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The Postulate of Grounded Theory in the Perception of the Museum of the Second World War in Gdańsk in Terms of Political Science

"It can reasonably be said that the author of the Palace of Versailles was Louis XIV rather than Le Nôtre and Le Vau."[1]

B. Jałowiecki, *Społeczne wytwarzanie przestrzeni*, Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa 1988, p. 8.

Abstract: This article aims to demonstrate the applicability of grounded theory in the analysis of the Museum of the Second World War in Gdańsk in terms of political science. The fundamental question is how to examine the sources which exhibit the ideological character of the space of public museums? In order to answer this question, the concepts by Kathy Charmaz and Adela Clarke are referred to, which have been noticed to offer unused potential for qualitative research conducted in the field of political science. This meant departing from the "classical" versions of grounded theory, created by Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, in favor of what is called "a postmodern turn," and approaches which synthesize constructivism and social constructionism. Data obtained from primary and secondary sources concerning the main axis of the core exhibition were analyzed. The starting point was my own field research, the results of which were compared with the data from an interview with the museum's architects and the transcription of a photograph. Inspired by procedures compliant with the non-classical versions of grounded theory, it was demonstrated that the main axis of the core exhibition was designed as a liberal manifesto of freedom. This determined the subject of analysis to be a part of the research field of political science. The spatial solutions applied testified to their designers' intention to provide visitors with freedom of movement and assembly. They were considered as conceptual categories, related to the absence of a dedicated sightseeing route and the vastness of the space left for visitors. A comparative analysis of codes and categories, however, made it possible to

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[1] Jałowiecki mentions André Le Nôtre and Louis Le Vau who are only two representatives of a group of outstanding artists, headed by Jules Hardouin-Mansart, and including also e.g. François Mansart and Charles Le Brun, who were in charge of the expansion of the palace and park of Versailles, commissioned by Louis XIV.

identify yet another interpretative trope, related to the identification of freedom with alienation. In this way, "liberty" has become problematized.

Introduction

The concept of grounded theory (GT) is applied to both the research method and results. For the purpose of the considerations in this paper I will treat GT, after Kathy Charmaz (2014, p. 708), as a method of analysis which facilitates collecting data and constructing a middle-range induction theory through subsequent levels of data analysis and development of concepts. Defined in this way, GT takes into account research methods, their efficiency and cognitive merits, being therefore closest to the concept of "methodology." GT originally emerged in sociology. The foundations of this concept are presented in *The Discovery of Grounded Theory. Strategies for Qualitative Research,* published by Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss in 1967 (Polish edition 2009). Due to the academic biographies of the two authors, the methodological project they present combines the heritage of the Chicago School, in particular that of symbolic interactionism (owing to Strauss being a disciple of Herbert Blumer), and the tradition of Columbia University (owing to Glaser). The project addresses the open question of "how to facilitate the discovery of theories on the basis of data consistently collected and analyzed in social studies" (Glaser, Strauss, 2009, p. 7). The question includes tropes which make answer possible. First and foremost, the theory is "discovered," which means that it objectively exists in the data and has to be extracted. Yet, what is data? According to Glaser, "all is data." That means interviews, observations and documents, as well as their context and the circumstances in which they originated (Glaser 2001, p. 145; *idem*, 1998, p. 9). At the same time, Glaser deems the deliberations on the objectivity and subjectivity of data and possible interpretational errors futile, stating that "data is as is" (Glaser, 2001, chapter 12). Thus, GT gives priority to working with data, regardless of the character of the data, and warns against its premature formalization. Data needs to be "broken" which means that its analysis is to render theoretical concepts, while a theory is to be more than a mere description and should "work," providing explanations for the situation examined in the study (cf. Glaser, Strauss, 2009,

pp. 7, 9). Theories are not given and obtained; they are a process or work-in-progress (Glaser, Strauss, 2009, p. 13); this pertains to field work first and foremost, for Robert Park, among others, who recommended "getting one's hands dirty."

The goal is to develop a mid-range theory located between the great theories of everything and minor working hypotheses (cf. Merton, 1982, p. 60 ff.). This is generated by means of a comparative method which is based on the data generated through individual observation, individual experience and being well-read in the phenomena investigated (Glaser, Strauss, 2009, p. 121). The point, then, is an "interaction" in which the theory is congruent with the data, and not the other way round (Gorzko, 2009, p. XXXII; Koniecki, 2009, p. XII).

In line with the periodization of qualitative research proposed by Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, the publication of *The Discovery* concludes the so-called modernist phase, described in terms of "the golden age of rigorous qualitative analysis." It came between the "traditional phase" of objective tenets of positivism (from the beginning of the 20th century to the end of World War II) and the age of Geertz's "blurred genres" when the boundaries between the social sciences and the humanities blurred and the pluralistic and interpretative approaches were welcomed (from the early 1970s to mid-80s) (Denzin, Lincoln, 2014, pp. 40–44). The fundamental achievement of Glaser and Strauss was the liberation from the requirement to verify logical and deductive theories in isolation from empirical material. They closed the "problematic gap" between speculation and the "results of empirical research devoid of the theoretical dimension" (Gorzko, 2009, p. XXXII). Another benefit of GT was its universal nature, consisting in the applicability of research procedures designed within its framework to other academic disciplines. Glaser and Strauss stressed this in the foreword to *The Discovery* when they wrote: "Although our book is directed primarily at sociologists, we believe it can be useful to anyone who is interested in studying social phenomena – political, educational [...] especially if their studies are based on qualitative data" (Glaser, Strauss, 2009, p. 4). The requirement of strict adherence to data has made GT methods no less reliable than those used in quantitative research. Although GT was developed as a proposal for both qualitative and quantitative research, over time it has become an alternative to the latter. Additionally, practices employed by GT could be understood by non-specialists, which made it an egalitarian and inclusive method.

GT has evolved over time, which is why there is no single canonical version (unless *The Discovery* is deemed as such, albeit the different approaches taken by various authors to the relation between data and theorizing could be seen even there; Kelle, 2005) and it is justified to discuss only the variations of GT. Glaser and Strauss developed their own versions of GT,[2] and their disciples and collaborators reinterpreted the tenets presented in the 1967 publication. This can be exemplified by the collaboration of Strauss with Juliet Corbin (which Denzin and Lincoln deem to be the continuation of the rigorous qualitative analysis of the "modernist phase;" 2014, pp. 35, 43), which resulted in the introduction of interpretivism and the paradigm of axial coding to GT (Strauss, Corbin, 1990, pp. 96 ff.).[3] According to this paradigm, mere naming is not coding. Introducing a "core category" (phenomenon) is imperative, as well as examining the causal and intervening conditions, the context and consequences. Particular attention should be given to the analysis of the interaction level. In his 1987 study, Strauss (1987, p. 64) talks about building a texture of relationships around the axis of the category. In order to perform axial coding of categories, the questions of who, where, when, why, and what consequences have there been, have to be answered. This is the fundamental link between data collecting and constructing the emerging theory. Taking these elements into consideration determines the paradigm of axial coding (Strauss, Corbin, 1990, pp. 96 ff.). Glaser saw it as betraying GT (Glaser, 1992a and b). He mainly opposed the creation of an *a priori* core category and the data processing procedure, and accused the authors of "forcing the data." In the opinion of Udo Kelle (2005), Glaser's criticism did reveal certain weaknesses of Strauss's con-

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[2] Krzysztof Podemski notes that in the two volumes dedicated to the methodology of qualitative research, and edited by Denzin and Lincoln, Strauss is one of the authors most frequently referred to (Podemski, 2014, p. XXV). While it may be true, his "advantage" over Glaser calculated in terms of the numbers of references indicating the respective name, is insignificant and amounts to 26:23. Interestingly, the text written by Charmaz and dedicated to the criticism of positivist influence on GT features the largest number of references to its authors. The name of Glaser is mentioned on more pages than that of Strauss (13:11) in this study, which is because his concept is being criticized. However, analyzing another handbook of qualitative research, for instance that by David Silverman, Strauss is referred to approximately twice as often as Glaser, making him the second most frequently mentioned author after Silverman himself (Silverman, 2012).

[3] This concept was discussed in the 1987 handbook by Strauss titled *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists*.

cept but exaggerated their consequences. However, Krzysztof Konecki (2009b, p. XIX) believes that Glaser's approach was partly justified in this case, because Strauss and Corbin suggested a "hidden operating theory" whereby analytical categories were manipulated before the analysis of the empirical material collected.

Glaser's criticism of Strauss and Corbin demonstrated the fact that there was no agreement among the creators of GT as to research methodology, even though all three of them are considered to represent "classical" GT (Konecki, 2009b, pp. XXII, XXV; cf. Mediani, 2017, p. 2). The differences among these authors justify speaking in the plural about "classical varieties" or "classical grounded theories." What is more important, however, is that referring to a "classical" grounded theory implies the existence of a "non-classical" GT, the proponents of which prefer other adjectives to be used, thereby revealing their methodological orientation. They take a stand which is critical of the "classical" GT, also dubbed "traditional," "positivistic" or "objectivistic" GT. Charmaz (2014, p. 712) is an example here, who claims that the studies by Glaser, Strauss and Corbin (in spite of the discrepancies between them) are a thing of the past because they assume that data is objective, the observer is impartial and that external reality exists. Charmaz puts forward her own "Constructivist Grounded Theory" (CGT) which adopts the tenets of GT as guidelines but emphasizes the phenomenon studied, rather than research methods.[4]

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[4] Constructivism in the field of social studies is sometimes understood as theory, methodology, orientation, empirical research, etc. (Zybertowicz, 2001; cf. Creswell, 2013, pp. 33–34). This text adopts "constructivism," as understood by Charmaz, who sees it as a sociological perspective: researchers create reality, they enter the phenomenon under study, collect ideas about this phenomenon and place it in a grid of relations. Analysis begins with experiment and the question of how its participants construct this experiment (Charmaz, 2009, p. 240). This does not resolve the terminological dilemma, as Charmaz uses the word "constructionism" in her book; it is explained in a way that does not considerably differ from "constructivism" except for the addition of the adjective "social" (although Charmaz does not mention the proponent of "social constructionism" – Kenneth J. Gergen) and pointing to its connection with symbolic interactionism (Charmaz, 2009, p. 240). "Constructionism" and "constructivism" are paronyms, words which are confused because they sound similar, but they have different meanings. The article written by Marcin Zwierżdżyński helps to distinguish them. He refers, among others, to Gergen, for whom "the core difference is that constructivists see the process of constructing the world as a purely psychological one, it happens 'inside one's head;' whereas for constructionists, everything that is considered real is an outcome of social relations" (Zwierżdżyński, 2012, p. 127, after: Gergen, 1999, p. 237). He goes on to say that "constructivism stresses the psychologi-

The proponents of this theory "have focused on studying and present-
ing life. This means concentrating on empirical reality and its collective
interpretation *as well as* placing oneself in this reality" (Charmaz, 2014,
p. 712). Data does not exist objectively. Unlike Glaser, Charmaz (2009,
p. 19) narrows down the concept of data, which does not come from "the
outside" but is constructed by the researcher. The same attitude is shared
by Clarke (2005, p. XXVIII), who believes that the status of "data" is
determined by the researcher who is conducting the survey and whose
position has a significant impact on the selection and type of data, with
the purpose of capturing the whole of the situation under research in all its
complexity. At the same time, "what we know shapes, but does not neces-
sarily determine, what we 'discover'" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 713). Every re-
searcher brings an "interpretative reference system," or foreknowledge.[5]
According to Charmaz, no qualitative method is based solely on induc-
tion, because the questions that we pose are related to our knowledge and
experience, and are embedded in a defined temporal and spatial context.
"Therefore our theoretical analyses constitute an interpretation of reality
rather than report it objectively" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 712).

Therefore, Charmaz promises to take "another look at grounded the-
ory from the constructivist perspective" and "present the arguments in
favor of building the pragmatic foundations of grounded theory and their
development as a social constructivist method" (Charmaz 2014, pp. 709,
714). What we receive, however, appears to be both constructionism and
social constructivism (see footnote 5 herein; cf. Konecki, 2009a, p. X).
The same can be inferred from the observation that "in the constructivist
approach priority is given to the phenomenon of studying and it is be-
lieved that data and analyses are created based on shared experience and
relationships with the participants of the study and other data sources"
(Charmaz, 2009, p. 168).

In order to avoid terminological traps and their ramifications, the
project of CGT in the form proposed by Charmaz can be developed as

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cal (individual, subjective) perspective in creating reality more, while constructionism
emphasizes the social (collective, institutional) one" (Zwierżdżyński, 2012, p. 128).
I find this explanation convincing and, in this text, approach it as complementing the
definitions proposed by Charmaz.

[5] What is meant here is different than "foreknowledge" as understood by Hans
Georg Gadamer, and involving the "preliminary grasp of the whole." Here, it is the
colloquial meaning of foreknowledge, namely the initial knowledge and experience
the researcher has when beginning the study.

"Constructed Grounded Theory" (grounded in data) which synthesizes constructivism and constructionism for GT purposes and treats data as constructs/constructions. It suffices to say that Glaser would disagree with this approach, as he rejected such treatment of data and accused Charmaz of giving priority to description at the expense of theory generation, and consequently embedding CGT in the project of qualitative data analysis (QAD) instead of grounded theory (Glaser, 2002).

Alongside Charmaz, Adela Clark (e.g. 2003, 2005, 2017) also criticized the positivistic entanglements of GT. She practices "constructivist grounded theorizing" by using the method of situational analysis. The subject of research involves relationships between all the participants, both human and non-human, of a given event and the circumstances in which the event has taken place (Clark, 2015, pp. 91–93). This aspect of Clarke's concept is inspired by the works of Bruno Latour, Michel Callon, John Law and Madeleine Akrich and is a significant contribution to the development of GT. It additionally appreciates Michel Foucault's concept of discourse (Clarke, 2015 and 2017). Clarke also makes extensive use of maps (situational and positional maps as well as maps of arenas/worlds) and diagrams as research process visualizations. Developing maps and diagrams is a useful tool to operationalize problems and conceptualize ideas and, by this token, constitutes a foundation of the research strategy of situational analysis (Clarke, 2015, pp. 12–13). Particular emphasis is given to the self-awareness of the researcher, who is not "on the outside" of the object of analysis but rather co-constructs it. This requires ongoing examination of one's own position and reporting this position in the course of the research. This is a significant deviation from "classical" GT, the more so that Clarke underscores the importance of everything the researcher knows and has experienced before, and rejects that it can be "suspended" at the beginning (Clarke, 2005, pp. 12–13). According to Konecki (2012, p. 15), Clarke has achieved the most using visual data, deprecated by other researchers, and combining it with GT procedures. In the opinion of Charmaz (2009, p. 167), all that makes Clarke's concept capable of "expanding the analysis of social networks and giving it a more interpretative character." On the other hand, her ambition to develop situational analysis to the level of a meta-methodology to study such a varied range of phenomena as objects, subjects, spaces and situations, raises doubts about the efficiency of the project aspiring to become universal (Kacperczyk, 2007, p. 23).

The concepts authored by Charmaz and Clarke attempt to adapt GT to a new, post-modernist methodological reality. They defy the positivistic and objectivistic tradition of GT authors, thereby arousing accusations of revising, or even departing from GT in favor of individual versions of qualitative data analyses (cf. Clarke, 2015, pp. 86–88). In spite of Glaser's criticism, Charmaz claims to pursue GT, but Clarke goes as far as talking about "grounded theorizing." This proponent of situational analysis characterizes the difference between the post-modernist and modernist approaches using adjective-based nouns (with a single exception) describing features, such as partiality, positionality, complication, tenuousness, instability, situatedness, contradiction, heterogeneity, irregularity and fragmentation and complexity/multiplicity of discourses (Clarke, 2005, pp. XXIV–XXV). Situatedness is opposed to modernist wholeness. Anna Kacperczyk (2007, p. 7) notes that Clarke "consciously and deliberately dismantled (deconstructed) traditional grounded theory and then complemented it with the ecological metaphor of the theory of social worlds/arenas, with the cartographic analysis of core elements which are alternative to the basic social process, and with the focus on the dense complexity of the broadly presented and internally complicated research situation."

Regardless of determining whether or not the approaches taken by Charmaz and Clarke are still part of GT, I treated them for the purpose of this text as the most useful inspirations since they reflect the contemporary methodological sensitivity of proponents of qualitative research. Selected elements of the concepts by Glaser, Strauss and Corbin are additionally employed. At the same time, I refrain from strictly adhering to the methodological guidelines proposed by the above-mentioned authors, which could lead to excessive preconceptualization of the research and distort the basic value of GT, namely prioritizing data.

Regardless of the differences between the "classical" and "nonclassical" versions of grounded theory, they share the postulate of honestly speaking about the "toolbox," that is, about showing the methods of obtaining data on the basis of which generalizations are made. It is worth recalling that this was a rare attitude in the 1960s, when GT was emerging. Even renowned scholars hardly wrote about the methodology of their research or even undermined (perhaps perversely) their own toolbox. This can be exemplified by Erving Goffman himself (criticized for that, among others, by the authors of GT), who pointed to the weakness of the data he collected over the years "on a hit-or-miss basis using

principles of selection mysterious to me which, furthermore, changed from year to year and which I could not recover if I wanted to" (Goffman, 1974, p. 15).

This text follows this postulate and reports the theorizing which is grounded in data obtained from sources, subsequently coded and recorded in memos, concerning the main axis of the core exhibition at the Museum of the Second World War in Gdańsk (MSWW). The activities performed in the course of theorizing were cyclical rather than linear. The ongoing working with data consisted of comparing, defining and redefining the codes and categories derived from the data. This was consistent with the position of Glaser and Strauss, according to whom, "[i]n discovering theory, one generates conceptual categories or their properties from evidence; then the evidence from which the category emerged is used to illustrate the concept" (Glaser, Strauss, 2009, p. 25).

This can be visualized using the Möbius loop, that is a specific one-sided or non-orientable surface (Diagram 1). I made a model of the Möbius loop by taking a strip of paper on which I wrote the word "theory" on one side, and the words "data collection," "writing memos," and "coding" on the other. After turning one edge by 180 degrees and gluing it with the other one, I obtained a Möbius loop. What originally illustrated the linear process of moving from one research activity to another has now changed. Following the written words with my eyes, I "moved" from one side to the other at the point where the edges of the strip were joined. In this way, I maintained my own orientation, but the frame of reference became its mirror image. It was no longer possible to define which of the words describing research activities were on the one side and which

Diagram 1. Visualization of the GT construction cycle using the Möbius loop

Source: The author's elaboration.

were on the other, and which were at the beginning and which were at the end. The surface on which they were written became a two-dimensional space without another side. If I started with "theory," I would come back to it, having run around the loop twice with my eyes. It was the same with the remaining words. This made it possible to illustrate the cyclical nature and equivalence of research activities. By performing the mental operation consisting in arranging the strip in such a way that it resembled a sideways figure eight (lemniscate), I obtained the symbol of infinity, evoking endlessness and lack of boundaries.

Data coding

The starting point was my impressions during my first visit to the Museum of the Second World War in Gdańsk, based on the memo written on site on November 22, 2017 (Table 1). I treated it as empirical material and assigned the status of a produced data source to it.

Table 1

**Memo written during field research inside the Museum
of the Second World War in Gdańsk**

Research title	*First visit to the MSWW. Core exhibition – the corridor. Impressions*
Date	Nov. 22, 2017, Wednesday
Site	Gdańsk, MSWW, pl. Władysława Bartoszewskiego 1, the corridor along the core exhibition
Time	12:12–12:47
Participants	Total: 13 people; the Author and her companion, three couples (including two foreign couples), a group of three (parents with a teenage son?); two individual visitors including a middle-aged man taking pictures
Description	First impression: vast and modern space; long and high corridor; impressive architecture; monumental; inhuman scale; almost empty; one couple walking about and one person on his own; given this attendance setting the time limits for entering the exhibition is questionable; the low attendance may also result from the fact that the museum was opened to visitors 8 months earlier; a long bench along the wall on the right – nobody is sitting on it; a few people leave the halls on the left and languidly walk on to see the rest of the exhibition; no museum or security workers can be seen; on the right there is a skylight along the ceiling; it is frosty outside and the natural light which comes in does not provide much light; on the left there are fittings behind a metal chain-link cover; it resembles a several story-high prison corridor with chain-link mesh making it impossible to throw

> anything to a lower story; on the left, **cameras** and **electric lighting** are installed under the chain-link mesh; **grey concrete pr**evails; **monochrome**; nothing disturbs the **minimalistic design of the interior; sparse original ex**hibits in the display cases further in the corridor; the passageway **does not reveal the function of the facility**; this can be a **waiting room; no sightsee**ing route; the situational plan on the wall on the left informs about the subject of the exhibition in each hall; two people – **unlike others** – are walking towards the entrance to the hall; one person is taking pictures of the corridor; there is **freedom** here; the space is **cold**, **raw** and **sterile**.

Legend: Grey – the memo; black – the code.
Source: The author's elaboration.

The main sensation was emptiness. The few visitors freely moved about the vast space of the core exhibition's corridor, the scale of which was beyond human. Raw and cold materials (concrete and steel) and the monochrome coloring increased the sense of loneliness. I treated these properties, received primarily through the sense of sight, as qualia and I thought about the subjectivity of experiencing them and the value of the "human document"[6] I created to generate grounded theory.[7] I visited the MSWW on purpose, to do so before the changes to the core exhibition that had been announced by the Vice Prime Minister and Minister of Culture and National Heritage, Piotr Gliński from the Law and Justice (PiS) party, which were already partly being introduced by the new management of the Museum.[8] Having already written about the disputes on the new Polish museums of history, I was aware of the fact that the MSWW, opened in 2017,[9] was the antithesis of the older Warsaw Rising Museum (WRM) opened in 2004 (e.g.: Lorenc, 2017a, 2017b). On several occasions, I had visited the Warsaw institution, considered to be the first "narrative museum" in Poland. I was also familiar with the catalogs of the main exhibitions and other publications, including interviews with the founders (patrons, direc-

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[6] Which, however is something different to what Florian Znaniecki and William Thomas had in mind writing about letters, journals, etc. in *Chłop polski*.

[7] I am currently working on a book discussing the attempts to apply social phenomenology (in the spirit of Alferd Schütz) and entomethodology (referring to Harold Garfinkel) to investigate politicality (in the sense of ideologization), which is why I resolved to eschew these themes herein.

[8] Including, among other things, the movie on the heroism, courage and sacrifices of Poles fighting the occupier added at the end of the exhibition and pointed out to me by one of the Museum workers.

[9] The cornerstone was laid on the first day of September 2012, which was symbolic.

tors and architects) of the institutions in Warsaw and Gdańsk. I also knew that the building of the Warsaw museum was an adaptation, whereas the modern shape of the MSWW was designed for the purpose of the exhibition and educational and service infrastructure related to the mission of the Museum. In addition, the MSWW project was selected in an international competition (resolved in September 2010) and described as "one of the boldest, bravest and riskiest ideas" which announced "the emergence of something characteristic and memorable," and, consequently, aspired to be called "a contemporary icon of the city" (Nominacje, 2018). I commenced this sightseeing tour with appropriate background knowledge, expecting to find original exhibits in the minimalist and monochrome interior of the MSWW, rather than the replicas, reconstructions or copies, so abundant in the dramatized and emotion-based WRM. Another expectation I had was to encounter a problematic, rather than chronological, attitude to the war, and thus no dedicated sightseeing route or numbered halls. As concerns the theme of the exhibition, I knew that its authors' intention was to approach the war as a general human tragedy and a hecatomb of civilians, in which the Polish thread was only one among many. If there were any heroic acts, they were unique and exceptional. Heroism was not only about armed struggle. The goal was to survive. Meanwhile, in the WRM the Warsaw Uprising (in capital letters[10]) and the entire war are presented as a personality test, which the first victim of German aggression – the Polish nation as a whole – passed successfully. It was a time of heroes to be imitated. The decision to start the uprising was correct, even if it brought about the annihilation of the capital city and its inhabitants. With the exception of modern technologies and the interactive formula of the exhibition, everything else made the two museums different.

The research I have conducted, the articles I have written, the expertise I have acquired in my museum studies and, eventually, the experience collected in the course of the numerous visits to museums in Poland and abroad all indicated that one of the core postulates of GT, namely to commence data collection without preconceptions, had been violated. Apart from the reservations about this condition being unrealistic (which are discussed at length by Clarke, among others, and which I share), it must be said that the

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[10] For more on the capitalization of Warsaw Uprising (Pl.: *powstanie warszawskie* or *Powstanie Warszawskie*): M. Napiórkowski, *Powstanie warszawskie, czyli ortografia pamięci*, „Miesięcznik Znak", lipiec–sierpień 2014, nr 710–711, http://www.miesiecznik.znak.com.pl/7102014marcin-napiorkowskipowstanie-warszawskie-czyli-ortografia-pamieci/, 15.11.2019.

main challenge was to realize the dangers of the preconceptualization of the category of "public ideological museum." At the time, I understood it as the involvement of the MSWW in current politics. While the Warsaw project was a manifesto of the conservative-national sensitivity, the Gdańsk museum was treated as an exemplification of liberal values in the reception of past events. This determined the political nature of these institutions, understood – in the spirit of Carl Schmitt – as one of the areas of conflict between the two largest political forces in Poland. Between 2004 and 2017, when the two museums were respectively opened, these two forces were Law and Justice (PiS) and Civic Platform (PO). In addition, the involvement of Lech Kaczyński in the establishment of the WRM and Donald Tusk's support for the creation of the MSWW gave these commemorative initiatives the dimension of personal competition. In both cases, it was about history, as much as the construction of the collective memory and the identification of "enemies" and "friends" in terms of their attitude towards the WRM and the MSWW. In the academic community, this was of interest mainly to historians and researchers in visual culture, rather than sociologists. Being a political scientist, I saw it as an area to be addressed by political science, which – if based on Foucault's legacy – defines its research field in terms of power and its tools, including ideology. I chose not to analyze the narrative (as understood by Hayden White) about the war, but the ideologization of the space of the main communication route of the core exhibition at the MSWW. The research was conceived as an attempt to go back to the period preceding the concept of a "gallery" evoking Benjamin's *flâneur*, which I applied to the Gdańsk Museum in 2018 as opposed to the "parkour" at the WRM (Lorenc, 2019).

As I did not manage to remove the "public ideological museum" from my consciousness, I considered it – using the terminology of Herbert Blumer – to be a "sensitizing concept," i.e. an instrument that indicates in which direction to look, while not determining what to see (Blumer, 2007, pp. 114–118; cf. Charmaz, 2009, p. 27). This term became a source of research questions, which boiled down to what it meant to ideologize the space of the core exhibition at the MSWW and how to study it. In order to answer these questions, one needed to return to where the ends of the strip were joined, as in the Möbius loop, and collect the data and subject it to coding, instead of focusing on theory.

The first secondary source was the interview given to a trade magazine *Archirama* by Jacek Droszcz and Bazyli Domsta from the Studio Architektoniczne "Kwadrat," who designed the MSWW (Table 2).

Table 2

Interview coding in grounded theory

No.	A. Excerpts from an interview conducted by journalists from archi-rama.pl [J.] with Jacek Droszcz [J.D.] and Bazyli Domsta [B.D.] from Studio Architektonoczme Kwadrat, and titled *What do the architects say about their design for the Museum of the Second World War?*	B. Initial coding "line by line"	C. Focused coding — Core category "The main axis of the core exhibition"
1	„J.: What was the most important issue when you started	– what was the most important at the beginning of the project?	
2	designing the Museum of the Second World War?		
3	J.D.: First of all, we wondered who the facility was to	– [J.D.] who the facility was to serve	
4	serve. After all, it is not an exhibition gallery or a de-	– not an exhibition gallery; – not a department store	
5	partment store. It is a museum devoted to an extremely	– a museum devoted to an extremely important thing in	
6	important thing and events in the history of Poland and	the history of Poland and the world	
7	the world. We felt that we were designing an		
8	'envelope' for something unusual, because we had known	– 'an envelope' for something unusual; – we had had known	
9	the content of the exhibition earlier. What we wondered	the content of the exhibition earlier; – how this	
	about was how this facility should work.	facility should work	
	[...– M.L.]		
145	J.: We are sitting in an extraordinary space which is part	– We are sitting in an extraordinary space which is part	– extraordinary
146	of the core exhibition, it is an avenue, a road. Is this the	of the core exhibition, it is an avenue, a road. Is this the	space; – space
	most important place in this museum?	most important place in this museum?	which is part of

147	B.D.: I think people will remember this place. This is an	– [B.D] people will remember this place; – this is an	*the exhibition; – the*
148	identification route where people can meet. The space is	identification route; – people can meet here; – the space	*most important*
149	impressive due to its size, and above all, its length and	is impressive; – the size, above all, its length and monu-	*place?; – place*
150	monumentality. That is why we are very happy that there	mentality	*people remember*
151	was enough money to cover the fixtures with a mesh, oth-	– good that there was enough money to cover the fixtures	*– meeting venue; –*
152	erwise this place would probably be uglified. This alley	with a mesh; the place would probably be uglified;	*impressive space;*
153	running along the exhibition means that there is no dedi-	– this alley runs along the exhibition; – there is no dedi-	*– enormous space,*
154	cated sightseeing route. We can go on, skip something,	cated sightseeing route; – one can go on, skip something,	*above all long and*
155	and come back later. You can arrange to meet here in case	and come back later; – you can arrange to meet here in	*monumental*
156	you get lost. It is worth noting that we are underground	case you get lost	*– no dedicated*
157	and the natural light comes in from above. It is the only	– we are underground and the natural light comes in	*sightseeing route;*
158	such place in this exhibition.	– it is the only such room in this exhibition	*– We can go on,*
159	J.D.: Tempora was very eager to adapt this street. This	– [J.D.] Tempora adapted this street	*skip something, and*
160	is the main axis, from which you enter the halls on the	– the main axis of the exhibition; – one can enter the halls	*come back later; –*
161	sides, but you can always get out here. For us, it had an	on the sides	*you can arrange to*
162	additional meaning – this is the main axis of the building.	– you can always get out; – additional meaning – this is	*meet here in case*
163	It is worth noting that this building is a non-axial struc-	the main axis of the building	*you get lost*
	ture, but this axis precisely coincides with the former	– the building is a non-axial structure; – this axis pre-	*– possibility to get*
	Rose Gasse street in the Wiadrownia district, which was	cisely coincides with the former Rose Gasse [correctly:	*out*
	razed to the ground by the Russians in 1945. [...–M.L.]"	Große Gasse – M.L.], destroyed by the Russians in 1945	

Source: The author's elaboration.

I started data analysis, i.e. coding, by placing the text of the interview in a table and assigning ordinal numbers to the rows. I proceeded by "initial coding" (also known as "open coding") the text using the "line by line" method. It involved giving names (labels) to each line of recorded data, thereby breaking away from the empirical material and starting conceptualization (Charmaz, 2009, p. 69). Relying on data meticulously was to help avoid their "forcing" (cf. Kelle, 2005). The analysis process tried to answer the following questions: what does the data suggest and from whose point of view? When constructing the initial codes, I used the language of the interview participants, emphasizing how they define the concepts, situations and events (cf. Charmaz, 2009, p. 47). This made it possible to focus attention on the arguments that were important to the interview participants, which they stressed and repeated. These included the synonyms the two architects used talking of the space along the core exhibition, including: "axis," "bystreet," "street" and "route," as well as those used by the interviewers from *Archirama* such as "avenue" or "street/road." Based on the data, "the main axis of the core exhibition" was identified as a "core category," that is the category of significant importance when describing and explaining the MSWW concept.

The next step involved "focused coding" which consists of the conceptualization of categories selected by virtue of the criterion of analytical value. The selection was focused on the codes that I considered to have the greatest potential for comprehensive data categorization (Charmaz, 2009, p. 79; cf. Glaser, 1978). This procedure resembled "selective coding," in which variables are limited exclusively to those related to the core category (Konecki, 2000, p. 52). As a result, I was able to characterize the features of the main axis of the core exhibition as an extraordinary space which is part of the exhibition, perhaps the most important place in the museum, which is easy to remember, due to its impressive size, and above all its length and monumentality. It is a potential meeting place. As there is no dedicated sightseeing route, you can arrange to meet here if someone gets lost, moves further on, misses something, and wants to come back or leave.

The very decision to select this interview meant that it was assigned the status of data. The choice was justified by the desire to learn what the authors of the MSWW project have to say about it. It was to "celebrate firsthand knowledge" (Charmaz, 2000, p. 510). Following Charmaz's (2009, p. 55) recommendation to put the texts in their contexts, I took into account not only the participants of the event (interview) and its venue,

but also the purpose, structure, language and subject of the publication (Table 3).

Excerpt from the initial memo *Context* concerning the interview in Table 2

Title	Context
Concerns:	An interview conducted by the journalists from archirama.pl with Jacek Droszcz and Bazyli Domsta from Studio Architektoniczne "Kwadrat", and titled *fixture*
Date of publication	6.02.2017, 08:00.
Source:	https://archirama.muratorplus.pl/architektura/co-o-swoim-projekcie-muzeum-ii-wojny-swiatowej-mowia-architekci-z-pracowni-kwadrat, 67_4832.html, 17.11.2019.
Participants:	Interviewer: the journalist is not indicated by either name or pseudonym Interviewees: the authors of the MSWW project, Jacek Droszcz, M. Arch. and Bazyli Domsta, M. Arch.
Venue:	The corridor along the core exhibition at the MSWW
Topic:	[… – M.L.] The interview is devoted to describing the tenets of the MSWW project. Most of the issues raised (Table 2; Numbers 1-144) focus on the museum building which symbolically connects the past, present and future. The dominant spatial feature was inspired by old church towers. The red of the concrete is a reference to the color of bricks – a former building material in Gdańsk. The designers' goal was for the building in the shape of the skewed cube to evoke a multitude of possible associations. [… – M.L.]

Source: The author's elaboration.

The memo *Context* was treated as "initial" which permits a certain flexibility as opposed to further memos (theoretical) which should concentrate on the categories that emerge and their mutual relationships (Strauss, 1987, p. 110).

The next stage involved the diversification of sources. As mainly visual impressions were the subject of the analysis, visual sources seemed to be an obvious choice, even though – as observed by Konecki (2012, p. 14) – the data collected from visual sources have never served as basic materials for generating grounded theory. Credit for the appreciation of visual materials (including audio-visual materials) goes to Clarke, as well as to Cornelius Schubert (2006) and Silvana Figueroa (2008). Treating visual data as equally important, I conducted an online query and obtained a photo showing the interior of the MSWW (Table 4, column A).

Table 4

Picture coding in grounded theory

A. Visual material – a photograph	B. Memo
Title: The corridor along the core exhibition at the MSWW, the official website of Studio Architektoniczne "Kwadrat", *Realizacja*	**Section I. Source**
	This is a secondary source. The picture features on the official website of Studio Architektoniczne "Kwadrat", the author of the design of the Museum of the Second World War in Gdańsk. The picture is posted as the one opening the section tilted *Realizacja* [Implementation]. The photograph was taken by Paweł Paniczko. The information about the photo is missing (see column A).
	Section II. What can be seen in the photo?
Source: Studio Architektoniczne "Kwadrat", Jacek Droszcz and Bazyli Domsta; website: kwadrat-gdynia.pl; website address: http://kwadrat-gdynia.pl/miiws/, 15.11.2019.	Modern interior. This can be a **corridor** or **waiting room**. The space does **not reveal the function of the building** it is a part of. The **length and height** of this space give it a **monumental** character. The space is **open** and **nearly empty**. There is light here. Natural light enters through the skylight running along the corridor. The remaining part of the corridor gets additional, artificial light.
Photographer: Paweł Paniczko	
Information about the picture (specification): none	
Full color picture	The colors are **monochrome**. Shades of grey and **beige** prevail. The floor is smooth and shiny. The walls and the floor are made of **concrete**. There are large recesses on both sides, especially on the left. There is a **metal structure** under the ceiling on the left. It resembles **a prison corridor**. Several **technical appliances** are mounted along the ceiling on the left. **Minimalist design**. The walls on both sides feature boards which are intelligible. A **long bench** stretches along the wall on the right. **Individual people** are scattered along it. **An older man on his own** can be seen in the foreground. Judging by his head bent forward he is reading or leafing through something. He is **quite a distance away** from the next person. A group of **several people** are sitting in the **back**. Several **persons** stand at the end of the area.
Information about the design and implementation of the Museum of the Second World War project (specification):	
1) Address: Gdańsk, ulice Wałowa, Stara Stocznia and Na Dylach	
2) Authors: STUDIO ARCHITEKTONICZNE „KWADRAT" Jacek Droszcz	
3) Architects: Jacek Droszcz, M. Arch.; Bazyli Domsta, M. Arch.; Andrzej Kwieciński, M. Arch.; Zbigniew Kowalewski M. Arch.	
4) Collaborating authors: Maciej Busch, M. Arch.; Kamil Domachowski, M. Arch.; Katarzyna Langer, M. Arch.; Izabela Gierada-Lipka, M. Arch.; Agnieszka Żydecka-Bąk, M. Arch.; Joanna Liszka, M. Arch.; Piotr Dowgiałło, M. Arch.; Justyna Kanka, M. Arch.; Daria Przewłócka, M. Arch.; Tomasz Rochna, M. Arch.; Michał Gierszanow, M. Arch.; Krzysztof Droszcz, M. Arch.; Małgorzata Ryterska, M. Arch.;. Jolanta Lelątko, M. Arch.; Anna Włodarczyk, M. Arch.; Krzysztof Kulawczuk, M. Arch.; Violetta Droszcz, M. Arch.	
4) Interior design: LOFT Magdalena Adamus	
5) Landscape architecture: STUDIO ARCHITEKTONICZNE „KWADRAT" Jacek Droszcz	

6) Construction: PG PROJEKT | Biuro Projektów Paweł Gębka 7) General contractor: WARBUD S.A. – Hochtief Polska S.A. – Hochtief Solutions AG / Stan „0": Soletanche Polska 8) Investor: Museum of the Second World War in Gdańsk 9) Plot area: 17 095,00 m² 10) Built-up area: 4 465,40 m² 11) Floor space: 36 058,24m² 12) Total area: 57 386 m² 13) Cubic capacity: approx. 259 035 m³ 14) Project submitted for competition: 2010 15) Construction project: 2011–2012 16) Implementation: 2012–2017 17) Investment cost: PLN 450 million Specification source: *Muzeum II Wojny Światowej w Gdańsku – Współczesna ikona projektu Studia Architektonicznego „Kwadrat"*, "Archinea. Architektura Współczesna w Polsce", author: tm, date of publication: Feb. 21, 2018, http://archinea.pl/muzeum-ii-wojny-swiatowej-gdansku-wspolczesna-ikona-projektu-studia-architektonicznego-kwadrat/, 21.12.2019.	**Section III. How well can you see things in the picture?** The photo is sharp and seems to render a real situation. It is a documentary photo, not an artistic one. It was taken on a sunny day, which makes the interior bright. The small number of visitors may be the photographer's choice who is more interested in the interior than the people.

Legend: Grey – the memo; black – the code

Source: The author's elaboration.

The coding of visual data from a secondary source was preceded by four steps recommended by Clarke (2005, p. 233; after Konecki, 2012, p. 15): deciding, locating, collecting and tracking. The source was selected due to its greatest relevance to the situation analyzed. Based on this criterion, I chose the first photo of the interior of the MSWW featuring on the official website of the Studio Architektoniczne "Kwadrat." The photograph was transcribed, meaning that I described what can be seen in it. For this purpose, memos referring to those used by Clarke were applied, namely the locating memo and big picture memo (Table 4). They answer the questions of who created and shared the given image and describe what can be seen in the photo and how. The description was carried out moving from the general to the specific, which is an inversion of the inductive approach (Clarke, 2005, p. 224 ff.) typical of "classical" GT applied here for an interview (Table 2). The starting point for the description of the corridor along the core exhibition was the introduction of the codes "modern interior" and "monumentality." The former was defined through the materials used (concrete and metal structure), colors (monochrome – shades of gray and beige) and interior design (minimalism), which were not helpful in

identifying the function of the space. The latter was identified through its height, length and openness. In terms of the qualities they characterize, these codes appeared in an interview with the designers of the MSWW project.

An image can reveal what an interview conceals. This is what happened in this case, confirming the importance of visual data. In the transcription of the photograph, I used the code "prison corridor" to describe the associations evoked in me by the metal structure suspended along the ceiling on the left and – as stated in the interview – covering some fixtures. This code appeared in the field memo and in the photo transcript memo, but not in the interview. This difference was significant as it concerned a pejorative term for the experience of the space examined. These discrepancies raised doubts as to the use of only three sources of data, because it was difficult to talk about "theoretical saturation" which is essential for GT. However, a re-examination of the material collected on the occasion of earlier research on the Gdańsk museum revealed nothing significantly new. On this basis, I concluded that the data in Tables 1, 2, and 4 was sufficient, because, according to Glaser and Strauss, "what we rely on to generate a theory is not a fact, but a conceptual category (or a conceptual property of a category) which was generated from this fact" (Glaser, Strauss, 2009, p. 24). The relevance of the material collected for the purposes of the analysis was to be ultimately verified in terms of the explanatory potential of codes and categories.

Codes and categories compared and visualized

In order to visualize the codes I used diagrams. I was inspired mainly by the works of Clarke (2003, 2005).[11] The graphic form of presentation was to raise the level of analysis from that of description to the theoretical level. In the case of codes applied for the interview, the status of the core analytical category was earlier assigned to the "main axis of the core exhibition" (Table 2). Now the strength and value of the relationship between the core category and the codes considered essential needed to be indicated (Diagram 2).

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[11] Diagrams feature also in works by other authors, such as Strauss and Corbin (1990) among others.
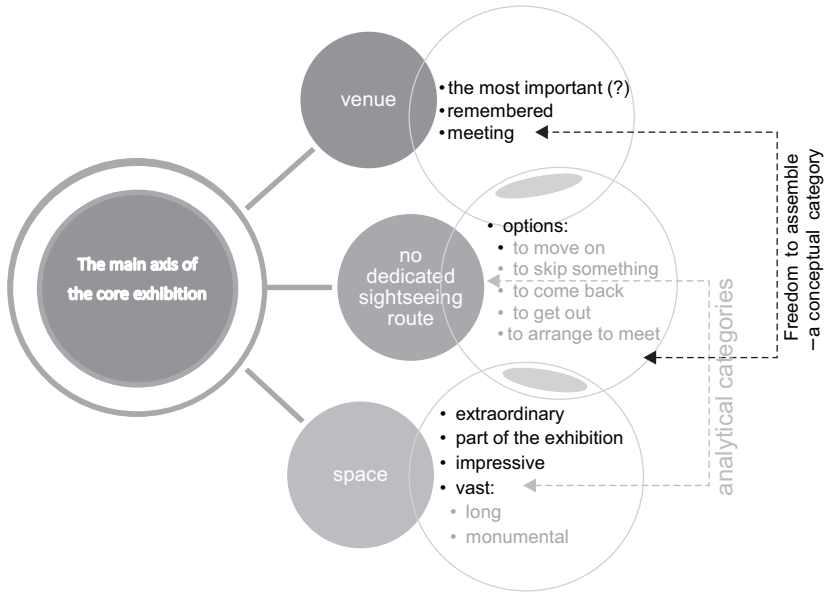
Diagram 2. Codes and categories used for the interview in Table 2

Source: The author's elaboration.

The basic properties of the main axis of the core exhibition at the MSWW identified on the basis of the interview include "no dedicated sightseeing route" and "vast space," which I approached as analytical categories. Furthermore, comparing the code "meeting venue" and the "option to arrange to meet" made it possible to construct the first conceptual category of "the freedom to assemble."

Another stage involved designing a comparative diagram, where the codes applied in the memos from the field visit and from the photo transcription could be graphically compared (Diagram 3).

The code "corridor" took the central position since it was present in both memos; although when transcribing the photograph I noted that the purpose of the space was difficult to identify, because it could also be a "waiting room," as was the type of the building it was a part of. The recurring codes were identified by two solid-line arrows. This was the case of the code "modern interior," defined by the materials used, technologies and monochromatic coloring. The differences here concerned the "minimalism" (in the photo transcription) illustrated by the presence
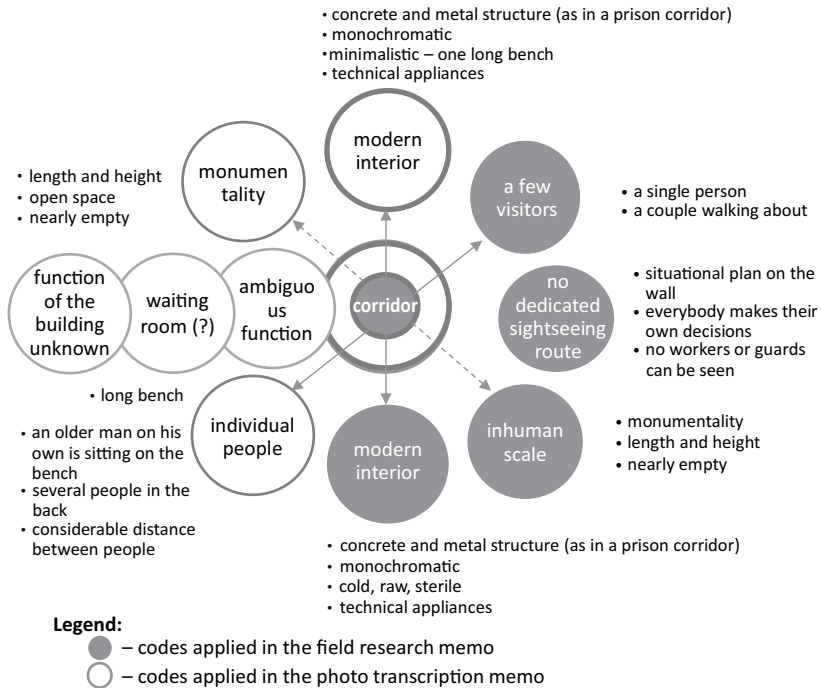
Diagram 3. Comparison of codes applied in the field visit memo in Table 1 and the photo transcription memo in Table 4

Source: The author's elaboration.

of one long bench in the vast space and by the adjectives "cold, raw and sterile" used to render my subjective impressions from the first visit to the MSWW (in the field research memo). The same type of arrow was also used for the codes "individual people" and "a few visitors" treating them as tautological.

As concerns the codes which refer to similar properties, albeit using different names, they are indicated by two dotted arrows. Thus, I combined "monumentality" with the more emotionally charged code "inhuman scale." This allowed me to illustrate the differences between the perceptions of the space when on site and when presented on the picture. In both cases, this concerned the length and height of the space, which exceeds the perspective of the people using it, a perspective that should be considered in architecture, according to Oskar Hansen and in urban design, according to Jan Gehl.

The "no dedicated sightseeing route" comment was not referred to in the transcription of the photo. This was due to the inability to clearly identify the functions of the interior presented in the photograph. The space in question evoked associations with a corridor or a waiting room. If the visual material is assumed to present a museum corridor, further analysis would likely reveal the absence of halls numbers or of the arrows indicating the direction of moving around the facility. However, I decided that this assumption was a manifestation of forcing data and preconceptualization of categories, which was why I rejected it. I also eschewed all codes related to lighting, considering them irrelevant for the purpose of the research.

The next step involved establishing the relationships between the codes and dependencies between the categories, which was achieved by using a diagram (cf. Clarke, 2005, pp. 86–87; also: Charmaz, 2009, p. 153) (Diagram 4).
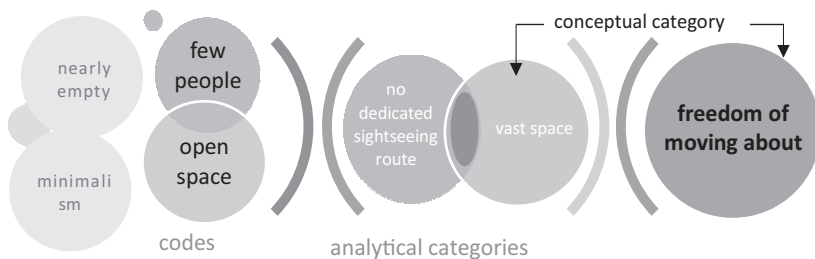

Diagram 4. The codes as well as analytical and conceptual categories pertaining to the main axis of the core exhibition

Source: The author's elaboration.

The comparison resulted in a second conceptual category being generated, which combines "vast space" with "no dedicated sightseeing route," namely the "freedom of moving about." I resolved to write a theoretical memo concerning the latter (Table 5).

According to Strauss, editing memos is reminiscent of a constant conversation, even if one works alone (1987, p. 110). In the case in question, it was a "dialog" with the data, aimed at answering the questions of how to define "the freedom to move about" and explaining the properties that made it a basic liberating practice in the main axis of the core exhibition at the MSWW.

Table 5

Theoretical memo: *Freedom of moving about*

Title: *Freedom of moving about as a liberating practice in the main axis of the core exhibition at the MSWW*
The freedom to move about means liberation from compulsion due to the absence of a dedicated sightseeing route. It is not about the lack of a visiting route in general, but about the designers' choice to eschew the instructions indicating the order in which the exhibition should be visited in their opinion. Visitors can decide which route to choose. The exhibition plan, located on the left-hand wall at the beginning of the corridor, is merely informative. The space along the core exhibition makes it possible to return if someone gets lost and/or misses something. This place is important in terms of orientation. It also facilitates leaving the exhibition. The freedom to move about is also determined by the lack of any restrictions related to the size, organization and design of the space. All these conditions have been met in excess. The height and length of the main axis of the core exhibition exceeds the "human scale." The impression of monumentality is enhanced by the open space and minimalism of the interior architecture. Visitors can move freely, limited only by the walls and safety regulations, especially since neither security officers nor museum employees are in sight.

Source: The author's elaboration.

(Re)constructing theorizing?[12]

The fundamental issue when generating grounded theory is the inability to foresee the effects. This is all the more frustrating, as other methodological paradigms offer a confidence-inspiring alternative when hypotheses are made to be subsequently verified. Here, no inital hypotheses are put forward, only open-ended questions are posed. The attempts to answer them form a process of ceaseless repetition, associated with the cyclical comparison of data and codes (cf. Konecki, 2000, pp. 55–56). As a result, "theory consists of plausible relationships proposed between concepts and sets of concepts" (Strauss, Corbin, 1994, p. 278). It can also be assumed that theory is a potentiality that exists in the data from which it is constructed or – more literally – reconstructed. The process of transition from data to theory, however, raises disputes on the basis of GT. Presenting them here would be unfeasible, let alone resolving them. The basic problems arise as early as when determining what empirical material or source is, and what data is. The notions

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[12] "Reconstructing theorizing" comes from the title of Chapter 6 of the book by Charmaz (2009, p. 159).

of "code" and "category" also raise doubts since, epistemologically, they are defined and require specific procedures. Meanwhile, they are treated somewhat liberally in GT. It is "the researcher's decisions and their metatheoretical perspective that impact data collection and constructing categories" (Konecki, 2012, p. 13). As a result, "no dedicated sightseeing route" is both a code and an analytical category. The same also applies to problems with determining whether the methodology applied is appropriate for grounded theory, grounded theorizing, or maybe a qualitative research inspired by GT. Leaving these doubts aside, I assumed after Charmaz that "each theoretical interpretation leads not so much to an exact reflection of the world as to the creation of its *interpretative* image" (2009, p. 18). This image is subjective and it is up to the researcher what they identify as "code," "category" and "theory." The quality of the empirical data, which is subjected to coding, remains a separate issue. For Glaser and Strauss, data does not even have to be exact or complete. The goal is not to know "the whole of the area" or to render "a perfect description," since "a single case can indicate a general conceptual category or property" (Glaser, Strauss, 2009, p. 29). As a result, "theoretical sampling" is a process of working with data that is solely determined the researcher, based on a general topic or problem (Glaser, Strauss, 2009, p. 41). It involves "pursuing relevant data to develop an emerging theory" (Charmaz, 2009, p. 126). In the course of this process, abductive reasoning is useful, which in Charmaz's (2009, p. 135) view "involves considering all possible theoretical explanations, formulating hypotheses for each possible explanation, testing them empirically with data, and developing the most convincing explanation." This is a reference to the author of the contemporary reflection on abduction, Charles Sanders Peirce (1931–1958, 5. pp. 172–188), for whom it is a hypothetical inference, which although unreliable, makes it possible to choose hypotheses which are more accurate than others. It is a "flash," "instinct," etc., giving one insight into the essence of things. More importantly, abduction requires something previously unknown and unobservable to exist. Although it resembles guessing, it is not irrational at all, but is based on logic (Urbańczyk, 2009, p. 17). In the latter approach, abductive reasoning seems to approach intuition checking in GT, where theoretical sampling is emergent – it is a process of the ongoing "emergence" of new, previously ungraspable categories (cf. Charmaz, 2009, p. 136). I consider "alienation" to be such a conceptual category as the antithesis of "the freedom to assemble."

Table 6

Theoretical memo *Alienation*

Title: *Alienation as the antithesis of "the freedom to assemble" in the main axis of the core exhibition at the MSWW*
Freedom to assemble means the freedom to meet. This is a tautological definition. Exercising this freedom implies the existence of a meeting venue. According to what the architects who designed the museum said, this is the function of the main axis of the core exhibition, being a monumental and open space, without any barriers and divisions. It is a long and high interior, the size of which forces freedom. Although being an oxymoron, this is illustrated by the term "prison corridor" used in the memos from the field research and from the photo transcription. Although it describes the impression evoked by the metal structure masking fixtures, it can be treated as a symbol of the lack of freedom when freedom is dictated rather than chosen by visitors.
There is a long bench along the wall on the right. It is the only piece of furniture for visitors. In terms of spatial organization, a space for possible meetings is provided. However, the collected data did not confirm the fact that visitors use this option. Treating the main axis as a meeting venue turns out to be a projection of the architects' intentions and is not confirmed by the facts. The analysis of the visual material and the field research memo indicate the opposite, namely the loneliness of the few visitors who stay far away from each other. The value that freedom is was thus distorted and took the form of alienation as understood, among others, by Georg Hegel, Karl Marx or Ludwig Feuerbach. Individual people appear alienated and lacking a sense of belonging to the place where they are. Although created by a team of people, the space of the main axis of the core exhibition exceeds the "human scale." As a result, the interior becomes an independent reality, rendering visitors helpless. The message articulated by its designers through the interior becomes incoherent. The space that was to serve the purpose of meeting is a place of atomization.
Creating a meeting venue is not enough. It is necessary to have somebody able and willing to use it. Meanwhile, the vastness of the monumental space means that the people who are there are unable "to meet," even if visitors' attendance is high. The reason may be a formal obstacle consisting in a quota on the number of people who can enter the exhibition at a given time. As a result, there are only a few visitors.
The situational analysis proposed by Clarke demands that the place and time be taken into account. As a result, the small number of visitors seen in the transcribed photo could have resulted from the photographer's decision to make the interior rather than the people the dominant topic. The small number of visitors noted in the field study memo should also be explained. In this case, it should be emphasized that the museum was visited eight months since it had been opened to visitors. It is difficult to assess to what extent this might have translated into public interest in the exhibition, but this fact should to be taken into account.
Another issue is people's willingness to take advantage of the possibility to assemble and other freedoms inspired by the main axis of the core exhibition. Albeit dated, the concepts developed by Erich Fromm remain valid and therefore useful for interpretation purposes. They make it possible to identify the fear of freedom, manifested by a lack of willingness and the ability to use freedoms.

Source: The author's elaboration.

The freedoms to move and assemble are fundamental freedoms of the individual. They provide the foundation of liberal ideology and components of the neoliberal discourse. The individual who possesses these freedoms is defined as an autonomous person who is able to think, decide and act independently. These competences are also associated with the ability to judge and free will. The latter was described by Alain Bihr, a French sociologist and critic of liberalism, as "the ability for self-determination which is above all determinations or all determinisms of the activity of the individual" (2008, p. 139). While apparently enigmatic, this means freedom of choice with no restrictions. The opposite of free will is dictatorship. Pursuing the deconstruction of the concept of freedom in the neoliberal discourse, Bihr (2008, p. 14) emphasized that this concept is an example of Orwellian Newspeak, in which the meaning of words is inverted and their meaning blurred. As a result, "freedom" was transformed into "alienation" (Bihr, pp. 139–143). While the former evokes positive connotations, the latter is pejorative, as evidenced by the distortion of the liberating practice in the main axis of the core exhibition at the MSWW. The freedoms here are only declaratory, and the freedom of choice is a semblance, given the determinism of the space. It is not the visitors who decide, it is the interior that evokes specific behaviors. The museum corridor is therefore a non-human actant, as defined by Bruno Latour. In the opinion of this French researcher, "there may be a range of metaphysical shades between full causality and pure non-existence. Apart from 'determining' or indicating 'the horizon of human action,' objects can authorize this action, permit, facilitate, encourage [... – ML], prohibit it, and so on" (Latour, 2010, p. 102). The situations captured in the field memo and in the photo constitute empirical evidence of the impact of the interior on visitors. They conceal the functions of the corridor which go beyond treating it only as a communication route. The corridor is an actant that should be spoken of in the language of its designers as an "identification route" that is an integral part of the exhibition. Since Foucault, and his analysis of Bentham's Panopticon, architecture has been a vehicle of discourse, which is why the main axis of the core exhibition at the MSWW is a spatial manifesto of freedom understood in the spirit of liberalism as the highest value.

Conclusion

The Baroque era in France, which produced Versailles (as a symbol and metaphor of excessive ceremonial), turned the life and surroundings

of Louis XIV into a theater. The ideology of classical absolutism required the court to reflect the cosmic order, with the Sun King at its center. People, animals, objects, and the architecture of buildings, interiors and landscapes formed his entourage. Any public act was a ceremony that required a setting for royal majesty. Versailles was not only the place where the monarch lived and functioned, but above all – an emanation of his power. The practices of power developed in the seventeenth century were brought to an end by the Great French Revolution in 1789. What it failed to change, however, was the basic principle that had emerged long before the Enlightenment that an architectural object is an implementation of the will of its investor-patron and an emanation of his views and values. Jałowiecki (see the motto) was therefore right in attributing the authorship of Versailles to Bourbon rather than to its architects. In the case of the MSWW, the architects from the Studio Architektoniczne "Kwadrat," led by Droszcz and Domsta were peers of Le Nôtre and Le Vau, and even more so of Jules Hardouin-Mansart, whom the Polish sociologist failed to mention. The role of the former was to create a "setting" for the ready exhibition. The shape they designed, which won the competition and was subsequently implemented, forms part of the neoliberal discourse. This is evidenced by the main axis of the core exhibition, which promotes the freedom of moving and assembly. This determines the political nature of the MSWW as an ideologized space.

Poznań, February 2020

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**Postulat teorii ugruntowanej w politologicznym widzeniu
Muzeum II Wojny Światowej w Gdańsku**

Streszczenie

    Celem tekstu jest wykazanie użyteczności teorii ugruntowanej w politologicznej analizie Muzeum II Wojny Światowej w Gdańsku. Pytanie podstawowe sprowadza się do tego, jak badać źródła świadczące o zideologizowaniu przestrzeni muzeum publicznego? Aby na nie odpowiedzieć odwołano się do koncepcji Kathy Charmaz i Adeli Clarke, dostrzegając w nich niewykorzystany potencjał dla badań jakościowych prowadzonych na gruncie nauk o polityce. Oznaczało to odejście od „klasycznych" wersji teorii ugruntowanej, stworzonych przez Barney'a G. Glasera i Anselma L. Straussa, na rzecz podejść uwzględniających tzw. zwrot postmodernistyczny oraz syntezujących konstruktywizm i konstrukcjonizm społeczny. Analizie poddano dane

pozyskane ze źródeł pierwotnych i wtórnych, dotyczących osi głównej wystawy sta-
łej. Punktem wyjścia były terenowe badania własne, których wyniki porównano z da-
nymi z wywiadu z architektami muzeum oraz z transkrypcji fotografii. Inspirując się
procedurami zgodnymi z nieklasycznymi wersjami teorii ugruntowanej wykazano, że
oś główna wystawy stałej zaprojektowana została jako liberalny manifest wolności.
Przesądziło to o przynależności przedmiotu analizy do pola badawczego politolo-
gii. Zastosowane rozwiązania przestrzenne stanowiły świadectwo woli twórców, aby
zwiedzającym zapewnić swobodę przemieszczania i gromadzenia się. Uznano je za
kategorie konceptualne, powiązane z brakiem dedykowanej trasy zwiedzania oraz
ogromem przestrzeni będącej w dyspozycji zwiedzających. Analiza porównawcza
kodów i kategorii doprowadziła jednak do wygenerowania jeszcze innego tropu inter-
pretacyjnego, związanego z utożsamieniem wolności z alienacją. „Swoboda” uległa,
tym samym, problematyzacji.