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Informal Civic Activity of Participants of the “Black Protests” and “Women’s Strike”: An Analysis of Scientific Journal Publications

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Abstract

A recent attempt to impose restrictions on the right to carry out abortions due to developmental abnormalities of a foetus and risks to the mother’s health has triggered widespread protests in Poland. These have resulted in the formation of a new social movement, the so-called “Women’s Strike,” which the author of this paper sees as a significant manifestation of informal civic activity. This paper seeks to generate and systematise the meaning of scientific research dealing with these phenomena. The main problem is the following: What categories of a social movement analysis and the meaning imparted to the new social movement called “Women’s Strike” can be identified in scientific papers? The author has chosen to employ a non-reactive research approach, and the sample selection was deliberate. The process of selecting and narrowing down the documents focused on identifying fragments of papers that could offer insights and answers to the research questions. The analysis was performed with the use of a categorisation key developed by the author, which was used to identify the thematic distribution of the scientific papers devoted to the new movement.

Results: Five categories were identified together with the assigned meanings: experience and citizenship, emotions expressed by the movement participants, feeling of community and sisterhood, development of the movement participants’ identity, the Women’s Strike

future and development prospects. The conclusions contain examples of potential pedagogic studies, in particular, the educational aspects of the new movement's impact on the young people participating in it, the experience of the identity transformation of the women participating in the strikes, reactivating the ideas and values of sisterhood and the feeling of community in the face of the threat to the freedom of reproduction, a change of the social attitude towards abortion caused by mass protests sparked by the toughening of the law, and media presentation of the new woman's movement and its demands.

Keywords: Women's Protests, Black Protest, Women's Strike, citizenship education.

Black Friday and Women's Strike – informal civic activity. Introduction

The interest in the issues of civic society in social sciences (especially in sociology, philosophy and political science) becomes manifest together with the development of democratic opposition and the downfall of communism in Central and Eastern Europe (Pietrzyk-Reeves, 2012). This is fulfilled by participation in political life (including in political choices) and civic activity in its broad sense (Kinowska, 2013; Klamut, 2013; Krzywosz-Rynkiewicz, 2019; Murawska, 2020). The history of Poland (and of other countries) shows that the women's road to their full civil rights has often been led by individual and collective acts of discontent through public displays of protest, rebellion and resistance, i.e. civil disobedience (Olubiński, 2021). Women's strikes contributed to gradually winning their diverse rights: from voting rights through the improvement of their pay conditions, work safety, social benefits, maternity and healthcare benefits to gaining access to legal and safe abortion. Winning civil subjectivity by women was a result of their collective discontent with the experience of social exclusion, marginalisation, social discrimination and restriction of liberty (Abram, 1999). However, they were connected by belonging to a group, a community and acting for its benefit. When referred to the definition provided by Violeta Kopińska (2021, p. 151) – such women's social actions can be regarded as a manifestation of active citizenship. Because this author points out that active citizenship is “[...] a social construct that goes beyond its formal and legal status.” Such an interpretation is also proposed by B. Hoskins (2006), who expands the meaning of the term by less conventional measures occurring at various levels (local, regional, national, international,

and individual) aimed at protecting democracy and individual freedom. Conventional civil education provided by educational institutions can be used by the authorities to “shape proper citizens” as understood by the authorities (Pietrusińska & Gromadzka, 2012, p. 116). In the event of taking over power by conservative parties, a stereotypical image of a woman can be promoted, who lives in a private space, who fulfils her aspirations in the maternity and household space, and is not too active in public life, especially political affairs, who submits herself to religious norms, to the ruling groups and, principally, to a decision-making male (Zaworska-Nikoniuk, 2006). Given the situation, social movements opposing the patriarchy, which demand recognition of the subjectivity and freedom of women (including the freedom to decide on their own body and the sphere of reproductive behaviours), coincide with the definition of active citizenship (Raciborski, 2011). The greatest controversy in democratic Poland is sparked by the issue of women’s reproductive rights, which is a consequence of the Catholic Church’s attempts to impose a complete ban on abortion. After the system transformation, the Act of Permissibility of Abortion of 27 April 1956 was in force, which allowed women to have an abortion in cases of medical indications (due to health issues in the woman or the foetus), suspicion of the pregnancy being a consequence of rape or in the case of difficult living conditions of the pregnant woman (Journal of Laws 1954, No 75, item 906). The law on the right to terminate a pregnancy was changed in 1993. The change involved deleting the right to have an abortion because of difficult conditions of life, and the new regulations were implemented by the Act on Family Planning, Human Foetus Protection and the Conditions of Abortion Permissibility of 7 January 1993 (Journal of Laws, 1993, No 17, item 78). The new law provoked many protests from feminist circles (including scientific ones). As Maria Janion pointed out (2003, p. 9): “Women’s rights were excluded from the set of rights for which «Solidarity» fought. The women’s civil energy was suppressed and even rejected. Democracy in Poland proved to be masculine democracy.” In March 2016, a registration application was filed with the Polish Sejm for the Legislative Initiative Committee “Stop Abortion,” which was supposed to deny women the right to have an abortion, even in cases when it had been allowed under the previous law of 1993. In August

2016, the “Ratujmy Kobiety” [Save Women] committee filed an opposing draft law, which provided for an unrestricted right to terminate a pregnancy until the end of the 12th week. The Sejm debated only one draft – that prepared by the “Stop Abortion” NGO, whereas the other – the one prepared by the “Save Women” Committee – was rejected. This sparked widespread protests, jointly named “#Czarny Protest” (#BlackProtest). The demonstrations took place in most of the big cities in Poland and lasted for several days, with the largest protests being on: Black Monday (3.10.2016), Black Tuesday (3.10.2016) and Black Friday (23.03.2016). The strength and sheer scale of the protests resulted in the rejection of the draft bill. It is estimated that about 98 thousand people took part in 143 demonstrations organised as part of the Black Protest. According to the police data, there were 410 demonstrations with 430 thousand participants, of which 100 thousand people demonstrated in Warsaw (those were the largest demonstrations since the system transformations of 1989). Four years later (in 2020), the Constitutional Tribunal ruled that the provisions of the 1993 Act (i.e. those allowing pregnancy termination in cases of severe foetal damage and a potential illness in future, a so-called “eugenic abortion”) were unconstitutional. This sparked further protests, known as the “Women’s Strike” (Korolczuk et al., 2019, pp. 17–33). The newly formed women’s movement did not go unnoticed in the circles of social science researchers (especially sociologists and political scientists). The first scientific papers were published discussing the issue, and doctoral dissertations and master’s degree theses were written.

Study methodology

The intention and the research idea behind this paper is to generate and to systematise the meanings in scientific research devoted to the Black Protest and the Women’s Strike. The analyses dealt with qualitative and quantitative theoretical and research studies (Creswell, 2003). The main problem was this: What categories of analysis and the meanings imparted to the new social movement called “Women’s Strike” can be identified in scientific papers? This study employed the methodology proposed by M. Q. Patton (1990, p. 235),

who suggested that a research method should be regarded as a systematic set of theoretically rooted rules (techniques and their justifications), gathering, analysing and interpreting data,” where – in the case of interpretative studies – it is difficult to perceive the end of one stage and the beginning of another (Kubinowski, 2011; Rubacha, 2010). The author decided to apply the non-reactive research method (Babbie, 2008; Gibbs, 2007). The study sample was selected in two steps. The first step was carried out with the use of the Google Scholar search engine, in which two phrases were entered: “Black Protest” and “Women’s Strike.” It found over 130 texts in Polish, coming from popular science and science journals, monographs, diploma theses and master’s degree theses. Having reviewed the press materials thoroughly, the author reduced their amount, applying the selection criteria proposed by V. Kopińska (2021, p. 157), i.e., 1) temporal – the author restricted the search to papers published in 2016–2022, in order to leave out those dealing with previous women’s strikes; 2) science branches – the author restricted the search to papers assigned to social sciences; 3) publication type – only publications were included in the study that were published in print and peer-reviewed journals – diploma and master’s degree theses were excluded; 4) publication language – only papers in Polish were taken into account. Another criterion was also added: 5) data reliability – it was important in what kind of an institution a document was prepared (the author preferred research institutions) and who the author of the paper was – the author focused mainly on those written by researchers (only peer-reviewed papers were included). The sample selection was aided by abstracts, owing to which the author chose for the study only 15 papers printed in renowned science journals on an “open access” (OA) basis. The analysis method applied was the qualitative contents analysis, which enabled a proper choice of materials (scientific texts), with the understanding that it involved: “studying registered human messages” (Babbie, 2008, p. 340) in order to “read their meanings” (Frankof-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2000, p. 342), while at the same time to build “cultural and educational knowledge, supported with the findings and conclusions from re-analysed data” (Borowska-Beszta, Bartnikowska & Ćwirynkało, 2017, p. 5). The content analysis is based on data encoding and decoding (Silverman, 2007, p. 145). The paragraphs were

defined as the smallest code unit, while a scientific paper was defined as a context unit and thematic coding was applied. Abstracts and keywords were used to define the following code categories related to the research problem. That was a combination of words, i.e. “experiencing and realising citizenship,” “movement participants’ emotions,” “the feeling of community and sisterhood,” “identity of female and male participants,” and “demands and forecasts for the movement development.”

Table 1. Method of encoding press materials

Code categories	Document designation	Authors
Experiencing and realising citizenship	07	Kowalska, B. & Nawojcki, R. (2019)
	08	Nawojcki, R. & Kowalska, B. (2022)
	01	Brzozowska-Brywczyńska, M. & Nymś-Górna, A. (2022)
	12	Przeszło, M. (2017)
Movement participants’ emotions	04	Frąckowiak-Sochańska, M. & Zawodna-Stephan, M. (2022)
	03	Dajwa-Turzyńska, K. (2019)
Community and sisterhood	06	Kosińska, M. (2020)
	10	Ostaszewska, A. (2018)
	01	Brzozowska-Brywczyńska, M. & Nymś-Górna, A. (2022)
Identity of female and male participants	02	Czapnik, S. (2021)
	11	Piechota, G. (2022)
Demands and forecasts for the movement development	08	Nawojcki, R. & Kowalska, B. (2022)
	09	Piechota, G. (2022)
	04	Frąckowiak-Sochańska, M. & Zawodna-Stephan, M. (2022).
	13	Suchomska, J. & Urzędowska, D. (2021)
	11	Piechota, G. (2022)

Source: Author’s research.

Analysis categories and the meanings assigned to the Women's Strike – study conclusions

Experiencing and realising citizenship

In 2018, there was the 100th anniversary of gaining civil rights by women. Each citizen, regardless of sex, ethnicity, race, class or degree of disability, was to have equal rights. Beata Kowalska and Radosław Nawojski (2019, pp. 35–48) attempted to answer the question: How did the wave of women's protests affect the understanding and practising citizenship by women? They defined their position in the introduction and declared that the material would be interpreted according to the feminist paradigm. They write: "Although the state should guarantee the rights of all its female and male citizens, everyday practice shows that their citizenship experience varies. Their sex is a determinant for many such differences. This is because granting legal status does not guarantee that such rights are exercised in reality" (Kowalska & Nawojski, 2019, p. 36). Taking the history of Poland, they point out that the citizenship pattern was developed on a masculine model based on rationalism and participation in public life (as opposed to stereotypical feminine emotionality and focusing on private life). They discuss three models in detail, which show the possibilities for women's civic involvement while referring to individual currents of feminism. They note the importance of Black Protests in building a civil society. This is, firstly, contesting a current institutional policy in defence of civil society. Secondly, it is the opening of new spaces and opportunities of citizenship for involvement which gets women engaged in public activities, which result in widespread social interest in their rights and the need to defend them" (Kowalska & Nawojski, 2019, p. 49). In a subsequent paper published three years later in "Studia Socjologiczne" (Nawojski & Kowalska, 2022, pp. 81–103), the authors continued their study, utilizing 25 memoirs of resistance to analyse the specific actions undertaken by the Women's Strike and the resulting impact on citizenship involvement. They perceive resistance against the infringement of women's subjectivity as a unifying force that brings together not only women but also men and representatives of various minorities. This collective resistance, according to Nawojski and Kowalska

(2022), represents a significant space for negotiating the meanings associated with citizenship.

Through the analysis of these memoirs, the authors discovered that for some women, the concept of citizenship only becomes apparent under specific circumstances. The memoirs revealed common themes, including the division of female citizens into different categories, the prevention of their autonomy in decisions about their bodies, male politicians and clergy speaking on their behalf without considering their opinions, fear for their safety and health during protests due to police brutality, and authorities ignoring the demands of women's strikes.

According to Nawojski and Kowalska (2022), these violations of women's rights, along with criticism of the state's institutions and the power ideology, served as the foundation for negotiating a new form of citizenship. The civil movement that emerged through the Women's Strike actively engaged in shaping and influencing societal life by challenging the established norms and demanding equal rights for women. Considerations regarding the history of the women's movement cannot leave out the role of the Internet, which – in a way – contributed to the formation of the women's strike. Women's activity was triggered by a post published by Krystyna Janda on Facebook, in which she (following the draft law introducing a total ban on abortion) called for a women's strike. This encouraged NGOs to act with the aim of organising it. The behind-the-scenes activities connected with the event are described by Marta Przeszło (2017, pp. 9–28). She notes the important role of the Internet (the main means of communication) in developing the new identity. She also reconstructs in detail the movement's history and its achievements, not concealing her personal involvement in its activities. She writes: "Facebook has become the means for popularising the idea of women's protests. It is here that women around the world voice their opinions and major protests in an important issue" (Przeszło, 2017, p. 20), or: "One can remember crowds of women who took to the streets to make their presence seen and to show problems" (2017, p. 20); "One thing is certain: that these protests have the face of a woman who has not said her last word" (2017, p. 18).

Movement participants' emotions

Previous analyses showed that the women's new movement grew out of the sense of fear, frustration and helplessness of female citizens in the face of attempts at violating their rights. The emotions of the protesting women and their feelings are described by two researchers, Monika Frąckowiak-Sochańska and Marta Zawodna-Stephan (2022, pp. 9–35). They used a qualitative analysis of reviews with female participants in Women's Strike and James Averill's theory of emotion dynamics (1980) to show two types of emotional strategies followed by the strike participants. The first strategy involved: fear, failure, sadness, tension, disbelief, and personal trauma. However, this strategy quickly transformed into another one – the need to rebel and to take action connected with personal involvement in the strike against the “violation of subjectivity” and “boundaries of one's body.” The authors devoted a lot of space to discussing the semantic aspect of the language used by women during the Black Protests and the Women's Strike. There were many accusations levelled at the new social movement concerning the use of expletives and the potential demoralisation of young people as a result. The researchers explain the function of such words in an accurate and scientific way and justify the need for them. In their opinion, “obscene words” allowed for discharging intense and hidden emotions, emphasised the importance of the issue that was ignored until that time, and made it possible for the female protest participants to express their feelings adequately and emphatically; they sent a simple and easy-to-decode message which could reach everyone and attract their attention (make people interested in the problem), they were a manifestation of the feeling of frustration and helplessness. Expressing anger by women in an open (sometimes obscene) way breached the traditional social patterns of girls' behaviour. It was a manifestation of “regaining their own voice,” lost as a result of living in a patriarchal society for many years. Despite sympathising and agreeing with the movement's ideas, perceptible in the authors' narrative, they remain objective in their interpretation of their study material.

The women's emotions became manifest not only in the exclaimed words but mainly on the banners carried by them. An insightful analysis and categorisation (based on the message features) was performed by Katarzyna Dojwa-Turzyńska (2019, pp. 49–74). She analysed over 600 photographs of the banners presented by male and female participants of the Black Protests, published on the website of the *Gazeta Wyborcza*. A qualitative analysis was performed from the interpretative sociology perspective, where she used Piotr Sztompka's methodological concept (2005), which regards photography as a huge database. The author reads the slogans and systematises and categorises women's enemies (common enemies). These include: a) the clergy and the Catholic Church (perceived here as the main "creator of women's hell"); b) politicians (especially those of the ruling party) – "non-independent decision-makers who deny civil rights to women"; c) cultural relics (models) and the pro-life movement icons. She also outlines a list of women's potential allies, although – as she points out – this one is more difficult to identify, i.e., the "Razem" Party, the European Union and sexual minorities. Despite the emotional load in the slogans written on the banners, the language of the paper is neutral, and it is not possible to infer what the political sympathies and antipathies of its author are.

Feeling of community and sisterhood

The women's movement may be seen as having educational values according to the critical pedagogy ("giving a platform to the oppressed"), and this is the approach applied in Marta Kosińska's analysis (2020, pp. 12–39). She shows it as an example of a social movement especially valuable to the informal education of adults in Poland, and she uses the pedagogic thought of Paulo Freire (1993) as the theoretical background for her considerations. However, she does not analyse the direct genesis and history of the Black Protest and the Women's Strike (this example only provides a context for broader considerations), although it refers in the latter part of the text to possible contexts of understanding its demands (here: scientific discourse) (Kosińska, 2020).

It is also noteworthy what is proposed by Aneta Ostaszewska (2017, pp. 127–144) – that the movement should be considered from the perspective of creating the community understood as *communitatis*. She focuses on identifying and describing the ways of understanding and interpreting black protests from the feminist and pedagogic perspective, and the considerations are based on women’s subjectivity while explaining the relationship between the idea of feminism and the objective of pedagogy. She sees creating women’s communities – based on women’s strength, the feeling of causative power and sisterhood solidarity – as a way of eliminating social inequalities (which manifest themselves as restricting women’s rights). She regards this idea as an opportunity to create a new vision of pedagogy inspired by the pedagogy of resistance (Ostaszewska, 2017).

An attempt at interpreting the idea of sisterhood was made by Maja Brzozowska-Brywczyńska and Agnieszka Nymś-Górna (2022, pp. 37–60). Sisterhood is not the same as being related, but it is a community of experience based on belonging to a biological sex. In an interesting discourse, the researchers reconstruct the term based on two concepts: semantic, developed by Bell Hooks (2013), and contemporary social movements by Richard Day (2005). By conducting qualitative interviews with the Women’s Strike participants (25 people), they show how they understand “sisterhood.” They systematise it in two ways. Firstly, they position sisterhood and strategic alliances based on clear opposing identities: (we: women – they: decision-makers), thus referring to sisterhood as an effect of common feminine experiences and feminine solidarity. The women’s statements reveal recollections of difficult situations during pregnancy or delivery experiences by their nearest and dearest, the striving to unite with other women regardless of the dividing factors (by finding a common enemy), a belief, often revealed, that the time has come for feminine unity, and giving each other social support in various dimensions and on many levels during the strike. Secondly, women understand sisterhood in a tactical way as the need to build a support network based on the practice of mutual care. Women stressed the importance of the careful selection of people included in the alliance, declared help to the protest participants and the will to create mutual care groups. The researchers conclude that: “The

interview participants stressed the importance of feminine solidarity in combination with the narrative of sisterhood above the borders of the sex, and the belief in building communities of support intertwined with the need for a system fight against women's discrimination" (Brzozowska-Brywczyńska & Nymś-Górna, 2022, p. 60). It is interesting that – in understanding the new movement – a sister does not have to be a woman.

Participants' identity

Further texts consider the impact of young people's participation in the movement on developing their identity. This stream of considerations includes papers by Sławomir Czapnik (2021, pp. 32–48) and Grażyna Piechota (2022, pp. 97–114). S. Czapnik analyses the potential impact of participation in a new social movement on identity changes in young people, here called: "The eight-star generation" (referring to the title of Karol Krupiak's song, which has become the movement's anthem). He wrote that by participating in activities in the new social movement, young people would re-evaluate their lives, choosing to follow pluralistic life models (especially European), at the same time rejecting the patriarchal and catholic values often ingrained by educational institutions (e.g. school). The (critical) narrative and the phraseology used indicate the author's personal involvement in carrying out the movement's ideas. He uses such phrases as "the poison of the propaganda affirmation of heterosexual marriages and procreation" (Czapnik, 2021, p. 47), and he intends to follow a critical discourse to encourage the reader to think about and analyse the demands of the Women's Strike. Considerations of the social movement's impact on developing a resistance identity are also presented by Grażyna Piechota (2022, pp. 97–114). Inspired by the theory developed by Manuel Castells (2013), she shows the women's movement – as a movement of resistance, which creates a collective identity, leading to rejection by part of the society of indisputable social compromises (if only those concerning abortion rights), encouraging one to reconsider matters and to set one's own goals (2022, pp. 97–114).

Demands and development forecasts

Although the initiative behind the Black Friday and later the Women's Protests was driven by an attempt at amending the Act on Protecting Human Foetus, Family Planning and Conditions of Abortion Permissibility of 1993 (Journal of Laws, 1993, No 17, item 78), the researchers Radosław Nawojski and Beata Kowalska (2022, p. 91) point out that the social context of the demonstrations was much wider. The abortion dispute was not about the pregnancy termination procedure as such but about the broader context of objectivisation of women and other citizens (including sexual minorities). An attempt at restricting women's reproductive rights became an ignition point which activated the social emotions that had been suppressed for years. The feelings of people dissatisfied with the government's actions, demanding changes in the law, education, healthcare and the separation of church and state. This is a probable reason why the social response to Krystyna Janda's appeal was so huge.

The Women's Strike demands are presented briefly by Radosław Nawojski and Magdalena Pluta (2018, pp. 117–132), who point to women as a minority group socially discriminated against, who – while trying to regain their subjectivity – require social work in its broad sense. They analyse the women's demands and mention the following: hindered access to prenatal examinations and perinatal healthcare, unpaid housework (undervalued, or even de-valued in the society), unsolved issues of home violence and lack of support to women who experience it, discrimination against women on the labour market, which shows as their lower pay as compared with that earned by men, lack of support for mothers, especially those bringing up children with disabilities, the Church interfering in the state matters, an obsolete model of school education and many others (Nawojski & Pluta, 2018).

The prospects for the long-term development of the movement are outlined by M. Frąckowiak-Sochańska, M. Zawodna-Stephan (2022) in the text discussed above. They point out that although the women's civil rebellion was suppressed (as they did not accomplish their goals) and weakened for the time being, it released the strength and intensified citizens' civil activity.

It changed the social activity towards releasing the strength in resistance and opposing the authorities. This way of thinking manifests itself in the slogan shown during and after the women's strike. "Annushka spilled sunflower oil" (referring to the novel by Mikhail Bulgakov, in which devils arriving in Moscow expose the authorities' oppressiveness). These researchers see the prospects for the movement development in two types of women's adaptive actions: focusing on the private sphere, requiring specific actions which restore their feeling of causative power in a microscale ("a periodical survival strategy") and an attempt at diverting energy to "work at the grassroots based on feminist awareness," which will not disappear when the strikes end, but it will result in other social actions (i.e. supporting or creating NGOs, or children education in line with the adopted value system) (Frąckowiak-Sochańska & Zawodna-Stephan, 2022).

A similar future for the movement is outlined by the researchers Joanna Suchomska and Dominika Urzędowska (2021, pp. 15–30), who believe that although it went into a dormant state, it can be awakened by a new initiating event. The movement's activists will make an attempt at organising it in a political entity around the next election.

Similar conclusions are drawn by Grażyna Piechota (2022, pp. 97–114), who stresses the significant achievements of the women's movement in generating social transformations and those in "citizens' dormant mentality." It brought about, for example: intensified citizens' activity, bringing a discussion on women's rights into the public space, changes in the parties' and their electorates' position towards violation of women's rights, change of the language used to talk about abortion (to that related to medicine rather than to one's religious beliefs) (Piechota, 2022, pp. 97–114).

Summary

Although they were new phenomena, the Black Protest and the Women's Strike attracted some interest in scientific circles, which bore fruit in the form of scientific papers on this subject. Four of them (01, 07, 08, 12) dealt with the issue of "experiencing and realising citizenship," understood as

counteracting sexual discrimination, actively opposing violation of women's subjectivity, joint negotiation of the new sense behind the term "citizenship" and negotiating the new meaning of citizenship as a result of criticism of the state, the Church and the ideology of power. Two papers (03, 04) present extreme emotions demonstrated by the movement participants: from the loss of self-confidence, anxiety, sadness, and disbelief to rebellion, disagreement, and anger (showing in action and expletives, useful in this case to break the stereotypical image of "a good girl" and "submissive woman"); through an attempt to define "a common enemy" (mentioned in the slogans on the banners). Another three – (01, 06, 10) referred to the category of "the feeling of community" – it considered it as uniting (both female and male) citizens as a result of restricting women's rights (sexual discrimination) and the need for eliminating this phenomenon by creating "feminine communities" based on "the idea of sisterhood" (understood as the common feminine experiences and feminine solidarity as well as building a network of social support). Relatively little space (only two papers: 02, 11) was devoted to developing the identity of the movement's participants by taking part in common civil activities and influenced by its ideas and slogans. Considerations on the future and development prospects for the Women's Strike were interesting (04, 08, 09, 11, 13). The scientific study authors considered it as a cumulation of civil dissatisfaction with the government's oppressive actions, a response to the unsolved social problems (e.g. healthcare, education, lack of support to mothers, especially those bringing up children with disabilities), pointing to the significant role in women's civil activity aimed at improving their life conditions. The study initiated by social scientists may also inspire pedagogues to explore this phenomenon further. The critical theory inspired by feminist ideas seems to be particularly useful. It would be difficult to provide research recommendations because of the diversity of the subject matter dealt with, but some issues deserve attention, e.g. the educational aspects of the new movement's impact on the young people participating in it, the experience of the identity transformation of the women participating in the strikes, reactivating the ideas and values of sisterhood and the feeling of community in the face of the threat to the freedom of reproduction, a change of the social

attitude towards abortion caused by mass protests sparked by the toughening of the law, or media presentation of the new woman's movement and its demands.

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