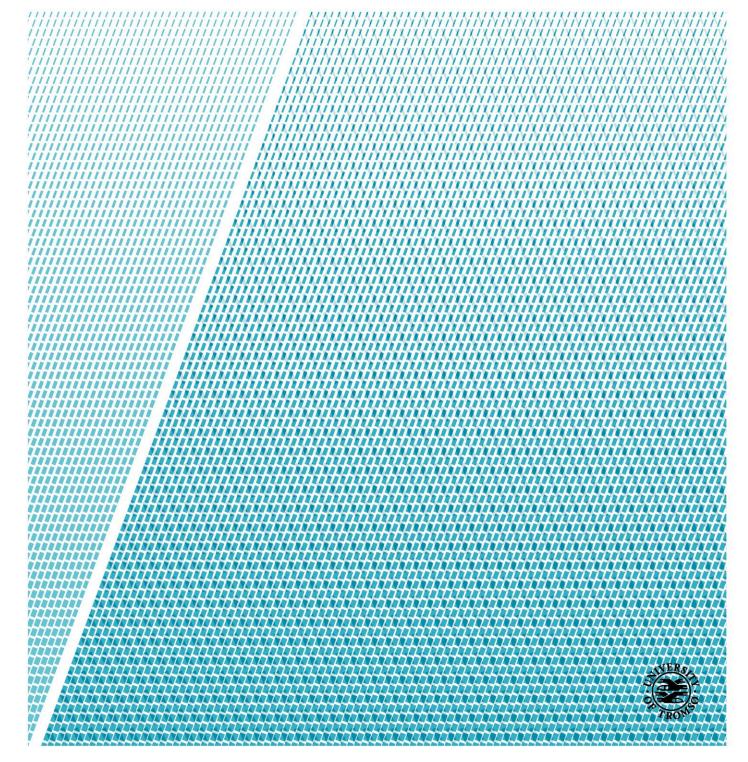# The fight to breathe – an analysis of the anti-smog-organization Polski Alarm Smogowy in Poland

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Master's thesis in Social Anthropology   May 2019

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.Patrz na dół – kędy wieczna mgła zaciemia

Obszar gnuśności zalany odmętem;

To ziemia!

Look down! Where the eternal fog endarkens.

The space of indolence flooded by apathy.

This Earth![1]

From *Ode to the Youth* by Adam Mickiewiscz (1820)

Content

0.1 Preface and gratitudes

I ask readers to take into consideration that the data and interviews that this thesis is based on, is from a fieldwork conducted in 2016. Any changes in structures, members no longer partaking in the organization since the end of my fieldwork, is not included.

I wish to give a special thanks to all members of Polski Alarm Smogowy who shared their inspirational story and dedication to the fight for clean air, and to others who have participated in the study.

A special gratitude goes out to my supervisor Sidsel Saugestad. For your patience, moral support and your academic hawk-eye. I also wish to thank my family and friends who supported me in the process of writing. Especially my auntie Gøril Hesstvedt, who provided housing, home backed bread and uplifting encouragements. Salim Nazzal, your poetry and positive outlook on life is inspirational. I moreover want to thank Aga Liszka-Dobrowolska, for insightful conversations in the early stage of my writing. Lastly, to you Tor-Ivar Krogsæther without your computer skills and detailed knowledge on punctuation rules I would be lost.

In memory of Eigil Hesstvedt. Norwegian meteorologist and my grandfather, that I never got to meet. His academic works were pioneering on the subject of the ozone layer, related to air pollution. This thesis is a very modest contribution, to the increasingly important topic of air pollution.

0.2 Abbreviations

PAS   Polski Alarm Smogowy

KAS   Krakowski Alarm Smogowy

DAS   Dolnośląski Alarm Smogowy

IEA   International Energy Agency

EEA   European Environmental Agency

WHO   World Health Organization

HEAL   Health and Environment Alliance

IEE   Institute of Environmental Economics

IDDRI   The Institute for Sustainable Development and International Relations

Chapter 1 Introduction:

> 'Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world. Indeed, it's the only thing that ever has.' Margaret Mead[2]

1.1 Background

Living as an exchange student in Kraków in 2013, I was one morning confronted with gigantic posters all over the central city depicting children and men wearing oxygen masks. These posters immediately caught my eye with the message 'Nie checmy oddychac smogiem – Jeden zycie. Jeden Kraków. Jeden podpis.'. (We don't want to breathe in smog – One life. One Kraków. One signature.) What I just had witnessed, was the first big campaign that the newly established organization, Krakowski Alarm Smogowy (Kraków Smog Alert) partook in.

With a strong concern, based on the scientific belief that air pollution in Poland is primarily caused by burning of coal in private households, this organization set out to change people's perception, policies and regulations to improve air quality in Kraków. I returned in 2016 to follow and get to know the people behind these posters. The organization had by then evolved from one local smog alert in Kraków, to a steadily increasing number of smog alerts over the whole southern part of Poland. This is my story, about how a small group of dedicated citizens managed to change laws all the way up to constitutional level in alliance with other environmental NGOs – and their ongoing fight for clean air in Poland.

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[2] Lutkehaus, 2008:261

1.2 Research question

The objective of this master has been to examine motivations and ways of performing environmentalism among members in the anti-smog-movement Polski Alarm Smogowy (PAS) in in Poland. This meant looking at joined organizational approaches and profile among the seven local alerts and analyze how they relate to different ideology among members I have also reviewed contextual matters to discuss if PAS has strategically chosen these approaches to confine involvement in contentious energy politics in Poland.

1.4 My fieldwork and informants

My fieldwork in Poland lasted from December 2015 to August 2016, including a short trip back to Poland during the peak of the smog season in January 2017. During this period, I conducted 24 *formal* interviews of 25 informants. The *formal* interviews were semi-structured, whereas each interview varied in time, from 18 minutes up to 3 hours, leaving me with more than 23 hours of recorded interviews. Out of 26 informants, 18 of them where connected to the platform Polski Alarm Smogowy, representing 7 different cities in Poland. These cities are: Kraków, Wrocław, Poznań, Warszawa, Sosnowiec, Katowice and Zakopane.

Some of my informants are or have become politically active outside the organization, on local, regional and one case from the national level. Higher education among members was a significant common denominator, and many members had previous or current involvement with other environmental NGO's or civil groups. All my interviews were conducted in English, and all my informants were over the age of 18.

I also interviewed five informants from additional organizations in Poland that advocate against the problem of smog. These organizations were: Greenpeace Polska, ClientEarth, Association Workshop for All Beings and Warszawski Alarm Smogowy[3]. My five remaining informants include a guide at a coal mine in Zabrze, which now functions as a museum; three academics who do research on air pollution in Poland (Dr. med. Adam Stanczyk from the Military Medical University in Warszawa and member of the HEAL organization; Dr. Artur Badyda, an Associate Professor at the Technological University in Warszawa; and one of his master students); and finally, I had informal talks with a medical practitioner in the Zakopane area, and a former employee in ClientEarth Polska.

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[3] This organization bears the label of the platform, but is not a part of Polski Alarm Smogowy (see chapter 4).

1.5 The organization and 7 local alerts

Polski Alarm Smogowy is the largest organization in Poland, with a single-cause-aim to improve the well documented (EEA[4], 2017) air pollution that the country struggle with. When the first local alarm, Krakowski Alarm Smogowy, was formed in Kraków in 2012–2013, it was based on the scientific premise that Polish smog is chiefly caused by low-stack-emissions by burning coal in private households (Adamczyk, 2017). Moreover, the initiators had knowledge about a new 'air protection program' that would replace old legislations on air pollution in the region where Kraków is situated. Based on these two prerequisites, they started advocating for a 'fossil fuel ban'. The ban was voted on, and the anti-smog-bill was passed through the local Seijm in 2013. However, the law was not legally correct according to the Polish constitution, but in 2016 the vote was passed again in Kraków, bringing the law into effect in 2019.

After the first alarm was created in Kraków, Polski Alarm Smogowy has evolved into a politically independent umbrella organization that currently consists of about 30 local alerts mainly in the southern part of the country. These local initiatives have either originated locally by the initiative of citizen activists, or from already existing NGOs. The number of local alerts is still increasing, and since its inception in 2012, the organization has become a significant voice in Polish smog debate. The organization has spread awareness about smog to the Polish people and educated a wide range of institutions, from authorities to kindergarten on the cause and effects of air pollution. Further, they have initiated and helped facilitate projects that contribute to decreased air pollution, such as founding programs that help private households replace old furnaces.

Its leader, Andrzej Guła, formed the mother organization, Krakowski Alarm Smogowy, together with his spouse, Anna Dworakowska, his friend Ewa Lutomska, Magdalena Kozłowska and the physicist Jakub Jędrak. In addition to the four original members, another key person, media officer of PAS, Piotr Siergiej, who joined the organization later, can be viewed as a member of Krakowski Alarm Smogowy, as KAS chairs the secretariat for the umbrella organization Polski Alarm Smogowy. The organization has several partial or fully payed members in three of the biggest cities in Poland: Kraków, Wrocław and Warsaw, and holds ties to a vast array of other environmental NGOs and organizations in Poland within the closely intertwined network of environmental NGOs in Poland.

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[4] EEA – European Environmental Agency

The six other alerts I visited were ranging from grassroot organisations, to strictly NGO based initiatives. KAS is a grassroot alert, with ties a pre-existing NGO with technical expertise valuable for their advocacy. In Wrocław, the alert is an informal group with members from other environmental NGOs, especially from the association ECO-UNIA which facilitates the work in the local alert in collaboration with other NGO staff in the city. In Zakopane an NGO alliance between KAS, ClientEarth and Polish Green Network made a campaign, which later attracted civil activists who took over responsibility for the local alert. Poznań has on the other hand is a grassroot alert, where most of the original members were active in local politics on district level in the city. Warszawa's alert was initiated by a local couple who joined the PAS platform. The last two initiatives, in Sosnowiec and Katowice in Silesia, were run by local leaders with business background.

Map of local alerts in the organization from 2016 (the seven alarms I visited are marked. (Polish smog alert (s.a)

1.6 Structure of the thesis

Chapter 2 is devoted to my methodology in the field and the earliest stages of my fieldwork. Here I share my experiences and discuss conducts of fieldwork in a 'complex' organization with emphasis on methods derived from 'Organizational anthropology'. Along the way, I contemplated a lot over how to successfully conduct fieldwork on a complex organization like PAS, and my experiences led me into several methodological challenges that I wish to share.

Chapter 3 provide the reader with contextual information as an introduction to understand the problem of smog in Poland, and the context that Polski Alarm Smogowy has emerged within. First, I give a general introduction to Poland, and proceed to a selection of interpretations by Polish sociologists, of the strength of the Polish civil society in relation to its communist past. Further, I present a section of juridical and scientific facts about air pollution in present day Poland, while the next subchapter focus on health effects of air pollution. I outline some positions in the heated ongoing debate on smog and coal mining in the country, and look at comparative cases.

Chapter 4 is the first empirical chapters where I go into depts about the six approaches that I have identified. These six approaches are: 1) Alliances and networks, 2) Educational work, 3) Media publicity 4) Lobbying and policy making, 5) Legal acts and 6) a Pragmatic profile. In this chapter I present most of my data from conferences and travels that I attended with informants.

Chapter 5 brings together two complementary analytical positions. These positions are supported by Kay Milton's (2002) fieldwork among environmentalists in the UK. Milton forms a discussion on emotions and rationality valuable to my analysis, and I use her and Goffman's ideas on stigma. The second perspective is concerned with complex social identity offered by theorist like Jenkins, Barth and Dijuzings et la., and I use Goffman's concept of backstage behavior and Barth's take on social statuses to develop some positions on 'role-switching'.

Chapter 6 is the second empirical chapter concerned with motivations and personal engagement among members. Here I propose to outline two motivation categories. These two categories consist of one part that is mainly motivated by the 'health aspect', and those who hold a more 'holistic' stance. I also share members own accounts of accusations of 'eco-

terrorism', and introduce the 'atypical environmentalist' (Thatcher, 2013) as an emerging group in the environmental movement.

Chapter 7 brings the thesis to a two leveled analysis, on the organizational and individual order. My analysis starts with applying Goffman's theatrical, to see it PAS can be viewed as a stage, where activists with different motivations and ideology find communion in performing 'rational environmentalism' by emphasizing the 'health aspect'. The organization consists of a complex compound of professional NGO staff and voluntary civil activists, I suggest that members turn to 'role switching' to express ideas that overtly oppose the Polish coal mining sector, or in other ways diverge from the pragmatic profile of the organization.

Chapter 8 is concluding. I will here return to some point from my research question and discuss some political development from the past, present and some thoughts on the future.

Chapter 2 Methodology: From exotic to familiar, but complex

In this chapter I will present some of the earliest data from my fieldwork, but more importantly, I will explain how I obtained them. My collection of data was done by some traditional methods, but also newer approaches that mostly derives from the multidisciplinary branch of 'Organizational anthropology'. Conducting fieldwork in complex settings, such as I did while studying the organization Polski Alarm Smogowy, has for me, as for many others, proven to require different sets of skills than traditional anthropological methods can provide (Garsten & Nyquist, 2013:2). Access to the field among complex organizations has been widely debated, and some anthropologists fear ethnography is turning into an interpretive exercise of the thinnest accounts, the most fleeting arrangements and unsystematic observations (Garsten, 2010:65). Even the field itself has according to Hannerz become a worry for contemporary anthropologists (2010:59). It is within this misty landscape my fieldwork took place. At an early stage, the nature of my fieldwork drove me into a methodological openness, where I ended up employing a fusion of new and old techniques, that subsequently resulted in what I have chosen to call an 'opportunistic mode'. In essence – this is a chapter about what I did, and why I did it.

2.1 Engaged research

> *I am really worried today. Both daughters of my best friend have been admitted to the hospital in one of the most polluted places in south of Poland. The youngest one is having problems breathing. A couple of days ago the smog-cast was at a maximum high, purple on the smog-cast and I could feel that it was harder to walk up the stairs to my apartment. Today it is only red. I curse the air of this country! (Field notes, Kraków 27.01.2016)*

Social Anthropology differ from most academic disciplines in the way we use ourselves as the main instrument. We throw ourselves into the society of our focus and try to blend in by *participant observations* at the best of our abilities. By using ourselves as the main tool in the field, the field and subject often lies close to our interests, and sometimes even to close our hearts. In my case, I had a personal history with the Polish smog, from the time I was living as an exchange student in Kraków getting sick from the smog myself, and I having close friends who has been affected by it.

Personal ties and interest in the field is often related to the term *Engaged anthropology* – describing either having a political agenda before entering the field, or the ethnographer may develop an empathy for the subject and those affected by it as the fieldwork plays out.

Engaged anthropology has been thought by some scholars to affect the objectivity of the research (D'Andrade, 1995), while others have gone to the other extreme by defending and advocating a militant stance in the field (Scheper-Huges, 1995). Regarding my own position in the field, I saw no reason not to 'engage' on the basis of my experience, and my motivation have been nothing more than to give anthropological accounts of the people who have organized themselves to fight for better air in Poland, and a humble attempt of conducting 'positive anthropology'. Borrowing the term for 'positive sociology', this imply a focus on what works well in a society (Aakvaag, 2018:280), and not just highlighting the problem as social science tend to do. This does not imply that I hold myself as a moral judge of what is right or wrong, but after studying toddler families in Kraków and their stress in responses to bringing up their children in a polluted environment for my Bachelor, I was interested in turning my focus on those who was trying to change this situation.

In any regard, when meeting real people at a personal level as anthropologists do, a lack of empathy towards informants who are struggling or fighting against injustice or for the wellbeing of the population, seems not only counter effective, but also rather inhumane. What is however important, is to be open and vocal about this empathy, and to continuously devote to portray informant views as objectively as possible. As I will show in the following contextual chapter, numbers speak for themselves, and the dark numbers of premature deaths and other detrimental health effects the smog is contributing to makes it hard not to support the cause.

2.2 From exotic to familiar, but complex

The methods of 'Organizational anthropology' has brought about changes in what more recent anthropology has allowed itself to analyse and how our methods developed to address issues that earlier was considered to belong to the sociological territory. According to Wax (1980) a convenient exemplar of fieldwork can for many audiences, typically be found in works such as those of Bronislaw Malinowski on the Trobriand Islanders, where accounts convey an image of the solitary anthropologist encountering and living among a community of 'stone age' people. Only to return his report to colleagues and the literate world.

Contemporary views of fieldwork differ in several respects. Exotic communities isolated from the technological west are decreasing in numbers and anthropologists have altered their direction of interest. By becoming more concerned with the linkage between the community they study and the exterior world, and more important for my study – anthropologists has joined some sociologists in studying communities, groups and

organizations of modern civilized societies (op. cit. 272). I stand behind Wax's ideas about the shift of focus in anthropology, though labelling one society more or less civilized than the another is problematic in my opinion and I will from here on use the term complex settings, organizations or societies like Garsten and Nyquist (2013) does. So, what can really a student of social anthropology say about a complex organization? Should not this be left to organizational studies, political science or sociologists? My answer to that question is, that new approaches within the field allows and request studies that can be summed up by Garsten and Nyquist's take on organizations:

> Our contemporary world is an organized world. Whether in Stockholm or Santiago de Chile, we live most of our lives within and among organizations… Whereas the human propensity to organize is universal, how we organize, and why we organize, vary across historical and cultural contexts. Anthropologists have always geared themselves to understanding how social forms are shaped by human actions, and how we, in turn, are shaped by them. The study of organization lies at the very core of anthropological enterprise. (Garsten, C., Nyquist, A., 2013:1)

The anthropologist goes into the particulate matter of such emerging social organizations, to portray how the unity of individual anthropological views of the environments immerse into a movement such as PAS.

 Qualitative research is the name of the game for anthropologists. According to Holliday, *qualitative* studies are open-ended and sets up research opportunities designed to lead the researcher into unforeseen areas of discovery within the lives of the people she is investigating. Rather than controlling variables, they look deeply into behaviour of specific social settings rather than at broad populations (2008:5). For me, the project did indeed develop as my fieldwork went along. My focus changed, and as I went into what I call an 'opportunistic mode'. By opportunism, I refer to the way that I was seeking information and access wherever I could find it, and this *modus operandi* lead me into methodological strategies that I had few concepts of until I returned to the task of writing.

2.3 Entering the field

Before going on fieldwork, I did five main preparations: I formulated a research question, made a questionnaire with an attached letter of request for participation and reported my project to NSD (Norwegian Centre for Research Data). My plan was to move to Kraków to gain access in this organization. I had rented a flat in the centre of the old town of Kraków and was prepared to spend the next eight months more or less put. Before my arrival I had tried to contact my initial focus of my study, the organization Krakowski Alarm Smogowy

(Kraków Smog Alert) via email, but without any response. As a novice in fieldwork practice, it made me doubt whether they might not be interested in having a student of anthropology snooping around and I started having second thoughts about what I had gotten myself into. Had I based my first real fieldwork on an organization that was not interested in that sort of exposure?

These were the thoughts running through my head, while celebrating Christmas Polish style on the countryside at a friend's family house. So, when I returned to Kraków a few days later and had found out that there would be held a vote on an anti-smog-law in Kraków in the local Seijm the 15th of January. I had mixed feelings about attending the vote. I remember having convinced myself to go to the vote before going to bed the night before, but when waking up early the next morning to get ready my gut feeling told me that I should refrain from trying to establish contact with the organization during such an important and stressful event, mostly because of the fear of being perceived as a journalist. I ended up streaming the event on the web page of the local authorities and for the first time I saw the leader and founder of the organization, Andrzej Guła. While doing his appeal on the podium in front of the local Seijm, I could recognize his authority and charisma, and he did for sure not look like the typical 'tree-hugger' stereotype of an environmental activist. He was wearing a formal suit and looked more like a barista or a businessman, than a leader of an environmental organization.

The vote got passed, counting 19 to 15 out of 34 representatives, and I lost the opportunity to be present at this historical moment in the fight for better air in Poland. Looking back on it now, the feelings I went through after choosing not to be present at the vote has a bitter taste, but on the other hand, I learned a very valuable lesson at an early stage of my fieldwork. From this time on, I promised myself that I would not let any chance to interact or observe situations that could be valuable to my fieldwork again because of my own shyness or doubt. I decided to shift the focus away from myself and rather focus on what I had come there to do. I had now entered the opportunistic mode. Already, I had found a couple events where I thought it would be easier to get in contact with members than during the vote, and with my new reflections I was more than ready for the task at hand.

The first of these events was a talk with air pollution activist and co-founding member of Krakowski Alarm Smogowy, Magdalena Kozłowska. The meeting took place the 30th of January at Massolit café – a popular bookshop and meeting place for English speaking people in Kraków. She spoke of how she became aware of the smog issue in 2012 while babysitting her friend's kids. She was told by her friends to always check the smog-cast before going out

with them. Her story was surprisingly similar to my story, about how I became aware of the smog problems while studying in the city during 2013. The same friend I spent Christmas with, was at the time living in Kraków and got her firstborn at that exact time. I witnessed how she was struggling to protect an infant from a polluted environment. Magda's experience with babysitting also pretty much coincided with the initial Facebook-campaign that was launched under the name Krakowski Alarm Smogowy, which both she and her former partner Jakub Jędrak, a physicist that still works for the organization, took great interest in. After the event in Massolit was over, I arranged to meet Magdalena for an interview the upcoming week. During this first interview that I found out that there had been established new initiatives of the organization all over southern Poland, and I left the interview with contact information to members of local branches in Wrocław, Zakopane and Rybnik and to more of the members of Krakowski Alarm Smogowy. I had now finally entered the field.

My initial problems with entering the field was a case of reflexivity gone wrong. By this I mean that letting insecurity prohibit me from being present at the vote, excluded myself from an important event. Yet, it was in no way useless. Because as Wax writes: 'In many cases, the finest insights of the fieldworker are developed from within the self (1980:276–277). Holliday (2008:138) explains 'reflexivity' as an ambivalent term that relates to both how researchers think and act, and to the social phenomena themselves. I would say that this type of reflexivity or maybe a form of sensitivity or anxiety in the field, can end up being fruitful, as it forces you to reflect upon yourself as a fieldworker that can push us closer to more useful methodological pathways. This is maybe because, anthropologists, in the end, use our unperfected selves as our main tool. We need continuously to find ways to utilize and sharpen our *modus operandi* by turning obstacles into valuable insights.

2.4 Going from one field to multiple ones and questions on anonymity

I found out quickly that new local initiatives of the organization had emerged under the umbrella Polski Alarm Smogowy. From Poznań in the west, to the eastern located capital Warszawa and all the way down to the famous ski resort, Zakopane, on the lower southern border to Slovakia. It became also clear to me at an early stage that many of core members were very mobile. The combination of these two facts, lead me to the realization that if I wanted to understand and study this organization, I had to turn my *single-sited* fieldwork into a *multi-sited*. This is an experience that I share with several other environmental anthropologist who also has studied environmental movements like Barbara Cellarius did while researching on nature conservationists in Bulgaria (Townsend, 2009:92), or as the

biggest environmental project in social anthropology to my knowledge, the 'Overheating project' led by Thomas Hylland Eriksen (2016), where a group of anthropologist went to different continents to exhibit the state of the environment. According to Marcus *Multi-sited* ethnographies are:

> … designed around chains, paths, threads, conjunctions, or juxtapositions of locations in which the ethnographer establishes some form of literal, physical presence, with an explicit, posited logic of association or connection among sites that in fact defines the argument of the ethnography. (Marcus, 1995:105)

I find Marcus idea of following juxtapositions, paths and threads in search of a phenomenon to be a good description of my fieldwork. I was frequently on the move. Not just in different cities and villages, but also present at different events or events, or on the move with informants while collecting data.

There were many important reasons to why I chose to shift to *multi-sited* fieldwork. Firstly, I had concerns that I would not get enough data from only studying Krakowski Alarm Smogowy. This is because KAS is a rather small, closed and professional group. Moreover, members of this alarm are frequently on the move mostly due to academic work or tasks in the organization, and two out of the six members in Krakowski Alarm Smogowy does not even in Kraków, but in Warsazwa.

Secondly, I saw the emergence of new local branches as a golden opportunity to study the spreading of this particular type of organized environmental resistance in Poland. Lastly, I realized that many members were very mobile. They are what Halvard Vike has described as 'organizational nomads' and Vike even introduces an image of the ethnographer as a nomad herself (Garsten & Nyquist, 2013:246) which fits very well with my anthropological role during the fieldwork. In practice, I chose to mimic the behavior of my informants in hope of getting more access to data. Staying put, seemed counter-productive in my search for data.

Regarding my methods of interviews, I made a questionnaire prior to my fieldwork that consisted of 10 questions which targeted experiences, feelings, hopes and facts about the organization (see Appendix 1). I kept many of my questions throughout the fieldwork while at the same time adding and tailoring each questionnaire in preparation to each interview.

The question on whether to anonymize the data is a central methodological and ethnical evaluation that anthropologists continuously weight up against our duty to contribute to public information and debate (Vike, 2001:76). When doing ethnography, researchers get access to sensitive data about their informant's ethnicity or sexual orientation and in such cases it may be paramount to protect your informants from possible consequences of leaked

information. Yet, when you do anthropological research on a complex organization, you often deal with persons who appear frequently in media and you need to find a balance between protecting them, while at the same time acknowledging the work they do. The reaction of those I interviewed on whether I could use their personal name were all positive. Most of my informants are what I would call 'public persons', where being in the media is a part of their everyday life. For many of my informants from the organization this publicity came as a consequence of joining the organization, while others had earlier held professional roles that requires media appearances, mostly in other environmental NGO's in Poland. Wax remarks that requirements of consent while 'studying that what is public' can get dubious (1980:276) and that where researchers deal with the public aspects of the activities of public figures, it does seem inappropriate that we must seek informed consent (p. 278). Vike allude that we need to realize that the people we write about now more often knows how to utilize what we write, and this might be the reason why less of our informants are interested in our protection (2001:77). Vike advocates strongly against excessive *anonymization,* based on arguments that highly prioritize an informative and critical public debate. Wax, on the other hand, is more concerned that we should be vary of confusing fieldwork with biomedical or psychological research, and he emphasises that anthropological research has different qualities and must therefore be treated differently.

In my case, I often reflected upon the question of *anonymization*. My uncertainties have been concerned with the grey areas between what is public and private for public people. The grey lines often appeared while driving a car, under social events, demonstrations or maybe while taking a stroll with my informants. How can I present the more personal side that I encountered in a respectful manner? Instead of making a strict decision on this issue, I have chosen to turn my uncertainties into a tool for continuous methodological and moral evaluation and anonymize the empirical data where I fear that the line between public and private may be trespassed. I find inspiration in a concluding quote by one of Wax's students:

> My own 'style' is not to resolve moral questions in advance (but) – to deal with them as they appear as sensitively and *sensibly* as possible… (Wax, 1980:282)

2.5 Anthropology by appointment and 'ethnography at the interface'

While doing interviews, I found out early that using a recorder enabled me to be much more present during interviews than if I had to focus on my notebook as well as the person I was talking to. My informants seemed also rather comfortable with the recorder and I felt that it was easy to get them into a normal flow of conversation by using the recording device. In

addition to doing interviews I at times followed members around doing everyday activities when that was possible and socializing or travelling with them as mentioned. Although it was difficult to get 'longitudinal' data of my informant's due to their busy, professionalized, and for some of them, a modern nomadic lifestyle, I did try to meet the same people as many times as possible. 'Longitudinal' data refers to repeated observations of the same people over longer periods of time. The greater part of these interviews was done by appointment while only a few of them were done *ad hoc*. Hannerz uses the term 'anthropology by appointment', referring to when access to informants often is limited (2010:77).

Anthropology by appointment, often generate a more formal character. Spradley explains, that a *formal* interview takes place, in contrast to *informal* interview, when an appointed time has resulted from a specific request to hold the interview. When doing *participant observation* on the other hand, I had to rely heavily on what he calls an *informal* interview, which occurs when whenever you ask someone a question during the course of participant observation (1980:123–124). This follow-up questions and small talk before and after events can directly be linked to my limited performance in Polish language. I can get around in Polish and I understand quite a lot, but my proficiency does not allow engaging or fully understand more advanced conversations. The pride anthropologists have taken in learning their informants mother tongue is important, but with increasing limitations on time spent in the field, this might be hard to live up to. The answer can then be doing 'anthropology at home', like Nader (1974) suggests, or one could select fields within the English-speaking world. Still, I think that that focus on countries like Poland, which historically has been less studied in Anthropology due to earlier emphasis on less 'complex' societies but also as a result of constrained accessibility under the iron curtain (Hannerz, 2010:83), is important in terms of representation. Another justification is that a common denominator for all of my informants is higher education, and the had an overall sufficient knowledge of the English language. I was also under the impression that *informal* questions, also in English, before or after a session during a conference as an example, were good ice breakers and a good way of getting into conversations with members of the organization.

During my fieldwork, I was present at altogether 11 different conferences, events, public meetings or dialogues about smog. The nature of these events will be explained more detailed in chapter four. Three of these events where a part of a conference tour under the auspices of the organization in Wrocław, where I travelled with the group and were present during their talks in three cities in The Greater Poland Voivodeship over three days. Being at these events did not only provide me with much data and new contacts, but all of them did also provide

invitations or opportunity to be present at the next one. It was like a chain reaction, or what has been called the 'snowball effect'.

Garsten (2010) has some very interesting understandings about the use of doing anthropology at conferences in her article *Ethnography at the interface* about Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). Although the CSR movement is a lot more transnational and consists of more actors than the participants at the conferences I attended, they share many similarities. Similarities can be found in the way my informants were always busy and travel a lot. Also, they often have other responsibilities but the smog cause, like CSR managers often have other responsibilities. Time spent with the informants are therefore often scarce and more valuable in a sense. Garsten consider conference participation as a way of 'doing' corporate social responsibility (2010:59), which can relate to how participation in conferences was an important way of doing environmental work for members of the organization. Another good point by Garsten is that:

> conferences are temporary localized, temporary organised sites where the content of corporate social responsibility and its boundaries are tried out and manifested. And it is exactly at the interfaces of different organizations – state agencies, corporations, non-governmental organisations – that these conferences are situated. (Garsten, 2010, p. 59)

It was exactly at these interfaces, that I could not only see how the organization behaved with authorities and civilians, but also where I could observe the self-presentation of members and interaction between them while working together in the organization.

2.6 Opportunistic mode

What I have earlier called an 'opportunistic mode' resonates well with Huge Gusterson's term 'Polymorphous engagements' (1997) and Marcus's ideas of what defines multi-sited ethnographies. In fact, the idea of the opportunistic mode, comes from Marcus elaboration of what a multi-sited should entail:

> Multi-sited ethnographies define their objects of study through several different modes or techniques. These techniques might be understood as practices of construction through (pre-planned or opportunistic) movement and of tracing within different settings of a complex cultural phenomenon given an initial, baseline conceptual identity that turns out to be contingent and malleable as one traces it (Marcus, 1995:106).

Moreover, Gusterson suggests that ethnographers should de-emphasise *participant observation* in favour of what he call's 'polymorphous engagement'. With this term, Gusterson means:

> Polymorphous engagement means interaction with informants across a number of dispersed sites, not just in local communities, and sometimes in virtual form; and it means collecting data eclectically from a disparate array of sources in many different ways. Polymorphous engagements preserve the pragmatic amateurism that has characterized anthropological research, but displaces it away from a fetishistic obsession with participant observation. (1997:116)

Hannerz (2010) says the term *polymorphous engagements* may point to the current, ever-shifting diversity of the fieldworker's craft (p. 77–79). The fact that I was 'studying up', where access to informant's private sphere may be more difficult to access made it challenging at times to collect data. I often felt that my access to data came in waves. During short periods of time, as for example when I was traveling to a new place or travelling with members of the organization, I could experience an extremely intense wave of collection data, only to return home to the silence of my flat in Kraków and from there trying to organize the next travel or meeting to get more data. In this way anthropology by appointment was unavoidable, but also the implementations of new sites. Hannerz (2010) has a valid point in saying that:

> We can look at all this as a matter of interesting methodological challenges, which frequently go with those expansive ambitions of studying upward, sideways, backward or whatever… There may be a suspicion that if one does something more like anthropology by appointment, one misses out on some of that deeper personal engagement, and also fails to face up to whatever kinds of tangible or intangible hardships tend to accompany such experience. And so, to those who feel that they have come through all that, such a person may seem not quite a real anthropologist, not a full member of the community, not a peer. (p. 78)

To this I would add, that to value what goes on in the personal sphere as more real or authentic than that of the public, imposes a problem of representation. If anthropologists fail to portray a very important part of people's everyday lives, namely their professional or organizational conducts in complex settings, then we fail to portray adequate representations of real lived lives.

Chapter 3 Polish smog debate and environmental history

> Organizations do not exist in a vacuum. They operate in a wider context which both provides them with aims they pursue and sets limits to the way they may operate. (Gellner & Hirsch, 2010:4)

No man is an island, and neither are organizations. Organizations and its members act and perform in response and according to the surrounding society and history. This chapter is meant to provide some historical, political, juridical and scientific facts to understand the preconditions and momentum that Polski Alarm Smogowy emerged within, and gradually gained broad support for their cause.

Starting out with a short introduction on Poland, I move on to a sociological debate that has continued from the 90's up to present times on the state of the civil society in the country. I further give a description of juridical and scientific facts about smog in Poland today. Here I have also included some ethnographic accounts from members of the organization, as well as a medical doctor and scientists that I spoke to during my fieldwork.

The following section reviews the vehement Polish debate on extraction and utilization of coal. This debate has two dimensions. The overarching dimension involves national matters of energy security, governing politicians emphasising patriotic ideas of long traditions of coal mining and retaining jobs in the coal sector. The other dimension is concerned with utilization of coal in private households. It is especially here that PAS has become a significant voice by challenging traditions of using coal as a cheap source of heating and burning of toxic waste.

Finally, I view the problems of smog in Poland as closely intertwined with cultural and historical ideas and traditions related to coal. 'The black Polish gold' holds a significant place in the Polish society, and I will introduce a theory of 'coal fetishism' from an article by Kideckel (2018). I will also use the ethnographic case of Gladstone, Australia, by Thomas Hylland Eriksen. The Silesian case shows how coal has provided prosperity but there is also an increasing political dispute over coal mining in Poland, and when the inevitable decline in coal hits Poland, this old mining community is likely to experience societal problems that Kideckel has observed in Romania and Appalachia, US.

3.1 Poland – an introduction

With a total area of about 300,000 km2, Poland is today the 9th largest country in Europe, counting a population of about 38,5 million people. The country borders to Russia (Kaliningrad), Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine in the east, and Slovakia, Czech Republic and Germany to the west. Religion occupy an important role in the Polish society, and Catholicism lies at the heart of Polish identity, as more than 90% of Poles declare themselves as Catholics (Mariański, 2017:211). It is not only religious homogeneity that characterize the Polish demography. Nearly 97% of the population recognize themselves as ethnic Poles (Gonda, 2006:66–68).

After abolishing communism in 1989–90, Poland has managed to build a growing economy that has flourished within membership in the EU since 2004. In the 90's, economic 'shock therapy' proved a blessing that allowed Poland to pay of its high foreign depths by 1995 (Davies, 2005:510). The Polish currency złoty is currently strong and Poland is now the 9th largest economy in Europe. In fact, Poland was the only EU-country not to suffer recession in the 2007–2008 economic downturn (Eikert et al. 2017:332). Poland's primary trading partner is its powerful neighbour in the west; Germany. Polish GDP is mainly supported by the service sector 64%, industry 33% and agriculture 3%. The industrial sector primarily focuses on machinery, electronics, car manufacturing and has several large mining reserves, with large deposits of coal especially in the Silesian Basin, which is available for export and further utilization (Statista, 2016). Poland has also become a popular tourist destination, and the former capital and cultural centre Kraków is experiencing an increasing flow of tourists.

Poland is a parliamentary republic, led by a President as head of state. Polish voters elect a parliament called the *Seijm* and a senate. The last national elections were held in 2015, both presidential and parliamentary election, and the next will be held in November 2019. In the 2015 elections the Law and Justice Party (PiS), a Eurosceptic right-wing party took over after the Civic Platform *Platforma Obywatelska* (IEA, 2017:17). Democracy and the relationship with EU, that in many ways has granted Poland's economic success, has been under pressure since the Law and Justice Party (PiS) took over after Civic Platform in the 2015 elections. Concerns about freedom of press, radical juridical reforms, cutting of the last primeval forest in Europe, refusal of refugee quotas and several attempts for an even stricter abortion law, are some of the political cases that has caused tensions within the country as well in relation to the European Union, and news about Poland has reported on increased activism and demonstrations in Polish streets.

3.2 Sociological perspectives on the Polish civil society and environmental movements

Political dispute over pollution is nothing new in Poland. On the contrary, the modern environmental movement in Poland inherits a specific tie to revolts against the suppressing communist regime. Like in any other post-Soviet state, communist modes of production had brought Polish environment on the brink of collapse (Jancar-Webster; Kabala; Sztacki et la.; Fisher, 1993). In Poland the environment became 'a symbol of the arbitrary and dictatorial nature of the communist system' (Jancar-Webster, 1993:1), and environmental issues were given a great political importance in negotiations between Solidarity and the regime during the famous roundtable talks in the 80's in Gdansk.

Causes of ecological degradation during communism in Poland is commonly attributed to the Stalinist period between 1948–1956. By the 80's, Poland had already been under communist rule since 1945 as a Moscow satellite, and Sztacki et al. describes the ecological crisis in Poland as the result of a 45 years long disastrous doctrine of economic development of real socialism (Szacki et al. 1993:11). Prior to political inclusion of progressive environmental policy negotiated by Solidary, there had already been some waves of environmental awareness in Poland. Szacki et al., describes an awakening of popular environmental awareness succeeding a period of heavy industry building in the 1960's (1993:13).

A second period of awareness was during the sixteen months in 1980–81, when Solidarity operated legally. This was a time of intense public political involvement followed by a decreased censorship. During this period a substantial part of the public came to realize the country's ecological state. Sztacki et al. assert that the Polish environmental movement has emerged as a typical protest movement, with chief characteristic being the highly disparate nature of its participants, predominate from the intelligentsia, but also from clergy, professionals, local officials and ordinary people (1993:16–17). Despite the promising environmental movement emerging through two phases during communism, cleaning up the dirty Stalinist legacy proved more difficult than what would have been expected. Several reasons are offered for the lack of government action. According to Jancar-Webster, priority of the economy, a need for stability to preserve democracy, governmental ignorance of the importance of a healthy environment in favour of economic growth, the population's lack of awareness of environmental problems and the complexity of environmental issues (1993:4). Or as Fisher see is – as a shift from idealism to pragmatism in the 90's:

> With the shift from idealism to pragmatism since the revolutions the environment issue has lost much of its former significance as a symbol of commitment to repairing the old order and to building a new. Indeed, measures to protect the environment are now often seen as a break in the progress of introducing free-market economy, as powerful economic lobbies argue that cleaning the environment is an unacceptable curb on economic recovery. (Fisher, 1993:107)

In 1994, the Sociologist and member of the ruling party Law and Justice (PiS), Piotr Glinski[5], described how by 1991 some individuals and groups from the ecology movement in Poland began to organize effectively to influence the formation and implementation of policy. This 'new generation' of ecological activists that he calls the 'generation of 1988' mostly refused to participate in the new political institutions. By this, the political parties missed the opportunity to engage these young activists, and to appeal to a widespread public sympathy for ecological actions. Further he argued that the way they began to organize themselves efficiently to influence policy, was a sign of a 'maturing environmental movement and of civil society as a whole' (p. 145).

A weak civil society in the wake of a suppressing communist regime has been of great concern for social scientists in Poland. The sociologist Lena Kolarska-Bobinska who served as Minister of Science and Higher Education from 2013–2015 for Civic Platform and former member of the European Parliament, formulate the apprehension as follows:

> The transition to a market economy and democracy requires not only a modification of the character and orientation of the existing islands of social activity, they require different organizational principles for the entire order. And there the question arises: will society after the removal of those barriers which once restricted its activity, avail itself of the freedom and the numerous new opportunities provided by the market economy and democracy to build a new social order? Will a civil society, once repressed and restricted, fully develop in the process of self-organization and self-government? (Kolarska-Bobinska, 1990:277)

Kolarska-Bobinska's (1990) concern regards lack of 'self-organization' and 'self-government' is caused by a number of factors: low turn-outs in the two first elections and a steep decrease in membership in Solidarity. In the Solidarity union, central to the communist break down, membership fell from 10 million in 1981, to some 2,5 million in 1990. In the first 'nearly' democratic election of 89', only 64% of those entitled vote did so, and in the following May elections in 1990 there was a staggering low 41% turn-out (p. 278). Kolarska-

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[5] From 2015 Glinski was Vice President of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Culture and Heritage.

Bobinska points to general factors explaining this political passivity, such as slow emergence of civil society and deficiency in grass-root activity.

In 2011, Glinski makes up the status in the article *Twenty Years of Civil Society in Poland?*, where he paints a rather dim picture of the Polish Civil Society compared to his statements in the 90's. Claiming signs of maturity in the environmental movement and civil society in 1994 was maybe premature he wrote, followed by the conclusion that Poland has *not* managed to realize one of the three main goals for transformation postulated in 1989, namely the development of a civil society (p. 271–272). One of his nine general theses from this article state that 'the civil sector in Poland continues to be a wasted opportunity and potential' (p. 286), and he describes the Polish ecological movement as being in 'a state of crisis' (p. 274). Glinski is pointing out a trait that I observed while being amongst members of Polish NGOs staff – which is their high sense of *professionalism*. Meanwhile, Glinski does not view the professionalism in the NGOs as a good sign of the contemporary state of the Polish civil society, but Eikert et al. (2017) gives a contrasting description:

> Poland has a relatively robust civil society that is organizationally comprehensive, dense and diverse, representative of all major interests and identities, and ideological pluralist but increasingly polarized since the 2015 elections. (p. 333)

Specifically, regarding the *professionalism* of civil society in Poland, they further state that the professionalism has resulted in the emergence of a multitude of NGOs and foundations, consisting mostly of small organizations run by professional staffs relying on public founding, fundraising and volunteers (p. 333). Eikert et la. emphasise 'a shift in the centre of gravity' in Polish civil society. From large membership-based, formal institutions like Solidarity, over to a highly diverse sector of small, professionalized NGOs that rely on voluntary involvement. This is neither something specific for the environmental movement in Poland, but as for as Douglas & Wildavsky writes in *Risk and culture – An essay on the selection of Technological and Environmental Dangers*:

> One important difference between the modern environmental movement and the conservationist predecessors is the professional staff that now supplement the voluntary efforts of members. (1983:129)

Eikert et al. further describe this as a shift in form or focus rather than a sign of weakness, a de-corporatization and professionalization of Polish civil society as they call it, and they oppose to the dominant view of the Polish civil society as weak and underdeveloped during the last two decades of post-communist transformation (2017:334).

As I will show more in detail in chapter four, I recognize patterns of continuity in PAS regarding the policy practice that Glinski saw as a maturing sign in the early 90's, and that this a general change in the modern environmental movement as Douglas and Wildavsky points out, or a shift in focus and form of social organization more than a sign of weakness in Polish civil society (Eikert et al).

3.3 Scientific and juridical facts about air pollution in Poland

The word 'smog' comes from the combination of the two words smoke and fog. Named by London physician, Harald Des Voeux, the term describes a mixed product of weather and human-induced pollution (Laskin, 2006:45). Smog is a specific type of air pollution recognizable by misty air, whereas the chemical components vary. In Poland, the main source of smog is caused by so-called 'low-stack emission' arising mainly from a preference for coal, the use of low-efficiency boilers, combined by Poland's geographical location where the heating period lasts at least 5 months (Adamczyk et.al, 2017:16316). Polski Alarm Somogowy (s.a) writes on their pages that it the excessive concentrations of particulate matter (PM 10/2,5) during winter that causes the biggest harm, and concentrations of benzo(a)pyrene(BaP), which often connected to soot, are also several times higher than limits defined by the EU. NO2 (Nitrogen dioxide) levels, often caused by traffic are only sporadically exceeded, although local variations need to be kept in mind, leaving combustion of low-quality coal in old furnaces as the main source of pollution in Poland, rather than combustion of fossil fuels caused by traffic. Contributing factors to the high levels of particulate matter can be found in some areas from industry, and the natural surroundings in the Southern part of the country. In this part of the country, cities are often situated in river valleys, where surrounding mountains prevents dispersion of pollutants (EEA, 2015). *The Economist* has reported that according to a ranking done by the WHO in 2016, Poland holds an astonishing 33 of Europe's most polluted cities (Economist, 2018). However, the smog is not only felt in the bigger cities of Poland. The small town of Skała south of Kraków, a town with under 4,000 inhabitants, hit the headlines of *The Financial Times*, as more polluted than Beijing (Huber, 2016). Even with these factors kept in mind, it is still the popularity of using solid fuel in boilers, as a low coast way of obtaining heat, that is the main cause of air pollution in Poland (Adamczyk et.al, 2017:16317).

An important legal factor is also contributing to why air pollution is so extensive in Poland, as the country has a total lack of regulations on the quality of coal being burnt in

private boilers. On the matter of regulation on coal quality and the state of the air on the countryside, Hanna Schudy, a member of the local alert in Wrocław told me the following:

> *The problem in Poland is that we don't have any rules for the quality of coal being burned in private housings. Brown coal which is meant for power plants where the temperature is much higher can be bought in many shops for private use in Poland and even burned in private stoves. The brown coal is perceived as the cheapest and the best in Poland because of the low prices. These are the reasons why the air is so terrible bad in this country. I come from a small village where the problem is big because people burn trash, and to control or prohibit this in rural areas is more difficult than in the cities. In the bigger cities, you do not only have the police, but the people themselves are more likely to tell others not to do this. In the villages they don't have the same responses. (Leszno, 27.04.2016)*

Many people I met were frustrated by the cultural practice of burning plastic and other types of toxic trash on the countryside, but it was not uncommon to hear such complaints in the bigger cities as well. Another common complaint was the national legislation on levels of air pollution, which allows much higher limits of air pollution than those of the EU. Poland has its own legal framework on air pollution, but as a member of the EU Poland is also obliged to prevent surpassing limits of air pollution emission under EU directives. Within the EU, the national limits differ between member countries, and Poland permits much higher limits than in many other EU-countries. This has been a major concern for Polski Alarm Smogowy. The organization writes (s.a) that the Minister of Environment, announced 4th of April 2019 a reduction of allowed limits of particulate matter will be reduced from 300 to 250 µg / m3, leaving Poland still at the top of the list of allowed exceeded limit in the EU and that the allowed exceeded limits are still three times higher than Italy and France. EU legislation seems however to trump the national limits of emission as Poland has been ruled to pay the costs for breaches of the EU directive (2008/50/EC) on ambient air quality and cleaner air in Europe. Poland was on 22th of February 2018 ruled by the EU court for failure by member state to fulfil its obligations under this directive by having breached limits of PM10 at least from 2007 – 2013, and for not providing information that indicate that the situation has improved or adopted appropriate measures to ensure that exceedance of PM10 limit values should be kept as short as possible (C-336/16).

3.4 Heath effects of smog in Poland

Detrimental somatic effects caused by the Polish smog has been reported by weighty institution like the EEA and WHO, making this a popular subject to local, national and even

international media. A ranking done by HEAL[6] (Health and Environment Alliance) in 2014, place Poland on 4th place for premature deaths among countries in Europe (HEAL, 2014). Despite these documented somatic effects of smog, my experience was that getting medical doctors to speak overtly about the linkage of health problems and smog was very hard. My informant, Hanna Schudy, told me that medical doctors were among the most reluctant to attend seminars. They did however manage to engage Adam Stantycz, a medical doctor from the Military University in Warsaw. Dr. Stantycz was working at an institute that collaborate with HEAL, and he spoke as a specialist on cardiological diseases in relation to smog on several of the seminars held by the alert from Wrocław. The research he was a part of was financed by the Minister of Defence in collaboration with the technical university of Warsaw, where they had started to examine patients with pulmonary and cardiological diseases in relation to air pollution. I asked dr. Adam Stantycz myself about the lack of engagement from the medical community:

> *The problem is that there are only a few people which are really sure that the problem of clean air can be related to health. They are sure that people should not smoke etc, but there are no Polish data that confirms that smog can kill patients. In medicine it is very hard to prove this correlation. (Kalisz, 28.04.2016)*

The lack of involvement appears not only to be due to methodological complications of proving the correlation between the air pollution and somatic health. Dr. Badyda, head of the project referred to above indicated a more systematic reason. He told me that in addition to the time-consuming aspect of this type of fundamental research, it was also difficult to get grants in Poland due to the current focus on the developmental aspect of research.

The situation seems therefore to have a double-bind kind of nature. 'Double bind' is a concept coined by Gregory Bateson and has been described by Thomas Hylland Eriksen (2016) as self-refuting kind of communication related fundamental contradictions between growth and sustainability (p. 23–24). The double-bind situation that prevails, is one where medical doctor's hesitate to speak of correlation of smog and health effects due lack of scientific proof. While at the same time, the economic resources and scientific interests in the matter is limited. The situation is however gradually changing, but from the perspective of Piotr Sergiej, media officer at Polski Alarm Smogowy, there seems moreover to be a cultural dimension to this:

> *I think that the scientific and medical world should act. I received emails from a doctor from south of Poland who wrote that in his little town, over 40% of the cases of sick people comes*

from cancer. In this town the problem of air pollution is severe, but when we contacted him, he hesitated to talk. First, he said that he wanted to be anonymous and after that he did not want to talk to us at all. It is like Erin Brockovich all over again. I think therefore the problem is much bigger. I have a feeling that in some places, talking about air pollution is just… I don't know, in some areas everyone burns trash, leftovers, furniture, whatever they have. It is very common. If somebody from their society speaks up about this, he will might be seen as a traitor. (Warszawa, 11.05.2016)

I suggest that the lack of a medical stand on the health effects of air pollution indicate a problem with a deeply engrained cultural character – one which permeate Polish society. There has been a massive environmental clean-up since the 90's. Greenhouse emissions across all sectors in Poland has dropped with 20% following the collapse of the Soviet Union between 1988 and 1990, followed by another drop by 20% from 1990 to 1994. Regardless, Poland remains at the top of the list on air pollution in the EU. This is closely related to the country's large reserves of coal and national energy politics, as coal makes up 79% of energy production, and 51% of total energy supply (IEA, 2017:18). While cleaning up the industry, Poland has kept their pattern of domestic energy consumption, and the country has yet not taken its leap over to a green shift. The subsequent section goes deeper into this topic by looking at the ongoing smog debate.

3.5 Polish smog debate

Burning coal is patriotic is the message from the current government (The Economist, 2016). It is statements like these that have accelerated a heated debate over smog and coal over the last years. The debate has two dimension – coal as a cheap source of heating in private households, and the ruling policy on extraction of coal and plans to build new coal mines in the country. Roughly, the debate on utilization of coal in private housings is divided into two sides. Those who are in favour of further utilization of coal in the traditional way, seeing it as a personal freedom in a liberal democracy, and those who view burning of coal as a threat to personal and public health. It is mainly this debate Polski Alarm Smogowy participate in. There is also a parallel debate on a larger scale which relates to coal extraction in the country, where we find similarly polarizing views. Environmental organizations wish to divest from coal and shift to renewables, while the government and pro-coal supporters stand in favour of further extraction and building of new mines. To my knowledge, four different pro-coal arguments that are frequently used in Poland. The two first is related to the large-scale industry and fiscal matters, while the two others are more concerned with local and personal usage.

The first argument is that the coal sector generates jobs. Employing about 90,000 Poles, 'coal is the foundation of the Polish energy sector and the country cannot abandon it', said prime minister Mateusz Morawiecki in a speech to parliament 12th of December 2016. (The Ecomomist, 2016). Contentious politics over coal, especially concerning plans to open new coal mines, have exacerbated, as major Polish newspapers started in 2012 to report on a new wave of 'environmentalist in suits' that had entered the environmental scene in Poland. In these articles it was said that environmentalists had discarded their climbing gears and begun to wear suits so that they could block investments (Grobelski, 2016:7). These articles referred to the legal NGO ClientEarth, who had opened an office in Warszawa. Founded by the American lawyer, James Thornton, this organization among other things bring civil lawsuits on behalf of Polish citizens against pollution and building of new mines. In 2013, ClientEarth had already brought cases against 14 new mines that was planned to open, and had killed four plant (Thornton, 2013:25). Proponents of the coal mining industry followed up with accusation of 'eco-terrorism', claiming that environmental groups were seeking profit and trying to halt the economy.

Secondly, Polish coal provide energy security for the nation. By talking to a professor from the AGH University of Science and Technology in Kraków, I learned that coal is valuable to Poland because it makes the country less dependent on purchasing energy from other countries. And as Warsaw seeks to break loose from the Russian gas, Polish coal becomes the patriotic solution (The Economist, 2016). According to an IEA report, Poland looks to coal for its energy supply, making up almost 80% of energy production in the country. The majority of coal is used for heat and power generation, and coal provides 80% of the electricity and 85% of the heat produced in Poland (2016:18).

Thirdly, there is a cultural dimension to this issue as has already been communicated by my informants. Coal is viewed as a cheap and accessible source of heating for Polish citizens. Interference by the state or local authorities in the private sphere can besides be a reminder of the communist past and might be perceived as an encroachment of personal liberty. My informant Michal Daniluk gave me the following description of cultural practices:

> *Poland is a country where you can call yourself eco and burn stuff in the streets and nobody will do anything to you. It comes from when we were under Russian control, our communism past. When we became free, being free to them meant doing whatever you want. It changes slowly, but it is a cultural problem. This is not real freedom when I have to stay inside my house because my neighbour think it is in his right to burn whatever he feels like. (Warszawa, 12.05.2016)*

The last type of argument relies on the idea that it was much worse before, or that there is no threat at all. We find variations of this argument in some of the most striking utterances made about smog in Poland by politicians. Like when former Minister of Health, Konstanty Radziwiłł uttered that 'smog is a theoretical threat'. Although disclaiming his statement immediately, Polski Alarm Smogowy, Greenpeace and HEAL, stood up against the minister in the news (Wantuch, 2017). The highly controversial EU-politician Korwin-Mikke represent an even more extreme case, stating that he had never seen any smog in Kraków, or in Beijing for that matter, and added the common argument – that it was much worse before (Krystian Juźwiak, 2017). Let me emphasise that statements like these represents the extreme end, and that indeed, pollution in Poland was much worse before inclusion to the European Union. In addition, an increasing number of local politicians are supporting the smog cause. But extreme arguments show signs of the nature of the debate about smog in Poland, as such extreme views push the limits of what can be said in the public discourse.

More recently, there has been much written about the smog problems related to the 2018 UN Climate Change Conference (COP24), which was held in the heart of the Polish coal basin in Silesia in December 2018. Before the summit, the president of the COP24 said:

> I suggest… that the(environmentalists) go to Katowice! It's a flourishing region in terms of economic activity, in terms of modernity, with digital industry, with an auto industry. 42% of the city is green. (Climatechangenews, 2018)

Greenpeace also reported legal concerns prior to COP24 by Polish NGO's, after the government passed a law restricting environmental activists to operate in the country, including prohibition of spontaneous demonstrations during the talks in Katowice. The country faced moreover controversy after denying access to at least a dozen environmental defenders during the UN conference (Clarke, 2018). A recent report by IDDRI (Institute for Sustainable Development and International Relations) highlight how the coal transition in Poland is not only a domestic political debate, but an increasing concern for the EU as the country with its second most coal intensive economy in the Union, making it closely associated with the European debate on the future energy mix and meeting the global greenhouse emission reduction targets by 2050 established in the Paris agreement (Baran et. al, 2018:11).

This report also supports the narratives of the coal sector in Poland offered by some of my informants from PAS and from the three additional organizations that I was in contact with. Here the assertation that coal is providing jobs were met with counter arguments about the coal sector being heavily subsidised, and that the wages are too high comparing to other

sectors. IDDRI verifies these two assertions, as it states that excess employment and high personal costs are the main factors often mentioned as obstacles to higher profitability in Polish mines. However, reduction of wages is not likely due to collective wage agreements, leaving reduction of number of workers as the only viable alternative. Economical legitimacy is also questioned, as despite different forms of public support, the sector struggles to meet profitability. Low competitiveness in the hard coal production has been reflected in falling exports and rising imports from other countries and falling prices has further affected the financial situation of the sector the recent years (Baran et. al, 2018:11).

Regarding energy security, anti-coal statements highlight how Poland should adapt to the future by shifting towards renewables as coal reserves inevitable will run out, leaving Poland with its coal dependence fragile and badly prepared for the global green energy transition. The question is rather how and when this transition will happen. Despite national reluctance to solve the problem of smog, local politicians are increasingly supporting the cause as they realize the severity of smog problems in their local communities, and the growing support for the issue among citizens. A good example of political support for the smog case is the major of Kraków, who went from reluctance, to being highly supportive of the cause. The online newspaper Euractiv (2015) reported that the mayor, Leslaw Blancha, secured 370 000 euro from EU founding to cover 90% of the cost in a programme providing 20% of the town's 1600 households with solar panels to heat water.

Considering the accounts above, there seems to be little doubt, that the 'black Polish gold' as some call it, can be seen both as a curse, and as a blessing. Coal mining and utilization of coal has created a polarized debate in Poland, as it does in an increasing number of old coal mining areas on a global scale. In the next section, I address disputes over coal in Poland, and elsewhere as part a universal phenomenon.

3.6 Is Poland fighting a 'coal fetishism'?

For an outsider, the Polish smog problem and the passionate debate on coal seemed quaint at first. Though the more knowledge I acquired, it became apparent how deeply ingrained coal is historically, politically and even culturally in the country. To add up the range of objections that clean air activism in Poland is encountering, I will apply the concept of 'coal fetishism' to explain some attitudes that contributes to coal dependency, together with some aspects offered by the comparative case of Gladstone by Thomas Hylland Eriksen and Bateson's term *flexibility* (2016).

Protective policies on coal in Poland maintains energy security and jobs, but it also reduces energy *flexibility* in the country. 'Flexibility' is a term coined by Gregory Bateson and further used by Eriksen in the 'Overheating project' where he studies the heart of coal production in Australia, the 'boomtown' Gladstone in Queensland. Bateson defines *flexibility* as 'uncommitted potential of change' and draws an analogy to an acrobat on a high-wire, with the ability to move from one position of instability to another (Eriksen, 2016:24–25). Bateson use this term mainly on the relationship between civilization and the environment, with the argument that modern civilization becomes more flexible in terms of cultural production and individual choice, while at the same time suffering a loss of flexibility in culture-environment relationship because of increased dependency on massive exploitation of available energy (Eriksen, 2016:26–27). Gladstone, Eriksen describes, is a city 'literally marinated in coal and gas' (2016:34), but where people have jobs and where the local community experience prosperity of coal. In Eriksen study of Gladstone one can find similar views of prosperity connected to coal as in the Silesian Basin in Poland and Australia shares moreover traits with Poland on energy, as more than three-quarters of energy comes from coal and the country still is able to be one of the world's largest coal exporters (p. 39). However, this situation is not special to Poland or Australia, as coal production between 2004 and 2014 increased by 40% on a global scale (Eriksen, 2016:39).

Eriksen (2016) offers an explanation for the continuous belief and commitment to coal. It contradicts the idea of a 'double-bind' between growth and sustainability in the way that it is common to assume that extractive industries are short-sighted, while environmentalists think long-term sustainability. This is not necessarily the case Eriksen argue, since the coal industry presumes long-term planning. Despite fall in coal prices between 2013–14, investments in mines are not abandoned, since coal mines are often commercially viable for a century. Presuming there will still be a market for coal, it is likely that the mines will accumulate profit, but not necessarily the next year (p 39–40). Considering the large investments in coal mining, the number of jobs it provides and the amount of money and the extent of investments in infrastructure connected to mining, transition to a carbon free society is almost unthinkable in Gladstone (p. 40).

While the city of Gladstone and Australia share some similarities with Poland, they do not share the same problems with smog. In Poland it is the Silesian region that would suffer the most under a coal transition as the region is home to the majority of active coal mines in the country (Baran, 2018:34). It provides a sizable share of employment in this region and coal mining workers are low-skilled, making their households more dependent on their work

than other households (Baran, 2018:33). In the article *Coal power*, David Kideckel (2018) explains what has happened in two coal dependent communities suffering from a coal fetish and a decline in coal. A *fetish* is defined by Kideckel as:

> … contradictory, provoking devotional joy or abject fear. Devotees believe fetish powers effect assistance, protection or malevolent intervention. Venerating fetishes link worshippers and objects of their worship. (2018:70).

Kideckel (2018) describe the coal history in Appalachia, West Virginia, as extreme. Here the coal production is private and industry leaders in this area proclaim how private companies assure the population's livelihood, claiming coal as the main source of value and modernity. While others argue that companies viciously exploit regional labour with oppressive policies that has destroyed health of miners and safety (p. 74). The decline resulted in major social pathologies such as: opioid epidemy, violence, broken families, homelessness, poverty and petty crime (p. 68–70). Conflicts over coal is found everywhere, sometimes violent, and is marked by loss of miner wages, with few alternatives for income (p 70). In contrast to Appalachia, Kideckel uses another example from the Jui Valley in Romania where in contrast the coal mines have been state owned as in Poland, and where the industry is dismantling (p. 71). Despite a massive loss of jobs, EU-membership provides some safety-nets for the transition from mining, and although spirits are not high in the region, entrepreneurialism in wood process enterprising and lumbering occurs. Conflict in this area is minimal, but social pathologies like suicide, domestic abuse and family abandonment became common in the valley (p. 70).

To view the source of the air pollution problem myself and learn more about the Polish coal mines and Silesian region, I went to Zabrze, where the Kopalnia Guido mine lies. This mine is one of three coal mines in Europe open for the public, and it was there I met my happy go lucky guide, Karolina Ochabrowisz, who thought me how to say *szczęsc boze*. *This is something you have to learn before entering a mine in Poland*, she said. *It means God bless you*, but it is only used in mines, and I could see how Catholicism had even reached down in the deep abysses of the mine, as we were passing shrines of St. Barbara, the patron Saint of miners in the long, dark tunnels. The small town of Zabrze, once a prosperous mining city, was accordingly to Karolina trying to take its leap over to industrial tourism. On my way from the train station to the mine I could see lots of elderly men getting up to get the morning newspaper, chat with fellow elderly men and maybe buy a bottle of vodka. 'The mine is closed, but they have a good pension', Karolina said.

Addressing coal cultural meaning, Kideckel emphasise how coal's historically determinative quality and unity with industrialism have produced mythological and folkloric traditions with intensively contrastive views of its elements, its history, and present-day conditions. Where miners were either heroes or villains in industrial imaginaries about tales of strikes and labour violence in mining history (p. 68–69). In Poland, the image of the miner is precisely heroic, seen as hard working and recognized for their important strikes against the communist regime like the Silesian Risings (Davies, 2005:372). In fact, Polish miners (82%) are more respected than doctor's (74%) in a survey by (Mikulska et al., 2018).

Kideckel argues that when coal is fetishized, it is concentrating belief and creating a paradigm of meaning (2018:67) and then coal decline can cause serious social pathology, like the extreme case of Appalachia, or the more comparable case in Romania's Jui Valley where the EU supports the transition. Moreover, he writes:

> People in some coal dominated locations are confident of their economic mainstay. Others assume the end of coal. But in all instances debate is joined over coal's decline and its influence on regional condition… Furthermore, coal today is condemned in a more generalized way than other aspects of industrialisation, even considered responsible for destruction of the planet. (Kideckel, 2018:68).

By the accounts I have shown in this chapter, I think it is safe to say that coal in Poland is concentrating belief and creating a paradigm of meaning, from patriotic ideas to ecological fear, indicating an emerging *coal fetishism*. Some assume the end of coal, either this is by the fear of following social pathology in their region or as an environmental condemnation of coal and a wish to divest from fossil fuels. Others still believe in the prosperity of coal, and the long-term perspective of coal mining and confidence in continuous demand for coal provided by Eriksen is important. In Poland coal is mainly used for national energy consumption, and a transition would therefore not only cause regional problems in Silesia. As the country has very little energy flexibility, it would entail a total national transition in energy utilization. The transition is in any case inevitable in a long-term perspective, the question is rather if, or when the country will subdue to pressure from the EU, and adjust national policy on the contested idea of opening of new mines. It is contentious matters like these that PAS has touched upon in their fight for clean air. I will now move on to the approaches employed by the organization, to see how they have dealt with the problem of smog under these preconditions.

Chapter 4 Rational environmental approaches

In this chapter, I introduce data from what I call six approaches of conducting environmentalism that I identified among the seven alerts that I visited. These six approaches are: 1) Alliances and networks 2) Legal acts, 3) Lobbying and policy making, 4) Educational work, 5) Media publicity and 6) a Pragmatic profile. I view all six approaches as 'rational' and portraying the sociological observation of a high sense of *professionalism* in the Polish NGO sector (Glinski, 2011). With the exception of the second approach, *legal acts,* all approaches were present among the seven local alerts that I visited to a varying degree. The two approaches *alliances and networks*, and *legal acts* involves complex *alliances* between PAS and other environmental NGO's. I support my claims with Tiffany Grobelski's (2016) dissertation *Becoming a side.* Grobelski here use Krakowski Alarm Smogowy as a case to show how administrative law has been utilized by societal groups and individuals to enforce commitments to environmental protection in Poland.

After presenting all approaches, I give some accounts from the main arena where this shared pattern of approaches and a flow of communication is shared between the alerts, which is during their internal annual conferences. I was present at one of these conferences in Zakopane during the winter of 2016. It was here I acquired the contacts that guided the rest of my fieldwork. By sharing informants accounts about the value of these meetings, it becomes apparent how important this flow of communication is for the organization advocacy. I finish with some concluding remarks on whether the organization not only make use of networks and alliances, but that it can also be viewed as a network or alliance in itself. I further discuss if the organization can be defined as a 'social movement', by using Crossley (2002), and Eyerman & Jamison (1991) on the subject of 'counter-expertise'. But first, I illustrate all six approaches with my data.

4.1 Alliances and networks

There are several non-governmental, civil and juridical organizations in Poland committed to reduce the air pollution. Alliances with organizations in this network has influenced the work of several local alerts. PAS has collaborated with many already existing NGOs and civil activist groups of varying kinds. Some alliances have been more important than others. The most important ones, for the formation of approaches and success of the organization's advocacy, are environmental law firm ClientEarth Polska, Polish Green Network and EKO-UNIA. Polish Green Network and ClientEarth facilitated the campaign that later became the

local alert in Zakopane – Podhalański Alarm Smogowy – and EKO-UNIA has directly been involved in the creation of the alert in Wrocław. This illustrate how *alliances and networks* not only provide support for some alerts, they are also in some cases fundamental for their existence. I will now review the three cases from Kraków, Zakopane and Wrocław, with a special focus on their *alliances and networks.*

One informant from KAS told me how the first local alarm in Kraków was created back in December 2012–2013. Initially, they held some meetings where they talked about air pollution, discussing possible solutions and they created a fan-page on Facebook. These initiating talks resulted in a decision to advocate for a 'coal ban' as the best solution for Kraków. This was according to my informant based on the scientific knowledge of low-stack emission as the primary source of air pollution in the city, and from scientific knowledge acquired from the leaders work in Instytut Ekonomii Srodowiska – Institute of Environmental Economics. Prior to KAS, the non-governmental organization called as the Institute of Environmental Economics (s.a) dealt with the implementation of projects related to environmental protection, climate policy and energy efficiency. In addition to the scientific knowledge, they saw a political opportunity arising, as a new 'air quality program' in Kraków under political hearing at the time. This program would allow new jurisdictions on air pollution in the city. Under the preparation of the program, proposals from public and private expertise on the issue were invited. It was based on these two preconditions, they decided that the best solution for Kraków would be a 'coal ban'. This was when the extensive *lobbying* activities started, to convince local politicians to vote for the ban, as well as *educating* and engaging the public and authorities on the topic of smog. Getting *media publicity* was also a large part of their advocacy. The last approach, *a pragmatic profile,* seems in hindsight as almost an absolute necessity to get this plan executed.

DAS is the most professionalized alert in PAS where all five of the most active members I was in contact with were working in other NGOs. The group was initiated by the leader of the ecological association EKO-UNIA, Radosław Gawlic. The association EKO-UNIA (s.a.) work with climate change, sustainable development, energy and nature protection and has existed since 1994. Majority of the active members in DAS had worked for this organization. DAS was registered in 2014. According to a central member of the group, Radek Lesisz, there were three factors that were important to understand the formation of the local alert in Wrocław. The people who fronted PAS were already well known in the city from their work in other environmental NGOs. The initiator, Radosław Gawlic, served as deputy members of the Seijm and worked directly with environmental issues in national

politics. They also had a rather prominent member in the alert who is also the leader of another environmental organization that has existed for over 25 years in Wrocław, Fundacja EkoRozwoju (Foundation for Sustainable Development). In addition, they succeeded in getting publicity for this cause in local media, and they were able to procure funding. DAS won a petition in the city that allowed for their first campaign and was moreover founded on a grant from European Climate Found, the same grant that KAS got in their initial phase, and DAS replicated the idea from KAS. 'From the beginning we had a grant, so we were not a grass-root movement', Lesisz told me.

In the small town and popular ski resort Zakopane near the border of Slovakia there is an active initiative of PAS which exemplify how *alliances* and *networks* with pre-existing NGO's has been vital for the formation of the local smog alert. Podhalański Alarm Smogowy was created in a close collaboration between the environmental alliance 'Polish Green Network' (Polska Zielona Siec), ClientEarth and Krakowski Alarm Smogowy. I met with the former coordinator and leader of the Podhalanski Alarm Smogowy, Marek Józefiak, at the office of Polish Green Network in Warsaw, where he also used to work as a campaigner. Józefiak said this about how Podhalański Alarm Smogowy came into being:

> *This was actually something that we established to be honest. Polish Green Network was running a campaign in Kraków and we had been active in the field of clean air in Poland for quite some time. Together with KAS we had made a webpage called 'Czyste powietrze dla Krakowa' (Clean air for Kraków)[7]. Zakopane was a natural next step for us because it is one of the most known Polish cities. It's a small town with only 20 000 citizens, but it has a great impact because each and every Pole has been to Zakopane. It is our biggest winter resort and at the same time it is very polluted. So, that's why we decided to get involved and to start this campaign, and by gaining activists and local leaders we formed the group Podhalański Alarm Smogowy. (Marek, Warsaw. 10.05.2018)*

At first, they were acting together with the non-profit law organization ClientEarth Poland. Józefiak told me that the reason that they stopped the collaboration was due to ClientEarth's legal approach. 'Client Earth's approaches were against our operational mode', he added, as they rather wanted to pursuit with broadening their coalitions. Although environmental activism has entered into the court rooms with great success, a development that I will show in the next section, has been vital for the organization. This was not the approach that the local alert in Zakopane wanted to pursuit. Marek said this about why the collaboration with ClientEarth ended in Zakopane:

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[7] http://powietrze.krakow.pl/

You cannot combat the city legally if you want to form something together. They take legal actions now, while we focus on forming coalitions and educating people. We work with the city council and hope that this will improve the situation. (Marek Józefiak, Warszawa, 10.05.2016)

When I asked Marek about the structure and affiliations of the group, he told me that it had changed over time, and now mostly comprised of a small group of core members living in Zakopane. In addition, they had a mailing list of people that could contribute by going to council meetings. However, most remained mere collaborators rather than active members. He described this support as a part of a very loose network, which consists of, for examples, a local association of businessmen and a local tourist agency.

These three cases of Kraków, Wrocław and Zakopane showed how Polski Alarm Smogowy has benefited from alliances and networks, and how these alliances has been directly involved in the formation of some alerts. However, as I will elaborate further under the next approach, some of these alliances are 'context sensitive', as were also perceived by Tiffany Grobelski (2016).

4.2 Legal acts

This second approach, *legal acts,* include the legal procedures where either local alerts, or individual members from the organization has been involved. The first one is regulatory reforms like the anti-smog-law in Kraków, while the other is what has been named 'citizens environmental lawsuits', or 'citizens environmental litigation'. I here use Tiffany Grobelski's dissertation (2016), *Becoming a side*, where she wrote on the development on how administrative law is being utilized by individuals and societal groups to enforce commitments to environmental protection in Poland by the example of the collaboration between KAS and ClientEarth.

The first type is represented by the 'anti-smog resolution'. A massive campaign to support the 'coal ban' headed by Krakowski Alarm Smogowy gained great support from the civil society in Kraków and resulted in a ban that was passed by the regional authorities in the Małopolska region in October 2013 (Grobelski, 2016:266). The first law was, however, not in accordance with the national constitution, and KAS started *lobbying to* change the constitution, so that the smog ban could get passed. KAS succeeded with this *legal act*, with assistance from ClientEarth, the civil society and politicians. The coal ban will enter into force in September 2019. With this previous experience KAS accumulated with the anti-smog-act, the organization is ambitions to implement the same law in other Polish

voivodships. For example, the leader, Guła, told me that he had helped the local alert in Katowice to establish a good collaboration with the regional authorities to advocate for an anti-smog-law. 'This will be very difficult and a long process.', Guła added.

In the process of getting an anti-smog-resolution in Kraków, ClientEarth has played a crucial role by offering what Tiffany Grobelski (2016) has called 'context sensitive' assistance:

> Context sensitive, or discrete support for grassroots movements involves providing technical resources or material support, but not co-opting the movement or pushing an externally imposed agenda. Such support is crucial for making connections across scales and thus building the power of the movement (Grobelski, 2016:271).

Grobelski (2016) explained how the *alliance* with the two organizations Green Polish Network and ClientEarth was related to this process:

> From the beginning, members of the organizations Polish Green Network (Polska Zielona Sieć) and ClientEarth Poland were involved. These three groups met regularly to plan actions and discuss what could be done, and eventually they approached the provincial level government…, at first with the simple question of whether it would consider the possibility of introducing a ban on domestic solid fuel burning in Kraków? The answer these groups received is that such a ban had been considered before, but it was deemed economically challenging and legally unfeasible. This is where the legal expertise of ClientEarth began to come into play. (p. 263)

Over the time KAS has established collaborations with other NGOs, and has acquired scientific expertise from environmental NGOs and from members with academic backgrounds. Despite of these collaborations, it is important to stress that KAS was and still today is a grassroot movement. My informant Magdalena Kozłowska told me about one of the first meetings and demonstrations that KAS had arranged:

> *I only knew one of the participants before. But the case was so important for us. That meeting was just like the organization, like when we met to organize a march. At that time there were more people involved than now. They just came to share their ideas of how and what to do, how to organize the march, and who could be interesting. We were really into the cause, and we devoted our time to it. It was a totally grassroot organization, so we didn't have funds, we were doing it… after work. (Magdalena Kozłowska, Kraków, 07.02.2016)*

Grobelski (2016) further allege that *legal acts* are not a new tool to the Polish environmental movement, but the appearance of an apparently new type of environmental legal organization, the London based ClientEarth, founded by American James Thornton, had opened an office in Warszawa (p. 7). In 2007 when the organization was formed, Thornton (2013) was surprised

to find that were only a handful of lawyers practicing public interest environmental lawyers in Europe in contrast to USA and Australia (p. 23). Since then there has been a wave of not only organizational legal processes like the anti-smog-law in Kraków, and civil lawsuit brought against the authorities, but also an increasing number of organizations and group of civilians filed legal lawsuits against the national state, like the 'Urgenda' case in Holland where the state has been ordered to cut emissions by 25% by 2020, as oppose to the planned 17% drop by the Dutch government, the Climate Lawsuit in Norway against the opening of 10 new oil extraction licences in the arctic Barents Sea awaiting a new appeal and the emerging trial in the homeland of the Paris Agreement, where French NGO's challenge the country's mitigation goals.

The second type of *legal acts* are lawsuits fronted by civilians. One of these cases had been filed on behalf of the local leader of the initiative in Zakopane, Jolanta Sitarz, where the Czech climate litigation firm Frank Bold has facilitated a case against the Małopolska voivodship for not implementing the same coal ban in Zakopane as in Kraków. I met the local activist Jolanta for the first time at a modern café at one of the top-roofs in Zakopane. Jolanta, a physiotherapist and mother of two had gradually taken over more of the responsibility for the local alert in the town. She had moved back to Zakopane after living and studying in Kraków for several years and had become active in the smog cause as a result of being a mother. *Have you heard about my case?,* was one of the first things she said to me during our first meeting.

> *It did not work yet. The court has been put it aside, but the attorney said that he will put it into the higher court, so there will be like another case, an appeal. Then we will see, because they are not respecting the European Union law here in Poland. It is written in the European Union Law, that all voivodships should have equal rights. Now they are only taking care of the problem in Kraków. I am suing them because it is unfair that only Kraków is taking care of this. While all towns and villages, should all do that. I want every single city, every single town in this place we are living to take care of this, because it is serious. They are not respecting the European law, so I think this can get big if it goes to the higher court. (21.06.2016)*

These three examples show how *Legal acts* are not just a new approach for environmental organizations and activists, they evidently reshape the understanding of what environmentalists, as Grobelski notes hereunder,

> As environmental groups increasingly undertake critiquing investment projects in Poland or shaping the course of economic development by mobilizing administrative law, they challenge dominant understandings of what environmentalists 'do,' and the relationship of

environmental issues to other social or public policy issues. They also assert a different sort of relationship between citizens and state, one in which the state must be held accountable for its decision making and must allow for citizens to chime in on what 'public interest' means. (2016, p. 12–13)

More that changing what environmentalists do, I would argue, it also changes the way environmentalist behave. New alliances and approaches, where *legal acts* stand out as the most important example, allowing them to enter into new public spaces and contexts and shaping new environmental performances. The next approach, *lobbing activities* are one of more formal activities that environmentalists increasingly abide their time to. This contrasts the image of the tree-hugger stereotype doing direct activism and enhance cooperative attitudes and business habitus, and white-collar environmentalism while promoting policy.

4.3 Lobbying and policy making

During a car drive with the leader Andrzej Guła to a conference in Sosnowiec, Guła told me that there are three basic pillars of the advocacy of the organization. These pillars can be seen as the policies that PAS developed and that they are advocating for. The first pillar is getting through regulatory reforms, such as the coal ban, on regional and national level as explained under the two first approaches. He explained further that this as a very difficult and complex political process. The regulatory reforms, he explained, were very difficult because they have a tremendous impact on basically everybody in Poland, and it also affects the coal industry. Despite the complexity of the matter, the organization has been quite successful in advocating for amendment on environmental protection, and the organization push to 'blue-print' the 'anti-smog-law' in other regions in Poland. The second pillar, he explained, was to initiate and facilitate programs that finance air quality investments. As an example, he mentioned the Kafka-project they had helped to develop a financing program where people could get economic help to invest in new boilers to get more efficient combustion. The program has been implemented in several other regions as well. The third pillar, he explained, was improving access to information and changing the so-called 'air quality index', so that people could be alerted when the levels of smog are very high, but in order to do so, they firstly had to *educate* both the public and the establishment about the causes and effects of smog.

The organization moreover holds no political affiliations, though some of my informants were politically active outside the organization. This apolitical line allows them to lobby across party lines. As mentioned, KAS had to do extensive *lobbying* in order to convince politicians to vote in favour of the coal ban. The alert in Wrocław has also done a lot

of lobbying. In the beginning the mayor of the town was not very eager to agree that they had pollution, but it was a local election 2 years ago where he started to listen to the smog alert. This was what one of the members had to say about lobbying efforts of the alert:

> *The problem of smog in Wrocław is very complex, so we prefer to focus on lobbying efforts. Because it is more effective and If we arrange too many 10–20 people is the maximum. We concentrate therefore on building social support from social media and petitions for example. (Radek Lesisz, Zakopane, 12.04.2016)*

Radslaw Gawlic: The situation is serious. Now we fight the awareness in municipality. The most important issue is new solutions – like the ban. We have good contacts, like the director for environment in the regional government. Generally, in Wrocław they chose to spend more time on lobbying than engaging the public, due to the low expectancy of engagement from the civil society. Moreover, Lesisz added: '*Our local alert is not local anymore, to solve this problem we need to act on the national level.'*

Finding the right balance between dedicating time to the different approaches has been a challenge for Krakowski Alarm Smogowy. Particularly, between balancing the work of engaging and keeping the public supporters updated, while at the same time doing time-consuming *lobby* activities. Krakowski Alarm Smogowy has a large and dedicated group of supporters and a population with high awareness of smog. *'We always have to get in touch with politicians. It's hard work',* Magdalena Kozłowska said. Being in charge of media, she explained how keeping the public updated and engaging them was challenging at times:

> *We are trying to balance between those two. In 2014, people were saying – 'you are not doing anything, we don't see you in the public space'. But not being visible in the public space did not mean that we were not working on the cause, we were just not organizing marches. At this point we spent a lot of efforts on contacting politicians. This work is not so visible for the public… I manage social media, so I can see that sometimes people write: 'When is there another march? We want to protest! You are hidden', but it is not true. We were trying to meet all the politicians from all the options we had... Before the first bill was approved by local authorities in 2013, it was not that obvious that it would happen, so we were trying to meet with every person who was sitting in the local parliament and to speak with them and inform them about the coal ban. After it was approved and overturned by the court, in the meantime, we were also contacting different parliamentarist from Kraków region too, to work on this cause in the parliament. (Kraków, 07.02.2016)*

4.4 Educational work

Polski Alarm Smogowy has conducted substantial *educational work* to spread knowledge about smog and engage the general public and authorities in the cause. The pivot points they have communicated, is that burning inferior coal in old stoves maliciously affects the air in the country and they have criticized cultural practices of burning toxic waste. They have advocated for energy sufficient homes and decreasing the allowed extended limits of air pollution in Poland. Increasing public access to forecasts and measurements of air pollution, so called smog-casts, has also been paramount in their educational work. *Educational work* as an approach can broadly be divided into two objectives. These are *educating the public*, *educating authorities* and as a fusion of these two, they have also tried to build dialogues and interaction between these two levels.

In *educating the people*, social media has been an important tool for the organization, and it is mainly through channels of social media they have communicated knowledge about air pollution to supporters and to invite the public to events and demonstrations. Concerning *education for the authorities*, the organization has been in contact with a significant number of officials, by holding conferences and seminars and trying to inform schools and kindergartens to keep children inside at the worst smog episodes. There is also a third kind of educational work that local alerts have organized and participated in. As a fusion type of the two types of educational work mentioned above, there have been are number of events where the public could intersect with authorities. I will now present examples of events that I went to, from educational work towards the general public, conferences and meetings where local authorities were invited and arenas where both sides were present.
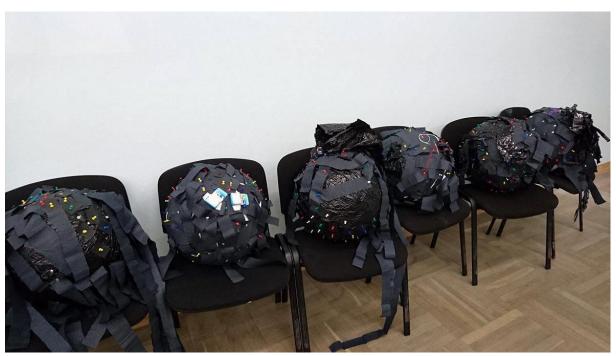
The first event has already been mentioned, the talk with co-founder Magdalena Kozłowska at Massolit café in downtown Kraków. The second event was held some days after in Bunkier Sztuki, a contemporary art museum in the heart of central Kraków. It was here I met Ewa Lutomska for the first time. The event was not arranged by the organization per se, but rather supported by it, and the educational material they used to educate the children came from the children's book *Uwaga! alarm! SmoguSmok!*. KAS has published this educational book for the smaller spectrum of children, where they can read and learn about the harming components of air pollution, and how they can protect themselves from smog. Here are some fieldnotes from the event:

> *I could count about 20 children who were sitting in front of a screen watching pictures from the children's book Uwaga SmogoSmok, while two ladies were explaining and asking the children questions about smog. The children seemed engaged in the discussion, and after a*

small break they got two assignments. The first one was to decorate a big smog particle made of polystyrene with black crepe paper and bits and stipes of plastic. Then they were asked to make fantasy creations out of used plastic that they had brought with them. I greeted Magdalena who was present and met Ewa for the first time. She was there with her two children. We helped the kids making a gigantic smog particle while talking, and Ewa agreed to meet me for an interview a few days later. (Kraków, 21.02.2016)

Children making their own creations out of used plastic.

Smog particles made by the children.

There are two points to be made related to this event. Firstly, it was arranged for children, a focus that I know has been important for the organization. Members from several regions told about visits to schools and kindergartens. This event additionally intersects with another approach, *alliances and networks.* I was told by both Ewa and Magdalena, who were present at the event said that they were glad to collaborate with private initiatives and other organizations in this manner.

Being at one event often granted invitation to the next like 'snowball effect'. This was certainly the case as I from the event at Bunkier Sztuki got an interview with Ewa Lutomska, and from there I got an invitation to a dialogue meeting at Miejskie Centrum Dialogu (Municipal Dialogue Center) in Kraków. Coincidentally, this meeting was held the same day I met Ewa for an interview. I was allowed access to the meeting after Lutomska had contacted the organizers. The meeting was held by the Mayor's office in Kraków, as part of a bigger series of dialogues on issues connected to air pollution. All the meetings in this series of discussions were recorded and made available to the public as audio files on their websites. The meeting was in Polish, but overall the meeting allowed discussion on issues on smog, building dialogue, contacts and bridges between decision makers and organizations like KAS along with other civilians or activists with a specific interest in the topic. This is one of many areas where KAS had met and collaborated with the authorities, and the level of awareness on smog among citizens and authorities was most widespread in Kraków, compared to the six other places I visited.

In Wrocław, I went to a meeting where citizens could meet with the local police to get updates on police actions against illegal burning of trash and toxic waste in the city. The fines were given to both private offenders and companies and could cost up to 500 Polish Złoty. The police were present to show annual statistics for 2015 and 2016. In 2015 they had issued overall 822 fines, and by the beginning of April 2016, over 500 fines had already been issued. In Wrocław, like in any other city in Poland, it is mainly the municipality police who takes care of incidents of this character, but they also had a special force in Wrocław which specifically deal with ecological offenses. This meeting is a typical event meant to build bridges between authorities and the public. The meeting was open to the public, but as the picture below shows, the turnout was limited. After the meeting I talked to Radoslaw Gawlic. He told me that they had started this collaboration with the police two years ago, a project that had been successful. The police are active on these offences, he said. The police work was important to reduce burning of toxic waste, he said, but also in terms of bringing awareness to the people. On the topic of awareness in the city, he could confirm that the situation in

Wrocław was not satisfying, but he also added that this was the case in most Polish regions, with the exception of Kraków

Meeting with the ecological force from the police in Wrocław at EkoCentrum. (04.04.2016)

Radek Lesisz, gave me better idea of why knowledge about smog and engagement among people in Wrocław was lacking. According to Lesisz, there were four contributing factors to why engaging the public proved more difficult in Wrocław than in Kraków. Firstly, there was an overall low awareness of the issue of air pollution in the city. Secondly, the smog is not visible in the same way as in Kraków. Thirdly, access to information on air pollution, or smog-casts was insufficient. Lastly, the topic had not been covered by the media. Due to these circumstances, their ambition to recreate what has happened in Kraków had been altered. Here is what he had to say of the initial ambitions:

> *From the very beginning we wanted to establish a group of people who are not employed in an organization. We wanted engage people like in Kraków. Our ambition was to have big protests with thousands of people, but in Wrocław it did not work. We have not had any protests or marches, because we are afraid that not enough people will come. That is why we only arrange gatherings, meetings and talking to media and politicians. (Radek Lesisz, Zakopane, 12.04.2016)*

When the alert started up in 2014, they did polls to measure awareness on the topic of air pollution among the public. According to the polls, interest for the issue was scarce, and they

decided therefore to focus more on lobbying activities as already mentioned, *educating authorities* and *media publicity*.

Dolnośląski Alarm Smogowy has however done massive *education of the authorities,* even outside their own voivodship. In end of April 2016, I travelled with DAS for three days on a tour of conferences that they arranged in the neighbouring Greater Poland voivodship. Poznan is the main centre of this region with then a newly established local alert which I already had visited. This was a part of a project where DAS would organize seminar in four different regions in the western part of Poland with the specific focus of *educating the authorities*. The seminars in Greater Poland were held in Poznan, Leszno and Kalisz. Speakers at the seminars were representatives from the regional inspectorate of environmental protection, Dr. med. Adam Stanczyk, member of the HEAL organization and working for the Military Medical University in Warszawa who spoke on correlation between pulmonary disease and air pollution, and members from DAS who spoke of energy sufficiency in houses and measuring stations among other subjects. Access to local air pollution measurement was an important topic during these three conferences.

Earlier the same month, I spent some days in Poznań, living with the leader of Poznański Alarm Smogowy, Wojciech Augustyniak. Wojciech Augustyniak took a phd in economics and lectured at the University of Economics in Poznań. Augustyniak had been elected into the local council in the city district he lived in. His colleagues in the alarm were active in three other districts of the town. In October–November 2015, the new smog alert participated in two national projects initiated by KAS. One happening was arranged on the international day of clean air where they gave out leaflets about smog while wearing smog mask. The second event was held on St. Nicholas day, the 6th of November. In Poland this day is celebrated by giving presents to children. They dressed up in Santa Claus costumes and gave away jars with 'clean air'. This was organized by KAS, put was done at the same time in all 11 local alarms throughout the country. In order to put pressure on the local authorities to improve communication on air quality they also organized meetings in city hall with other ecological NGO's and engaging media.

Augustyniak told me that the alert in Poznan primarily focused on *educating the people*. With a combined experience with PR-work and political work in the district, his opinion was that the most effective approach to fight for clean air in his city, was to try to reach the population rather than changing opinion of politicians. This illustrate an opposite emphasis of approach than what Dolnośląski Alarm Smogowy has used.

Mainly educating the people is our strategy. In Poznan we are have good results from using this strategy. Two, three years ago there was no information about smog in Poznan, we still don't have it, but people did not know. We thought we were living in one of the areas with the best air in Poland. Education is the most important, because people who work for these national organization that should protect people from air pollution, I feel that we offend them when we say that we have problems of air. That's why education is the most important. One year ago, when I started with this, there was no apps. Now there are two apps about air pollution. (06.04.2016)

I will now move on to the Silesian case where there are now 11 local alerts operating, making it the voivodship with the highest number of local alerts. I visited the region two times. Once I was there at a conference in Sosnowiec with the leader of the organization, Andrzej Guła and the second time I visited leader of the alert in Katowice and the coal mine in Zabrze.

On the way to the conference Guła told me about some activities in the local alerts in the region. The conference in Sosnowiec was the first of it's kind in this subregion, where regional authorities were invited to discuss the matter of smog in the relatively new alert that Rafal Psik was leading.

Conference in Sosnowiec. Leader of Zagłebiowski Alarm Smogowy, Rafal Psik is speaking at the first conference held in his town, Sosnowiec.

Guła told me moreover that they had about five local smog alerts in Silesia at the time, which was grass-root-organizations and that some of them well advanced. He had recently been to another town in Silesia, Rybnik, where there was a conference for the public about the smog issue which filled a gymnasium with over 100 locals. Rybnik is a special case, Guła told me,

because there are two different groups in the same city. 'One is diplomatic, and members of the other are real fighters. He talked about a meeting in Katowice on air quality he recently had been to, where many important stake holders about access on information on air quality had been present. Katowice is the centre of the Silesian region, where the coal Basin lies. I went to Katowice to interview Partyk Białas myself on a later occasion. I had an interview with Białas at his office. Patryk turned up wearing a suit, as many of the other members of the organization often did. I ended up spending the afternoon with Patryk, in one of the gardens in downtown Katowice there was planned open dialogue meeting. Here the public could ask questions to officials who were invited to a panel. Patryk himself led the meeting, and although there was not a major turnout, there were some very active listeners who asked lots of questions. This is a typical example of attempt to build dialogue and bridges between the public and authorities, and Białas told me after the event that he had great belief in this approach. In a post-communist country like Poland, where corruption among other circumstances has dismantled trust between authorities and the public, events like these can have healing capacities on the relationship between civil society and institutions of power.

Panel discussion in a café in downtown Katowice held by leader of Katowicki Alarm Smogowy, Patryk Białas.

Looking at the educational work done by these local alerts, it is interesting to compare the differences and similarities regarding for example the very professional NGO based DAS and the more recently formed Poznanski Alarm Smogowy. It seems that KAS approaches

after inclusion becomes a 'blue-print', but then the local smog alerts interpret what would be the most effective approaches in their city. Dolnośląski Alarm Smogowy had chosen a bottom-up angle based on professional polls focusing on *educating the authorities* more than the public, while Poznanski Alarm Smogowy chose a top-down strategy, by first and foremost engaging the public to raise awareness. This may be due to local differences between the cities. Moreover, the local alert in Poznan was in the initial phase of the organization, while Wrocław had more time to develop their advocacy, and are moreover the most *professional* staff, with long experience with NGO work in other organizations.

4.5 Media publicity

Getting publicity from the media for the smog issue in Poland has been one of the most important approaches for the organization. Poland's problems with air pollution has not only been become a popular theme for national media, but also influential English and American newspapers like the British Guardian and the New York Times has written about the topic several times. The health appeal, which I will return to more detailed in the second empirical chapter, has made it potent subject to media. The organization has received significant backing by media institutions, like Radio Kraków who started to push the message back in 2013. Ewa Lutomska from KAS told me the following about how the work with engaging the media started:

> *In the beginning it was only Polish media – We had to start here and educate people; educate journalists; educate politicians. It was very difficult because nobody wanted to hear about the coal ban. We made campaigns. And there was a moment when the Polish media was not that interested in our cause, but English media was. They found us interesting. The first journalist was from 'The Guardian'. Then there was some interest from the German media. Now we have a lot of contacts with media from outside Poland. The issue is very popular outside Poland as well. (25.02.2016)*

The situation that Ewa described from the beginning of the organization differ a lot to what media officer of PAS, Piotr Siergiej, told me in an interview in May 2016:

> *I just came from a Polish TV channel. I had a conversation on the morning program, 6–10 minutes about smog. It is a big thing for the Polish Smog Alert, to be talking about air pollution on national television. For us this is a huge step forward, because 1–2 years ago, we were generally only present in the local media. During the time I have been in this position as media officer in PAS, I have also been monitoring Polish media and counted articles about the Polish smog. From 1th of February, I counted over 700 articles in internet media, newspapers, radio and television. More than 30 television appearances, mostly in the national*

television. Some regional, but most of them are national. During the time I have been in the position, we have got close to 1000 articles in Polish media. The subject of air pollution in Poland has intensified during the last two years. (Warszawa, 11.05.2016)

4.6 A pragmatic profile

The last strategy – a *pragmatic profile* – I believe has been imperative for the success of the organization in attracting members and supporters, but also in getting their case heard in their local community and the national discourse. I base the assumption on *pragmatism* on three findings. The first one is that the organization itself is not related to any political party and they collaborate and are in dialogue with politicians across all party lines. Political independence is moreover thought to be a common trait of the Polish environmental movement (Glinski, 1994:146). Secondly, it is a single-cause-organization, fighting for clean air only and emphasising how smog affect the heath of Polish citizens. The last observation is that they don't openly oppose the coal business and car industry. In the words of media officer in PAS, this is expressed in the following way:

> *We, in the Polish smog alert, we are not talking about the coal, we are talking about air pollution. (Piotr Siergiej, Warszawa, 11.05.2016)*

A member from the alert in Warszawa, Daniluk was also pragmatic about the coal industry:

> *We are not against coal, but renewables is the future. The coal industry will still exist, but in a cleaner way. If we manage to civilize it, the coal business can work well, and we can have cleaner air at the same time. (12.05.2016)*

Before I conclude this chapter on approaches, the last section of this chapter goes deeper into the main event where information is shared, the annual internal meetings in PAS, and I make some concluding remarks on whether the organization can be defined as a 'social movement'.

4.7 PAS as network or social movement

Once or twice a year, the platform organizes an internal conference where knowledge is shared between the alerts. I was present at one of these conferences in Zakopane the winter of 2016 and it was there I established most of my contacts for the remaining part of my fieldwork. The following quotes show that flow of communication and shared knowledge between alerts has been imperative for the organisation's success. I asked one members of DAS during the conference how important these internal meetings were for their alert:

> *These meetings are crucial for the action that has to be done on the regional level. We lobby on the regional level for jurisdiction on stoves and fuels. We have to draw on information from other regions, to convince regional politicians. We use examples from other regions and that*

is exactly what we get out of these meetings. We also coordinate our actions. In the beginning we had a lot of support and much to learn from KAS, but at this moment our knowledge is more or less the same. In the beginning they for example prepared a document with an analysis – a document that helped us a lot. They helped us with public opinion polls and the measuring station we have. We also invite members from KAS to events that we arrange. (Radek Lesisz, 12.04.2016)

For Augustyniak from Poznan, this was the first meeting with the rest of the organization. These were his thoughts about the weekend in Zakopane:

Many of the members have worked with the topic of air for a few years already and has also been running ecological organizations for a long time. They are into law and have many connections. They know a lot. I am not as experienced as many of them, so I learned more about the bigger political picture, not only local about politics, but also about lobbying in Warszawa. For example, I did not know how politicians were working to get funds. (Poznan, 06.04.2016)

To sum up the approaches, especially *legal acts* comes from expertise derived from *alliances and network* to other NGO's, but I have also shown how Wrocław and Zakopane actually was formed out of already existing networks and alliances. My impression was that the local alerts in many ways mimicked the approaches first developed by KAS in alignment with other NGO's, and that newly established alerts then can draw on expertise from more advanced alerts like Kraków and Wrocław, like in the case where DAS visited the region where Poznan lies to educate local authorities on smog. All approaches were found in all alerts, except from *legal acts,* but the local alerts chose different emphasis on approaches. The most striking difference was maybe to be found between DAS and the alert in Poznan, where DAS focused much more on lobbying activities and educating the authorities, while they in Poznan stressed the importance of informing and engaging the public to create change. This can be simply due to local differences, or that they were in different stages of development. In fact, engaging the civil society was the ambition for DAS when they started up, but poor interest based on public polls made the group leave the idea of recreating the marches and demonstrations that they had seen in Kraków. I have also shown how media work has been vital for the organization, and how the interest in smog both nationally and outside Poland has increased significantly over the years that the organization has been active. PAS moreover appears to abide to alliances and networks when profitable and effective, though inclined to leave alliances if it contents their core images, such as the grassroot image and the *pragmatic profile* as in the case of the alliance between the alert in Zakopane and ClientEarth.

I began this chapter with giving an overview of some very important *alliances and networks* that the organization has been, or are still connected to, and I moreover showed how some of these collaborations has not only been vital in the work in the local alerts, but in the case of DAS and the alert in Zakopane, fundamental for their existence. In addition to the way PAS draw on *alliances and networks,* I would argue that the structure of the organization in itself can be viewed as a network of local alerts that operate in their own locality. The way in which the organization do this, is a sign of it being a 'social movement' according to the definition beneath from Nick Crossley's (2002) book *Making sense of Social Movements* that involves the relationship between networks and social movements.

> Movements are networks and, in the first instance, they are the very networks they grow out of. Movement formation is less a matter of agents coming together and more a matter of agents who are already together, transforming their network into something different. The emergence of a new movement consists in the mutation of and already existing network. Furthermore, the organizational structures of those networks will tend, in the first instance, to serve as organizational centres of the movements (p. 97).

I find this description of a social movement highly comparable to both the formation and structure of PAS. PAS has become a network of alerts, and at first, they were the networks they grew out of, represented by the grassroot-organization KAS, ClientEarth, Polish Green Network and EKO-UNIA et al. Many of these agents formed alliances within the network, or Polish NGO sector, which according to Glinski '…is relatively small, quite dynamic and still largely based on its members voluntary work' (2011:277). In this closely knitted network of environmental NGO's in Poland they drew on expertise from each other, which in turn has been transformed into something different, namely PAS. While this can explain the formation of a movement, the further developments are that movements that are rooted in networks which resource them, and that this furthermore often also entail the emergence of new formal organizations that offer leadership and coordination of the movement (Crossley, 2002:97). In the words of Grobelski:

> The organizing work of KAS, and the support of other organizations, resulted in the social movement being a highly effective force for change, becoming a 'side' in governmental policy-making, respected by those in power. (2016:283)

This has indeed been a mutation of an already existing network, looking particularly at the tree cases of Zakopane, Wrocław and Kraków, which also can be said to have functioned as 'organizational centres of the movement'.

Eyerman & Jamison (1991) writes on the particular topic of *leadership* and intellectuals within the environmental movement. They stated that the environmental movement, in large, emerged from activities by intellectuals but they were not enough to create the movement. They were, in addition, dependent on the knowledge interest and 'external' stimulant (p. 102–104). Moreover, a specific form of expertise was important for the development of the environmental movement. This is the 'counter-expert' which could challenge the decisions and standards of the governmental experts on behalf of an emerging 'public interest'. In some countries these were biologist, in others they were lawyers or medical doctors (p. 104–105). Among the 18 members of the organization that I interviewed, 10 of them had been or was payed full time or partly in by the organization. Moreover, it was a common denominator that members had higher education from many different fields, like physics, linguistics, law, economics and so forth. With these different backgrounds, members can offer 'counter-expertise' to the movement. The most striking example of this is maybe the leader of the organization, who from his work at Institute of Environmental Economics offered the scientific argument that the organization is built upon, which is that smog in Poland comes mainly from low-stack emissions in private households.

As I now have presented and discussed all six approaches, I will move on to the theoretical foundation for the main analysis in this thesis. This first empirical chapter has presented what goes on at the organizational level on formation and flow of expertise, while the next empirical chapter will abide to the individual level with a focus on motivation and personal activism. The main points that this chapter can contribute to my later analysis is that PAS is a social movement, or maybe more precisely the 'organizational centre' of the anti-smog-movement that started out as a grassroot initiative six years ago in Kraków. In the formation and the further work of the organization, drawing on (counter)expertise and support from already existing NGO's has been vital. The six approaches above moreover constitute a professionalised and pragmatic way of conducting environmental work, where the mother organization KAS has developed a set of what I label 'rational' approaches which alerts to a high degree adopt with some local adjustments. I would also argue take Grobelski's argument that by shaping administrative law like the coal ban in Kraków, this alters our understanding of what environmentalists do, I would add that this increase the complexity of environmental identity and changes the way they behave.

Chapter 5 Theory

In this chapter I introduce two theoretical perspectives that complement each other. I begin with Kay Milton who writes about ideas of rationality and emotions in environmental discourse. I then outline some basic aspects of social identity and role theory that I find useful for my material, by drawing on Goffman and Jenkins et. al.

The first perspective draws mainly on Kay Milton's ethnography among environmental organizations in the UK. Milton who studied chiefly 'conservationist' organizations, encountered how members often had more radical environmental ideology than that of the traditional conservationist view. Her discussions also involve evaluations of two contradicting styles of environmental activism and propose that there is an 'informal alliance' between these two. An argument that is central to my analysis. I moreover use both Milton and Goffman to address some stigmas that that environmental activists encounters in public debates. The main theoretical basis of this perspective suggest that environmental identity can be complex, which brings up some classical debates on social identity in organisation life supported by Goffman, Richard Jenkins, Ger Duijzings and Fredrik Barth, offered by the second perspective. The main argument I wish to convey is that environmental activist do not only have complex identities, they can also turn to 'role switching', a term that I base on Goffman's concept of 'backstage behaviour' and Barth's ideas of multiple statuses, but first more on Milton.

5.1 Emotions and rationality in environmental discourse

In chapter four I summed up six approaches to environmental engagement in PAS. Labelling these six approaches as 'rational' serves further two theoretic and analytical purposes. It reflects conventional western thinking on environmentalism, and it marks an opposition to more 'radical' forms of activism, as I choose to call it. This distinction is comparable or analogous to the opposition that Kay Milton uses in her (2002) book *Loving Nature – Towards an Ecology of Emotions,* where she studied the relationship between emotion and rationality among environmental activists in the UK. Kay Milton's (2002) ethnography fits for comparative reasons on two points. She has done her research among professional NGO environmentalists. Moreover, her reflection made by doing fieldwork among organisations that chiefly are 'conservationists', was that many of the members shared environmental ideologies belonging to what she labels 'nature protectionism'. The distinction between these two categories is according to Milton, that 'conservationism' generally depends on an

anthropocentric view of nature, where nature is valued for its benefits to human beings. While 'nature protectionism', include all protective approaches towards nature and natural things, including 'deep ecology' and 'ecocentric' concerns, assuming that nature and natural things have value in and of themselves, independent of the benefits they might have for humans (2002:5). This situation is similar to my observations, which suggest that the rational and pragmatic environmentalism used by PAS, does not prevent members from more holding more holistic environmental ideology than that of the organisation.

Milton (2002) considers the dichotomy between emotions and rationality to be deeply rooted in Western ideas of environmentalism, and she questions the durability of this opposition (p. 132) with the fundamental understanding that all types of environmental engagement emerge from emotional devotion. Milton further attempts a deconstruction of the dichotomy between these two categories in environmental discourse. Her conclusion is that the opposition between rationality and emotions is false, and that it is a myth in the anthropological sense as it is believed in and dogmatically asserted, protecting particular ideologies and interests (p. 150). More interesting, she explains how this opposition can be a useful tool in public debate, as it may discredit the arguments of opponents by exposing them as too emotional, and therefore also irrational. She further suggests that those whose actions are seen as being driven by emotions are denied access to the supposed rational process of decision making. The stigma of being too emotional therefore becomes self-perpetuating according to Milton (2002), leading activists who cannot get their views heard through official channels to turn to direct actions like protests, demonstrations and even acts of sabotage (p. 132).

This is not necessarily bad for the movement as a whole, as both organisations and members can benefit from this stigmatisation if they use strategies that contrasts this style of activism, for as Milton writes:

> […] stigmatization of some activists as irrational and emotional is not necessarily bad for the movement as a whole, since it can increase the legitimacy of those who act in a more conventionally 'reasonable' ways. (Milton, 2002:133).

Quite often, Milton (2002) writes, one finds within the environmental debate claims that opponents are acting irrationally, and that this especially affects nature protectionists. They are being accused by their opponents within the environmental movement itself, by commercial developers or politicians of acting irrationally on the basis of their emotions. In public debates, arguments of profit or progress tend to be seen as more rational and carries more weight than commitment to trees, landscapes or non-human animals (2002:4).

Moreover, she unveils what she calls 'an informal alliance' between two ways of conducting environmentalism:

> Nature protection (like broader environmentalism and other social movements) thus progress through an informal alliance between contrasting styles of activism, an alliance which plays on the assumed opposition between rationality and emotion. (Milton, 2002:133)

What Milton simply makes visible here is that there is a special type of relationship between these two contrasting styles of environmental activism and that this is based on the perception that some forms of activism are more emotional than others, an assertion Milton claims is false. I support Milton's ideas that some types of activism are perceived as more emotional than others and that this idea is false, but I will still refer to this as rational and radical forms of activism as a more suiting distinction, though not perfect at all. Moreover, on the notion of stigma, which I believe can be used by both organizations and activists I wish to add a definition of stigma by Goffman.

For Goffman (1963), the preliminary conceptions for definitions of *stigma,* lie in how any given society establish the means of categorizing persons and complement of attributes felt natural and ordinary for members of each of these categories. These categories moreover provide certain anticipations, within the given social settings, and we lean on these anticipations, and turn them into 'normative expectation's'. Sometimes, however, there are gaps between what is expected of our identity, and what we really are (p. 11–12). Thus, more importantly, for Goffman: 'stigma is a special kind of relationship between attribute and stereotype' (p. 14). In the Polish smog debate, I have identified two stereotypes, that can lead to stigmatization. These two are the (emotionally) perceived tree-hugger and the (over rational) eco-terrorist. This forms a double-sided stigma that both members and the organization as a whole may wish to escape.

The main points I have established by using Milton and Goffman, are, that western thinking values rational perceived engagement over more emotionally perceived modes of activism. By deconstructing the dichotomy between emotions and rationality, Milton shows that emotion is the motivation behind any type of engagement. What more is evident, is that there is no stringent line between what I from hereon will call rational and radical (more emotionally perceived) ways of conducting environmentalism, there are rather fluid lines between the two in any environmental organisation or movement. Stigmas are moreover understood as representing a special kind of relationship between attribute and stereotype. Those who perform more radical forms of activism, like direct actions, demonstrations and to the extreme extent, acts of sabotage, fall into a self-perpetuating stigma, where they cannot

get their views heard through official channels. However, stigmatizing categorization of some activists as irrational and emotional, is not necessarily bad for the environmental movement as a whole. Organisations, and even members I would argue in the analytical chapter, can make use of this alliance to their benefit to escape stigma, but they can also switch between different modes of activism depending on the context or organization they represent. This suggests that some members of the organisation have complex environmental identities. In the next perspective, I will elaborate more on social identity and role theory by Jenkins, Djiuzings and Barth et al., that builds on Goffman and his dramaturgical model.

5.2 Identity and role switching

Identity is a core subject both in the anthropological and sociological canon, and there are many definitions of the term. I will only focus on some aspects of identity which relates to how social identity and social roles are connected to organisational life. I have chosen to use Richard Jenkins book *Social Identity* (2004) as a fundament for this perspective, where he builds on theories from Goffman and Barth to develop a three levelled model of collective identification. Jenkins uses moreover Bourdieu's term *habitus,* which is central to my analytical understanding of individual behaviour. On the matter of identities in relation to organisations, Jenkins defines that:

> Institutions are established patterns of practice, recognized as such by actors, which have force as 'the way things are done'. Institutionalized identities are distinctive due to their particular combination of the individual and the collective. Particularly important are those institutions which the sociological literature recognises as *organisations.* Organisations are organised and task-oriented collectives: they are groups. They are also constituted as networks of differentiated membership positions which bestow specific individual identities upon their incumbents. (2004:45)

Drawing on Jenkins, Ger Duijzings gives further this definition on identity:

> …identity represents primarily a link between the individual and a specific category or group of people. It is based on perceived sameness which at the same time implies difference from others: identity is therefore about the classification and the process of associating or equating oneself (or others) with someone or something else. If category…becomes a principle of group formation, then identity represents primarily the social bond between the individual and a collectivity or community, which may vary according to time and place, and may be contested by both outsider and insiders. (2000:18)

By combining these two definitions, we establish that organizational identities are distinctive because of their specific combination of the collective and the individual. Organisations are

task-oriented groups which bestow specific individual identities upon their incumbents. Identity moreover primarily represents a link between the individual and a specific category or group of people, based on *similarities(sameness)* and *differences*, and that this can vary from time and place. But how can we more specifically account for modern complex and fluctuating environmental identities, where the individual can draw on particular attributes and ideologies depending on context or organisations in which they act?

For Jenkins identification happens on three levels: the individual order, the interactionist order and the institutional order. As I have stated before I wish to bridge what goes on between the organization and individual level in PAS. Important in this context is therefore the relationship between the *individual order,* which Jenkins sees as the human world as made up of embodied individual and what goes in their hand, and the *institutional order,* of patterns and organisations and established ways of doing things (2008:39). But in between these two there is a mediating *interactionist order,* where Jenkins (2008) focus on an internal-external dialectical process of identification. This is where 'impression management' between public and self-image happens, a term borrowed from Goffman, but where Goffman and Barth see actors as pursuing goals, Jenkins opinion is that this does not account well enough for human behaviour. Hence, he turns to Bourdieu and formulates a definition of habitus (2008:42):

> Habitus is a corpus of positions embodied in the individual, generative of practices in ongoing and improvisatory interactions in, and encounters with, 'social fields' of one kind or another. The key point is that habitus only 'works' in the context of a social field, which itself is a kind of collective habitus […].

On the level of the individual person, Dijuzings adds, that identity is always multi-layered, since every person maintains a variety of identities as it belongs to several categories and groups at the same time (2008:19). James Clifford contributes to this that identity is conjunctural (1988:10–11), or fluid, situational and contingent like described by Barth and Goffman (Jenkins, 2004:44). For Barth identities are negotiated on at their boundaries, or as in the model offered by Jenkins, 'in the encounter between the internal and external' (2004:44). To sum up the relationship between the individual and the collective Jenkins emphasise two points:

> Firstly, identity is a practical accomplishment, a process. Second, individual and collective identities can be understood by using one model, of the dialectical interplay between processes of internal and external definition. (2004:46)

Bringing these insights together we constitute a view of identity and collectives where identities are multi-layered, since every person maintain a variety of identities, as they belong to several externally defined categories, and at the same time belonging to self-ascribed or internally described groups. Between these two there is relational and dialectic interplay in which identity is constituted and constantly re-defined,

Another way of putting this is that individuals enact or switch between different social roles. Thomas Hylland Eriksen (1995) explains the concept of *role* in relation to the concept of a status:

> [...] the role is generally defined as the dynamic aspect of the status, that is, a person's actual behaviour within the limitations set by the status definition' (p. 39).

Goffman and Barth are the main contributors to the phenomenon of 'role switching'. Ervin Goffman (1959) has developed an analytical framework in his book *Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* that can be applied to any concrete social establishment, which in this case is that of the organization PAS. The perspective he employs is inspired by theatrical performance and constitutes an analogy of everyday situations as actors or persons who 'perform' on a stage in social settings. On the individual level, Goffman writes, 'true' or 'real' attitudes and emotions can only be ascertained indirectly and the expression by the person appears to have two radically different types of impact, which is the expression that he *gives* and the expression that he *gives off* (p. 2). Therefore, Goffman asserts that when an individual appears before us, he will have many motives to control the impressions his audience receive. This is further what Goffman refers to 'performance', defined as all the activities of a given participant which serves to influence other participants in any way (p.15). A social role is by Goffman defined as 'the enactment of rights and duties attached to a given status' (p.16), and when a person takes on an established social role, usually he will find that a particular 'front' has already been established. The front becomes in this way a 'collective representation' (p. 27). While Goffman prefer the term team or establishment, I am referring to an organization and what the point is here, that the over-all objective of any team or organization, is to sustain the definition that the situation foster. This entail over-communication of some facts and under-communication of other, and here the same issue of information control arises as it does on the individual level (p. 141).

However, the most important for my later analysis is that in addition to frontstage behaviour, colleagues share a 'backstage' where they can let their guards down (106; 206). While Goffman uses this for mundane situations of relaxation, the way in which I will use the term is to describe how some members of the organization resort to backstage behaviour in

other organizations or just as civilians to act out ideologies which are more radical than those of the organization. Barth, who draw on Goffman notion of 'impression management' focuses on how persons have a variety of different statuses, and where they draw on specific statuses depending on the context (Eriksen, 1995:41). Moreover, Barth writes of role dilemmas and discrepant roles that is also a focus in Goffman's theory:

> […] the distribution of rights on different statuses is never entirely integrated and harmonious. Where status sets and relevant social situations are clearly differentiated, this disharmony matters little to the actors, who can then pursue discrepant roles and projects variants social personalities in different social situations. Routinized social life will in part be shaped by these considerations: persons will seek the situations where successful role play can be consummated and avoid the situations where serious dilemmas keep arising […] (Barth, 1981:90–91)

In my use of Goffman and Barth, and some concepts from role theory has a slightly different angle than the 'everyday' of identity management. I use backstage to identify some activities and settings that are the opposite of hidden, they are all going on in the public domain, but they indicate role switching adaptations to different contexts and messages. But simply, people step out of the more well-groomed code of conduct that PAS require. To participate in more radical, and even more confrontational activities, then on other occasions rejoin to the PAS movement again.

Chapter 6 Motivation and personal engagement

In this chapter I present data that complements the theoretical discussion in chapter 5 on the construction of social identities, and how activation of social roles depends on context and in what way some social attributes are perceived as stigmatising. The way in which I will do this, is by looking closer at the emotions and ideology expressed by members of the organisation, as motivation for their engagement in the fight for clean air.

Environmentalists have traditionally been divided into two main groupings; conservationists and deep ecologists. Szacki et al. (1993), who wrote specifically on Polish environmentalism, explains that the conservationists are motivated by fear of the aftereffects of environmental degradation, while deep ecologists in addition seek new cultural values, questions the consumer lifestyle and stress man's unity with nature (p. 16–17). Or as Milton divides it, between conservationists and nature protectionism (2002). I encountered a similar distinction doing fieldwork among members of PAS, between civil activist motivated by the health aspect, which can be linked to conservatist ideas of nature, as important for the well-being of humans, and professional NGO staff with more deep ecology motivations. A similar distinction, which is more useful in the case of PAS, is the one of Townsend (2009), where she proposes a separation between 'green' and 'brown' environmentalism. The 'green' movement is concerned with conservation of remaining wild places, while the 'brown' movement is concerned with cleaning up industrial pollution, although the problems of smog are connected to both the industry and extraction of coal, and the private utilization of it.

In contemporary environmental organisations with civil activist involvement, there is one more attitude which needs to be accounted for – 'the atypical environmentalist' (Thatcher, 2013), who reject all conventional ecological labels, and especially those related to the tree-hugger stereotype. I shall conclude the chapter by some accounts from of members on how the term 'eco-terrorism' has been used against them.

6.1 The health aspect

The health aspect stands out as the main motivational drive for engagement the local alerts. This assertion is supported by Grobelski's observation of the initial actions with Krakowski Alarm Smogowy.

> The Kraków case is but one example of unprecedented activism against coal as a fuel source, much of it taking a public health angle. (2016:60)

The health aspect was emphasised by all of my informants, but civil activists had to a higher degree only this motivation. Their motivation to create or join a local smog alert was either due to concerns of health for their children and family, personal health, but also more altruistic ideals for the Polish society. Below, I present a selection of accounts to show how the health aspect inspired members to create or join the cause. Ewa Lutomska told me about her motivation to help create the first smog alert in Kraków was a result of being a parent:

> *I think it was the reason I got involved in this fight… when you are a student, you don't really reflect on this, but after having children, and having heard how much illness air pollution can contribute to children. It was the reason to start this action! (Kraków, 25.02.2016)*

In Zakopane, Jolanta Sitarz told me a similar story of how the smog had a direct effect on her family life, which led her to become involved in the anti-smog-cause:

> *As an example, we had this year a smog episode that lasted for a week. The level of air pollution was so high that I had to stay at home with both of my kids for a week, and I got so angry and scared that I wanted to act. Imagine staying at home with your kids for a week and being unable to go outside. So, I contacted people active in this cause in Zakopane and I decided to help them. (21.06.2016)*

In Poznan, Wojciech Augustyniak started the alert after experiencing problems with his asthma. Augustyniak explained how he was feeling sick during the winter season in 2015. He then started reaching out to his friends on Facebook and learnt that several of his friends were having similar problems, even those who did not have diseases causing extra vulnerability towards air pollution. He started researching the problem of air in the city, and he found out that they had two months of smog in Poznan due to low temperature and little wind in this period. Since there was no information about this in the local media, he decided to create a Facebook-page, to share information on air pollution, and to build awareness about the problem. First he shared it with to his own friends, but then he started reaching out further. As a result, the alert in Poznan was established.

Michal Daniluk's motivation came also from working for the better good of the society and the rewarding aspect of it. Members do not only act in order to provide a better health in the future for their own families, but find it rewarding to serve a purpose for the society in which they live.

> *Personally, I have always been in the advertising business, and when you are in this sector, you always have second thoughts – 'Am I doing the right thing? Why am I doing this?' It is rewarding to do this, especially with the knowledge I have in advertising, which I am now using for a good cause. It is very rewarding to do something for others. (Warszawa, 12.05.2016)*

The heath aspect has moreover a strong appeal on the political level, like Radosław Gawlic Gawlik, from DAS explained it, who himself has significant political experience:

> *I think this is the most important issue in Poland now. It is both an environmental and health problem. For politicians here, the environment is ok, but the health aspect is very important. It is my health, my children's health. You know it is a good and effective argument and to make a change. (04.04.2016)*

This section shows how the health aspect brings out personal and altruistic engagement among members. It is the unifying aspect that has enabled a bridge between members with very diverse backgrounds, varying from civil activists who got engaged as a result of parenthood, political involvement and members with experience in the Polish NGO sector, The variety of actors is also trait of the modern environmental movement compared to their conservationist predecessors, for as Mary Douglas and Adam Wildavsky writes:

> One important difference between the modern environmental movement and the conservationist predecessors is the professional staff that now supplement the voluntary efforts of members. (Douglas & Wildavsky, 1983:129)

With the diversity of backgrounds among members, differences in ideology is to be expected, and I will proceed with an overview of more 'holistic' environmental ideologies.

6.2 The holistic aspect

The term 'holistic' allude to an ideology often connected to deep ecology, and in this case particularly objections towards the coal mining industry in Poland. When asking my informants about personal views on the coal industry in Poland, it became apparent that some had more critical ideas than others, and that several members were active in the anti-coal-movement in the country. This category also correlated with membership or engagements in additional NGOs with less pragmatic environmentalist views. In the words of one of my informants:

> *My observation is that many people from the smog alerts are active in the anti-coal-movement.*
>
> *My personal reasons for joining the alert was: firstly, the environmental topic is something important to me, and I was also angry. I would say it was some kind of personal experiences, attitudes…some emotions like anger and fear made me be more active in this alert. (Hanna Schudy, Leszno, 27.04.2016)*

For many this type of environmental engagement or ideas was not a part of their work for Polski Alarm Smogowy, but rather for other organizations, or as personal initiatives. Inevitably, there were signs of internal disagreements on which direction of actions to take,

where some activist wanted to choose a more diplomatic style of activism that others. In one of the local alerts I visited a local member told me – *This member wants to go to war, while we want to do it in a more subtle way*. There was also an example of a local alert created in Warszawa, which did not get inclusion into PAS. They chose to keep the name Warszawski Alarm Smogowy. According to the two most active members in this organisation, this was based on how they wished to promote a more holistic view than PAS, focusing on emissions from traffic and not mainly the low-stack emissions that PAS emphasise. I got only an comment on this by the media officer in PAS, that said that Polski Alarm was not a protected label, but that it was more a gentleman's agreement.

Marek Jozefiak told me about how he always had been interested in environmental issues, ranging from the energy sector, air pollution and biodiversity. Already, while studying law, he knew that he wanted to focus on environmental law. After two years of doing journalism, he got a part-time scholarship at ClientEarth. It was through ClientEarth that he found out about an opportunity for a position at Polish Green Network, and this was how he got into the NGO business. On his work in the environmental movement, he told me that: *'Before it was a hobby, but now it is my job'*. I also asked him what it meant to him personally to be engaged in this cause:

> *It means a lot to me. This is something that affects us all. It is not just work, it is really something that I put a lot of efforts into and I think it is also because this is about the feeling of community in Poland and the lack of it. We need to be responsible for out deeds and I think that this is bigger than air pollution. It is a social problem we are dealing with. It is not just a simple move. Of course, there are certain regulatory moves that can be done which would improve the situation, but it has to do with how people think about the environment and this has to improved be done in order to help the situation. It is a pretty big thing and I do have a feeling that we are a part of something big that might change the society in the years to come. (Warszawa, 2016, 10.05.2016)*

While doing interviews in Warsaw, I went to a demonstration against the firm Nationale-Nederlanden (NN). According to Jozefiak, they were being targeted by environmental activists demonstrating outside their offices in Warszawa because their investments in coal institutions. Marek who came straight from the offices at Polish Green Network, was still dressed in his suit, and stood out from the crowd:

> *It is good that they pointed at the firm National-Nederlanden (NN) because the problem is that this is about money, money which is hard to trace. [The demonstration] show them that there are people who actually follow their transfers and that their actions really matter. They should show some responsibility, especially as an international group. They are voicing that*

they are an ecological responsible company, so I think it a good thing that these people hold

them responsible. (Warszawa, 2016, 10.05.2016)

I saw four members from Alarm Smogowy at the march against NN. Here the members acted and dressed differently way than what I had seen before in situations where they were representing PAS. They were more casually dressed and holding banners and shouting slogans as they marched down the streets. However, to this is should be added, that I observed members mostly at conferences, and for example in Kraków the organization has organized big marches.

What becomes apparent here, is that one can trace a more overall critique of the coal industry and its investors. Another rather radical example, was when I was invited to join the annual Ende Gälende protest by a member of PAS. Ende Gälende (s.a) calls themselves a broad alliance from anti-nuclear and anti-coal-movement in Germany gathered between 3500–4000 people from 12 different countries, including activists from the Polish anti-coal-movement who are active in PAS. In May 2016 they blocked the Welzow-Süd open-pit coal mine and the coal fired Schwarze Pumpe power station.

This motivation category hold what I call a holistic environmental ideology, including critique towards the Polish coal mining industry, and perform more radical forms of activism. This type of radical expressions of environmental objectives, like Ende Gälende exemplifies, is connected to what Milton call emotionally perceived forms of protests. However, there is also growing component of the environmental movement that also can be found in PAS which represent the totally opposite of this category, the atypical environmentalist, who wish to avoid stigmas attached to the movement by refusing environmental identity.

6.4 The atypical environmentalist

As environmental issues are becoming more mainstream the movement is attracting new types of members. Their engagement is often ad hoc, motivated by either health like in the case of smog, or other encroachments in their communities or private grounds. Valerie Lynn Thatcher (2013) introduce the term 'atypical environmentalist' in her dissertation on the 'Texas coal Plant Opposition Movement' provides an interesting insights on the inclusion of such citizen activists in the environmental movement, and she suggest that there should be a broadening of the environmental identity to include these activists.

Thatcher's (2013) did fieldwork in five different locations in Texas that contested planned coal mines. By applying discourse theory on citizenship and framing theory, her research goal was to analyse rhetoric through which environmental activists negotiated

environmentalist identity in politically conservative communities, and to determine how coal plant opponents performed their activism locally as citizens. She also sought to analyse collaborations between establish environmental NPOs (non-profit organizations) and discrete local organizations (p. 11).

> Many of the new citizen-led environmental groups are claiming to be anything but environmentalists. To many of these activists—even if they self-identify as environmental — environmentalists are treehuggers, which they are not. Yet they have not come to an agreement upon what type of group they are, the category in which their efforts should be placed, nor have they clearly defined their identity. (Thatcher, 2013:6)

A good example of the atypical environmentalist in PAS is Michal Daniluk. Daniluk is not the typical environmentalist. To release stress from work, he used to drive around the city at night and he had never been involved in environmental issues before. When talking about the ideology of the smog alert, Daniluk told me his opinion on the matter:

> *...when people say that we are an eco-movement, we say that we are not. We are not fighting for preservation of leaves in the streets, we are fighting for clean air. It is not necessarily something eco. Reducing the air pollution is nothing eco for us, it is just something that is necessary for us to live here. We are thinking of leaving the country because of this right now. (Michal Daniluk, Warszawa, 12.05.2016)*

The development of an emerging strata of atypical environmentalists, is a sign of a wider inclusion of people in the environmental movement. Based on her Texan case, Thatcher observes:

> Environmentalism is becoming more complex as the movement matures and becomes more inclusive of people and what is considered an environmental cause. Its multiple identifications, its rightful aversion to stigmatization, and its struggle to clearly articulate an identity that reflects the interconnectedness of environment, energy, economy, and human culture, signals a turning point in the relations between nature and culture in the United States environmental movement. As it broadens its scope, this new form of environmentalism is not a rejection of conventional environmental principles of wilderness conservation and preservation but rather an acknowledgement that the environmental movement cannot be sustained within a primary focus on 'out there' wilderness issues that neglects the 'right here' concerns of everyday people and their immediate communities. (Thatcher, 2013:10)

I find Thatcher's emphasis on the 'right here' perspective very useful. Individuals may find themselves fluctuating between different categories or being perceived as one or the other depending on the context. My position is also that environmental identity can be complex, but also fluid (Barth; Bateson). The above accounts show that behind any type of environmental

engagement, either it takes on radical or more rational forms of approaches, the motivation is always emotional. The next section describes two stereotypes that members of the anti-smog-movement face.

6.3 Eco-terrorist or tree-hugger?

The two ranges of stereotypes that environmentalist face in the Polish discourse are the 'eco-terrorist' and the 'tree-hugger'. These do not arise from self-ascription, but ascription by others. The tree-hugger is a familiar stereotype in environmental debates, associated with activists turning to civil obedience by chaining themselves to trees or other objects. This type of environmental protest is often more prone to direct action and as a consequence of their extreme approaches, activists can be excluded from the political debate.

'Eco-terrorism', is a term more frequently used against members of PAS than the tree-hugger. One meaning of the term can be understood as eco-profiting. Grobelski (2016) refers to eco-terrorists as 'eco-extortionists' from the Polish cultural trope – the *ekoharacze* phenomenon – which describe alliance like the one between ClientEarth and KAS. It was the major Polish daily newspaper Rzeczpospolita, which in 2012, set off a fresh permutation of public debate about environmentalist's motives and tactics when it reported a new threat to Polish industry: 'environmentalists in suits so that they could block investments using a new tool, law.' (p. 6–7). This understanding of the term, I have discussed under the legal act approach (see chapter 4).

The first time I heard the term, was during an interview with Hanna Schudy while travelling between conferences with Dolnośląski Alarm Smogowy in Greater Poland voivodship. Working on this project in DAS as a coordinator, she said that one of the hardest aspects to handle with the engagement in the alert, was not knowing if they would be percieved as enemies when arriving in a new locality to share knowledge of smog to local authorities.

Marek Jozefiak from the alert in Zakopane told me that his ideas of this term was that it is a relic from post-communist society, from a time when there was overall little trust in the Polish society and in public service. The term is used to describe how some NGOs who pretends to be ecological, while in fact they are doing business behind closed doors, by getting payed to either slow down investments or terrorizing projects. However, he thought that organisations like these were uncommon. He further told me that they had been accused of being eco-terrorists by council members when they first started the local smog alert in Zakopane. Even the major of the town had talked about it. They were accused of being

economically linked to companies that produce coal boilers, because they are in favour of households replacing old boilers with more modern once, that have better combustion and filters. But the city council had soon changed their tactics, seeing that there was no proof of such relations between the organisation and companies that manufacture boilers. His overall opinion was that when he met people and politicians with good arguments, such accusations lost their validity and they could start discussing the actual issue of smog.

Jolanta Sitarz, from the same alert told me about some reactions she had got from her local community.

> *The alert started three years ago, and they don't call us eco-terrorists anymore, but I have been called an eco-terrorist. Actually, that was one of the nicer things I have been called. I was called eco-terrorist. I was called a crazy mother who is bored because I am not working. That I am strange. We were accused of doing business. Some people said we were selling some ecological ovens. I was called an eco-terrorist on the internet. This person apologized afterwards, and now they think that we are doing a great job. (21.06.2016)*

Piotr Siergiej, media officer of PAS, said he had never been called an eco-terrorist, though a friend of him had, and that he was proud of it. He chose to look at the positive aspect of it, 'is a sign that the opposition hate us, but then at least they hate us for a good reason. If they hate you, it is a sign that you are doing something important. It is sad but true.'

Legal acts, in particular alliance with legal NGOs, together with rational and professional working methods, can be confused with personal gain and economic motifs. This gives an insight, into some of the challenges that anti-smog-activists experiences in the Polish public discourse. According to members this argument losses validity over time, and with persistence a gradual support takes over instead. From my point of view, it seems that especially the atypical environmentalist is mainly trying to escape the tree-hugger stereotype. While those who have a white-collar appearance and rational approaches, aim to be take part in public debate, and can by mimicking the dress-code, fit more easily into arenas where politicians and other decision makers operate. But with this strategy they may be met with accusations of being an eco-terrorist. As show above, there have been several strategies to deal with labels or stigma from members. Either they ignore it, take pride in it, taking it as a sign that what they do actually matters, as opponents go to the length of calling them this, or you can meet it with good arguments and persistency over time. These are some of the considerations I will elaborate further on in the proceeding chapter with my analysis.

Chapter 7 Analysis

In the words of Richard Jenkins, 'the concept of "identity" lies at the heart of our thinking about the relationship between concrete individual behaviour and the necessary abstraction of the collective' (2008:40). It is exactly this relationship I wish to bridge, between behaviours of members in relation to the organizational strategies of PAS. I therefore will sum up my analysis on two levels. The characteristics of the organization as patterns and established way of doing things (Jenkins, 2008:39), followed by strategies of the individuals. I will begin with demonstrating how the six rational approaches employed by the organization has allowed a member base with diversified backgrounds and ideologies to organized themselves. Inspired by Goffman's dramaturgical framework, I propose PAS constitutes a platform or a stage where members with different motivation categories come together to perform acts of environmentalism under a unifying concern for smog's effect on health. I use both Milton's and Goffman's insights on stigma to review some strategies that the organization and members have used to escape a double-sided stigma in the Polish debate on smog.

This context, I argue, has led to some interesting individual strategies. Due to the pragmatic profile of PAS, some members have turned to 'role switching', where they shift from different expressions. From rational modes, to more radical beliefs, such as dissidence against the coal mining industry and its affiliating actors. Not in the sense that it is hidden, but rather that they turn to membership in other organizations or acts as civilians. This imply that several members have a complex environmental identity, where they can draw on multiple roles depending on the context

7.1 PAS as a platform for rational environmentalism

Organizations are task-oriented groups, with established patterns of practice, in the way in which things are done (Jenkins). Organizational identities are always relational, and distinctive due to their particular combination between the individual and collective. The task of the organization Polski Alarm Smogowy can in its simplicity be formulated as a single-cause-aim to fight air pollution in Poland. Their established ways of doing things are represented by the six approaches, but also in guided way of acting out their 'collective habitus'.

Starting out with six approaches I identified, which I have defined as rational, in opposition to more radical forms of activism. This distinction is inspired by Milton's insights on the impairment of environmental expression perceived as more emotional than others due

to a prevailing opposition between emotions and rationality in western thinking. She concludes that this opposition is false, but that it is a myth dogmatically believed, protecting certain ideologies and interests (p. 150). While Milton operate with the two dichotomies between emotions/rationality, and nature protection/conservationist, I prefer radical as it is more descriptive for more extreme forms of activism, like chaining to a tree and engaging in civil obedience. These radical modes of activism are often associated with one of the a stigmatizing stereotype in the environmental debates – the tree-hugger. Compared to this type of activism, approaches like *educational work*, *lobbying and policy making* and a *pragmatic profile* appear more rational than radical. By this I do not imply that radical activism is less logical, and there is most certainly fluid lines between such stringent categories, but as Milton has pointed out, more emotionally perceived way of activism can turn to a self-perpetuating stigma where activists and organizations are being discarded from the public debate, on (the false premise) that they are acting too emotional. I moreover support my claim of rationalism with the high sense of *professionalism* (Glinski, 2011) recognized by the organization's advocacy. *Alliances and networks* to long-running environmental NGOs, highly educated 'counter-experts' and (context sensitive) support from juridical NGO's to reform environmental jurisdiction, like the coal ban in Kraków, are some justifications to support this claim. By rational approaches, a pragmatic profile and white-collar appearance, PAS has escaped the stigma of the tree-hugger and gained inclusion into decision-making processes and acquired legitimacy. But in Polish environmental discourse, we find a double-sided stigma, so by acting more rational, they faced the label of 'eco-terrorism'. Let me take this argument one step further by drawing on the conclusion from the chapter four, in proposing that stigma is a special kind of relationship between attribute and stereotype, to use Goffman's definition, and that legal acts change the perception of what environmentalists do, it also change the way in which they behave. By adding Jenkins use of the concept 'social habitus' as they work within the particular social field of the environmental movement and the smog debate, the new 'environmentalist in suit' is a stereotype connected to certain attributes, that also can be given stigmatic connotations.

On the matter of information control, Goffman states that a team, (or in this case PAS) has to act together in a way where objectives and profile of the organization is protected. This has to do with what he calls information control. Informational control makes members over-communication certain facts and subsequently under-communication of others, and I would argue that this is particularly connected to the pragmatic profile of the organization and their 'grassroot-image'. A basic problem of information control for a team or organization, is that it

has to be able to keep its secrets. An example of this can be the way the organization has under-communicated what context sensitive support, like in the case of the legal support given to KAS by ClientEarth. Although, this alliance was not totally hidden, I would say it was under-communicated to a certain degree by members. Agreeing on such matters are paramount for an organization, and the way I propose that members with different backgrounds, but also different ideology do this is by agreeing on the unifying health aspect. As I have shown in chapter six, there are roughly two motivation categories that members of the organization adhere to. The way in which these two groups unify is by agreeing on the single-cause-aim and improvement of health by decreasing smog in their local community.

With these insights, I wish to proceed to my last argument on organizational level of this analysis. By applying concepts from the theatrical analogy in Goffman's dramaturgical framework, I wish pose that PAS become a platform or a stage, where anti-smog-activists with different ideologies and motivations can perform rational environmentalism together to fight the air pollution that the country severely struggles with, under the unifying health aspect. Within the holistic category there were members who were active in the anti-coal-movement in Poland. Some of these would participate in radical activism on in the extreme end, actions like the annual Ende Gälende where civil obedience is used, or like in the march I was present at against the firm Nationale-Nederlanden that had large investments in the coal mining sector. At the other end we find the 'atypical environmentalist' who reject any ecological or environmental identity. Due to the rational approaches, pragmatic profile and the single-cause-aim of the organization, some members turn to other organizations or act as civilians in order to express views not supported by PAS, which I will elaborate more on under the second part of this analysis, which is concerned with the individual level.

7.2 Role switching

On the individual level, the concept of identity is always important, as it is the key concept to who we are, and who and what we identify our self with. Identity is always relational. Identity is fluid, situational and contingent. Identity is moreover multi-layered as it belongs to several categories and groups at the same time. I have earlier proposed that some members have a complex environmental identity. Role theory, I would say gives the best fundament to explain this, and I draw on Goffman and Barth first who can can contribute to this that it is about impression management, statuses and frontstage and backstage.

As individuals have several statuses, and they can choose to draw on the status that fits best to the context, or social setting that they are in. Goffman focus more on the roles that we

play in our everyday lives, as in a theatrical play, where actors or persons can perform on stage by using impression control. The focal point of Goffman's role theory for this analysis, is that the actors can perform 'frontstage', on the activities initiated and condoned by PAS, to the best of their ability to fit the situation together with other social actors in front of a public As actors often play together, like in a group of colleagues, they also have 'backstage' situations where they can relax and let their guards down. The problem with these two contributions to role theory in relation to the phenomenon that I wish to portray, is that the focus on conflicting and discrepant roles, while I wish to propose that this not necessarily always the case, even when the roles express different ideology, and I will show how is saw this double-sidedness among members of the holistic category.

If acting in more reasonable perceived ways can increase legitimacy and inclusion in decision making processes, not only organisations can make use of this strategy, but also individual members. I found that members within the organization who share a more holistic ideology, do act out these commitments in arenas which are not formally connected to PAS. Examples of this are members heading civil lawsuits against authorities in collaboration with legal NGOs as explained under *legal acts*, or activism radical to the extent of civil obedience in the anti-coal-movement. I have established that the health aspect unifies civil activists with professional NGO staff creating a common platform. Due to the organization's *pragmatic* stance, it seems members with values belonging to the holistic motivation category resort to backstage behavior (Goffman, 1959) or more fitting 'code switching' when performing more radical expressions of activism, such as overt criticism of the Polish coal industry. The rational and pragmatic strategy that helps the organization in gaining access important lobbying and policy making, by avoiding direct criticism against coal, and also partly avoid the contentious political debate on coal in Poland. This may moreover be an important objective for members, while they at the same time have more holistic environmental ideology that they wish to express.

Activists dealing with coal related issues, even when this is done in an indirect manner, in Poland face challenges due to many contextual reasons explained in chapter 2. By basing their actions on scientific evidence of detrimental health effects of low-stack emissions of coal in private households, the organization has also revealed widespread cultural practices of burning low quality coal and toxic waste, indirectly evoked a heated debate and induced Polish 'coal fetishism'. Politics and public debate on coal is contentious and heated. Activists who on an ideologically level oppose to the current Polish dependency and political continuation of this, may therefore be inclined to do more moderate actions to achieve their

goals. As many members in the organization see little result from overt criticism of the coal sector and political change. Resorting to more 'rational approaches' in a pragmatic platform like PAS can be a viable option to realize some of their objectives. They can seek communion within the smog cause in alliance with civil activists and ordinary people, for this single cause.

In accordance to my observations and the interviews I held, PAS allows this type of activism as long as it does not happen while representing the organization. The organization seems to have few objections to this type of activity as long as the members keep this activities outside the organization. But for those who have tried to do so, this has left them outside the organization. The prime example here is the activist group in Warszawa that call themselves 'Warszawski Alarm Smogowy', but they are not a part of the platform. Rather, due to disagreements, which accordingly to members of 'Warszawski Alarm Smogowy' was caused by how they wanted to – against the car emissions in Warszawa, they kept the label, but did not get into the network.

PAS is an organization where there is high sense of inclusion (variety of members), while at the same time some strict guidance's on information control are active. Hence, there seems to be certain rules for what can be done by the organization as such, but 'backstage' behaviour and 'role switching' seems to be permitted to a high extent. But on the other side, one sees how individuals choose to collaborate with 'Client Earth', such as the case with Jolanta Sitarz in Zakopane. What is so interesting with PAS as an organization, a social movement, or 'center of organization', whatever one chose to label it, is that these oppositions already take place within the organization itself. In the way that some choose to act out more emotionally perceived and subsequently 'irrational' behaviour backstage in additional organizations that they belong to or simply as.

Although I know there has been arranged big marches in Kraków, I did not observe more radical forms of activism among members done overtly in the organization of my focus, as they seem not compatible with the organization's rational approaches. Especially the pragmatic profile and professionalism employed by PAS, seems therefore more context dependent and strategic for the organization, and not a parameter for the personal environmental ideology and motivation among all members.

In this analysis I have established a connection between the organizational level and that of the individuals. By showing how rational approaches on the organization level, as established ways of doing things (Jenkins), to the level of individuals where members with varying environmental ideologies come together under the unifying health angles, and where

members with complex and fluid environmental identities turn to role switching, or simply reject external environmental identification. Between these two levels there is however a continuous dialectical process of internal and external identification (Jenkins). In the meantime, it looks like PAS will continue expanding as an important 'organizational center' in the Polish anti-smog-movement, and gradually implement more alerts and contribute to new regulations and support from authorities and the people.

I wish to conclude with a quote by media officer in PAS, and his statement about coal which illustrate well the duality and complexity of how members choose to speak of the coal industry when representing the organization:

> *We, in the Polish smog alert, we are not talking about the coal, we are talking about air pollution. We can talk about the coal, because when I was at the Climate Coalition, I was dealing with this. So, no ecological organization in Poland wants to shut down the coal mines right now. None! Not right now. They want to do it gradually. We cannot right now in, but in 2 years, 5 years maybe. Just switching Poland into renewables. It is just not possible. We know that it will take time, so we just need the direction, we need the switch that says, OK, we have coal, but 25 years we will be in a completely different place, so let's put the switch in that direction and go there. Let's keep the coal mines. Let's gradually shut them down when they are exhausted, but try to support renewables, and we do not do that. We just support the coal mines, and not looking towards the future, and that is what worries me. Because in 20–25 years we may have a problem. (Warszawa, 11.05.2016)*

Chapter 8 Conclusion

My motivation for writing this thesis was to tell my story about how a dedicated group of citizens has organized to fight the problem of smog in Poland. Returning to my research question I posed three question that I wanted to answer with this thesis. I wanted to find out why the members I talked to and spent time with was motivated to join this fight against smog in PAS, and to share my perception of their how they worked together in the organization. I sought to illustrate the pattern of ways of performing to support the anti-smog-cause, and to understand their motivations and ideologies fundamental for their engagement.
What I found was some shared pattern of behaviours, but also very goal-oriented approaches. I have also been inclined to show the diversity of the group, and the many different answers I got, and observations did in terms of ideology central to their engagement.

I have tried in my analysis to bind the organizational level with that of the individuals by pointing at some strategies, that both the organization and members use. The strategies on the organizational level is recognized as approaches, but while the organizations profile and working methods seek away from contentious energy politics and rather focus on the cultural practices that exists in the Polish society that are sensitive enough, some members still wants to express their opposition to the direction and status quo of the Polish energy politics. The organization seems to have little against such forms of activism if it is kept outside their work in PAS. The sensitivity of the goals that the organization wants to pursue are sensitive enough without overt criticism against the coal mining which holds a particular place in Polish history, cultural memory and can evoke patriotism. The sensitivity lies in the fact, that in effect it is the Polish citizens who themselves in are significant biggest source of smog from private households, or low-stack emission, and even a wide-spread practice of burning toxic waste. It is the neighbour next door, the priest and the whole congregation who are the polluters. The way to solve this is by education of the people, but those in charge should also be held accountable for not implementing legislations that can turn people away from this toxic energy pattern. Hence, advocating for fuel bans are highly effective in achieving this goal, but it is also proves extremely time consuming looking at the process of the coal ban in Kraków that the organization started to advocate for with the expertise from other NGO's back in 2012, and which will enter into effect now six years later. The organization has ambitions to try to blueprint this idea to other cities and regions, and a member from Zakopane tried to do this as a civil environmental lawsuit by using EU-law. In the meantime, focusing on more short-term objectives like education, information to authorities, getting

politicians to apply for funds to replace old furnaces and gaining media publicity seems productive.

Regarding my practice in the field, and the persons that I met, I return to some of my thoughts from the methodological chapter. In the words of Hannerz (2010), I studied up, sideways, through, backwards, away and slightly at home, but mostly up, as all of my informant's were highly educated people. I met the economist, the politician, the teacher, the physicist, the linguist, the doctor, the atypical environmentalist, the concerned father and the concerned mother, the professional NGO member, the businessman, the counter expert, the white-collar environmentalist, but there was no sign of either eco-terrorists or tree-huggers. My expectation of the fieldwork differed quite a lot from my expectations. While I thought I was going to be in Kraków and attend to marches, I ended up doing fieldwork by appointment and what Garsten call ethnography at the interface at conferences.

As a last part of my thesis, I wish to discuss whether PAS shows signs of a matured civil society. I will do this by presenting some ideas of the past, the present and the future of the Polish civil society.

Epilogue An unpredictable future

As I am writing this epilogue the governing party PiS has just won the majority of seats in the European Parliament. In the preliminary chapter, I outlined some sociological positions on the civil society in Poland where great concerns were expressed. Poland turned to the west after abolishing communism with a massive engagement in the Solidarity movement, and in 2004 they got membership in the EU. But the strength of the Polish zloty seemed rise in correlation with a weakness in the civil society. The modern environmental movement in Poland has its specific ties to the revolts against the suppressing regime, and in 1994 in the Polish sociologists Piotr Glinski argued that this was a sign of 'a maturing environmental movement and of civil society as a whole' (p. 145). In 2011 he returned to the subject, only to claim that the Polish civil society was a waste of opportunity and potential (p. 286) and that the Polish ecological movement was in a state of crisis (p. 274).

Four years after Glinski wrote this article he entered the offices in the Seijm in Warszawa as member of the new governing party in Poland, Law and Justice (PiS). Paradoxically enough, this year represents a shift in this negative trend in the civil society. Since then there has been great concerns from other European countries on the anti-

democratic developments in the country. Since PiS took over in 2015, there has been a dramatic rise in public demonstrations against government actions and reforms not seen in the country since the Solidarnosc-movement tackled communism. Poles has taken to the streets against attempts of even stricter abortion laws, hugging of Europe's last primeval forest, the Białowieża forest and a media reform that replaced all leaders in national media and propositions of similar reforms in the juridical system. Demonstrations against smog, particularly in Kraków, has been a contributing factor to these civil frustration or public resistance that has ridden the country during the last years. At the time of my fieldwork in 2016, shortly after PiS came into power, I did hear my informants express uncertainties and concerns about future economic grants and economical support for transitional program for new stoves.

This development in the Polish public society made me think back to a conversation I had with Diana Maciąga who work for the ecological Association For All Beings in Poland. I kept on bumping into her on different meetings and events on environmental issues both in Kraków and in Warszawa. Ranging from a discussion held by a Catholic newspaper during the visit of Pope Francis in Kraków, on how his second encyclical, the with the environmental subject *On the care of our Common Home* had been under-communicated by the Polish Church, to a meeting at the at the alternative Café Kryzys in Warszawa where they organized to go to Ende Gälende. In other words, she was busy, as was the rest of civil rights movement under these political conditions. When I asked her about the Ende Gälende, she told me that it had been a huge civil disobedience protest that took action, with 4 000 people involved from many countries.

> It was massive! But not many from Poland, due to the political situation in our country people are piled up with work. The feminists are working on the anti-abortion case and environmentalists are occupied with the Białowieża forest. The new government is keeping us busy. (Kraków, 02.06.2016)

The direction Poland will pursue in the future on the matter of smog and coal mining on the national level is not given, but they are already under pressure by the EU to contribute more to reduction of CO2 emissions. The votes are counted for the EU Parliament, but Poland has still two upcoming elections. The Parliamentary election is to be held in November this year, followed by the Presidential election in 2020. What seems evident is that the civil society has woken up from its sleep. There is also an increased support from politicians on the local and regional level to improve air quality, and the coal ban in Kraków will be put into effect during the national elections. Based on my observations, I recognize patterns of

continuity in PAS regarding the policy practice that Glinski saw as a maturing sign in the early 90's, and that it is rather a shift in focus and form of social organization more than a sign of weakness of the civil society like the Eikert et al. writes:

> Poland has a relatively robust civil society that is organizationally comprehensive, dense and diverse, representative of all major interests and identities, and ideological pluralist but increasingly polarized since the 2015 elections. (p. 333)

There is one formulation in this quote fits the main message that I have tried to convey between the individual and collective level in PAS, 'ideological pluralism', that's the right definition of the member base of PAS, and maybe organizations that manage to bridge plural ideologies is the answer for more effective forms of social organization in Poland?

There is also a new and promising generation of environmentalist emerging. They are young, they are angry, and they are on Friday strike. It is symbolic in a way to this thesis how Greta Thunberg stood up against the grown-ups in power, in the heart of the Silesian Basin, that I have used as a case of an emerging 'coal fetish' that I believe Poland is fighting. Where the inevitable transition will take time, and looking at Thomas Hylland Eriksen prediction, coal is on the rising as long-term investments to meet a foreseen energy demand.

However, when it comes to environmental activists. Whether they chain themselves to excavators in open pit coal mines, dress up in suit to take environmental justice to court or reject the whole environmentalist identity. What they want is essentially the same thing. A cleaner and better future. In this epilogue I set out to discuss some consideration of the past, the present and the future. What concerns the future, I cannot conclude on anything else than that – the future is unpredictable.

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[8] Koroperckyj (2008:245)

Appendix 1

Interview guide for Polski Alarm Smogowy

1. What is your name, age, education and profession? (You may choose to be anonymous if you prefer that.)
2. How and why did you become active in Polski Alarm Smogowy, and for how long have you been a member?
3. Have you made new friends while being active in the organization, or have your older friends joined you in the work of the organization?
4. What has your activity in the organization entailed? What kind of tasks/participation have you been doing with, or for the alert?
5. How often would you say that you participate in organization activities or work for the organization?
6. The 15th of January an anti-smog bill was passed by a majority of votes in the regional Seijm. Can you tell me about this, how will it affect the future in your opinion and how did the organization work for this law to get passed?
7. How has the organization worked to influence the political level and to gain more supporters for your cause?
8. What would you say are the main reasons that Poland is struggling with such high levels of air pollution, and how can this be prevented?
9. What are you doing/can one do on a personal level to improve the air of Poland? What can other citizens in Poland do in order to better the air?
10. What are the future plans for the organization? Do you have any hopes for the continuous work of the organization?
11. Does the organization cooperate with other similar organizations, either national or international?
12. What is the organization's strategy in order to attract more members?
13. What does it mean to you being a part of this organization?