

Ryszard Praszquier, Ph.D., Hab.

**WHAT MAKES PROFOUND AND PEACEFUL SOCIAL TRANSITIONS?
A CASE OF SOLIDARITY: THE POLISH UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT**

II.2018/WP03

Table of Contents

ABOUT THE AUTHOR	3
ABSTRACT	4
INTRODUCTION	4
THEORETICAL BACKGROUND	6
NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS	6
THE POLISH SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT	7
SOCIAL CAPITAL, TRUST, AND BOTTOM-UP DEVELOPMENT	8
SOCIAL NETWORKS	9
Strength of Ties	9
Embeddedness	10
The Psychology of Establishing Weak Ties	10
HYPOTHESES	11
METHODOLOGY	11
INTERVIEWS	12
The Interview Subjects	12
The Interviews Analysis	13
SURVEY: THE TARGET GROUP	13
The Target Group's Subjects	13
SURVEY: THE SOCIALLY ACTIVE STUDENTS' GROUP	14
The Socially Active Group's Subjects	14
SURVEY: THE QUESTIONNAIRE	14
THE SURVEY ANALYSIS	15
RESULTS	15
INTERVIEWS	15
Interviews: Thematic Findings	15
Interview Raters' Evaluation	16
SURVEY	17
Embeddedness	17
Social Capital and Ties-Strength	17
Bottom-Up or Top-Down	18
The Bottom-Up / Top-Down Conviction and the Distribution of Social Capital and the Strength of Ties	18
CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION	19
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	21
REFERENCES	21

About the Authors

Ryszard Praszkiel, PhD hab., is an assistant professor at the Institute for Social Studies, University of Warsaw), a professor at the International Institute for Social & European Studies in Hungary (ISES) and a lecturer at the Polish Academy of the Psychology of Leadership. As an academic researcher he studies the dynamics of social change, specifically the mechanisms that make change durable and irreversible. His Ph.D. dissertation was on the specific personality traits and specific methods used by social entrepreneurs. He is also interested in the properties of social networks that support profound, peaceful social transitions – the cases of the Polish underground Solidarity and the American Civil Rights Movement. Dr. Praszkiel worked for Ashoka, Innovators for the Public for over 16 years; joined Ashoka in 1994 as a Country Director to launch Ashoka Poland; since 2000 he has been an international staff training director and, till now, a second opinion reviewer in the selection process to Ashoka Fellowship. He has authored and co-authored many articles, books and book chapters from leading publishers. During the 1980s, Ryszard participated in the Polish underground peaceful Solidarity movement, e.g. publicized under a false name an illegal manual for Solidarity activists “How to survive police interrogation.” Was a consultant for Solidarity candidates for the first free elections in 1989; in the early 1990’s was a co-founder of several grassroots NGO’s and still is on Board of some of them.

WHAT MAKES PROFOUND AND PEACEFUL SOCIAL TRANSITIONS?

A CASE OF SOLIDARITY: THE POLISH UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT

Abstract

In this article we analyze the factors that drive profound, successful and peaceful social transformations. Our case study is focused on Solidarity: the Polish Underground Movement. Specifically, our analysis is on the Movement network's bottom-up development, social capital, embeddedness and the strength of its ties.

The article includes an analysis of existing literature on peaceful social transitions and specific social movements, especially the Polish Solidarity Movement, followed by a review of the results of our interviews with and survey of Solidarity underground activists. The results reveal that the activists reached out, beyond their own close-knit social circles, and connected with other distant and diverse groups by establishing "weak ties." They bestowed the more weakly connected underground partners with social capital. This, in the long run, built social capital within the entire movement. Furthermore, most of them had a strong belief in the bottom-up development of their underground movement. The article concludes with a model of Profound and Peaceful Social Transitions based on weak ties, social capital and networks' embeddedness.

Introduction

Social change, if neither imposed from the outside nor being a result of major upheavals, seems an intriguing phenomenon, especially when based on endogenous social processes. It often happens that the activated societal dynamics are temporary and short-lived—bursting forth and, in fairly short order, fading away. In some cases, however, an autocatalytic process is ignited, and the results may outgrow any expectations. This occurrence is worth a closer look.

Social change here will be understood as a systemic transformation in patterns of thought, behavior, social relationships, institutions and social structure over time (see: Farley 2002; Macionis 2010; Sztompka 1993). Often the type of social change that empowers people and societies is aggregated through bottom-up initiatives, using methods that enable the unfolding of potentialities inherent in the system (Praszkie & Nowak 2012; Sztompka 1993). In some rare instances this sort of empowering social change leads to the emergence of new, deep-seated and enduring societal structures and mindset-shifts on national, regional or international levels. This kind of transformation, if introduced with solely non-violent methods, is here called "Profound and Peaceful Social Transition" (PPST). Needless to say, such a long-lasting, system-changing movement based on peoples' own initiatives has a significant influence on participants' attitudes, mentality and behavior; these points are elaborated upon in this article.

A good example of PPST might be Mahatma Gandhi's movement leading, in the beginning of the 20th century, to the liberation of the Indian sub-continent; it had a global impact on social movements. It happened so long ago that there are no remaining individual accounts reflecting bottom-up initiatives. We know, though, that one of the drivers of the Gandhi movement was *satyagraha*¹, a particular philosophy and practice generally known as nonviolence or civil

1 A term coined by Mahatma Gandhi, loosely translated as "insistence on truth" or "truth force."

resistance (Gandhi 2001; Brown 2008). On an individual level it involved a life committed to truth, chastity and hard work; in terms of action *satyagraha* employed non-violent measures to influence an opponent and, rather than force him into submission, convert him. Gandhi believed (correctly, as history revealed) that the individual *satyagrahas* will aggregate into an undefeated people's movement (Shridharani 1973).

Another example is the United States' Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s, which weeded out racial segregation and brought equality before the law, immensely changing the American and global social arena. The Civil Rights Movement was based on multiple civic initiatives, such as the bus boycott or the "Club from Nowhere" (founded by Georgia Gilmore, a midwife from Montgomery) that raised money, sold food to beauty parlors, and designated the profits to support the Montgomery Bus Boycott (Williams 2002). As for the latter, Martin Luther King (2001) wrote that a miracle had taken place: Instead of riding buses, boycotters self-organized a system of carpools. (Car owners volunteered their vehicles or themselves to drive people to various destinations.)

Authors studying the Civil Rights Movement indicate that this emerging bottom-up culture was constitutive, producing and solidifying trust, contacts, solidarity, rituals and meaningful systems (Andrews 2004, Morris 2006). Moreover, this culture spread through the networks, mobilizing and bringing "structural proximity" to the movement (McAdam 1999).

Both movements were peaceful, and people were empowered to take responsibility into their own hands to initiate bottom-up actions. This required increased self-confidence, cooperativeness and trust. Also, both movements had an immense impact on human history.

Participants in those movements had to change their attitudes, control their anger and their desire for revenge, and remain open to establishing new relationships. Gandhi's *satyagraha* recommended: Harbor no anger, but suffer the anger of the opponent. Refuse to return the assault of the opponent, and protect him from insult or attack, even at the risk of life². Moreover, the aforementioned Civil Rights Movement activist, Georgia Gilmore, said: "I was glad it was a success and nobody didn't get killed or injured or anything and uh, after the boycott we had a lot of white friends that we didn't realize that were really and truly interested..." (Williams, *ibid*³).

This article seeks to expand upon the notion of Profound and Peaceful Social Transitions, by providing an analysis of a recent, deep-seated, successful transformation: the Underground Solidarity Movement of the 1980s in Poland. This movement peacefully terminated a totalitarian regime and paved the way to freedom for other countries, e.g., East Germany and the fall of the Berlin Wall, while enduring the many hardships engendered by the imposition of martial law.

The Solidarity movement had significant political, historical and economic impacts. This article explores the structure of social communication and collaboration within the movement. It will show how the social network—created *ad hoc* by civil society, despite the absence of technical means of communication⁴—skillfully connected the entire society and enabled both local and national coordination. The question arises as to how, at the intersection of their various circles (personal, professional, local), so many individuals, under the crushing weight

2 Retrieved 03 June, 2014, from: <http://www.quietspaces.com/satyagraha.html>

3 Also see the interview with Georgia Gilmore at <http://digital.wustl.edu/e/eop/eopweb/gil0015.0383.041georgiagilmore.html>, retrieved Dec. 12, 2014.

4 The PPST phenomenon unfolded in an environment totally devoid of ICT (information and communications technology), with all communication media shut down or highly controlled. The entire telephone network was turned off; the mail was heavily censored; and all broadcast media were banned except for a few official propaganda sources; train travel was severely restricted and required special permission; and on the roads private cars were searched at frequent checkpoints.

of martial law, interwove their illegal networks. This article also examines these networks' weak and strong ties and their impact on the process of peaceful transformation. Finally, the hypothesis will be put forward that this PPST movement was created through people's involvement in a bottom-up process, which led to the buildup of social capital and was achieved through establishing weak ties among multiple and diverse groups, thus providing cross-strata connectivity throughout the entire country. This social capital, in the long run, became the backbone of the civil society, which was primed to take over and peacefully manage the transformation from a totalitarian to a democratic system.

Studying movements long after they have taken place provides a methodological challenge. The participants have either passed away or scattered around the world. Those available might be, at the time of the research, connected with diverse political, social, or professional groups and therefore be inclined to view memories of previous experience through the lens of their current social and political clashes, etc. This delivers an additional challenge: to identify and locate participants who will serve as subjects and to distill memories of past events from their current experience and attitudes.

In this situation we decided to rely on the literature analysis and support this review by drawing on existing, diverse and accessible resources: interviews with some Solidarity ex-activists and a survey of those who had been active in the Solidarity Movement and were accessible⁵.

Theoretical background

New Social Movements

Gandhi, Martin Luther King and the Solidarity activists all brought about profound and peaceful social transitions that grew out of a strong social commitment and identification with an overall vision. Though structurally, their respective organizations remained mostly informal. Martin Luther King (2001:189) wrote: "We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly."⁶

These sorts of movements do not fit neatly into the classical sociological definitions of social movements, which are primarily based on the concept of political and class struggles; rather, they fall under the rubric of the New Social Movement Theory (NSMT), usually around a Big Idea that emphasizes social issues and culture as both the arena and the means of protest, accomplished through the production of social relations, symbols, and identities based in the culture, rather than in economic production (Buechler, 1995,1999, 2011; Scott 1990). The backbones of these new social movements (NSMs) are networks that generate new kinds of identity, e.g., "resistance identity" or "project identity" (Castells 2010). Habermas (1985) complements this picture with his concept of "communicative action," which sheds more light on the way people communicate, interact, exercise trust and cooperate. He emphasizes the phenomenon of widespread, public participation, sharing of information, reaching consensus through public dialogue rather than exercise of power, avoiding empowerment of experts and bureaucrats, and replacing the model of the technical expert with one of the reflective planner. Although Habermas didn't use the term "social capital," his writings clearly relate to the process of building it (Bolton 2005), especially when he talks about "communicative action" designed to promote cooperation and common understanding in a group, as opposed to "strategic action" designed simply to achieve one's personal goals (Habermas, *ibid*).

5 In that way, applying a mixed methodology (Tashakkori & Teddlie 1998).

6 Letter from Birmingham Jail, written on April 16, 1963.

Moreover, this sort of communicative action usually involves “framing,” i.e., the building of symbolic meanings, which become central to a movement’s culture (Goffman 1981), lead to garnering bystanders’ support and, at the same time, disband antagonists (Snow & Benford 1988; Snow 2004). The framed beliefs supporting the Big Idea become “sedimented,” and essential for influencing, in a feedback loop, reality (Berger & Luckmann 1967).

What does it take for a New Social Movement to become sustainable, durable and system-changing, thereby achieving a Profound and Peaceful Social Transition? How do informal, spontaneous interactions become a powerful, well-oiled and finally successful movement, as opposed to short-lived, flash mob-like spurts of social unrest? It’s worth exploring the immense successes and the systemic changes brought about by the scaling up over time of some NSMs. Further, there are currently no studies on the structure and embeddedness of their networks, on the role of social capital, or on their bottom-up development.

The Polish Solidarity Movement

During the 1980s,⁷ the Solidarity movement successfully united the majority of the Polish society in a Gandhi-like, nonviolent operation. It overthrew the totalitarian regime and set in motion the wheels of freedom in other Central and Eastern European countries (Ash 2002; Kenney 2001; Kenney 2008; Kubik 1994; Osa 2003).

What enabled this movement—essentially leaderless (the original leaders were either in prison or in hiding), decentralized and unorganized—to become so utterly powerful, widespread and efficient (10 million out of a population of 40 million participated; Brown, 2003)? Especially that it came to fruition within a structure that was unconventional and erratic, with new groups constantly emerging and dissolving? How, for example, in the absence of any top-down management was it possible to publish regularly and widely disseminate illegally printed materials? How could educational services thrive underground? How did clandestine, illegal art exhibits and home-based theatrical performances thrive with actors who were banned from the stage? How can we explain the well-orchestrated national demonstrations of civil disobedience? For example, in big cities, people effectively boycotted the government-sponsored TV news: At exactly 7:30 p.m., when the broadcast began, people left their homes to take walks around their neighborhoods, socializing with other families along the way, until 8:00 p.m. sharp, when the nightly news ended and everybody returned home for dinner. The police were helpless, given that nobody was verbally or physically confronting the regime. However, the collective action taking place at a specific time had a powerful impact and sent a strong, albeit *sub rosa*, message. Furthermore, the publication and distribution of illegal materials was implemented nationwide, without the availability of printing presses or chemical ingredients for printing ink. Solidarity activists set up a secret technical unit charged with addressing these obstacles.

Additionally, they demonstrated an uncanny ability to experiment with whatever was available on the market. For example, they found a way to make printing ink by mixing cleaning agents and boot polish and a way to build portable printing equipment that could fit into a backpack. Manuals on how to fabricate the equipment were disseminated, and, consequently, thousands of small publishing units were tasked with the ongoing job of printing and disseminating illegal newsletters, magazines and banned books.⁸ Brown (2003) shows that it

7 From December 13, 1981, when martial law was imposed, until June 4, 1989, when the first free election took place. Prior to the martial law, the protests achieved a legal period for the Solidarity trade union (after the iconic Lech Walesa’s jump over the shipyard fence); a treaty was signed in August 1980, and the legal period of Solidarity lasted until December 1981.

8 An oral narrative recounts an incident when the secret police identified one of the backpackers and created a trap near the house where he was suspected of printing illegally. The Solidarity network (namely some local activists without any top-down leadership) spontaneously and agilely reacted by putting a few dozen walking backpackers on the nearby streets. This confused the police and allowed the real printing agent to escape.

was the strength of this private sphere, and the social cohesion resulting from it, that enabled people to constitute a civil society so rapidly. The rich variety of flourishing independent social organizations, e.g., discussion clubs, political forums, illegal educational activities and home theaters, countered the totalitarian system's attempts to control the public sphere and, ironically, empowered the civic sphere as a whole.

To be sure, there was a heavy police presence, but for the most part, the Solidarity movement survived their arrests and physical assaults. How was this possible? Does the answer lie in the shared determination to stand up for freedom, without the use of violence? Or does the answer lie in Poland's centuries-long history of battling invaders and the self-organizing tradition it engendered? According to Osa (2003:179), "In authoritarian systems, networks must play an additional role: social networks must substitute for media when a society lacks a free press. Since information is the basic currency for social action [...] government authorities move quickly to cut telephone and telex lines, jam radio broadcasts, and shut down post offices...."

In the case of Solidarity, many of the important undertakings were organized *ad hoc*, using personal and professional networks (Friszke 2006). One example of this comes from Gdańsk:⁹ B.H., one of the activists,¹⁰ was asked during the martial law period by one of the underground leaders¹¹ to organize an illegal broadcast, *Radio Solidarity*, without any detailed instructions of how to do it. He was told, "Just do it, you will know how." B. H. developed his own plan and assembled a team. He would write the news then have a female friend read and record it and make copies of the recording on three separate tapes. He would then board a crowded train, where another person (whom he barely knew) would take the tapes out of his pocket and place them in three portable tape recorders, each of which was stored in a different suitcase, together with homemade broadcasting equipment. Finally, the suitcases were placed on three roofs in different areas and set to play at the time of the official TV news, in effect jamming the audio track of the regime's propaganda. After the broadcast, a different team not known to B.H. (except for a loose connection with its leader), would observe whether the police detected the suitcases. If the coast was clear, they would collect them for further use.

As this narrative shows, these endeavors were complex and highly effective and were organized in a bottom-up fashion based on personal initiatives and connections. In addition, these undertakings were accomplished by many self-driven, creative entrepreneurs who knew how to weave their networks and coordinate human interaction. This bottom-up, self-organizing process is one of the variables this research explores.

Social Capital, Trust, and Bottom-up Development

It is entirely plausible that an unintended result of the movement was the buildup of social capital, which is considered to be a critical factor in the ability to sustain bottom-up mechanisms (Woolcock 1998). Trust, a pivotal variable for building social capital (Bourdieu 2003; Coleman 2000; Fukuyama 1996), mutually reinforces societal development. To wit: Higher trust yields better results, which in turn raises the trust level and, in a feedback loop, influences further results (Putnam 1993). Trust probably played a key role in Solidarity, especially in the establishment of multiple relationships within and among groups of diverse social strata, professions, locations, ages and education. The continuous aggregation of individual relationship enabled the emergence of *social trust* (Tyler 2003; Cook *et al.* 2005), building cohesiveness in the diverse society.

9 The region where Solidarity was born in August 1980.

10 Interviewed during the field-preparation phase of this research.

11 Lech Kaczynski, later, in the mid-2000s, the president of Poland.

Social capital empowers people and societies to take matters into their own hands. The power of bottom-up change mechanisms is seen as pivotal in the act of introducing social change (McAdam *ibid*; Piven 2008). This is a point of view that is supported by many endeavors in the social arena, e.g., in efforts to promote efficiency in delivering quality health care (Carey 2000; Edwards *et al.* 2003), or to eradicate poverty in rural areas (e.g., in Bangladesh; Blair 2005).

In fact, it's highly likely that a closer look at the Solidarity movement might reveal multiple individuals behaving as creative entrepreneurs, weaving trusting networks and building lasting, and probably irreversible, social capital—a critical aspect of the movement that remained as a durable societal asset in addition to the more immediate goal of individual freedom from tyranny. Indeed, in the long run the movement led to a process of lasting transformation not only during the underground period (1981–1989) but also during the peaceful power shift to a democratic, market-oriented society that began in 1989 and continues today.

The conjecture is that the Solidarity network changed the properties of the social system by modifying such parameters as trust and the propensity for cooperation, both of which build social capital (Praszkier *et al.* 2009; Praszkier & Nowak 2012).

Social Networks

The networks woven by the Solidarity underground activists survived and thrived for nearly a decade, in spite of police surveillance, arrests and severe blows to the structures. This indicates that those networks were resilient and impervious to failure, a property called *robustness* (see: Barabási, 2003). The diverse quality of relationships, i.e. strong and weak, may have contributed to this sort of robustness.

Strength of Ties

To weave the connections among members of one's close-knit circles, as well as between those circles and diverse social strata requires a variety of connections—some strong, as between family members, friends, long-term professional colleagues or neighbors; and some weak, with recently formed liaisons, connectors or representatives of different and distant groups.

The research carried out in the 1960s by Mark Granovetter revealed that the connections that proved most effective in conducting a job search were not close friends but distant acquaintances; this discovery led to the concept of the “strength of weak ties” (Barabási 2003; Granovetter 1973). Granovetter defines the strength of a tie as a combination of four indicators: its longevity, its emotional intensity, the intimacy quotient, and the reciprocal services¹². Granovetter (1973, 1983) holds that a weak tie becomes a crucial bridge between two densely knit clusters of close friends. One member of a group of close friends having a weak relationship with a member of another close-knit group connects all members of both groups. Hence, the significance of weak ties is that they are far more likely than strong ones to bridge the gap between groups—even between distant network participants or groups.

Moreover, a lack of weak ties deprives a close-knit group of information from distant parts of the social system. Those who lack these weak ties are confined to the provincial news and views of their close friends and are thus isolated from the latest ideas and trends. One possible consequence of this is that they will find themselves at a disadvantage in the labor market, where time is of the essence when it comes to seizing opportunities for advancement. They'll also be poorly integrated into political or other goal-oriented movements (Granovetter, 1973, 1983, 1995). Social systems lacking weak ties will be fragmented and incoherent (Granovetter 1983).

12 Granovetter's (*ibid*) caveat: this combination is probably “an intuitive judgment.”

Strong ties are relationships among people who work, live or play together; they engender a tendency for group members to think alike and reduce the diversity of ideas (Porter, 2007). Establishing weak ties requires cognitive flexibility and an ability to function in complex organizations. Weak ties not only provide access to heterogeneous resources but also enhance a person's opportunity for mobility (Granovetter 1973, 1995; Lin 2001; Praszquier 2012).

Granovetter's studies confirmed that not only did weak ties result in greater job opportunities, but also that those who found jobs through strong ties were far more likely to have had a period of unemployment between jobs than those using weak ties (1983, 1995). This finding indicates a higher durability of the transformation results, based on diverse strengths of ties.

In the Solidarity Movement, there were strong as well as weak ties. The former provided security and mutual support, and the latter enabled connections among various, often distant, circles and strata. Strong ties served as *bonding* mechanisms (according to Putnam, 2000, bonding relations build internal connectivity), helping people to survive the decades-long oppression with the support of trusted friends and family members. The new phenomenon of weak ties added the *bridging* (Putnam, *ibid*, defines bridging as linking groups and communities with the outer world) function to the social capital (see: Grootaert *et al.* 2004). Both bonding and bridging mechanisms, balancing strong and weak ties (Praszquier, *ibid*), most likely assured the durability of Solidarity's underground success.

Weak ties, newly formed, but lasting in the long run, presumably became the bedrock of the new societal context, which influenced people's mindsets and attitudes. For example, they were more likely to communicate, share, cooperate and adopt creative solutions to seemingly unsolvable problems posed by the harsh reality of martial law and life in the underground and, later, to the social and economic transformations after 1989.

Embeddedness

When the imposition of martial law limited technological means of communication, underground connections were established with existing resources, i.e., people's immediate social circles. Over time, however, the connections grew over a broader landscape, eventually reaching lesser-known, or even unknown, circles. We can say that the initial underground networks were *embedded* at the intersection of various personal groups, including family members.

Embeddedness has been defined as the degree to which individuals or firms are enmeshed in a social network (a concept coined by Granovetter 1985) or are located within a larger entity or context (Moody & White 2003). The embedded nature of social behavior determines the way in which action happens and is based in the existing social context (Aldrich & Zimmer 1986).

Individuals who are embedded in diverse networks are more likely to be innovative than those who rely on homogenous ties (Ruef 2002). This brings to mind the creative and entrepreneurial spirit of the Solidarity activists, which can no doubt be attributed to the way individuals were positioned in and among diverse groups. However, the paradoxical nature of embeddedness is such that while an initial increase of relational ties leads to efficiency of action, when actors are too highly embedded, their degree of effectiveness diminishes (Uzzi 1996; 1999). This phenomenon suggests that an optimal degree of embeddedness must exist. It's possible that the initial, highly embedded underground networks became, over time, increasingly connected to new groups, which then diluted the initial strong ties.

The Psychology of Establishing Weak Ties

There is some discussion in the literature relating to the psychology of establishing weak ties. For example, Granovetter (1983) holds that establishing weak links requires cognitive flexibility

and a capacity to maintain a diffused level of empathy. He also notes that weak ties have a special role in a person's propensity for mobility.

Csermely (2009) maintains that there are two types of personalities: "stronglinkers" and "weaklinkers." Stronglinkers tend to rely on family links and just a few good friends, in other words, reliable, lifelong contacts. They find it difficult to change their mindsets, as they are generally rigid and usually fold new concepts into pre-set notions, and they are rather intolerant.

Weaklinkers, on the other hand, have friends from wide and diverse circles. They have a high tolerance for varied ideas, emotions and attitudes, and they're comfortable interacting with a large number of people. They're flexible and highly adaptive to new information and unfamiliar environments. Stronglinkers perform better and are more creative in a highly structured environment, whereas weaklinkers are creative in diffuse structures.

While a solid understanding of these personality types awaits further research, they sound justified, when seen through the lens of the theory regarding fixed vs. malleable human attributes. Chiu *et al.* (1997) and Dweck (2000, 2006) assert that there are individuals who believe in the malleability of people and the world and who are convinced that it's possible to effect change, not only in structures or procedures, but most of all in people's mindsets, so that they become carriers of a new concept. Various experiments document that belief in changeability is a predictor of flexibility, whereas, belief in a fixed perspective is a predictor of social stereotyping (Levy *et al.* 1998). Believers in the phenomenon of malleability are open to learning from failures and trials (Dweck 2000) and tend to thrive on challenges: the bigger the challenge the more they are able and eager to stretch themselves (Dweck 2006).

Because they strongly believed in the possibility of change both in the political system and in the people's mindsets, Solidarity's weaklinkers were open to facilitating links with people outside their close-knit circles—people who were not well known and who had not been "vetted." For nearly a decade they operated on shaky ground in a flexible manner, ready to take risks and to learn from failures.

Hypotheses

Following our literature survey we proposed the following hypotheses concerning the Solidarity Underground Movement. First, that its structure would have consisted of embedded networks and diverse (strong and weak) links between and among different individuals, groups, and social strata. Secondly, that most of the underground activists would have had a conviction that the movement was developing in a bottom-up manner, which, in turn, prompted them to be pro-active and innovative. Thirdly, that most of the Solidarity activists were prepared to trust others and had a propensity to cooperate with people far beyond their close-knit circles, e.g., family or proven friends, and even with less well-known or even previously unknown activists (weak ties).

Methodology

The research was designed to be conducted in two stages:

The first stage was to carry out structured interviews with a few, well-chosen Solidarity ex-activists. The goal of this stage was three-fold: (1) to assemble a better knowledge of the context of the underground Solidarity Movement; (2) to receive testimonies of concrete, illustrative situations and, (3) to develop knowledge that would enable the construction of a questionnaire.

The second stage was a survey based on this questionnaire.

Interviews

Initially, it seemed that timing would impede the ability to verify these hypotheses. The research was carried out in 2011, 30 years after the underground Solidarity movement began and 22 years after it succeeded. Clearly, the passage of so much time could affect the memories of the participants, especially regarding the details critical to understanding the structure of the networks. However, the pilot interviews revealed that the interlocutors had no difficulty recalling their days in the Movement, and it became clear that they identified deeply with the roles that they played at the time.

Three pilot sessions with the leaders were aimed at mapping the underground structures. This led to the development of a script for use in further interviews with eight additional activists. The script was structured around the subjects' social circles involved in the underground activities, the kinds of relationships they formed, especially with regard to the issue of trust, and how the network developed. It turned out, however, that the subjects' emotional identification with their Solidarity years, although helpful for recalling the memories, created an obstacle: Subjects were frequently more interested in sharing their memories than adhering to the structure of the interview script.

The Interview Subjects

Eight subjects were selected to represent the diversity of the activists, as well as their various levels of involvement. They included two high-level leaders, one mid- and five low-level activists—six females and two males all together. Their ages at the time of the underground activity ranged from 27 to 47 ($M=33.25$; $SD=6.14$); 50 percent of the subjects were high school graduates and 50 percent held a master's degree. Four subjects were selected from Warszawa, the capital city, and four from Walbrzych, a small remote town in southwest Poland. Their occupations were university assistant (two), blue-collar worker (two), nurse, librarian, rehabilitation technician, and teacher (table 1).

Table 1. The interviews' subjects

Subject	Age at the time of underground activity	Sex	Occupation at the time of the underground activity
s1	30	female	university assistant
s2	30	female	Nurse
s3	25	female	university assistant
s4	27	male	blue collar, underground leader in hiding, Walesa's deputy
s5	33	male	blue collar
s6	32	female	physical rehabilitation technician
s7	31	female	Librarian
s8	36	female	Teacher

The Interviews Analysis

The analysis of the interviews was based on the responses relative to particular hypotheses. Additionally, an external evaluation was made by independent raters who were asked to read

the interviews and answer five questions rating them “not at all” – 1, “not much” – 2, “somewhat” – 3, and “definitely yes” – 4. The questions were:

1. Was the subject’s underground activity embedded in various overlapping circles?
2. Did the subject trust well-known persons with whom she/he collaborated?
3. Did the subject trust the persons who were loosely connected?
4. In the subject’s opinion, were the weak connections important for the underground activities?
5. Was the development of the underground network based mainly on a bottom-up process?

Survey: the Target Group

Our first challenge was to identify and locate ex-Solidarity activists who were scattered to various parts of the globe and in different social strata. From our interviews, we learned that the ex-Solidarity activists predominantly felt embittered for having been abandoned and unsupported, causing many to struggle to make ends meet. We were concerned this might make them unwilling to respond to the questionnaire. Additionally, during the last 30 years, since Poland regained independence, numerous political conflicts have fostered an increased prejudice against polls and questionnaires, often perceived as manipulative. Also, there currently exists an active Trade Union named “Solidarity,” which takes political stances, and that causes confusion. And finally, it was likely that these concerns would influence not only the willingness of subjects to reply but also the opinions they expressed.

We decided to identify a national organization, preferably politically neutral, which would be most likely to have among its members some of the ex-Solidarity activists. We identified The Association of Freedom of Speech¹³, which has 644 members, some of them ex-Solidarity activists¹⁴, located not only in various Polish regions but also in Europe and U.S. The questionnaire was distributed electronically, in the Excel worksheet format¹⁵, by the board of this association. It included letters of support from the University of Warsaw authorities.

The Target Group’s Subjects

27 ex-Solidarity activists responded to the questionnaire.

Table 2. Survey: The target group subjects

Table 2a. Sex

Sex (No=27)	Frequency	Percent
Male	19	70
female	7	26
didn’t fill	1	4

Table 2b. Age

Age	Max	Min	M	SD
(No=26, 1 didn’t fill)	44	10	30.3	7.43

13 In Polish: Stowarzyszenie Wolnego Słowa, www.sws.org.pl

14 As for April 30, 2014; see: www.sws.org.pl/index.php/component/content/article/107-lista-czlonkow-sws

15 This format was recommended as the easiest version to handle by the respondents, most of which presumably wouldn’t be familiar with other forms, e.g., SurveyMonkey.

Table 2c. Education

Education at the time of the underground activity (No=27)	Frequency	Percent
high school	10	37
BA or MA	16	59
Didn't fill	1	4

Survey: the Socially Active Students' Group

Because of the Solidarity activists' current ages and the time since the incidents (30 years), no adequate control group was identified. However, to understand the way other groups might respond to the same questionnaire, we identified a non-comparative group of socially active undergraduate students. This cohort was chosen in order to see (a) how the questionnaire applied to different social strata; and (b) how similar variables were currently reflected within a completely different, though socially active, group. The questionnaire was distributed by the Dean of the Social Science Department of the University of Gdansk with letters of support from the University of Warsaw authorities and a message indicating that it was addressed to socially active students.

The Socially Active Group's Subjects

33 socially active students responded to the questionnaire.

Table 3. The socially active group's subjects

Table 3a. Sex

Sex (No=33)	Frequency	Percent
male	1	3.03
female	32	96.97

Table 3b. Age

Age (No=33)	Max	Min	M	SD
	57	18	23.85	8.86

Survey: The Questionnaire

The questionnaire was constructed in sections; the first addressed the networks' embeddedness, and the second dealt with the properties of relationships: social capital and the strength of ties.

Questions related to the networks' embeddedness addressed both the kinds of the networks (family, local, job etc.) as well as the number of people in the intersections of various pairs of networks. From the interviews, the following circles were identified as most important and listed in the questionnaire: Family and Friends, Job (professional), Local (neighborhood), Solidarity (new underground connections), and Other (to be named).

In the second section, the respondent was prompted to list up to 30 persons with whom she or he collaborated in underground activities during the Solidarity period (by pseudonym,

so that the listed persons remained anonymous) and quantify questions related to social capital and the strength of ties (mixed).

In the first case (social capital), the validity of the questions was based on the questionnaire substantiated in our previous research (Praszkier *et al.* 2009; Zablocka-Bursa & Praszkier 2012).

The latter (strength of ties) was more challenging. As mentioned in the Theoretical Section, Mark Granovetter in the article in which he coined and introduced the concept of the power of weak ties indicated that it is an intuitive judgment. The considerable ambiguity and inconsistency in this definition fails to fully elucidate how the four indicators combine to create tie strength. In other words what “weight” do we assign them, or does each count equally (Krackhardt 1992). This intuitive set of four dimensions has been applied, differently, for over three decades by several researchers (Petróczy *et al.*, 2007). Reviewing and drawing from those researches, Petróczy and his team have developed a seemingly comprehensive questionnaire in their study (Petróczy *et al.*, *ibid*). The initial Granovetter concept and Petróczy’s study became sources for constructing the strength-of-ties part of the questionnaire in our research¹⁶.

The Survey Analysis

Each of the respondents could describe relationships with up to 30 people with whom she or he collaborated underground. The delineation of each contact consisted of seven mixed questions, which characterized two variables: social capital and the tie-strength.

Social capital was defined as the sum of replies to questions related to asking for advice, asking for helping in finding a job, asking for a loan and willingness to meet after many years. Strength of ties was defined as a sum of replies to questions related to the frequency of connections, reciprocity and readiness to confide. Coding of those parameters is presented in the appendix.

The data was analyzed using two-factor analysis of variance.

Results

Interviews

Interviews: Thematic Findings

Below are quotations from the interviews in which Subjects confirmed the following themes:

Bottom-Up Development

“When there were no leaders, nobody to assemble around, we simply started to undertake several actions with my neighbor, just to demonstrate that Solidarity exists” – (s#5; subject’s number as in Table 1).

“We organized ourselves spontaneously, based on people’s ideas, especially at the beginning when there were no coordinated plans and when the leaders were interned, though people wanted to do something. And we did, exposing ourselves to danger” – (s#6).

“The Solidarity members organized themselves bottom-up as a reaction to the attempt to deprive us of the minimal independence we achieved before; it looked like social self-organizing” – (s#8).

“My underground activity derived from my values and beliefs, and at the beginning was totally spontaneous; nobody pushed or talked me into it” – (s#7).

The Limited Top-Down Leadership

16 The author received permission from Prof. Petróczy to use this questionnaire.

“The top-down leadership was limited to maintaining boundaries, e.g., that the movement remain peaceful (some wanted to dig up guns buried after the Second World War) or that the relief aid to families of arrested activists not be endangered by other actions, e.g., that in relief places no illegal printing be allowed” – (s#4).

The Networks’ Embeddedness

“The first days after martial law was declared, I was hiding out, totally alone. The challenge was how to reconnect, given that telephones were locked and everything was bugged. The idea was to establish connection through a different and seemingly distant group: the railway men. They travel frequently, and they have their internal telephones on; this link worked out perfectly” – (s#4).

“...At some point, when I was very much involved in various underground activities, someone from outside came and asked me to store some funds for a representative of a completely different network, and I did it...” (s#3).

“...There were family and neighborhood circles involved, professional connections, also friends from my old school” – (s#7).

“To establish international connections, we reached out to the mountaineers and speleologists who were frequently traveling abroad” – (s#4).

“The most amazing was the collaboration between academicians and blue-collar workers, e.g., professors with miners, which was unimaginable before Solidarity. Surprisingly, they well understood each other, and the regime particularly feared this sort of connection, as it was loaded with high energy” – (s#8).

“People from many networks, also those whom I just met, helped me, knowing about my disability” – (s#3).

Weak Ties and Trust

“...There were apartments needed as dead-letter drops and for storage of illegal materials. Those places and their hosts were found through a highly trusted chain of connections; it was, for example, someone’s aunt or cousin, or a friend of a friend” – (s#1).

“There were always new persons joining the network, usually recommended by someone, and I always had a basic initial ‘trust package’ for them” – (s#7).

“A strong component of our activity was relief actions addressing the families of those arrested. We established a chain of relations to find our way and provide aid for those in need” – (s#8).

“In my apartment there was a logistic node for distributing illegal publications. I was visited by dozens of unknown or hardly known colporteurs, who handled the handouts to other intermediaries, and all that wouldn’t not have worked without our trusting each other” – (s#2).

“I often collaborated with Solidarity members at the physical factories, especially in Katowice and Wroclaw” – (s#3).

Additionally, interviewees mentioned the movement’s ubiquity: “At that time I wasn’t aware that in the vicinity there were many groups involved in underground activities; I learned about it only after 1989, when we could bring all that to light” – (s#2). “We all had small, electronic resistors pinned on our clothes, symbolizing the resistance movement” – (s#6).

Interview Raters’ Evaluation

All five variables were rated between ‘somewhat’ (3) and ‘definitely yes’ (4), see Table 4:

Table 4. Raters' evaluation; Possible answers: not at all - 1; not much – 2; somewhat – 3; definitely yes – 4.

	Scale	M	SD
1	Was the subject's underground activity embedded in various overlapping circles?	3.2	0.2
2	Did the subject trust well-known persons with whom she/he collaborated?	3.5	0.2
3	Did the subject trust the persons who were loosely connected?	3.0	0.2
4	In the subject's opinion, were the weak connections important for the underground activities?	3.2	0.2
5	Was the development of the underground network based mainly on a bottom-up process?	3.6	0.1

Survey

Embeddedness

49 percent of the ex-Solidarity underground activists indicated that the possible intersections of the five networks are not empty. The most "populated" intersections were: Job / Profession and the new Solidarity connections (79.2 percent indicated that this is a non-empty set), Family / Friends and Solidarity (75 percent) and Family / Friends and Job / Profession (70.8 percent). The least populated was the intersection between Job / Profession and Other (20.8 percent); (M=49 percent, SD=0.23).

Interestingly, within the students' group the three most populated intersections in their social engagement were Family / Friends and Job / University (50 percent), Local and Job / University (46.4 percent) and Family / Friends and Local (37.9percent); only 31.3 percent indicated that the possible intersections are not empty (M=31.3; SD=0.15).

Social Capital and Ties-Strength

The key question was how the Solidarity activists distribute social capital to individuals with whom they collaborated in underground activities, especially how it was distributed between well-known, somewhat known, and barely known people. The graph below shows that, naturally, the best known people (high ties strength) were related to the highest social capital; however, social capital attributed to the least known individuals (low ties strength) was higher than social capital attributed to those who were somewhat known.

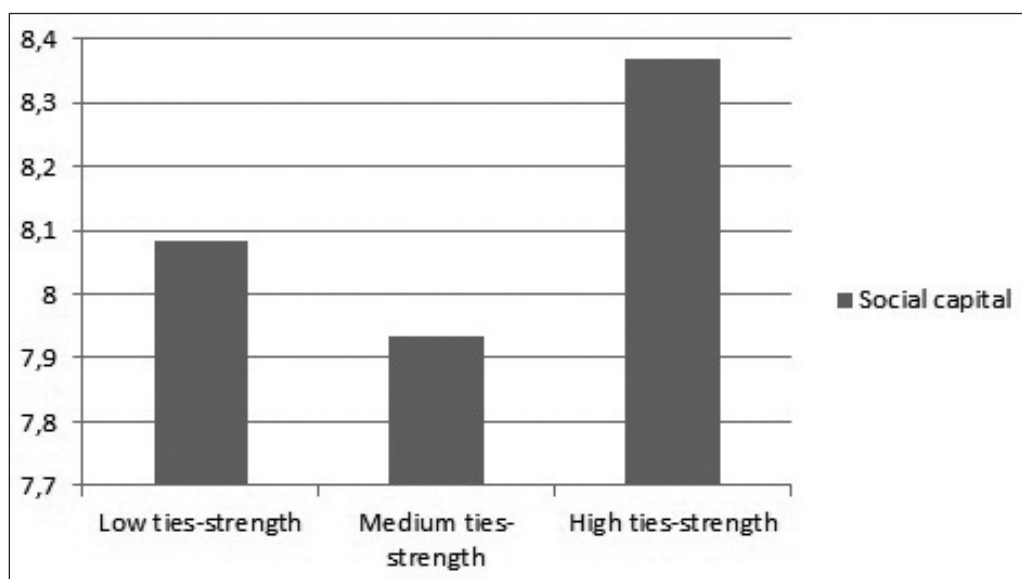


Figure 1. Solidarity activists: the distribution of social capital depending on the ties-strength.

Interestingly, peeking into the students' group, we see that social capital is attributed mostly to somewhat-known individuals; whereas the best-known individuals are attributed with the lowest level of social capital:

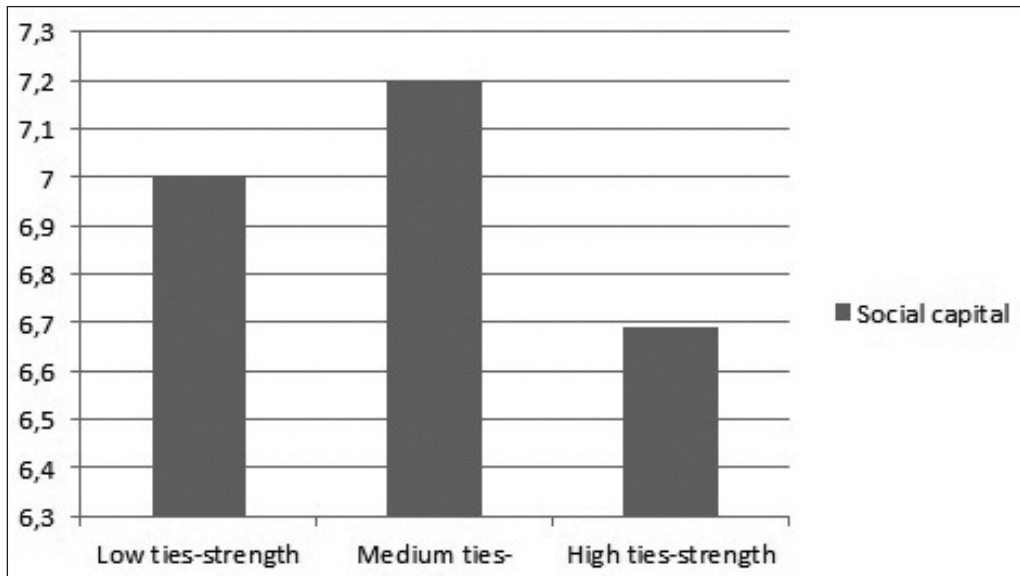


Figure 2. Student social activists: the distribution of social capital depending on the ties-strength.

Bottom-Up or Top-Down

76.9 percent of the Solidarity Underground activists declared their conviction that the development of the movement was based on bottom-up initiatives (23.1 percent were convinced that it was managed in a top-down way). Whereas, 61.3 percent of students reported that their social activity is based on bottom-up initiatives, and 38.7 percent believed it to be by top-down control.

The Bottom-Up / Top-Down Conviction and the Distribution of Social Capital and the Strength of Ties

Below is the chart illustrating how, in the Solidarity Underground activities, the bottom-up / top-down conviction influences the distribution of social capital between relationships with weak and strong ties:

Figure 3. Solidarity underground activists: the distribution of social capital to weak and strong linked relationships based on the top-down or bottom-up conviction.

This indicates that those Solidarity activists who believed in the bottom-up development of their movement were more likely to attribute social capital to less familiar persons than those who believed in top-down development. Moreover, as shown in the first case, social capital was attributed to the weakly linked individuals more often than to the strongly linked ones.

Looking into similar distribution of social capital within the students' group brings different results:

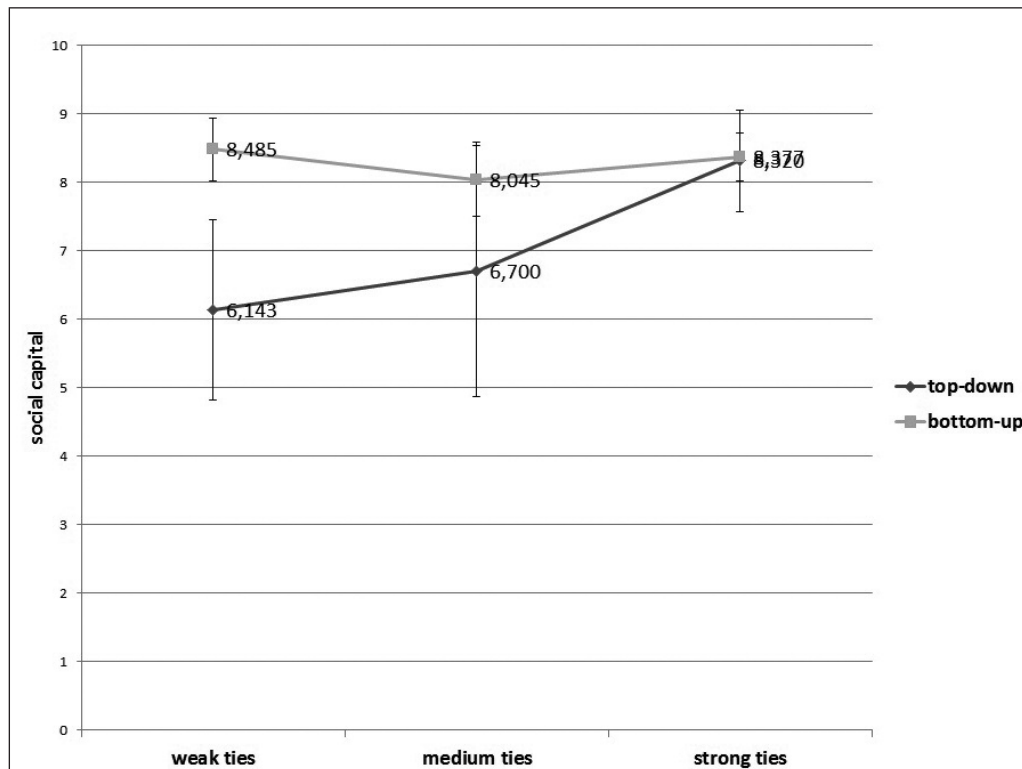


Figure 4. Students: the distribution of social capital to weak and strong linked relationships based on the top-down or bottom-up conviction.

In this case the conviction that social movements develop from the top down leads to a greater attribution of social capital than a belief in bottom-up development; furthermore, the highest level of social capital is attributed to the medium-level or somewhat linked individuals.

Conclusions and Discussion

Our difficulty in doing this research was identifying ex-Solidarity activists who were scattered to various locations around the world, the 30 years that had elapsed since the events, and the social strata that limited the size of the target group. The way we overcame these challenges was to carry on a mixed methodology, through literature analysis, interviews and survey. The three sources together provided a cohesive vision of the considered properties of the Underground Solidarity networks.

All those sources confirmed that the majority of Solidarity underground activists believed that their movement developed as a bottom-up process. According to the interviewees, the top-down leadership was limited to keeping their boundary values intact, such as nonviolence or care for the needy families of arrested activists. The conjecture is that this bottom-up development favored attitudes of co-responsibility and co-ownership, which reinforced the values of civic participation and engagement.

It was also shown that the activists' diverse networks (family and former schoolmates, local or professional connections, etc.) were highly embedded, linking diverse groups and social strata and, over time, most likely enabling the exchange of information and ideas between groups and an enforced openness and preparedness for cross-group cooperation.

The reported diverse (strong and weak) ties between and among different individuals and groups most likely enabled the development of the aforementioned tolerant and open "weaklinkers" personality. The coexistence of strong and weak ties may also have enabled an

adaptive societal balance, as both strong and weak bonds play a significant role in building harmony between cohesion and openness (Csermely 2009; Praszkiar 2012).

Finally, social capital was attributed to the underground collaborators regardless of the strength of ties, which means also the least known connections. Moreover, those who believed in the bottom-up development of the Solidarity movement attributed more social capital to weaker-tied relationships than to the strong ones; while those who believed in top-down development attributed more social capital to their close-knit circles.

The mechanisms driving people to trust strangers even more than close friends is worth further analysis. One hypothesis lies in the ethos of the Solidarity paradigm, i.e., people’s solidarity and a strongly shared belief in the grand idea of freedom. The conviction that the movement was in their own hands led to a breakthrough momentum. This leap of faith—after which the ever-present possibility of entrapment became secondary, especially with multiple and diverse connections “outside”—provided a feeling of identity and a strong point of reference, making it much easier to survive the hardship of police interrogations. However, for those whose conviction was that the movement was controlled in a top-down way, by trusting mostly their close-knit circles, minimizing the risk of entrapment was a priority.

This set of properties most likely contributed to the buildup of civic social capital, which helped in the final peaceful roundtable discussions between Solidarity and the totalitarian government (1989). The Solidarity side was ready for a peaceful takeover, which gradually happened, leading to a major economic and social transition toward full democracy and a market-based economy.

Based on the literature’s analysis, interviews and the survey, the following Profound and Peaceful Social Transition model has been created, displaying how a New Social Movement organized around a big, compelling social idea, through establishing trusted weak ties, the embeddedness of those networks, and belief in bottom-up development, led to long-lasting social change:

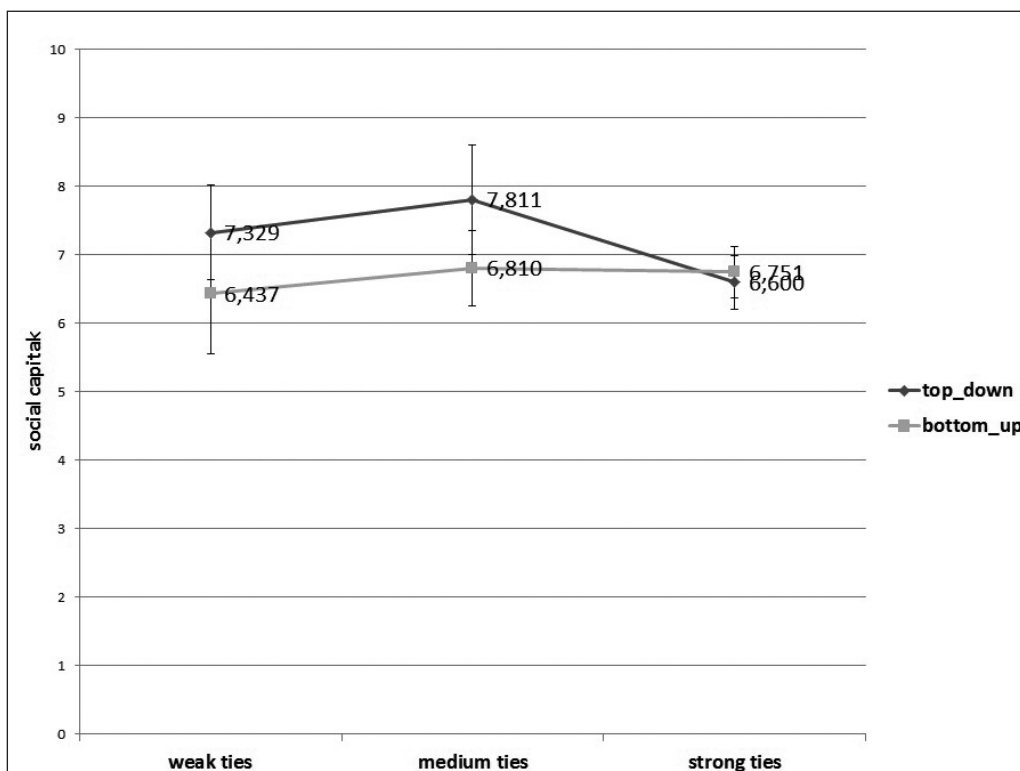


Figure 5. Visualization of the social mechanisms associated with the Profound Peaceful Social Transitions which lead to enduring social change.

It may be worth exploring further the conjecture that the combination of all these factors (bottom-up development, embeddedness of networks, a balance between trusted weak and strong ties) not only contributed to the peaceful takeover but also, when accumulated over a longer period (more than eight years in the case of Solidarity) irreversibly influenced societal attitudes in the direction of taking responsibility, being active and contributing to the civil society's development. This made for a sharp contrast with the Communist-regime propaganda, where the prevailing attitude was a kind of "zero-sum-game," in which outstanding individuals were blamed for succeeding at the expense of others. In addition, the Communists brainwashed the people into waiting for the government to solve their problems rather than taking responsibility for their own lives, which resulted in an overwhelming degree of passivity (Praszkiar 1996).

It would also be worth verifying whether similar interviews with the participants of the American Civil Rights Movement would confirm analogous results. Correspondingly, other Profound and Peaceful Social Transitions, such as social entrepreneurs' projects, would be worth exploring from this viewpoint.

Acknowledgements

Thanks to David Brée, Ph.D., Mary Herman, Cheryl Middleton, Gayle Keck and Paul Herman for their helpful comments. Also thanks to Helen Taylor for her editorial contribution.

References

- Aldrich, H. E. & Zimmer, C. (1986). Entrepreneurship through social networks. In D. Sexton & R. Smilor (Eds.), *The art and science of entrepreneurship* (pp. 3–23). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Ballinger Publishing Company.
- Andrews, K. T. (2004). *Freedom is a Constant Struggle. Freedom Is a Constant Struggle*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press.
- Ash, T. G. (2002). *The Polish Solidarity*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Barabási, A. L. (2003). *Linked*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: A Plume Book.
- Berger, P. L. & Luckmann, T. (1967). *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Blair, H. (2005). Civil society and pro-poor initiatives in rural Bangladesh: finding a workable strategy. *World Development*, 33(6), 921–936. doi:10.1016/j.worlddev.2004.09.011
- Bolton, R. (2005, February). Habermas's theory of communicative action and the theory of social capital. Paper delivered at the meeting of Western Regional Science Association, San Diego, California. Retrieved 11 December 2014 from <http://web.williams.edu/Economics/papers/Habermas.pdf>
- Bourdieu, P. (2003). The Forms of Capital. In A. H. Halsey, H. Lauder, P. Brown & A. S. Wells (Eds.) *Education: Culture, Economy, and Society* (pp. 46–58). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Brown, B. (2003). *The Private Revolution: Women in the Polish Underground Movement*. London: Hera Trust.
- Brown, J. M. (2008). *Gandhi and Civil Disobedience: The Mahatma in Indian Politics 1928-1934*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Buechler, S. M. (1995). New social movement theories. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 36(3), 441-464.
- Buechler, S. M. (1999). *Social Movements in Advanced Capitalism: The Political Economy and Cultural Construction of Social Activism*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

- Buechler, S. M. (2011). *Understanding Social Movements: Theories from the Classical Era to the Present*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers.
- Carey, P. (2000). Community health promotion and empowerment. In J. K. (Ed.), *Community Health Promotion: Challenges for Practice* (pp. 27–50). Oxford: Bailliere Tindall.
- Castells, M. (2010). *The Power of Identity: The Information Age: Economy, Society, and Culture*. Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Chiu, C., Dweck, C. S., Tong, J. Y. & Fu, J. H. (1997). Implicit theories and conceptions of morality. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 73(5), 923–940. doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.73.5.923
- Csermely, P. (2009). *Weak links: the universal key to the stability of networks and complex systems*. Berlin: Springer Verlag.
- Coleman, J. S. (2000). *Foundations of social theory*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press.
- Cook, K. S., Hardin, R. & Levi, M. (2005). *Cooperation without Trust?* New York: Russell Sage Foundation Publ.
- Dweck, C. S. (2000). *Self-Theories: their role in motivation, personality, and development*. Philadelphia: Psychology Press.
- Dweck, C. S. (2006). *Mindset. The new psychology of success*. New York, NY: Random House.
- Gandhi, M. K. (2001). *Non-Violent Resistance (Satyagraha)*. New York, NY: Dover Publications.
- Goffman, E. (1981). Review: A Reply to Denzin and Keller. *Contemporary Sociology*, 10(1): 60–68.
- Edwards, J., Cheers, B. & Graham, L. (2003). Social change and social capital in Australia: a solution for contemporary problems? *Health Sociology Review*, 12(1), 68–85. doi: 10.5172/hesr.12.1.68
- Farley, J. E. (2002). *Sociology*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.
- Friszke, A. (2006). Regionalny Komitet Wykonawczy Mazowsze: Powstanie, struktura, działalność (1981 – 1989) [Regional Mazovian Executive Committee: Origin, Structure and Activity]. In A. Friszke (Ed.). *Solidarność Podziemna 1981 – 1989* [Underground Solidarity 1981 - 1989]. Warszawa: Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN.
- Fukuyama, F. (1996). *Trust. The social virtues and the creation of prosperity*. New York, NY: A Free Press Paperbacks.
- Granovetter, M. S. (1973). The Strength of weak ties. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 78(6), 1360–1380.
- Granovetter, M. S. (1983). The strength of weak ties: a network theory revisited. *Sociological Theory*, 1(1), 201–233.
- Granovetter, M. S. (1985). Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 91(3), 481–510.
- Granovetter, M. S. (1995). *Getting a job: a study of contacts and careers*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Grootaert, C., Narayan, D., Jones, W., Michael & Veronica, N. (2004). *Measuring social capital: an integrated questionnaire*. Report 28110. Washington, D.C.: World Bank Publications.
- Habermas, J. (1985). *The Theory of Communicative Action (v.2)*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Kenney, P. (2001). Framing, political opportunities, and civic mobilization in the eastern European revolutions: a case study of Poland's freedom and peace movement. *Mobilization*, 6(2), 193–210.
- Kenney, P. (2008). *A carnival of revolution: central Europe 1989*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- King, M. L., Jr. (2001). *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.* Boston MA: Grand Central Publishing.

- Krackhardt, D. (1992). The Strength of strong ties: the importance of Philos in organizations. In N. Nohria & R. G. Eccles (Eds.), *Networks and organizations: Structure, form and action* (pp. 216 – 239). Boston, MA.: Harvard Business School Press.
- Kubik, J. (1994). *The Power of symbols against the symbols of power*. University Park, PA: Pen State Press.
- Levy, S. R., Stroessner, S. J. & Dweck C. S. (1998). Stereotype formation and endorsement: The role of implicit theories. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74(6), 1421–1436. Doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.74.6.1421
- Lin, N. (2001). *Social capital: a theory of social structure and action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Macionis, J. J. (2010). *Sociology*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- McAdam, D. (1999). *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. Chicago: The University Of Chicago Press.
- Moody, J. & White, D. R. (2003). Structural Cohesion and Embeddedness: a Hierarchical Concept of Social Groups. *American Sociological Review*, 68(1), 103–127. Doi: 10.2307/3088904
- Morris, A. (2006). Freedom Is a Constant Struggle: The Mississippi Civil Rights Movement and Its Legacy by Kenneth T. Andrews. *Contemporary Sociology*, 35(4): 413-415.
- Osa, M. (2003). *Solidarity and connections. Networks of Polish opposition*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Petróczi, A., Nepusz, T. & Bazsó, F. (2007). Measuring tie-strength in virtual social networks. *Connections*, 27(2), 39–52.
- Piven, F. F. (2008). Can power from below change the world? *American Sociological Review*, 73(1), 1–14.
- Porter, J. (2007). Weak ties and diversity in social networks. *Bokardo Social Web Design*, October 5th, 2007. Retrieved 11 December 2014 from: <http://bokardo.com/archives/weak-ties-and-diversity-in-social-networks>
- Praszkier, R. (1996). Mental and Cognitive Factors in Transition. In Matzner, E. (Ed.), *3rd AGENDA Workshop on Lessons from Transformation*. Vienna: Research Unit for Socioeconomics, Austrian Academy of Science.
- Praszkier, R. (2012). Social entrepreneurs open closed worlds: the transformative influence of weak ties. In A. Nowak, D. Brée & K. Nowak-Winkowska (Eds.), *Dynamical System Approach as Implemented in Social Sciences* (pp. 111-129). New York: Springer.
- Praszkier, R., Nowak, A. & Zablocka-Bursa, A. (2009). Social capital built by social entrepreneurs and the specific personality traits that facilitate the process. *Psychologia Społeczna [Social Psychology]*, 4(10–12), 42–54.
- Praszkier, R. & Nowak, A. (2012). *Social entrepreneurship: Theory and practice*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Putnam, R. D. (1993). The Prosperous Community: Social Capital and Public Life. *The American Prospect*, 13, 35–42.
- Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling alone. The collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon and Shuster.
- Ruef, M. (2002). Strong ties, weak ties and islands: structural and cultural predictors of organizational innovation. *Industrial and Corporate Change*, 11(3), 427–449.
- Scott, A. 1990. *Ideology and the New Social Movements (Controversies in Sociology)*. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Shridharani, K. J. (1973). *War without violence*. München: Dissertations-G.
- Snow, D. A. & Benford, R. D. (1988). Ideology, Frame Resonance, and Participant Mobilization. *International Social Movement Research*, 1(1): 197–217.

- Snow, David A. (2004). Framing Processes, Ideology, and Discursive Fields. In: D. A. Snow, S. A. Soule & H. Kriesi (Eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements* (pp. 380-412). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Sztompka, P. (1993). *The sociology of social change*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Tashakkori, A. & Teddlie, C. B. (1998). *Mixed Methodology: Combining Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Thousand Oakes, Ca: Sage Publications.
- Tyler, T. R. (2003). Why Do People Rely on Others? Social Identity and Social Aspects of Trust. In: K. S. Cook (Ed.): *Trust in Society* (pp 285-306). New York: Russell Sage Foundation Publ.
- Uzzi, B. (1996). The Sources and consequences of embeddedness for the economic performance of organizations: The network effect. *American Sociological Review*, 61(4), 674–698.
- Uzzi, B. (1997). Social Structure and Competition in Interfirm Networks: The Paradox of Embeddedness. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 42(1), 35–67. Doi:10.2307/2393808
- Williams, J. (2002). *Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years, 1954-1965*. New York, NY: Penguin Books.
- Woolcock, M. (1998). Social capital and economic development: Toward a theoretical synthesis and policy framework. *Theory and Society*, 27(2), 151–208.
- Zablocka-Bursa, A. & Praszkie, R. (2012). Social change initiated by social entrepreneurs. In A. Nowak, D. Brée & K. Nowak-Winkowska (Eds.), *Dynamical System Approach as Implemented in Social Sciences* (pp. 153-169). New York: Springer.