WORKPACKAGE 1: "Illiberal Democracy and Right-wing Politics"

ESR 1: Illiberal trends in incumbent parties and comparative democratic development in Central Europe

Carolin Heilig, University College London



## Civil society's ties to political parties: Insights from mobilisation around gender in Poland



This research is part of a project that has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No. 765224

### Structure

- Research motivation and theoretical framework
- Insights from the "liberal pillar"
- Modes of coordination between civil and political society
- Interaction between civil and political society: influential factors
- The gender paradox in Polish politics

#### **Research motivation**

SKIE WARSZAWSKIE JCHY

WOLNOŚĆ RÓWNOŚĆ SIOSTRZEŃSTWO

How it started

#### **Theoretical Framework**

#### • Pillarization of society (Grzegorz Ekiert, 2019)

"Thus, after three decades of democratic transformation, Polish civil society has evolved into a deeply divided and polarized entity with two distinct organizational pillars representing antithetical value systems, visions of politics and scenarios for Poland's future development. Moreover, the unholy alliance between a state with its authoritarian ambitions and the illiberal/nationalist pillar of civil society has created new opportunities for farright extremism to flourish, intensified Poland's culture wars and changed the underlying structure of Polish politics. As a result, Poland is drifting towards authoritarianism and away from European democratic values."

#### • Pillarization or Polarization?

## Insights from the "liberal pillar"

- Data collection in times of pandemic
- Pillarization and beyond:
- Data collected allows more insight into the liberal pillar

#### **Data collected**

#### Value Sharing Ties

- Similar values and goals
- Vision of society in accordance with CSOs activities and values
- Based on parties' ideas and values, CSO value or would like to work with these parties
- · CSO agrees with activities and campaigns of parties

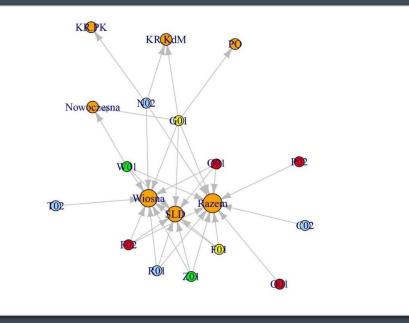
#### **Cooperation Ties**

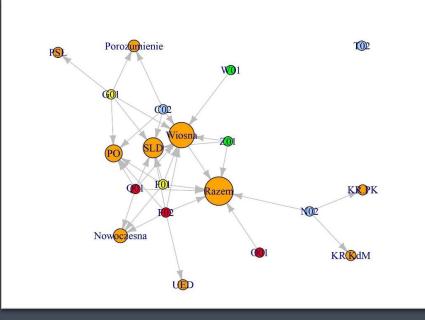
- CSO takes part in events organised by parties
- Collaborate organisation of events
- Political parties come to events organised by CSO
- CSO joins political consultations with these parties
- CSO supports these political parties in their election campaign
- Joint membership of individuals btw CSO and parties
- Political parties provide office space, materials or locations for CSO's activities
- CSO provide information to parties

### **Civil society- political society ties**

Value Sharing Network

**Cooperation Network** 





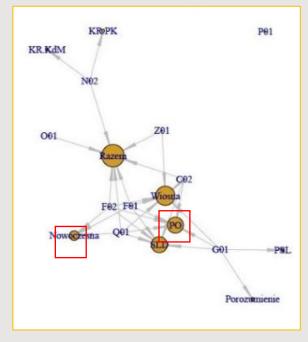
## **Modes of coordination**

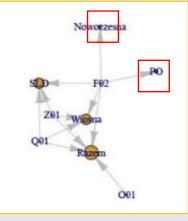
#### 1. Organizational Mode of Coordination

- Pragmatic cooperation, lack of value base, limited and superficial cooperation; mostly parties seeking cooperation (but not extending to deep consultation)
- Parties in the sample: Nowoczesna and Platforma Obywatelska

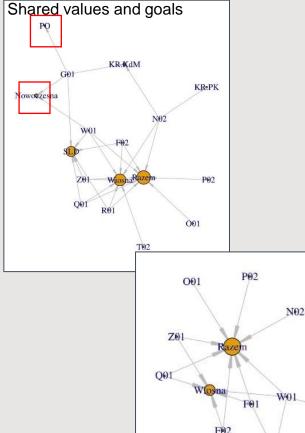
	Value-sharing ties - low	Value sharing ties - intermediate	Value sharing ties - high
Cooperation ties - low			
Cooperation ties - intermediate	PO, Nowoczesna		
Cooperation ties - high			

# **Organizational Mode**





CS joins consultations with these political parties



Nowoezesna

SOD

Political parties attending events organised by CS

CS agrees with party's campaigns and activities

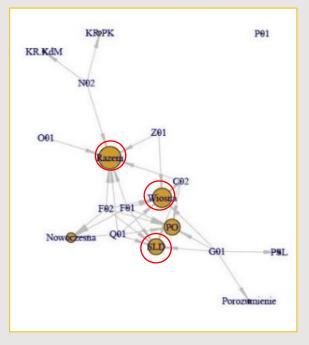
## **Modes of coordination**

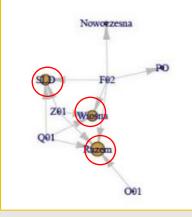
#### 2. Social Movement Mode of Coordination

- Values underpinning cooperation, cooperation largely event-driven, incident of coorganising events and stronger involvement in more policy-substantial forms of cooperation; nevertheless, civil society stays away from active electoral campaigning
- Parties in the sample: Razem, Wiosna, SLD

	Value-sharing ties - low	Value sharing ties - intermediate	Value sharing ties - high
Cooperation ties - low			
Cooperation ties - intermediate	PO, Nowoczesna		Wiosna, Razem, SLD
Cooperation ties - high			

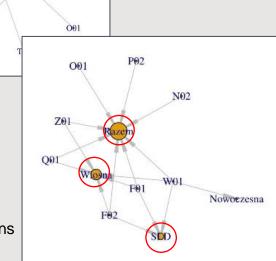
# **Social Movement Mode**





CS joins consultations with these political parties Shared values and goals

P<sub>02</sub>



Political parties attending events organised by CS

CS agrees with party's campaigns and activities

# Modes of coordination: Influencing factors

- Professionalization of civil society
- Community-oriented vs. advocacy work
- Political self-description of civil society ("apolitical" vs "political")

# The gender paradox in Polish politics

- Reproductive rights and LGBTQ rights at core of right-wing populist politics
- Civil society mobilizing potential of reproductive rights, high support from broader society
- Does not seem to matter when it comes to the ballot box, political parties identified as partners by civil society respondents cannot translate this to electoral success
- Gender matters and it does not matter at the same time