### Contents

1. INTRODUCTION: CONTINUITY OR CHANGE ................................................. 9
   "A good society put asunder by the bad communist system":
   September 1989 - June 1990 .......................................................... 11
   Homo Sovieticus and social anomy: Summer 1990-92 ......................... 15
   Local communities. The emergence of a new order
   "at the bottom": 1993 - ... .................................................................. 18

2. THE POLISH ROAD TO THE MARKET ECONOMY
   AND CIVIL SOCIETY ........................................................................... 22
   Introduction .......................................................................................... 22
   Introducing reforms meant to "improve"
   the planed economy: 1980-86 ............................................................... 23
   Intensification of the market ideology
   and disillusionment with reform: 1986-89 .......................................... 29
   Differing group interests in the eighties ............................................. 31
   The market and democracy: 1990. - ... ........................................... 36

3. CIVIL SOCIETY AND SOCIAL ANOMY ................................................. 42
   Changing civil society ........................................................................ 42
   Anomy and its social sources .............................................................. 48
7. SOCIAL INTERESTS AND THEIR POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

Social interests in transition 126
From value-based integration to differentiation 135
Individual interests and systemic preferences 140
Interests and their political representation 143

8. CONCLUSION: DIVISIONS AND CONFLICTS 148

Perceived social differences 149
Perceived conflicts 153
Emerging social structure 156

REFERENCES 161