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The Art and Artifacts of Solidarity

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Abstract

In *Complex Adaptive Systems in a Contentious World* I showed how viewing social systems as Complex Adaptive Systems exposes the systemic mechanisms that underpin their resilience and sustainability. In this article I show the utility of that approach for elucidating the role of art and artists in the evolution of resilient social movements. I do this by exploring the way in which art and artifacts were implicated in the evolution of the Polish *Solidarność* movement.

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Solidarność was the first independent trade union in a Warsaw Pact country to be recognized by the state. Over the 1980s, its evolutionary trajectory took it from a nationally networked labor movement to a revolutionary social movement for civic rights that precipitated and won elections in 1989. Solidarność was banned between 1982 and 1989. The exhibition *Lost Treasures of Revolution: The Graphics of Solidarity 1980-89*¹ displayed objects from the Victoria and Albert Museum's collection of posters, pins, and stamps produced during the movement's underground years. In this article I draw on examples from that exhibition to show how the art of Solidarność demonstrates both the abstraction and reification of the concept of social systems as Complex Adaptive Systems, exposing the systemic mechanisms that underpinned the resilience and sustainability of the movement.²

The “belonging” associated with Solidarność was an ideological, embodied, lived thing, a part of everyday existence, owned individually and collectively. Art was part of that way of being. It was integral to the movement as an autopoietic (self-producing) system: the movement sustained the production of art and the art played a part in sustaining the movement.

Solidarność as a Complex Adaptive Social System

Complex Adaptive Systems are self-organizing open systems that interact selectively with their environment. Their behavior can be perceived as a co-evolution with their environment: they can both shape and be shaped by environmental changes over time.

Complex Adaptive Systems of all kinds (including those studied in the biological, physical, and human sciences) have a network form of organization and communication: this network “signature” underpins their ability to adapt and evolve, overcoming adverse conditions, and improving fitness for survival in a changing landscape.³ The Solidarność movement was such a system, and its trajectory was predicated on three features common to all Complex Adaptive Systems:

- *Self-organization.* Interactions of system components are contingent on the particular characteristics of individual components and what they know about their environment: there is no deus ex machina, no central entity or locus of control to pre-determine the actions of individual components.
- *Emergence.* The diversity and dynamics of the relationships between the system's components give rise to its macro-level properties (i.e., those that we observe when we describe the behavior and characteristics of the system as a whole), which are *different in kind* from the sum of the properties of individual components.
- *Heterogeneity and diversity of components and their relationships.* The nature of its network determines the transformative and adaptive capability of the system. The network is characterized by the heterogeneity of the “things” it connects (the network nodes), and the types of relationships (the network links) that exist between the connected things at different times. The resilience of Complex Adaptive Systems derives from the combinatorial potential they embody: recombination of components in different constellations, as and when appropriate, enables access to a large option space from which to select the most appropriate adaptation or transformation in the face of unforeseen environmental perturbations.

Social systems are essentially complex networks in which different types of individuals are interconnected by diverse relationships and meaningful exchanges of information and artifacts.

The overall system comprises a “lumpy” network of networks (we can think of these as clusters) of different sizes and connectivity. There can be very large clusters with lots of connections, small ones with few connections, and others in-between.

Solidarność embodied these essential features of a Complex Adaptive System. Its membership was diverse, comprising its own national network of unions, and rooted in a wider matrix of societal connections bringing together people from all walks of life, from farmers to academics. Its structure comprised a network of networks traversing urban and rural spaces. The collective entity emerged from individual actions based on locally accessible resources and circumstances; it had a distributed organizational architecture, exploiting network connectivity selectively to activate network constellations for dynamic coordination and communication.

The emergence and spread of Solidarność through the nation, gathering and sustaining momentum, illustrates the power of the network form of organization. In particular, the “networkness” was harnessed to deliver two critical capabilities:

- *Speed and reach of communication (and coordination capacity)*: the multiplier effect of network connectivity enabled a non-linear escalation in the speed with which information and resources were transmitted across the network and the number of people (or organizations) that were reached, allowing for rapid escalation of coordinated action in response to contingencies.
- *Fine tuning for self-organization and coordination at local and national scales*: the dynamic capabilities afforded by the network form of organizing were particularly important because of the underground nature of the movement. Collective action was coordinated and orchestrated through selective activation of pathways and constellations at different scales (ranging from the activity of small groups of locally connected individuals to the mobilization of network clusters in factories and communities nationally), at different times, and for different durations. This allowed (sometimes spontaneous) local acts of resistance (such as demonstrations and strikes) to be integrated within the trajectory of the national movement.

Art was inextricably part of the movement. It linked place and space at all scales, from individual expression and investment in the creation, display, and distribution of pins, badges, and stamps at a micro-level to prominent displays of large posters and banners designed to reclaim the public space from the propaganda of the communist regime. The physical infrastructure for the production of art was intertwined with the national network of dissension: the underground network of publishers, distributors, and consumers of art operated in concert, embedded in the socio-political fabric of the movement. Its distributed organization and agility (very often the presses were homemade constructions, easy to dismantle and transport) enabled the underground press to thrive beyond the reach of censorship.

In the following sections I view Solidarność as a Complex Adaptive System, and explore how and why its art was systemically significant. In the final section I speculate on the relevance of these observations about Solidarność for present day mass movements to bring about systemic change.

Art: Sustaining the Space for Multiple Connections in Multiple Dimensions

Art goes beyond the cerebral, rational appeal of argumentation, to tap into the visceral, aesthetic, and embodied sense of being in the world. Analogous to Umberto Eco’s⁴ analysis of the

relationship between the text and the reader, to “consume” a piece of art is to find and experience a connection with the work. The artist allows a space for the consumer to enter the work and to fuse with it at some level, very much in the moment.⁵ The artist invests the effort, emotion, and talent in creating the space, an abstraction where such a fusion is possible; as a consumer, one invests some part of oneself in making the fusion come to life.

The Art of Solidarność

The art of Solidarność created a space for people with different backgrounds and beliefs to participate in generating multiple, confluent expressions and interpretations of an existential struggle. Individual and collective expressions coalesced in their symbolism, drawing on history and metaphor to connect the struggles and victories of the past with contemporary narratives and visions of an optimistic future.

The power of the art of Solidarność emerges from three things working synergistically: the human investment in the making of the objects, the physicality of the objects, and the symbolism associated with them. The systemic significance of the art derives from the dynamic space it creates for the realization of individual and collective identity, affording multiple dimensions for connection across time and space. It constitutes a liminal space of possibilities within which individual and collective identities can be defined, coalesce and evolve, becoming realized as integral to the emergent network organization of the national movement.

The Logo: A Space for Multiple Belongings

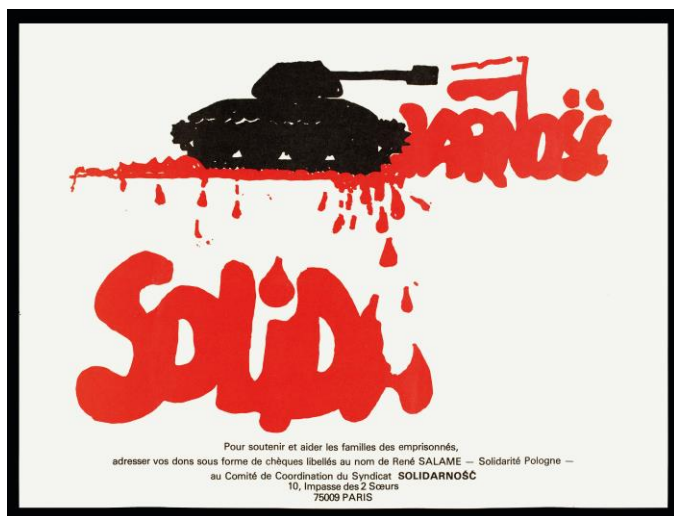


Figure 1. The Solidarność logo poster. Poland, 1980. Logo design by Jerzy Janiszewski (Polish Solidarity 1980). Image © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

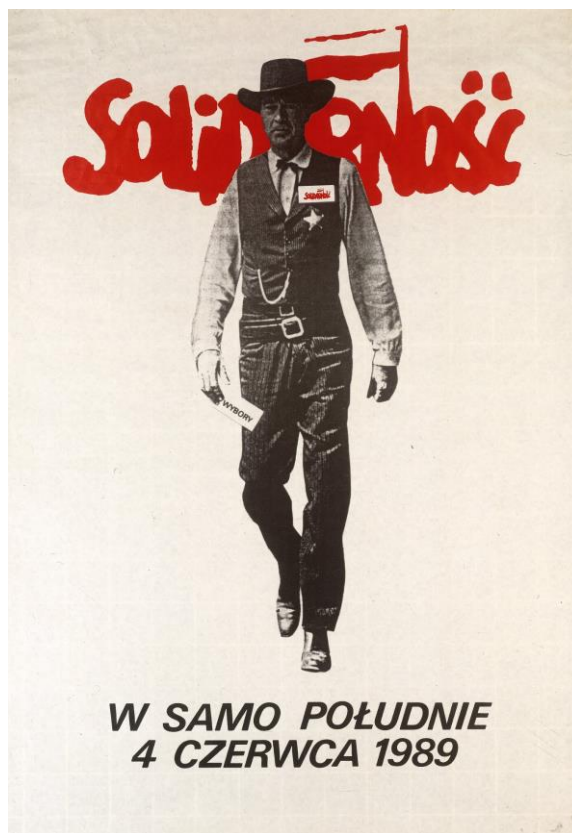
The iconic logo of Solidarność (Fig. 1) was manifestly an overarching abstraction that could be reified in diverse contexts to speak for, and speak to, individuals and their aspirations across different walks of life.⁶ Jerzy Janiszewski, speaking about the design,⁷ said “The concept came... [from] people in the dense crowds leaning on one another - that was characteristic of the crowds in front of the [factory] gate. They didn’t press or push each other, but they leaned on each other, neither standing by themselves nor falling on others.”

Combining the visceral and aesthetic impact of image and color, it was abstract enough to be universally recognized, its lines simple enough to be appropriated and personalized, and its symbolism open to multiple interpretations. Affectively, the logo worked at multiple levels of

consciousness and being, connecting the private and the public, the individual and the collective, across space and time. It served as a scaffolding, offering multiple dimensions for the definition of self, and for engagement with the movement by appealing to the visceral, ideological, and intellectual sensibilities. For example, the color red variously signified the blood red of martyrs (both with religious connotations and with reference to the sacrifice of workers killed in past struggles), the poppy red of the national flower, or the victorious reclamation of the color from the Soviet regime. The semiotic power of the logo was harnessed to communicate other messages, ideas, and sentiments that related to contemporary concerns (Fig. 2) and future aspirations (Fig. 3).

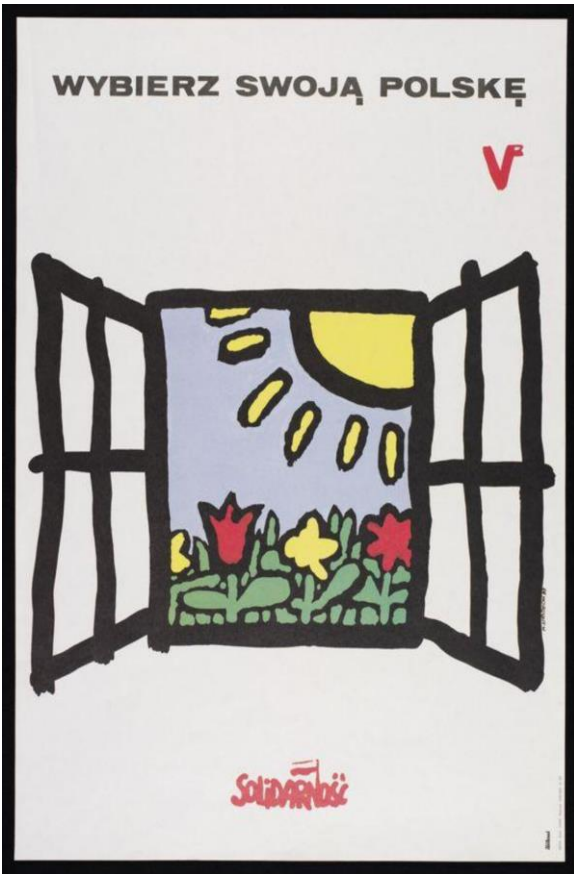


Poster in support of the families of political prisoners published by the Comité de Coordination du Syndicat Solidarność. France, circa 1982.

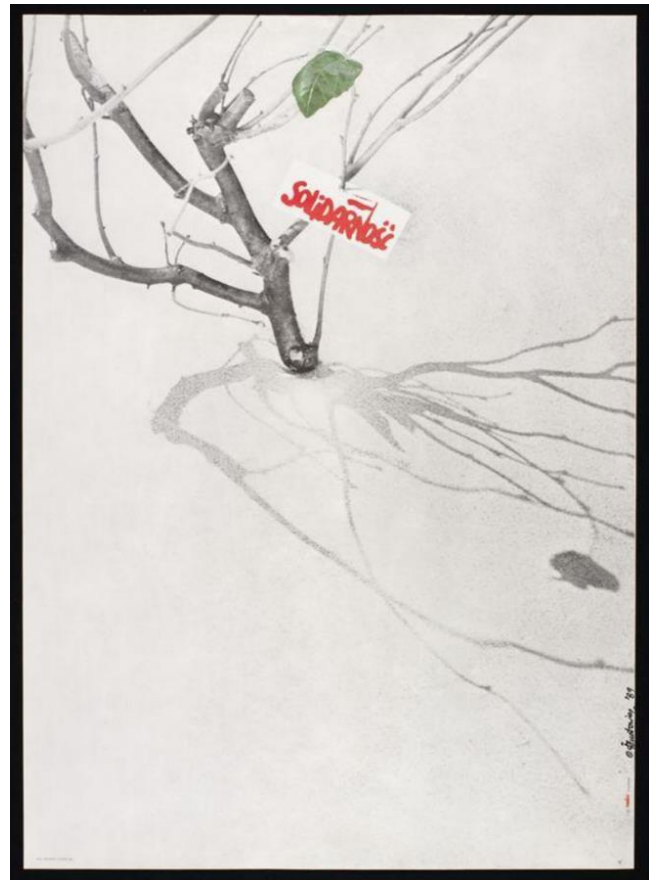


Thomas Sarnecki's poster for the June 1989 elections in Poland, featuring Gary Cooper in his role as sheriff in the 1952 American film *High Noon*: his pistol is replaced by the ballot paper and symbolizes the replacement of rule by force with democracy.

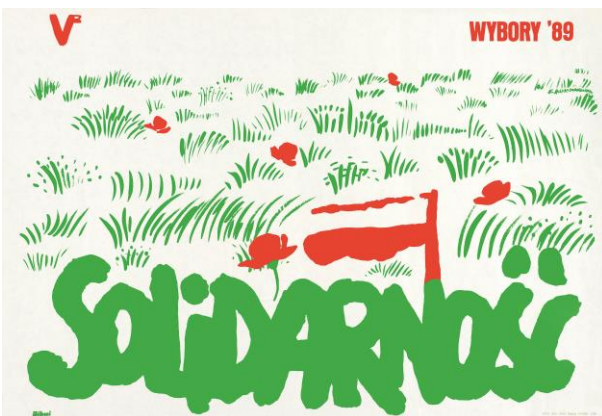
Figure 2. Posters that use versions of the Solidarność logo for communication about issues of contemporary concern. Images © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Vote for Your Poland: election poster designed by Maurycy Stryjecki. A window thrown open onto a sunny garden suggests freedom and fresh air after the stifling experience of communist rule.



A leaf labeled with the logo of Solidarność: poster depicting a symbol of hope on the dying tree of the country under the communist regime. Artist unknown.



Elections '89: poster designed by Ewa Baluk-Zaborowska in Poland, 1989. The field of poppies are the national flower of Poland and a symbol of resurrection.

Figure 3. Posters that capture the vision of the regenerative power of a Solidarność election victory. Images © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Investment in the Making of Artifacts: The Human Scale

The making of artifacts pervaded the network of the movement, matching its scale and distributed organization. The underground network of creators ranged from those who enjoyed support from external political allies for the supply of printing presses and materials, to individuals who created homemade and hand-drawn productions on scrap paper. The network included notable professional artists, but many were amateurs and their works embody the appeal of authenticity associated with naive art.

The creation of images and slogans reflected a diversity of values, histories, and perspectives, authentically grounded in the lived experience of the creators. The expression of individual identity extended from the creators of the artifacts to the persona of those who acquired and wore the pins and badges. These individual personal acts were integrated into the emergent *conscience collective*⁸ through the network effects characteristic of Complex Adaptive Systems. From a systemic perspective, the resilience and stability of the movement were enhanced by being anchored in multiple dimensions of human *being*. The imagery was accessible to multiple interpretations and its abstract, symbolic appeal to the intellect was combined with its aesthetic and visceral power. The various strands of association (romantic ideas about nationhood, references to the church and faith, collective memories of past struggles and resistance, memories of comrades and those martyred for the cause, etc.) were incorporated into stable personal narratives at the individual level. At the systemic level, these strands provided multiple points of attachment for the emergence of the movement's multidimensional network of relationships.



Figure 4. Solidarność badges, 1980-1989 (artists unknown).⁹ Images © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

The symbolism of the posters and banners carried through to the miniature design of pins and badges (Fig. 4), and extended to the making of postage stamps (Fig. 5). There were more than 3,000 different designs of stamps produced and sold in support of Solidarność, mimicking the forms of official postage, often issued in the name of the “Solidarność Post Office”, and bearing a monetary value. Although they could not be used to send mail, they symbolized a means of public communication free from censors and government interference.¹⁰



Yellow Bird. A reference to the crowned eagle, an emblem of pre-communist Polish sovereignty.

Orange Victory Kid

Body Cross. A martyred worker with splayed arms appealing to the religious and visceral connections to past images of crucifixion.

Anchor Painter: The symbol of an anchor composed of a P and a W stands for *Polska Walcząca*, ‘Poland is Still Fighting,’ and was the symbol of the Polish Home Army during World War II.

Chair. Marking Political Prisoner week, with the marquee “Mail of the Law.”

Figure 5. A Selection of Stamps: Diversity of Expression at the Human Scale, with References to Collective Memory and Contemporary Sentiment. Stamps from the collection of the Polish Cultural Institute, photographed by Vipul Sangoi.

Physicality of the Objects and Their Making

The Physicality of the Making

The investment in the physical and intellectual labor of making the artifacts was entwined with the greater investment of personal courage in defying the authorities’ ban on Solidarność. The willingness to engage in the underground network of production, risking arrest and incarceration, is a testament to the shared commitment to express individual freedom at the grass roots. In Isaiah Berlin’s terms,¹¹ it is a personal exercise of positive liberty (“I am my own master”) in the face of an oppressive regime. The objects they created became an extension of the embodied self in the making and in the wearing.

The embodied act of defiance is significant: the manner in which it binds the individual to the collective fight for workers’ rights and freedoms contributes to the resilience of the movement. As depicted in Janiszewski’s iconic logo, the people retain their agency within the crowd, each confident in their space and place, but connected with the overall dynamic of the crowd. As Catherine Flood observes,

...the logo doesn’t just represent a crowd demanding change. It is a crowd that is already starting to embody that change (through how people treat and relate to each other) and to enact the new kind of civil society based on human dignity and mutual aid that Solidarity envisioned. . . [it is] prefigurative and creative. You don’t wait for change to be delivered. Rather you start to build and live the society you want within the shell of the old in small everyday ways through how you behave and relate to people.¹²

Extending this to the making and displaying of the objects, there is a sense for the individual of “I *am* the change,” encapsulating a sense of connection with, and realization of, that which is desired. The relationship of individual agency with the movement resonates with Emile Durkheim’s conception of *organic* solidarity and the *conscience collective*, a relationship that is distinct from the coercive social control characteristic of *mechanical* solidarity.¹³

The Physicality of the Artifacts

The artifacts were tangible, persistent, and transferable. They carried the ethos of their origins across space and time. They could be produced, reproduced, and distributed across the network, with their affective impact extending to distant people and places. Unlike the spoken word or music, the objects persisted immutably, constituting a constant presence, connecting the maker, the carrier, and the viewer to find a relevance in the evolving landscape of the movement. The artifacts’ presence was a constant reminder of the “territory” occupied by the movement and a tacit assurance that individuals were in the presence of others they could lean on if they needed to.

Physicality, Affect, and Effect

The discussion so far has focused on the way in which the imagery of the artwork, and the physicality of the artifacts and their making, were implicated in Solidarność’s evolution. In the next sections I reflect on the systemic features that also apply to the more general development of discourse when there is a need for systemic change at the scale achieved by Solidarność.

The “art network” (i.e., the network of artists and artifacts) was integrated with the systemic network that constituted Solidarność, and thereby allows us to trace the trajectory of the overall movement. Doing so highlights two features that enabled the movement to retain its integrity in a turbulent and hostile environment and to sustain its viability as a Complex Adaptive System: *generative power*, harnessing diversity and network effects to extend the scope and scale of the movement; and *evolutionary dynamics*, enabling the transformation from localized strike action to electoral victory. In the following sections I examine the systemic mechanisms that underpin these features and their significance in Solidarność’s journey.

Harnessing Diversity and Network Effects

Abstraction and Preservation of the Liminal Space to Realize the Generative Potential of Diversity

The logo represented Solidarność throughout its evolution. It was able to do this because it worked at the right level of abstraction: it captured the essential collective identity and depicted the relational dynamics that allowed it to be cohesive and fluid. The abstraction was open to adaptation, refinement, and interpretation by different people, in different contexts, and at different times, as illustrated by the images on the artifacts.

The abstraction held the liminal space where connections could be made between diverse dimensions of collective memory and individual, human attachment (e.g., justice, workers’ rights, religion, past struggles and sacrifices, and pre-communist Polish sovereignty), enabling the formation of *multilateral* relationships between individuals. The active network of people and artifacts represents the densely woven relational base that emerged.

Network Effects

As it evolved from its beginnings at the strike in the Gdansk shipyard, the movement expanded in scope and scale at a rate that was enhanced by the network effects typical of Complex Adaptive Systems; spontaneous and orchestrated acts of passive resistance in locations across the country were recruited into the movement organically. The expansion and diversity embodied in the art network suggests a cascading effect as synergies were realized between networks of people in different professions and localities, attached to diverse symbolic representations.

The Evolutionary Dynamics

The evolutionary dynamics of the movement was shaped by the network structure and dynamics. The network structure corresponded to the lumpy “networks of networks” typical of social systems: large and medium sized clusters (e.g., the hubs of organized strikes) were anchored in a mesh of smaller, interconnected clusters. The art network mirrors this mode of organization. It exposes the diversity carried in the population and the intricacy and degree of relatedness between diverse individuals and groups. The network motif prevailed at all scales, from small, local, home-based production of artifacts to the nationwide organization of strikes and demonstrations.

The network structure facilitated the distributed organization of activities and action, conferring

- *enhanced effectiveness*, making best use of distinctive local capabilities aligned with contextual contingencies requiring action;
- *agility*, the ability to dynamically activate constellations of clusters as appropriate for coordinated action at any scale; and
- *resilience*: the national scale of Solidarność’s network combined with its distributed organization meant that there was no single point that the communist government could attack to destroy the movement. Consequently, arrest and incarceration of the movement’s leadership was ultimately ineffectual—it could not destroy the relational infrastructure and the distributed organisation of grassroots activism. It merely strengthened the collective resolve to continue with the struggle.

The locally grounded nature of the movement’s distributed network is embodied in the characteristics described earlier for producing artifacts: action was authentically connected with the lived experience of individuals and their communities, and it reinforced individual agency in making the change and choosing to participate in the wider relational network.

Conclusion

Its national scale, the breadth and diversity of its membership, and its transformational trajectory make Solidarność a particularly interesting example of civil resistance. The evolution from its origins in the Gdansk shipyard to the fully-fledged political party went through successive rounds of engagement with the communist government, with each encounter reinforcing and stabilizing the relational network anchored in the grassroots commitment to action. Art was entwined with this trajectory. Like the appeals of rhetoric in the Aristotelian tradition,¹⁴ the art of Solidarność engaged emotional, logical, and ethical sensibilities, and its physicality carried the realization and extension of individual identity into the collective space.

In this article I used a Complex Adaptive Systems lens to expose the underlying network structures, dynamics, and capabilities associated with the role of art in the emergence of the collective phenomenon. In turn, the exposition of the art network revealed the importance of the embodied self and the physicality of the artifacts and their making in the evolution of the network. The creation, display, and dissemination of artwork was an integral component in the realization of the ideological, social, and political commitment that united the movement: every investment in making and bearing artifacts constituted an exercise of positive liberty under an authoritarian regime.

To reflect on the relevance of my observations about *Solidarność* for present day mass movements to bring about systemic change, I consider below whether the significance of the role played by embodied engagement and the physicality of artifacts in advancing solidarity is being overlooked in today's cyber-social context.

Fragmentation: Technology and the Changing Nature of Public Discourse

The *Solidarność* art network provided a liminal space for the formation of a web of multidimensional and multilateral relationships, with the artifacts making multiple points of connection visible and accessible. Today, the internet and social media platforms provide a technical capacity to connect people at a global scale and to distribute images, videos, and text freely. As evidenced by movements like Black Lives Matter, #MeToo, and Extinction Rebellion, in liberal democracies mass movements are able to harness network effects to generate exponential growth of membership and media content, and to organize petitions, demonstrations, and occupations to make demands for change. Concurrently, in western democracies there is a concern that the shift to virtual platforms has changed the nature of public discourse. This comes at a time when there is a sense in some quarters of a looming “crisis of liberal democracy.”¹⁵

Alongside the exponential growth of mass social movements is the perception that a “cancel culture” has displaced debate and discussion and that pressure for political correctness disrupts (or even stifles) the authentic communication necessary for the development of effective relationships across race, gender, and religious lines.¹⁶ The diverse movements have in common many fundamental issues of social justice they want to address. However, there is a danger that instead of building solidarity across their distinctive affiliations, they will succumb to identity politics, giving rise to fragmentation at a societal level.¹⁷ The divisive effect of identity politics is amplified and reinforced by network effects: the connectivity afforded by the internet enables rapid expansion of membership for particular factions and the sequestering of discourse within internet chat rooms can generate self-reinforcing echo chambers.¹⁸

The Question of Embodiment

Solidarność's collective identity emerged from the embodied shared experience: “belonging” (in its most profound sense) to *Solidarność* was an ideological, embodied, lived thing, woven into everyday existence, and owned individually and collectively. The interwoven lives of workers within their communities constituted the substrate for the growth of the movement.

For many who subscribe to today's movements on social media platforms, the attachment is of an ideational or ideological nature, and the intellectual and informational dynamics of the social movement is decoupled from the embodied, lived experience of its members. While there are episodic protest marches and demonstrations in liberal democracies, for the majority the dominant

form of protest is now on social media, displacing the embodied collective experience of solidarity characteristic of *Solidarność* and captured in its logo.

The Question of Agency: Commitment and the Exercise of Positive Liberties

In the cyber-social context, the ease with which one can add one's voice to online posts and petitions goes some way towards assuaging the desire to make a difference, to make change happen, and today's movements too have physical artifacts associated with them. However, in the cyber sphere there is a danger that individual energies and attention are dissipated because of the sheer number of petitions that one is invited to sign, or that movements become trapped within their own echo chambers. Whilst "buying the T-shirt" and signing petitions signal support for specific causes, both gestures are easily accommodated within the space of negative liberties afforded by liberal democracies.

For *Solidarność*, the physicality of artifacts and their production was palpably an exercise of positive liberty. Symbolically, it was also an irreversible act of personal commitment, analogous to rites of passage in clan-based societies. In the final analysis, we are left with a critical question: if, for most people in liberal democracies, the exercise of negative liberty suffices for participation in movements, is their commitment and agency as change makers diminished?

The art of *Solidarność* suggests that effective solidarity rests on the exercise of positive liberty to *act*, to *be* the change. In systemic terms, this entails recognizing that one is (and will continue to be) part of the system now, while it is changing, and after it has changed, and so inevitably one shoulders some responsibility for the trajectory of the system: action and inaction in the present both impact on the future of the system.

Acknowledgments

I am greatly indebted to Catherine Flood, the curator of the exhibition, for descriptions of the artwork (posters, stamps, and badges) in their historical contextualization. I thank the Polish Cultural Institute for their support in producing this manuscript and granting me access to images of the exhibits.

Notes

¹ The *Lost Treasures of Revolution: The Graphics of Solidarity 1980-89* exhibition was launched in September 2021 at the Annual Conference of the Centre for the Resolution of Intractable Conflict. It was sponsored by the Polish Cultural Institute in partnership with the Centre for Democracy and Peace Building and St John's College, University of Oxford.

² For an extended discussion about using the Complex Adaptive Systems perspective to reveal insights about the resilience and evolution of social systems in complex political contexts, see Yasmin Merali, "Complex Adaptive Systems in a Contentious World," *New England Journal of Public Policy* 34, no. 2 (2022): Article 3, <https://scholarworks.umb.edu/nejpp/vol34/iss2/3>.

³ For a detailed review of Complex Systems Science and its relevance to socioeconomic systems in the networked world, see Yasmin Merali, "Complexity and Information Systems," in *Social Theory and Philosophy of Information Systems*, ed. John Mingers and Leslie P. Willcocks (London: Wiley, 2004), 407–46.

⁴ Umberto Eco, *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979).

⁵ The use of the term "consumer" here is not to be conflated with the notion of "customer" in the commercial sense. It is used in the metaphoric sense of "one who ingests": it implies that one's engagement with the art goes beyond viewing to entail some kind of internalization (conscious, subliminal, intellectual, visceral, etc.).

⁶ “The typical socialist motif of a leader conducting a crowd is replaced by the national Polish flag. The logo of the trade union soon became legible and well-known spreading quickly within the borders of Poland and abroad. The Solidarity logo became the source of a typeface called ‘Solidarics’ (Solidaryca). ‘Solidarics’ has almost become a Polish national typeface.” Excerpt from Victoria and Albert Museum archive notes, <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O191148/elections-89-poster-baluk-zaborowska-e/>

⁷ Jerzy Janiszewski, cited in Catherine Flood’s introduction to the *Lost Treasures of Revolution: The Graphics of Solidarity 1980-89* exhibition, Oxford, October 2021.

⁸ The *conscience collective* in the Durkheimian sense.

⁹ The badges are part of the Victoria and Albert Museum collection of a group of badges, some given by Marek Garztecki; the images are from the Victoria and Albert Museum website:

https://collections.vam.ac.uk/search/?q=Polish%20solidarity%20badges&page=1&page_size=15.

¹⁰ Catherine Flood, introduction to the *Lost Treasures of Revolution: The Graphics of Solidarity 1980-89* exhibition, Oxford, October 2021.

¹¹ Isaiah Berlin, “Two Concepts of Liberty,” in *Four Essays on Liberty* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), 118–72. For the purposes of this article, “positive liberty” can be taken to stand for self-mastery and “negative liberty” can stand for the area of personal conduct that is free of interference by the state.

¹² Catherine Flood, introduction to the *Lost Treasures of Revolution: The Graphics of Solidarity 1980-89* exhibition, Oxford, October 2021.

¹³ Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society*, trans. George Simpson (New York: Free Press, 1933).

¹⁴ Robert C. Bartlett, trans. and ed., *Aristotle’s Art of Rhetoric* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019).

¹⁵ Hans Kundnani, “*The Future of Democracy in Europe: Technology and the Evolution of Representation*,” Chatham House, The Royal Institute of International Affairs, March 3, 2020, <https://www.chathamhouse.org/2020/03/future-democracy-europe/2-what-crisis-liberal-democracy>.

¹⁶ Robin J. Ely, Debra Meyerson, and Martin N. Davidson, “Rethinking Political Correctness,” *Harvard Business Review*, September 2006, <https://hbr.org/2006/09/rethinking-political-correctness>.

¹⁷ In enjoying the negative liberty (see note 11) afforded by liberal democracies, individuals can be susceptible to herding behavior in which they identify with a movement in order to keep up with their peers, and the sense of solidarity derived from belonging to the “in-group” can contribute to the creation of insular silos of dissent.

¹⁸ QAnon could be held up as an example of a social media-based movement with a resilient collective identity integrated with the everyday existence of individual members. However, as shown by Yasmin Merali (see note 2) a closer look at QAnon reveals that the integration is based on a synthetic exercise where conspiracy theories, conjecture, fact, and rumor become interwoven with strongly held individual beliefs about things that need defending. The grassroots adherents of QAnon continue to be faithful even in the aftermath of the January 6 storming of the Capitol, where the “Q Shaman” and others were prominent instigators. Gabriel Gatehouse provides an extensive commentary on the trajectory of QAnon in the BBC podcast *The Coming Storm*, 2021–22, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/m001324r/episodes/downloads>.