it may be helpful to conduct empirical studies concerning superstitious and bigotry convictions that may have influenced some of market actions (e.g., in Poland during the 1990s there were widely circulating rumors on allegedly demonic influence of homeopathic drugs that may have shaped some Catholics preferences in the pharmacy market, there were also Catholic movements involved in overheated campaigns struggling to boycott IKEA products, Halloween toys for children, gothic style computer games, products containing heavy metal music etc).

The author of the proposed research following suggestions of Wuthnow (2005) considers qualitative data as a proper for understanding meanings of market actions to be revealed within the intersection between religion and economy. This approach applies for example while examining the effects of religious commitment of market actors on designing economic policies and market performances (e.g. in-depth interviews with Catholic politicians, Catholic businessmen, may help to learn if there were any religious, i.e., noneconomic criteria at work).

Application of discourse analysis

The proposed project asserts that qualitative sociological approach may be reinforced by discourse analysis, which is a relevant analytical tool for the exploration of Catholic community's role in governance practices. According to this approach discourse does not merely reflect objects and relations pre-existing in the social field, but constructs relations and identity of the objects (see Fairclough 1992; van Dijk 2008). Discursive practices are meant as political or ideological articulations that organize the field of intelligibility of the social problems including the social construction of normative horizon of society, group interests and functionality of markets. This insight is connected with linguistic turn in the social theory (see Howarth 2000; Best and Kellner 1997), but also is founded on the social ontological principle formulated by Gramsci (1971) who claimed that ideology resonates with people converting individuals into groups, provides them with the sense of the common interests and introduces interpretative schemes for grasping the meaning of social conflicts.

Thus it is important to note that in this project the term ideology is defined not in a narrow sense of political practice (limited to political parties, governmental bodies etc.), but as a practice of articulation, which is instituting a given meaning for social macrostructures and social actions (see Mouffe 1993; Smith 1998).

Therefore the social action is explained in the interpretative tradition of discourse analysis as applied to social sciences, which examines the meaning that actions have for social actors. Following Wittgensteinian approach, which states that language games comprise both linguistic exchanges and actions in which they are embedded, the proposed project does not separate Catholic ideology from social performances carried out by Catholic community (Wittgenstein 1953 in: Laclau 2005: 13). The objective of the proposed research is rather concentrated on the determination of the discursive frameworks through which Catholic movement was realizing its strategic goals within the field of newly emerging markets and civil society (*ibid*). Discursive practices are ideological because they facilitate the sedimentation of contingently constructed meanings of social structures.

While mapping Catholic agency (e.g., expert networks, professionals, interest groups) in setting agenda/framing issue, it is also important to determine how they recruit participants, that is, how they construct specific discourse, which finds “points of resonance” with the public (see Hay 1995; de Young 2004). For example such a discourse constitutes preferences of market participants and affects them to protect or change certain market behaviors. This proposal is trying to apply discourse analysis and investigate the way Catholic articulations systematically formed the identities of market actors as well as shape of macrostructures. For example while examining the development of a particular valuation process that market participants have established it is important: (i) to delimit the historical field of emergence of cultural transformations influenced by Catholic ideology that have changed or stabilized the way particular market products were valued, (ii) to establish the hegemonic nodal points (particular themes) which have been resonating with cognitive structures of social subjects (why particular themes have been successful in influencing a behavior in market context) and consumers have been able to develop confidence in the value of particular products.

In respect to the cooperation and competition problems it is proper to examine discursive frameworks which have functioned as a surface of inscription for a variety of social demands related to the Catholic agenda. How was Catholic movement able to solve the coordination problems, reduce social uncertainty and align others’ cognitive structures with its own agenda? This analytical operation will help to explore the question whether Catholic social formation was successful in inducing other social actors and institutions to cooperate with them while organizing the field of formal standards that influenced economic activities in the exchange process. For example the proposed project drawing on REVACERN research findings have shown a strong Catholic impact on social practices, which have formed a complex system of child protecting institutions that had also a visible commercial significance. Catholic social formation was able to align various social subjects within the common hegemonic project related to childhood theme (see below).

ANOMIE AND MORAL PANICS IN POLAND DURING THE EARLY 1990S

The emergence of Catholic governance practices in its empirical variety was conditioned by the state of anomie during the period of social change in the 1990s (see Szafraniec 2003; Sztompka 1999; Miszalska 1996; Miszalska and Piotrowski 2006). Due to the anomie crisis existing narrative frameworks have lost their efficiency in providing an ideological legitimacy for subject positions. The proposed project will attempt to show how Catholic practices focused on framing issues have functioned as surface of inscription for particular social demands that have exposed themselves as means of interpretation of the state of anomie. For example, at the final stage of anti-cult moral panic the Catholic agenda was capable of interpellating social subjects and laying foundations of intelligibility for the social problems⁶.

The state of anomie has revealed itself as a dislocation, which has disrupted identification of subject positions, but simultaneously it has brought about a productive aspect⁷. A dislocation has generated a process of re-articulation of new subject positions and reconstruction of the universe of the symbolic order that sutured effects of a dislocation. Hence important aspect of the proposed research will indicate that the process of reconstruction of the Catholic collective identities took place within the terrain of moral panic when the multiple categories of the Church's enemies were constructed (see Ben Yehuda and Goode 1994; Tompson 1998; Critcher 2003). The reconstruction of the symbolic universe of Catholic social formation was gaining hold through strategy of identifying menace towards "Church, public morality, nation etc".

Anti-new religious movement moral panic

During 2008 and 2009 the author of the proposed project has been carrying out a research on the role of the Catholic governance practices that have shaped cognitive structures of the public in a context of the 1990s anti-cult moral panic in Poland⁸. Moral panic articulations have been located in institutional settings (the mass media, interest groups, politicians, church officials, cult survivors' organizations), which have affected the way public identified the enemies of the cherished normative system. These practices have led to the emergence of heterogenic anti-cult formation composed from a variety of particular social subjects, both secular and religious. The Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights report on freedom of religion and conscience in Poland demonstrated that NRMs experienced discriminatory practices on regular basis (Mikulska 2002). Unconventional religious communities were refused to obtain permissions to organize their fests and events; they were very often unable to rent proper venues for their meetings due to the widespread anti-sect biases circulating among local authorities⁹. The

anti-cult hegemonic project eventually has managed to alter public regulations on NRMs in Poland.

While the anti-NRMs claims-making in Poland imitated the general symbolic structures of the Western anti-cult discourse practices (Richardson and Introvigne 2001) nevertheless we may indicate some Eastern European peculiarities. An analysis of anti-NRMs moral panics in Poland discloses one typical pattern that is rather uncommon in the American and Western European anti-cult moral panics (e.g., medicalization and criminalization of religious deviance, childhood theme): the NRMs while being depicted as a menace towards Catholicism, at the same time they were presented as a threat towards the nation itself, and similarly: subversive attack on child was presented as an assault on the very essence of the Catholic nation (see Doktor 2002a).

Hegemonic project and childhood theme

The author of the proposed project has delimited the discursive field of the emergence of anti-sect hegemonic ideology which has functioned as a surface of inscription for a variety of social demands related to the anti-NRMs discourse. Besides the Catholic oriented institutions also secular ones have been embedded in the loose anti-sect common project: child supporters, secular counter-sect oriented experts, psychotherapeutic industry, social services, state bureaucratic complex, political formations, attorneys, mass media, law enforcement agencies.

Therefore it has been crucial to establish the hegemonic nodal points which have been resonating with the public during the anomie crisis in Poland. It seems that the one of the crucial nodal points of the Catholic ideology that has been shared by different social subjects and has been resonating with the public consisted of childhood imagery. According to Jenkins beginning in the 1960s a major source of moral panics in European societies has been related to the abused children (Jenkins 1992). The high value of children in contemporary Western countries (see Zelizer 1994; Jenks 1996) and wide spread social control articulations on child abuse, sexual promiscuity, crisis of traditional ethics etc. have certainly facilitated such inter-discursive relationship between different social formations (see Parton 1985; Costin et al. 1996).

For Catholic social agents have devised a set of complex articulation strategies that have brought into being an alliance of various interest groups and epistemic communities, the proposed project should expand the field of research in order to cover a family resemblance of articulations that resulted in the construction of interrelated ideological formations. Only under the conditions of such ideological alliance one is capable to analyze the real scope of Catholic influence upon the institutions, social structures and market actions.

SCHEME OF THE PROPOSED RESEARCH

The goal of the proposed research is meant to test consistency of the depicted above hypotheses with empirical data. On the one hand, it is going to be derivative analysis of the existing scientific files, documents, and research outcomes that have been produced by the Department of Religious Studies at the IFiS PAN during the ongoing project on the transformation and pluralisation of Polish Catholicism after 1989. Additionally, the author of the proposed research is developing his insights that have been carried out during the REVACERN project. On the other hand, the author of the proposed research intends to conduct his own research, which will mostly consist of in-depth interviews with the mentioned representatives of Catholic community. In-depth qualitative interviews will be conducted with groups (25 persons of each group) especially prepared for the purpose of discussing a particular topic. Group participants will be selected on the basis of the experience and knowledge about the topic in concern. There will be also used in-depth interviews with small focus groups (5 persons). In the case of sensitive research issues individual interviews will be conducted.

Discourse analysis of the available data will focus on the Catholic articulations that have established governance practices. This task will be undertaken in order to interpret the social construction of power relations and collective identities that have obtained hegemonic position.

NOTES

- 1 According to Haas (2007) epistemic communities comprise networks of knowledge-based experts who are engaged in framing issues/setting agenda, introduce certain policies and trigger public debates. Such communities include professionals from different fields who share similar beliefs and principles.
- 2 E.g., the researches of Hall (1992) and Thompson (1997) have shown that discourse analyses are relevant to moral panic theory approach.
- 3 The term “hegemony” in Gramscian use is reserved for those cases where a particular group succeeds in moving beyond its particular interests onto a universal terrain. According to this view different groups compete between themselves to temporarily give to their particular articulations a function of universal representation and institute the conditions of the possibility of exercising power, see Gramsci (1971).
- 4 See Hall, Smoczynski, Greskova, Goldberger (forthcoming).
- 5 For example the hegemonic process is fully visible when one examines the contemporary market struggle where objective standards of quality assessment are not legitimized by any final ground or objective standards. The process of attaching a value to certain products represents a hegemonic logic, i.e., different market actors are involved in a market struggle that attempt to attribute a certain meaning and importance to selected goods. In other words, goods do not possess any objective value which would pre-exist hegemonic struggle defining their value, value attributions are contingent, and therefore the market struggle is at the same time competition of the political articulations.

Moreover, the successful hegemonic decision is able to impose a certain inter-subjective network of prestige and power related to particular value of goods.

- 6 I am drawing here on my analysis elaborated in the REVACERN final report (in press, Walter de Gruyter).
- 7 On social dislocation see Stavrakakis (1999).
- 8 For the results of this project see Hall, Smoczyński, Greskova, Goldberger (forthcoming).
- 9 Just a few examples from The Helsinki Foundation report (Mikulska 2002): Town Council of Lublin issued an order, which banned renting a venue in the Folklore House for The Czaitanya Mission Institute of Self-Knowledge. In 2000 councilor in Bielsko-Biała protested against possible involvement of members of Krishna movement during the city fest who in his opinion “poses a threat towards a youth”. In 1998 mayor of Reval dismissed the possibility of organizing the festival of India’s culture because as he claimed „organizers belong to the International Society for Krishna Consciousness and it may compromise children’s safety”. In the similar vein authorities in Białystok refused acceptance of renting a room for Pentecostal Church in the Center for Youth Culture. The same denomination was unable to rent a place in Rypin. Out of 58 denominations which were surveyed by the Helsinki Foundation’s researchers 25 were victimized by various acts of vandalism and hooliganism.

REFERENCES

- Barker, Eileen. 1997. But Who’s Going to Win? National and Minority Religions in Post-Communist Society. In: Irena Borowik, and Grzegorz Babiński (eds.), *New Religious Phenomena in Central and Eastern Europe*. Krakow: Nomos.
- Beckert, Jens. 2007. The Social Order of Markets. *MPIfG Discussion Paper 07/15*. Cologne: Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies.
- Beckert, Jens. 2007a. The Great Transformation of Embeddedness: Karl Polanyi and the New Economic Sociology. *MPIfG Discussion Paper 07/01*. Cologne: Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies.
- Beckert, Jens. 2002. *Beyond the Market. The Social Foundations of Economic Efficiency*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Ben Yehuda, Nachman, and Erich Goode. 1994. *Moral Panics*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Best, Steven, and Douglas Kellner. 1997. *The Postmodern Turn*. New York: The Guilford Press.
- Borowik, Irena. 1997. *Procesy instytucjonalizacji i prywatyzacji religii w powojennej Polsce*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo UJ.
- Borowik, Irena. 2002. ‘The Roman Catholic Church in the Process of Democratic Transformation: The Case of Poland.’ *Social Compass* 2: 239-252.
- Borowik, Irena (ed.). 2006. *Religions, Churches and Religiosity in Post-Communist Europe*. Kraków: Nomos.
- Borowik Irena, and Tadeusz Doktor. 2001. *Pluralizm religijny i moralny w Polsce*. Kraków: Nomos.
- Bromley, David (ed.). 2007. *Teaching New Religious Movements*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Buckingham, David. 1996. *Moving Images: Understanding Children’s Emotional Responses to Television*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

- Casanova, Jose. 1994. *Public Religions in the Modern World*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Casanova, Jose (Forthcoming). *Opus Dei and Modernization of Spain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cohen, Stanley. 1972. *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Costin, Lela, et al. 1996. *The Politics of Child Abuse in America*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Critcher, Chas. 2003. *Moral Panics and Media*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Critcher, Chas. 2006. *Critical Reader: Moral Panics in the Media*. Berkshire: Open University Press.
- Dawson, Lorne. 2003. *Cults and New Religious Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- De Young, Mary. 2004. *The Day Care Ritual Abuse Moral Panic*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company.
- Derrida, Jacques. 1978. *Writing and the Difference*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Dobbin, Frank. 1994. *Forging Industrial Policy: The United States, Britain and France in the Railway Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dobbin, Frank. 2004. *The New Economic Sociology*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Doktor, Tadeusz. 2002. 'Factors Influencing Hostility towards Controversial Religious Groups.' *Social Compass* 4: 553-562.
- Doktor, Tadeusz. 2002a. *Innowacje religijne: ruchy, uczestnicy, reakcje społeczne*. Olsztyn: Mantis.
- Durkheim, Emile. 1984. *The Division of Labor in Society*. Translated by W. D. Halls. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Dylus, Aniela. 2002. Erozja standardów etycznych w biznesie. In: Janusz Mariański, (ed.). *Kondycja moralna społeczeństwa polskiego*. Wyd. WAM and PAN, Kraków.
- Dylus, Aniela. 2004. Gospodarka a religia. Typologia możliwych relacji. In: Zbigniew Sareło (ed.), *Życie godnie w zmieniającym się świecie*. Ząbki: Apostolicum.
- Evers, Hans, D., and Jayarani Pavadarayan. 1993. Religious Fervor and Economic Success: Chettiar Moneylenders in Singapore. In: Kernial Sandhu et al. (eds.), *Indian Communities in Southeast Asia*. Singapore: Times Academic Press.
- Fairclough, Norman. 1992. *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Filipowicz, Artur. 1997. 'Chrześcijanin wobec podatków.' *Przegląd Powszechny*, 3: 288-299.
- Fligstein, Neil. 2001. *The Architecture of Markets*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Gramsci, Antonio. 1971. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Gusfield, Joseph. 1986. *Symbolic Crusade. Status Politics and Temperance Movement*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Haas, Peter. 2007. Epistemic Communities. In: Daniel Bodansky, Jutta Bruneel, and Ellen Hey (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of International Law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Habermas, Jürgen. 1998. *On the Pragmatics of Communication*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

- Hall, Dorota, Rafał Smoczyński, Lucia Greskova, and Goran Goldberger. Forthcoming. Societal Reactions towards NRMs. In: Dorota Hall, and Rafał Smoczyński (eds.) *New Religious Movements and Conflict*.
- Hall, Stuart. 1992. The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power. In: Stuart Hall, and Bram Gieben (eds.) *Formations of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Hay, Chris. 1995. 'Mobilization through Interpellation.' *Social and Legal Studies*, 4: 197-223.
- Holmes, Leslie. 1997. Corruption in the Post-Communist Countries, with Particular Reference to Poland. In: Leslie Holmes, Wojciech Roszkowski (eds.) *Changing Rules. Polish Political and Economic Transformation in the Comparative Perspective*. Warszawa: ISP PAN.
- Howarth, David. 2000. *Discourse*. Buckingham: The Open University Press.
- Howarth, David, Aletta Norval, and Yannis Stavrakakis (eds.). 2000. *Discourse Theory and Political Analysis*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Howarth, David, and Jacob Torfing. 2005. *Discourse Theory in European Politics: Identity, Policy and Governance*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hunt, Stephen. 2003. *Alternative Religions: A Sociological Introduction*, Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Jenkins, Philip. 1992. *Intimate Enemies*. Hawthorne, NY: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Jenks, Chris. 1996. *Childhood*. London: Routledge.
- King, Lawrence, and Ivan Szelenyi. 2005. Post-Communist Economic Systems. In: Neil Smelser, and Swedberg, Richard. (eds.) *The Handbook of Economic Sociology*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Kosęła, Krzysztof. 2003. *Polak i katolik: splątana tożsamość*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN.
- Kośmicki, Eugeniusz. 1996. 'Mobbing – terror psychiczny w miejscu pracy.' In: *Przegląd Powszechny*, 6: 340-345.
- Kubiak, Anna. 2001. *Korupcja w doświadczeniu codziennym*. Warszawa: ISP.
- Kurczewski, Jacek, and Beata Łaciak (eds.). 2000. *Korupcja w życiu społecznym*. Warszawa: ISP.
- Laclau, Ernesto. 1983. 'The impossibility of society.' *Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory* 7: 21-24.
- Laclau, Ernesto. 1990. *New Reflections on Revolution of our Times*. London: Verso.
- Laclau, Ernesto. 2005. *On Populist Reason*. London: Verso.
- Laclau, Ernesto (ed.). 1994. *The Making of Political Identities*. London: Verso.
- Laclau, Ernesto, and Chantal Mouffe. 1985. *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*. London: Verso.
- Lefort, Claude. 1986. *The Political Forms of Modern Society*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Lefort, Claude. 1988. *Democracy and Political Theory*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- MacDonald, Robert, and Jacqueline Merchant. 1994. 'Youth and the Rave Culture, Ecstasy and Health.' *Youth Policy* 45: 16-38.
- Mandes, Sławomir, and Mirosława Marody. 2005. 'On Functions of Religion in Molding the National Identity of Poles.' *International Journal of Sociology* 35/4: 20-39.

- Marchart, Oliver. 2008. *Post-Foundational Political Thought*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Mariański, Janusz. 1998. *Kościół katolicki w społeczeństwie obywatelskim*. Lublin: RW KUL.
- Mariański, Janusz. 1999. Kryzys moralny czy transformacja wartości. In: Piotr Sztompka (ed.), *Imponderabilia wielkiej zmiany*. Kraków-Warszawa: PWN.
- Mariański, Janusz. 2001. Religijność w zmieniającym się społeczeństwie polskim. In: Józef Baniak (ed.), *Katolicyzm polski na przełomie wieków: mity, rzeczywistość, obawy, nadzieje*. Poznań: UAM.
- Mariański, Janusz. 2004. *Religijność społeczeństwa polskiego w perspektywie europejskiej: próba syntezy socjologicznej*. Kraków: Nomos.
- Mariański, Janusz. 2005. Religijność w społeczeństwie polskim w perspektywie zsekularyzowanej Europy. In: Włodzimierz Wesołowski, and Jan Włodarek, (eds.) *Kręgi integracji i rodzaje tożsamości: Polska, Europa, Świat*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar.
- Marody, Mirosława, Sławomir Mandes, Cezary Trutkowski, Dominik Batorski, and Maria Rogaczewska. 2004-2006. *Nowe reguły życia społecznego w sferze publicznej*. Grant badawczy KBN.
- Mikulska, Agnieszka. 2002. *Freedom of Conscience and Belief*. Warszawa: The Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights Report.
- Miszalska, Anita. 1996. *Reakcje społeczne na zmiany ustrojowe: postawy, zachowania i poczucia Polaków w początkach lat dziewięćdziesiątych*. Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego.
- Miszalska, Anita, and Andrzej Piotrowski (eds.). 2006. *Obszary ładu i anomii: konsekwencje i kierunki polskich przemian*. Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego.
- Mouffe, Chantal. 1993. *The Return of the Political*. London: Verso.
- Mouffe, Chantal. 2000. *The Democratic Paradox*. London: Verso.
- Mouffe, Chantal. 2005. *On the Political*. London: Routledge.
- Norval, Aletta. 2008. *The Aversive Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Parton, Nigel. 1985. *The Politics of Child Abuse*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Richardson, James, and Massimo Introvigne. 2001. 'Brainwashing Theories in European Parliamentary and Administrative Reports on Cults and Sects.' *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 40: 143-168.
- Smith, Anna. 1998. *Laclau and Mouffe: The Radical Democratic Imaginary*. New York: Routledge.
- Stavrakakis, Yannis. 1999. *Lacan and the Political*. London: Routledge.
- Szafraniec, Krystyna. 2003. Anomia okresu transformacji a orientacje normatywne młodzieży. Perspektywa międzygeneracyjna. In: Janusz Mariański (ed.), *Kondycja moralna społeczeństwa polskiego*. Kraków: WAM and Komitet Socjologii PAN.
- Szlendak, Tomasz. 2004. *Supermarketyzacja: religia i obyczaje seksualne młodzieży w kulturze konsumpcyjnej*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego.
- Sztompka, Piotr (ed.). 1999. *Imponderabilia wielkiej zmiany*. Warszawa-Kraków: PWN.
- Thompson, Kenneth. 1998. *Moral Panics*, London: Routledge.
- Thompson, Kenneth. 1997. *Media and Cultural Regulation*. London: Sage.

- Thornton, Sarah. 1995. *Club Cultures: Music, Media and Subcultural Capital*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Thornton Sarah, and Angela McRobbie. 1995. 'Rethinking Moral Panic for Multi-Mediated Social Worlds.' *British Journal of Sociology* 46(4): 559-574.
- Torring, Jacob. 1999. *New Theories of Discourse*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Van Dijk, Teun. 2008. *Discourse and Context*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Waddington, Peter. 1986. 'Mugging as a Moral Panic: A Question of Proportion.' *British Journal of Sociology* 37(2): 245-259.
- Weber, Max. 1996. *Protestant Ethic and Spirit of Capitalism*. Translated by Talcott Parsons. Los Angeles, CA: Roxbury.
- Weber, Max. 1972. *Die Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft: Grundriss der verstehenden Soziologie*. Tubingen: J.C.B. Mohr.
- Wittgenstein, Ludwig. 1953. *Philosophical Investigations*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Wuthnow, Robert. 2005. New Directions in the Study of Religion and Economic Life. In: Neil Smelser, and Richard Swedberg (eds.) *The Handbook of Economic Sociology*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Zdaniewicz, Witold, and Tadeusz Zembrzuski. 2000. *Kościół i religijność Polaków 1945-1999*. Warszawa: Instytut Statystyki Kościoła Katolickiego SAC.
- Zelizer, Viviana. 1979. *Morals and Markets*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Zelizer, Viviana. 1994. *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Value of Children*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Rafał Smoczyński is an assistant professor in the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences (since 2009). His field of interest includes sociology of religion and social control studies.