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Abstracts

Stanisław Mocek

**From Social Schizophrenia to Parallel Worlds.
A Contribution to the Subjective Autobiography
of Edmund Wnuk-Lipiński (1944–2015)**

This paper is an attempt to assess the scientific achievements of the recently deceased Edmund Wnuk-Lipiński – an eminent Polish sociologist of international repute – from the perspective of political culture. There is significant evidence to suggest that political culture was present in Professor Wnuk-Lipiński's scholarly oeuvre in a considerably broader sense than in classic political science literature. In this paper, political culture is analysed from the perspective of public sociology and the original concept of social schizophrenia (the period of communism), as well as the fundamentalist and pragmatic response to radical social change (the period of systemic transformation).

Bogdan W. Mach, Aleksander Manterys

**Three Perspectives on Political Culture,
Civic Culture and Citizenship**

This paper discusses three research perspectives on political culture, civic culture and citizenship: the classic approach of Almond and Verba; contemporary analyses of citizenship referring to the book *Civic Culture* by Almond and Verba and oriented to the empirical description of social reality; and theoretical

analyses of new relational sociology, oriented to the ontology and epistemology of social reality. The authors' analysis leads to two conclusions. Firstly, it is necessary to combine these three approaches – relational social theory with empirical analyses departing from methodological individualism. This requires conducting an empirical analysis, where the basic 'analytical units' – of collection, interpretation and generalization of data – are not separate but combined by relations and networks within which people act. Secondly, Edmund Wnuk-Lipiński's statements are the best starting point for conducting such a new research programme. What is decisive is his systematic, theoretical interest in contemporary agency theories and relationality of citizenship, combined with innovative application of quantitative methods.

Barbara A. Markiewicz

Political Culture. Is It Something We Can Learn?

In this paper, the concept of political culture is considered in reference to the notions of G.A. Almond, S. Verba and J. Rawls. It is defined as a specific educational project, which is linked to the idea of a fair, democratic and constitutional system. The author also points to potential contemporary obstacles to implementation of this project. Deepening inequalities arising from personal culture are the first threat to liberal civic education. The second threat is associated with the development of new media and the related changes in the public sphere, including various forms of political and civic activity.

Patryk Danielewicz

**The Concept of Political Culture in Contemporary
Political Science and Political Philosophy**

The main goal of this article is to show diverse approaches in political culture and some of the problems arising from this, as

well as to point out the differences between the two perspectives – theories of political science and political philosophy. The author starts by analysing the classic definition of political culture developed by Gabriel Almond and presents the critique of this definition. He also describes a new approach proposed by researchers, such as Władysław Markiewicz, Andrzej W. Jabłoński and Zbigniew Blok. The main problem with Almond's concept – as the political scientists indicate – is that it is of little relevance for empirical studies. The researchers try to make this concept more useful as a research tool for examining political reality. On the other hand, Cezary Kościelniak and Janusz Wiśniewski attempt to define political culture in political philosophy's terms. Their intention is to make this concept work as a counterfactual conceptualization of political reality.

Agnieszka Nogal

Political Culture from the Perspective of Political Philosophy

The theory of political culture was presented by two well-known scientists, Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba. They outlined three pure types of political culture that can be combined to create civic culture. They argued that we are in transition toward a more universalistic political culture, which may be characterized by unification and participation. The thesis of this paper is that we observe a return of the category of political culture in philosophical and normative, rather than in sociological and descriptive, terms. A well-known political philosopher, John Rawls, created a model of liberal political culture. Other modern scholars also suggested that education and political culture are the keys to establishing the institutional forms of liberal democracy. The difference between the recent understanding of political culture and that presented by Almond and Verba in the 1970s is vivid and important. In the 1970s, political culture was perceived in sociological terms – as a historically shaped set of attitudes

and practices which can be described by using quantitative and qualitative tools. Today, political culture has become a subject of research in the field of political philosophy. It is recognized in its normative dimension, and it shapes a debate around the positive model of citizenship.

Krzysztof Przybyszewski

Civic Culture in a Consumer Society

This paper reflects on how civic culture is shaped in consumer society. Contemporary society is now often described as a 'consumer society'. In this society, identity and status are acquired and social inclusion or integration is considered to be achieved through participation in consumer activity.

Anna I. Wójcik

**Confucius and the School of the Scholars (Rujia):
Chinese Political Culture**

This paper describes Confucian ceremonies and the objectives that were assigned to them in socio-political life and religious practices, as well as the artistic and spiritual journey aimed at self-realization.

Agnieszka Kukla

**The Impact of Cultural and Social Capital
on the Process of Democratization**

The goal of this article is to compare selected non-political factors affecting the implementation of democratic standards and structures. The first part presents concepts regarding the meaning of culture and economic development in the process of democratization. The definition of culture is presented within various research frameworks. An attempt is made to set/define

a relationship between the phenomenon discussed and existing cultural and economic differences. The second part of this paper presents selected concepts of social capital with particular emphasis on Francis Fukuyama's concept. An attempt is made to show an interaction between the process of democratization and social capital.

Justyna Miklaszewska

Freedom of Speech and the Phenomenon of Propaganda

In modern liberal democratic societies, freedom of speech is one of the fundamental rights of an individual guaranteed by the constitution. It is also the foundation of a democratic state. This right is sometimes abused for political purposes and demagogic propaganda, in both totalitarian systems and democracies, which adversely affects the stability of a state. Propaganda mechanisms negatively influence the sphere of community values and concepts which change their meanings through manipulation. The author examines the language of demagogic propaganda and concludes that it disrupts the communication process in society. These destructive tendencies are opposed under the political culture of a democratic society, thanks to legal regulations protecting freedom from manipulation.

Rafał Prostał

**Political Justice and Neutrality. A Few Comments
about the Rational Nature of the Political Liberalism
of John Rawls and Charles Larmore**

Two fundamental features of a liberal political community are usually identified in contemporary deliberations: (1) there is an inevitable pluralism of visions of good and worthy life, blended into a wide range of religious, philosophical and ethical positions; (2) those who are in power are under an obligation to set public

matters in such a way as to avoid discrimination of any class of the ruled. In respect of (1) and (2), it is presumed that the process of enacting, implementing and executing public law shall be separated from any perfectionist moral position, because being impartial when making political decisions is a prerequisite for non-discriminatory politics. This kind of politics looks for proper, convincing and comprehensible reasons to establish a new legal standard of behaviour in the 'public reason' – a set of moral statements and political values commonly shared in an open, pluralistic and tolerant society, which does not provide decisive answers to any questions about the meaning of life and does not bring us closer to discover its ideal.

This article tries to reproduce the main notions and ideas of leading, contemporary liberal philosophers – John Rawls and Charles Larmore – that deal with the very nature of impartiality of a liberal state and the ability of policymakers to be impartial. It also presents the critical views of Stephen Macedo and Nicholas Wolterstorff, who question the possibility of building a neutral state.

Marta Turkot

**Political Correctness in Liberal Political Culture:
A Chance for Agreement or the Hypocrisy of Power?**

Political correctness as a norm of behaviour in liberal political culture is criticized as a sophisticated type of modern censorship, or stronger, as an ideological tool in the hands of part of Western political and cultural elites. Nonetheless, it appears to play important and necessary functions in a democratic system. Even if we agree that political correctness is cynical and hypocritical by nature, it does not lose its value. Its ambiguous potential can be creatively used, particularly in the areas of public discourse, deliberation and public debate, but also in other important spheres of liberal political culture and, more broadly, the democratic political system.

Katarzyna Borzym

**Political Culture, Authority and Management:
Cultural Studies at the Centre for Contemporary
Cultural Studies and the Concept of Organizational Culture**

This article assesses cultural studies and the concept of organizational culture. Cultural studies, created at the University of Birmingham, focused mostly on the analysis of culture and its connections to authority. The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) created its own approach to hegemony, describing it as an interaction between elites and the power-deprived rest of the society. However, this situation is widely accepted and based on common agreement. CCCS used the theory of structuralism in order to obtain further insights to the origins of culture. The author also describes the theory of organizational culture in order to present the culture of an enterprise as a way for national culture to manifest itself. In addition to this, an attempt is made to look at the organizational culture from the point of view of hegemony.

Dorota Halina Kutyla

**Culture as a Source of Politics.
The Hasidic Work of Martin Buber**

This paper deals with the relationship between culture and politics. Martin Buber, one of the leading representatives of cultural Zionism, believes that a nation must first build its own culture and then establish state institutions or governments based on it. The paper presents Martin Buber's works concerning the Hasidic world and the reactions that they aroused among Western Jews. For many of them, Buber's Hasidic stories became the basis for their spiritual and cultural rebirth, as a result of which they began to identify with the Jewish people again. However, the dispute between political and cultural Zionists has not been settled yet.

Katarzyna Weichert

**The Critical and Political Dimensions of Imagination
in Georges Didi-Huberman's Philosophy**

Didi-Huberman treats the montage of images as a reconstructive, critical and consequently political tool. It involves disassembling and assembling fragments (of an image and text) in different constellations in search of contrasts, relationships and new meanings. The montage is both a way to create sequences and narratives and a tool to break an image of reality and a discourse.

In his book *Images malgré tout*, the author struggles with the impotence of imagination and the illegibility of images, which, however, are testimony to the demanding efforts of confrontation and imagination. They represent an important and controversial subject of the politics of memory. The analysis of Bertolt Brecht's diaries shows a second – critical and deconstructive – aspect of montage. Photographs and texts compiled by Brecht in *Arbeitsjournal* and *Kriegsfibel* undermine their previous significance, causing shock and forcing viewers to adapt their attitudes towards them.

Images acquire meaning and expression along with other images and texts; they require knowledge and imagination, otherwise they are just incomprehensible views. They do not represent a final, whole and individual truth. They stimulate thinking and imagining; they can allow us to build a narrative, understand an event, distance ourselves from the surrounding, feel a sense of strangeness and alienation, and at the same time – through provocation – produce a critical engagement. The montage of images does not allow us, however, to adopt a position from which we can settle things (*prises de parti*). Its political value involves destabilization of the existing discourse, revealing cracks and a troubling picture of reality. It is a moment of orientation through the confrontation of different elements of a perspective taken (*prises de posición*).

Daria Orzechowska-Słowikowska

The Political Style of Marine Le Pen. Family Succession

Marine Le Pen is one of the most famous and controversial individuals on the French, or perhaps European, political scene. Her opponents describe her as imperious, ruthless, often unfair and too self-confident, whereas her supporters appreciate her intelligence, effectiveness and ambition. Marine Le Pen divides public opinion like hardly any other politician in France. Malicious individuals emphasize that she graduated with honours from the best school of political leadership – the Jean-Marie Le Pen school. Marine Le Pen, however, stresses that ‘she will die as the daughter of her father’. Her goal is to ‘de-demonize’ the National Front, whose leader she became in 2011. It must be admitted that she is determined to achieve her objective.

What exactly is known about the current leader of the National Front? How much of what is written in books dedicated to Marine Le Pen is truth and how much of it is fiction, created for the purpose of developing the image of a woman and a mother on the one hand and a political beast on the other?

For researchers, the analysis of Marine Le Pen’s political style is a challenge. Firstly, it is difficult to operationalize the very notion of ‘political style’. Secondly, there is not much research on the her political activity or her leadership of the National Front.

Julia Wrede

Global Political Protest

The article shows relations between the philosophical idea of global civil society and civil engagement which transcends national borders – a trend that is being observed in recent years. The article characterizes contemporary social movements including two particular protest movements – Indignados of Spanish origin and the American Occupy movement. A detailed study of these

movements helps with understanding the main trends in modern international politics and shows the fundamental mechanisms that shape the modern social world. As an element of global political culture, modern social movements are a significant example of global citizenship. They combine the main features of global civil society and allow us to draw a picture of the changing social landscape of globalization.

Anna Dzienkiewicz

**The 'Memorial' Society in Russia
and the State's Politics of Memory**

The aim of this article is to show the activities of the non-governmental organization 'Memorial' that are aimed at building historical memory and developing civic awareness of state terror and crimes committed by the communist regime. 'Memorial' also aims to show the politics of memory pursued by the Russian authorities after the collapse of the Soviet Union.