

## Book review

Czarzasty, J., Kliszko, Cz. (eds.), *Świat (bez) pracy. Od fordyzmu do czwartej rewolucji przemysłowej. Monografia dedykowana Profesorowi Juliuszowi Gardawskiemu* [The world with(out) work. From Fordism to the fourth industrial revolution. Review of the monograph in honor of Professor Juliusz Gardawski] Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza SGH, 2018, ISBN 978-83-8030-247-1

### **The Evolution or Devolution of the World of Work?**

Nowadays, Economy 4.0 is a common metaphor that refers to software development. Along other well-known and newer terms related to work and employment, this metaphor is one of the leading themes of the book edited by Czesława Kliszko and Jan Czarzasty from the College of Socio-Economics at SGH Warsaw School of Economics. This multi-faceted volume that is impressive both with its quality and quantity of papers authored by many researchers, is published in honor of the outstanding Polish researcher, Professor Juliusz Gardawski. A fully accomplished man in a lot of areas, in line with what Abraham Maslow (2006) meant when he wrote about healthy people, i.e. 'self-actualizing people' who realize their needs in a harmonious way, in unison and in cooperation with their community, for their own benefit and for the common good.

This excellent and meticulously edited book opens with congratulatory letters from the Rector of SGH Warsaw School of Economics, Professor Marek Rocki, and the Dean of the College of Socio-Economics at SGH Warsaw School of Economics,

Professor Wojciech Morawski. Notes on Professor Juliusz Gardawski and his accomplishments are expanded in the 'Preface: on Professor Juliusz Gardawski'. The authors of the 'Preface...', Czesława Kliszko and Jan Czarzasty, warmly, aptly and at the same time humorously characterized the life and the academic accomplishments of this known and acclaimed researcher, with the use of many quotes from the authors of papers included in the book. The vivid narrative portrays a man known and liked by people closed to him, his friends, colleagues, collaborators and subordinates. A man also known to this reviewer, in whom *it is impossible to separate the Professor from the Man (...), as if moved directly from an old Polish manor*. A man who is *hospitable, easy to make and maintain contacts with people of diverse characters and opinions*. A man who is open, kind, curious of people and willing to forgive, a man whose *good nature and kindness is shared with those around him without much objection*. Those who met Professor Gardawski quickly discovered that *Professor Gardawski is not an armchair researcher whose time can be measured by his published books and although academia is and will continue to be his main area of activity, he would feel bad when limited only to research*. He is highly successful in private life which is beautifully intertwined with the life of those he meets – the life of spiritual, territorial and professional communities, the life of academic and social circles for which he is always willing to sacrifice *his time and commitment*. At the same time, he is a *modest person, organically incapable of boasting about himself*.

People like him often show exceptional magnetism. Great inter-personal relationships, social networks, special enterprises as well as effective research teams and inclusive support circles emerge spontaneously around such people and because of them. One of the results of that great magnetic power was the initiative which led to the publication of the book which is the subject of this review. This book is unique due to both the person it celebrates and the authors of the papers it contains. The main theme of the book is also unique, as are the issues covered in eighteen chapters which are preceded by a succinct 'Introduction' by the editors of the volume. The latter includes three neat and witted pencil-drawn portraits of Professor Gardawski drawn by Malwina Szarzyńska as well as remarkable photographs illustrating the life of Professor Gardawski. The photographs are courtesy of the collection of the National Center of Science, the family archives and Maciej Górski. The volume was proofread by Krystyna Ciecierska and reviewed for publication by Professor Jarosław Górniak from the Jagiellonian University. It meets the highest content, linguistic and technical standards.

The editors of this book have successfully accomplished their intentions. It is not merely another book published 'in honor to somebody', but it is a well-thought-out

and interesting, academic publication on current, crucial and applicable issues with references to the accomplishments and life of Professor Gardawski, portrayed with due respect but without unnecessary pretensions. All this is served in a cheerful fashion that corresponds with Professor Gardawski's way of being. What is more, the editors managed to coordinate the work of more than twenty acclaimed authors. The organizational work with such scholars often requires more resources than is the case with teams of less refined specialists performing simpler tasks. Given this circumstance, the work of editors deserves even more acclaim.

The authors of chapters of the book are well known and highly acclaimed in Poland and internationally. This collection of papers is outstanding, interesting and relevant. In the subsequent part of this review, devoted to specific papers from the reviewed collection, the academic credentials and degrees of the authors, as well as their institutional affiliations will not be provided. All of them are specialists who collaborate with leading national and international academic institutions. The detailed information about them can be consulted in the reviewed volume.

It should be noted that papers were carefully ordered by the main topics they address. Consequently, chapters dialogue with each other and the argumentation included in them is coherently developed. It was crucial to provide a coherent structure for this diverse content. The successful accomplishment of this task results in a well-ordered, extensive, multi-faceted volume of 500 pages that shows no flaws which are common in many publications of similar size. This is another exceptional and praiseworthy contribution of the editors who came up with the idea of this publication.

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In their 'Introduction' to the volume, the editors, Jan Czarzasty and Czesława Kliszko, pose questions about the present and the future of work and employment. The questions themselves present scientific value and the most crucial of them is the following: *Are we facing the 'end of work' or is work only going to change its nature?* The subsequent chapters of the book approach this alternative, some from the micro perspective and others from a more general one. The entire volume shows the future of work both in a clear and disturbing way, which is intriguing and disconcerting at the same time.

The opening paper by Grzegorz Szulczewski entitled 'In search of the meaning of life in the world without work' crafts references to arts. It alludes to the motifs from the dystopian novel by Kurt Vonnegut which refer to the consequences of the

domination of machines and the world without work with social and individual results of such a technological leap. It alludes to those traits of human nature which make us commit the same old mistakes and repetitively experience crisis situations caused by technological progress. Thanks to these references to arts, but also their perfect combination with eruditely supported and original academic deliberations, the author of this chapter managed to pinpoint a number of issues which are further developed in the subsequent papers. They include, among others, the problems related to a sense of happiness, self-actualization, and the meaning of life in the conditions of relative welfare which can exist in the world without work, e.g. in the world where so called guaranteed income is widespread. Following the footsteps of Aristotle, Grzegorz Szulczewski discusses whether the vacuum left by the disappearance of work from the life of man can be filled by hedonism, public activity and intellectual life. In the end, the author leaves the readers to draw their own conclusions. However, he sees an opportunity in the return to *activities less appreciated in the epoch of work as well as in the creation of their newforms*. As an example he discusses the zeal with which many members of younger generations indulge themselves in getting the algorithms needed to obtain bitcoins.

Wojciech Paprocki discusses the challenges faced by academic teachers resulting from the more and more complex reality of the age of the fourth industrial revolution ('The role of the academic teacher in the age of the fourth industrial revolution'). He sees more opportunities than threats in these developments. The concept of Industry 4.0 and selected features of Digital Economy 4.0 serve as an incentive. Consequently, the author relates these to new opportunities for research and teaching. He discusses not only those characteristics that feature in popular imagination, e.g. convenience or fast analysis and easier educational contact and ease of dissemination, but mainly those which are connected with the growing opportunities for building interdisciplinary teams, conceptualization or growing dynamics of research (characteristic of research), but also with improved communication and access, in many cases an Instagram-like access, so important for teaching. One of the many interesting themes which is discussed by Wojciech Paprocki is the growing opportunity for co-decision-making in the World 4.0. The author of this review believes that the latter is accompanied by a threat, which can be felt even today, of ever-stronger epistocracy in public policy. This is a dangerous development, as shown, for instance, by David Elstund (2003). At the stage where Poland is now, it is worth keeping in mind this problem and that is why it is raised here. Over time, there will be probably fewer and fewer opportunities to do it.

The analysis of power relations surfaces in the part of the book by Jerzy Bartkowski: 'The politics in the age of post-work'. The author stresses the significance of cultural paradigms which to a large extent are shaped by work. They functionally affect the political system and they themselves are shaped by it. The author leaves open the question of whether this autopoiesis will favor the future of work or rather eliminate it. He suggests, following the ideas of representative classics, possible scenarios of the future where old and new paradigms will clash, but in a new way. Individual and group identities will be one of the key battle fields in this struggle. The author's own deliberations, inspired by the concepts mentioned above, extend into many directions. That is why the picture emerging from the reading of the chapter is detailed enough to see both the arguments 'for' and 'against' the impact of economy, which evolves in already vaguely visible directions, on society and politics. One of the arguments 'against', which is given in the last part of the conclusion, is the policy of distrust. It is clear that this argument should be seriously considered. For example, due to the scale of the affective polarization in the contemporary politics in various parts of the world. Exacerbated by ideology, media, networks and technology, this polarization has a growing impact on the structure of individual and group identities.

Witold Morawski ponders the question of the role of power in the choice of developmental pathways in the context of their interdependency with geography and knowledge. In his chapter, entitled 'External connections. Some introductory notes on geopolitics in Poland', the author points to the location of Poland, which is its asset at present. Its location, however, can be put to a more, or less, fortunate use, depending on how the four geopolitical traditions will clash and intertwine in the domestic collective consciousness. Although according to the moderately conservative tradition, embodied by the 'Europe of Homelands' slogan, the future is seen in cautioning against global threats and tends to narrow down the opportunities provided by the globalization. At the same time, the prospects for the liberal-leftist tradition, which sees the future of 'Poland in a federal Europe', are dim. Faced with a number of processes and developments over the last few years, this project is not that attractive in the collective consciousness, a phenomenon which is not restricted to Poland. On the other hand, the obvious potential of the national-conservative vision of a 'Family Poland', with its idea of national unity, uniqueness and, as a consequence, distinctiveness, is clearly attractive; some of its supporters may even be tempted to pay the price of Polesit for realizing it. The fourth, ideologically non-uniform scenario of a 'peripheral Poland' can, in some of its mutations, stress more passive or more active elements and assign to Poland the role of a pawn in the game of powerful international players or that of a more, or less, conscious player. A player

that in a historical and geopolitical sense will try to compensate for its innate and old losses and at the same time win the highest possible stake in the newly emerging pool of international game of interests.

The theme of peripherality appears also in the next chapter of the book, entitled 'Work and democracy in the peripheral capitalism', where Guglielmo Meardi presents his attempt at explaining the causes of disappointment with democracy in Poland. This attempt is inspired directly by newer theories, e.g. those of Bela Greskovits (2015) and Collin Crouch (2004), and indirectly alludes to the tradition of studies from the past, for instance, those on Iberian and South-American discontent with democracy, associated with such researches as Philippe Schmitter (1981), Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan (1996) or Adam Przeworski (1991). The model interpretations of convergence and divergence listed by the author include, for example, the middle income trap which, as can be concluded from the chapter, has a lot to do with the so-called joint decision trap. The character of the future role and the strength of the world of work to a large extent depend on whether it will be able to set itself free from those traps. That this is not an easy task is testified by looking at the countries which have succeeded in it, such as Ireland or Slovenia. It should be then kept in mind that it is also possible to fall back into the trap, as is the case with Greece. The economic swings are accompanied by various fluctuations in politics and social relations. In effect, *instead of convergence between the center and the peripheries, one can see various processes of emergence of inequalities and conflicts.*

The so-called death of social classes is the theme of the paper by Andrzej Przystalski and Paweł Ruskowski ('Social classes and strata in the Polish society in the 21st century'). The authors open their paper by claiming that the *perspective taken in this paper does not make an a priori assumption that the class divisions play a crucial role in social life* and state that their *goal is to determine whether class conditions exist and what is their scope and strength.* One of the more important consequences, due to which the socio-political power of classes is worth considering, results, as it is argued in the paper, from the classic thesis by Otto Kirchheimer (1996) who spoke of the growing significance of post-material motivations which undermine the old, structural and material socio-economic orientations. Taking as their starting point the classical authors, Karl Marx and Max Weber, the authors are building a narrative, describing specific aspects of class system whose basis can be found in socially-differentiating role of ownership. The relationships connected with and related to ownership constitute the essence of the relationships between private and public sectors. Attention is drawn also to the significance of Polish studies on social

stratification, including those conducted by Juliusz Gardawski (as a sidenote it should be pointed out that there are so many references to the works by Juliusz Gardawski that it is impossible to mention all of them in this review). In the final analysis, the authors stick with the class system in structural interpretations of the social system at present. At the same time, they put forward their own modifications of the model, with the main criteria, such as ownership of means of labor, rent and labor power, drawn from K. Marx and M. Weber.

In his chapter, Krzysztof Jasiocki is making a multi-layered attempt at providing an answer to a seemingly simple question of what is the (individual) wealth. He discusses the latter's definitions, object and selected research topics. Taking the reader through the meanders of meanings, problems, and challenges emerging in this area, the author emphasizes the ambiguities and contradictions related to wealth. On the one hand, individual wealth is individually and collectively desired; it brings various benefits, supports growth and, in principle, can civilize social relationships and uplift them. On the other hand, it generates negative results, justifies the past, present, and future wrongs and inequalities; creates asymmetry and legitimizes inequities. There are different ways of getting rich. Their evaluation depends to a large extent on the dominant cultural and institutional context which can be associated with varieties of capitalism, such as oligarchic or state capitalism, capitalism of huge corporations and entrepreneurial capitalism. *The research on wealth is intertwined with ideologies and public policies which determine the conditions of capital accumulation, just like tax regulations. ... They provoke (or they do not provoke) asking 'difficult' questions on the origin of wealth and its systemic conditions*, although they just as well contribute to the systemic disappearance of the traces of the means by which fortunes were made. Thus, reliable research on wealth faces a lot of problems. But at the same time it is indispensable to understand the processes of crystallization of the hierarchy and stratification, to grasp the creation of opportunities, social citizenship and prestige.

Patchwork capitalism and the directions of its evolution in Poland in the context of the fourth industrial revolution intrigued Ryszard Rapacki. In his chapter, entitled *'The fourth industrial revolution and the directions of development of capitalism'*, he presents the justification for employing the term that points to a hybrid, i.e. patchwork, nature of the variety of capitalism that is taking shape in Poland. The model applied in this analysis takes into account such elements of institutional structure of capitalism as: product market, labor market and industrial relations, financial system and corporate governance, social security system, knowledge generation system, and housing market. The analytical procedure structured in this way allows the author to draw conclusion that the institutional structure of the Polish variety of capitalism is

closest to the institutional matrix of the so-called Mediterranean model. Despite this general similarity, the Polish hybrid demonstrates its distinctiveness and numerous peculiarities. Its incoherence is also evident. The author skillfully convinces the reader of the liquid hybrid nature of the notion of patchwork capitalism. Moreover, Ryszard Rapacki predicts that the fourth industrial revolution will deepen these inconsistencies, while at the same time intensifying the level of systemic entropy and the scope of so-called futile power of the institutional system.

In the chapter entitled '*The impact of changes in the labor market on the monetary policy*', Andrzej Sławiński and Jerzy Hausner discuss the growing role of central banks, in the context of low inflation and interest rates, in the implementation of macro-economic prudential policy. The authors discuss the causes of the continued slow growth in salaries accompanied by low unemployment in a broad context, by referring to e.g. the evolution of monetary policy, changes in the labor markets, and the case of Japan. The central banks effectively stabilized inflation and economic growth in the period known as the Great Stabilization which began in the middle of the 1980s and lasted until the middle of the first decade of the 21st century. At the same time, after the 1970s trade unions were being weakened and, as a result, *the rate of growth in salaries in the highly developed countries continuously lagged behind the productivity growth*. The case of Japan, which pioneered the most important directions of contemporary transformations, is used to demonstrate that only later did it become clear that the *chronically weak domestic demand results to a large extent from the continuous very low rate of growth in salaries despite the historically low levels of unemployment*. A separate question, which is one of the signs of our times, is that when Japan finally took some steps to mitigate this problem, over 50% of workplaces in the service sector were on part-time employment contracts. The falling rate of salaries as a share of GDP is a global tendency. It is expected that in the future the role of monetary policy as the main instrument of stability policy will shrink. The continued low inflation and interest rate levels, along with ageing societies and the envisaged slower pace of technological growth (partly as a result of low productivity growth), are only some of the increasingly visible problems. The adjustment of monetary policy to fiscal policy can be one of the remedies to these problems. Given that *low interest rates almost by their nature generate the risk of turbulences on the financial markets*, the central banks will be more willing to risk their reputation by implementing *macro-economic prudential policy whose objective is to prevent banking crises*. This will begin a *long and difficult process of transforming the role they play in economy*.



In her paper entitled 'The development versus stagnation. The culture of innovativeness in Poland', Jolanta Gładys-Jakóbiak focuses on the problem of cultural conditions of the modification and changes in management, production, and organization. As she says in the conclusion, '*underdevelopment*' is only a state of mind. We are being convinced of the correctness of this statement by following the narrative which evolves around the questions of *bottom-up energy of entrepreneurship, creativity, and innovativeness* as well as the barriers which prevent unleashing of that energy in Poland. One of the starting points for this analysis is the continuous middle or low rank occupied by Poland on the European Innovation Scoreboard, which comprises a host of indicators of e.g. human capital, availability of financial capital or instruments for financing projects. The author notes that this *situation has not changed for years, just as the factors which are perceived as inhibitors for further growth*. This is a serious problem if we take into account the fact that low rank on the Scoreboard not only has an impact over the economy, but that the *level of development of innovativeness, including social innovations, would be also a good illustration of a mature civic society*. A more serious economic transformation will not take place without social and political transformations. All these transformations, in turn, are impossible without a prior genuine cultural and institutional transformation. The chapter, thus, describes a fundamental constraint on growth whose existence is evident from individual contexts and dimensions. This question is discussed with reference to modernization models, rate of innovation and entrepreneurship in Poland as well as to perspectives in these areas. In line with the report of the Polish Agency for Enterprise Development, the author stresses that *it is necessary to remodel the current paradigm of development into a project which would be civilizational in its nature and which would involve partners from different fields and address the previously identified social needs*.

Wiesława Kozek is searching for elements of the future struggle against the unemployment by considering the lessons from the past and the present ("Struggle against the unemployment in the past. What does the past and the present teach us?"). The chapter reminds us of the historical and contemporary significance of the breakthrough bought up by Keynesianism in the struggle against the unemployment. At present, the typical ways of fighting against the unemployment, which have its origins in this intellectual tradition, are impossible to implement or they are no longer effective. They include not only such drastic means as war, which in a horribly efficient way 'cleanses' the labor market, but also those like, sometimes ruthless, policy of *flexicurity*. Economic migrations, which once were considered to be effective remedies for unemployment. The same goes for the idea and practice of job sharing.

At the same time, new, innovative ideas for struggling against the unemployment are emerging. These include e.g. the creation of a demand for the so-called neighborhood services or closer connection between employment for the unemployed and their training or mentoring for inactive people. In the face of sustained unemployment, the role of basic, unconditional income guaranteed to the unemployed may grow in the future. Such solutions do not, however, seem good enough when we acknowledge that *the unemployed merely need jobs which, apart from providing means for living, provide a social anchorage, a sense of being useful, they organize temporal structure, convey a social status and generate self-esteem*. Wiesława Kozek notes that such approach is slowly gaining ground in the European countries. ... It involves the *support from local communities and the state for new workplaces created out of the will to create them, which are not necessarily needed 'in the market', but they are needed by the society or local communities and communities of people*.

Urszula Kurczewska analyzes *New technologies as a catalyst for changes in the labor market*, arguing in favor of the thesis that *although the so-called fourth industrial revolution can, in its first stage, reduce jobs and eliminate some professions, new professions and new job opportunities will emerge in their place in the next stage*. When characterizing the impact of new technologies on the labor market, the author focuses on artificial intelligence, the Internet of things and *blockchain*, a system of storage and sending information on online transactions. The main claim of the chapter is confirmed by providing e.g. the data from the USA regarding the destroyed and newly-created jobs as a consequence of the introduction of personal computers. The author provides a list of professions which can be replaced in the future and another one, consisting of those which most probably will be created as a result of the development of artificial intelligence and automation. In conclusion, the author puts forward a thesis which bodes well for the future: *the impending 'golden age' for the growth of IT innovations, i.e. mass production and adoption of innovations, will not only bring about economic growth and a transformation of the lives for many social groups, but it will also make it possible to transform the nature of work and increase employment opportunities for many people*. This, however, will not take place without a greater involvement from parliaments, governments, and international organizations that is needed to meet new challenges.

In the chapter entitled 'The global ICT market: an opportunity or a threat to jobs?' Katarzyna Żukrowska notes that *the market and the fourth industrial revolution allow people made redundant from the traditional sectors an opportunity to find work in new enterprises, provided that both the market and the people are prepared*

*for it.* This requires more intense efforts in the area of training, support for new initiatives and in the international cooperation. The information and communication technologies are described in the chapter. At the same time the author identifies the peculiarity of Revolution 4.0, which provides new opportunities not only on macro scale, but also for individual people. The individual opportunities, however, are determined by macro scale whose parameters, at the level of specific economies and in terms of strategy and development, should be adjusted to the relevant pathways of development. No imitations can bring better results. The infamous pathway dependence does not have to turn into a trap, provided we look at it in a fresh way: *in general, we tend to see the world through our experiences from the past, but the current revolution provides us with different opportunities as well as challenges.* Furthermore, the chapter presents relevant economic parameters which show the condition of the ICT sector in individual economies as well as globally. Similar data are quoted and discussed in reference to the tensions between protectionism and trade liberalization. The data interpretation favors activities that are closer to efficiency in its modern version or political and public activities than to what *constitutes a 'political theater' accompanying these phenomena. Strictly speaking, it is about chanting slogans of protectionism, actions suggesting to some degree a return to 'self-sufficient' production, to some autonomy.* Following this line of reasoning, it can be claimed that if the future is not defined by the categories suggested by those standing on that *theater* stage, which the 'big' party politics (dealing with imponderables) has been transformed into nowadays, more opportunities can be seen in what appears to be a 'small' politics: parametrized, pragmatic but also (co)determining public policies. At that point, if agreed so, it will be possible, as put forward in the conclusion, to *offer economic policy designed to restrict the protectionist barriers and to open more to import.*

Jacek Męcina, the author of 'Institutional changes in the labor market: from the welfare state to workfare state model and the investments in job quality', takes a look at the dynamics of institutional changes in the labor market. Those changes are analyzed through the lens of investments in job quality, which evolve from the *welfare* to the *workfare state* model. The discussion is of analytical and applicative nature and relates an *attempt at preparing new labor law and a more universal approach to investments in job quality in Poland.* The author suggests that the provisions of the labor law should be thoroughly 'worked out' together, taking into account the employees' rights and economic reality. *With his belief in such a debate and its responsibility, as a participant in the work on new labor codes, the author presents his ideas, remarks and reservations, hoping that they might be applied.* The author, in connection with possible future changes to the regulations, voices some general

points regarding: the minimization of employment on the basis of the so-called contracts of mandate, amendments to the collective bargaining regulations, solutions that cut red-tape from labor law applicable to small employers or increased flexibility in working time regulations. Furthermore, Jacek Męcina presents specific and well-argued suggestions and outlines possible discussions on the labor law, including those on investments in job quality. In his conclusions, he states that *the possibility of quick improvement of job quality in Poland will surely be determined by the dynamics of economic growth and linking the latter with investments in innovations; of equal importance might be the social policy of the state.*

Jan Czarzasty, Vera Trapmann, Adam Mrozowicki and Magdalena Andrzejczuk address the issue of precarization. In their comparative study of Poland and Germany they analyze the economic consciousness and strategies of young people. In their chapter, entitled 'Precarization in Poland and in Germany: economic consciousness and strategies of the youth', they compare the indicators of well-organized economy emerging from the responses given by young Poles and Germans. The data come from the research carried out in Poland and in Germany, as part of the 'PREWORK' project. It came as a surprise that the respondents from both countries only to a very small extent and often somewhat clumsily criticized the precarious working conditions. While being immersed in these conditions, they did not draw any significant conclusions which might be considered to be the building blocks of economic consciousness that contributes to the development of individual life strategies. Six ways of coping with precariousness emerged from this piece of research. As for differences, young Germans demonstrated a more coherent view about a well-organized economy. On the other hand, young Poles tend to criticize more their precarious situation. Other important differences can be noted. For instance, young Poles pay more attention to the mismatch between education and employment, which are related more to the so-called human capital. On the other hand, young Germans emphasize the cultural capital, social capital, and inherited economic capital. The authors also provide intriguing instances of the relativization of precarization observed in both countries. They suggest that *in light of qualitative studies, a common characteristic for young Poles and Germans is the propensity to 'normalize the precarization', which results in unstable working and living conditions being redefined as universal, temporary and sometimes even preferred ways for entering the labor market.* Although young Poles tend to criticize precarization more. Yet this does not change the general, somewhat surprising conclusion of the study which suggests that *precarization has a limited impact on the development of forms of social consciousness of young people in both studied countries.* Most of the elements

of its development are individual or at most counter-cultural and anti-systemic. If this tendency is to be continued in the future, it may bring about far-reaching consequences. For instance, it can thwart the activities of trade unions, especially in its traditional forms.

Rafał Towalski discusses the trade unions and their role in the light of cognitive capitalism (Trade unions and their roles in the light of cognitive capitalism'). The chapter refers to the disruptive potential of 'knowledge-based economy' in the context of the transformations of the relationship between labor and capital as well as deterioration of the economic situation of many groups of employees and new challenges connected with the place and role of trade unions. The author present important features of cognitive capitalism, such as non-material character of the process of work and its product, a particular cost structure that falls in fact only on the first instance of the product, a network-based 'cooperation between brains', or the reliance of the growth in knowledge-based economy on the level of education of the society and the quality of education system. Cognitive capitalism transforms work, employment, and industrial relations through, among others, the intensification of outsourcing, precarization and a general devaluation of workforce. The newly-emerging elites are sometimes called the cognitariat. There are, however, many more losers than winners. The number of the former is growing quickly, not least due to new forms of exploitation. For instance, the exploited who browse the internet, often not aware of the exploitation, are private individuals and mass in their numbers, contributing free of charge to great profitmaking by the few from the content of the visited websites. Simultaneously, the control over the mass audiences, who paradoxically do not realize it, grows. Whereas the individual thinks of himself as the architect of their own internet space and the creator of their identity. In this growingly atomized and exploited society, by means such as those described above, it is more and more difficult for the trade unions to find their place and new role which would combine their traditional forms of activity with addressing the challenges of the present and the future. Mobile-based work or freelancing are very narrow but characteristic examples of the growing deformations of work and employment relations. In this context, *in this ever more individualized and precarious world of work, it falls on the associations to represent workers and articulate clearly their demands.* Consequently, we see the growing importance of the broad, network cooperation between trade unions and third sector organizations, on the one hand, and the role of the functional and structural evolution of trade unions themselves, on the other hand. Some trade unions are beginning to resemble social movements rather than the traditional, often excessively static, rational organizations, as conceptualized in

the Weberian model. Rafał Towalski concludes that *trade unions will have to unite with social movements and adopt their shape. There is a lot of evidence indicating that this is the case. The scale of transformations is still too small and the resistance of some unions is formidable. Whereas the 'bastions' of the union movement, public sector and traditional industries, are shrinking. On the other hand, the ranks of employees in cognitive capitalist sector are swelling, whereas their interests, except for individual ones, remain unconscious.*

Piotr Ostrowski devoted his chapter to the problems of union revitalization in the context of the post-Fordism's impact on the world of work ('Revitalization. Trade unions and the impact of post-Fordism'). Opportunities for revitalization are discussed in this paper within the context of challenges faced by trade unions and opinions of specialists and researchers from the field. Gone are the days of Fordism, a situation propped up by the yesteryear's industrial relations, when *trade unions made ... employment, whole professional career and, consequently, the life of post-war employee highly predictable.* With the rise of post-Fordism, which started in the 1970s, *the term flexibility became a buzzword.* With the consolidation of Friedmanian paradigm of free competition, the principles of market game gradually became dominant. Whereas any deviation from these principles were considered 'pathogenic'. *The Keynesian model of state interventionism, and in particular the existence of trade unions, since then became the main embodiment of this 'pathology'.* Toward the end of the 1980s, as a response to the spread of neo-Liberal interpretation of political economy, voices calling for trade union revitalization became more prominent. These called not only for the reinterpretation of the goals of unions and reorganization of their structures, but also discussed new ways of looking at the resources of trade unions and the opportunities/potential for using them. In this debate, the narrative on different dimensions of trade-union revitalization is developed, taking into account not only the representativeness or the bargaining power of the unions themselves but also the resources controlled by other social movements or those (partly) related to trade unions or new movements which demonstrate some potential for coalition with the unions. The realization of this prospect, however, requires cooperative operationalization and skilful capitalization. The author ponders the building blocks that comprise the strength of trade unions, including the resources at the disposal of unions, such as internal solidarity, networking, narrative and infrastructural resources as well as strategic abilities of trade unions to mediate, frame, articulate and learn. These issues are illustrated by selected examples from Poland that include 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' organizational styles of union activism and, as a result, their

ability to react to the changes in the surrounding environment and to unionize new categories of workers. It is posited that in the future more attention should be paid to 'soft resources', such as the *ability to develop, maintain and manipulate the networks of cooperation with the communities beyond trade unions (...) as well as consider the narrative (discursive) components to be important*. All this without neglecting the 'hard resources' associated with traditionally-conceived union base.

The authors of the final chapter, Sławomir Adamczyk and Barbara Surdykowska, present a miniaturized picture of the *real end of the world of Fordism*, asking *how to represent the employees' interests in the world of robots and micro-employers* ("The real end of the world of Fordism. How to represent the collective interests of employees in the world of robots and micro-employers?"). Many more questions are posed by these authors. At present, we can only try to find the answers to some of them. This is exactly what the authors, in an intriguing way, are trying to do. The starting point for these authors is the claim that the *traditional model of trade union action, which is still deeply rooted in the model of Fordism that is declining in front of our very eyes, will not be able to cope ... with challenge* posed by the pressure of technological transformation that will wipe out the *employees from the middle of the income ladder* and push them to the ranks of *low-paid employees* or micro-employers. *Some of the researchers make a connection between the intensity of the current stage of globalization and the fact that capitalism is passing into the 'disorganized' stage in the developed countries*, which has a lot to do with the *cancer stage capitalism*, a term employed often by Richard Hyman (2018). In such conditions, trade unions lose their ground AND their traditional resources, their membership base shrinks and their potential for action dwindles. The authors describe the individual aspects of digital economy, costs of production, changes in employment, climate change and migrations. To this they add the future development of information technology, biotechnology, genetics and nanotechnology. All these factors combined present an outline of the picture of the *end of Fordism*, as suggested by the authors. In the nearest perspective we see interesting information and interpretations on the impact of automation and robotics on work and employment which additionally transforms employment through the use of platforms. The key role is played by the consumption which, despite being materially more and more diverse, is being mentally impoverished, so that we *spend money that we do not have on the things that we do not need to make an impression that will not last on people we do not care about*. In a not too distant future, *the main role of work will be that of a factor for social cohesion achieved by making life meaningful*. This, however, means that we will have to regard all forms of *voluntary activities for the benefit of the society as work*. Many trade unionists do not

see or even refuse to see these tendencies. For them, the idea of trade unions being the 'caretakers of the world of work' is much less clear and probable than the idea of defending the 'bastions' from which the would-be trade union Reconquista may one day be launched.

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The picture of the end of the world of Fordism, the picture of the ongoing end of the world as we know it is unsettling. The same can be said of attempts at 'adjusting' the 'laggards' to Economy 4.0. evidenced by individual segments of sector-wide policies. As an example we may quote the recently-introduced act that transforms higher education in Poland, known as Act 2.0. This brings into mind another threat associated with the end of Fordism. The threat of poor public management, mismatch of resources, strategies and tools required to perform a successful surgery on the 'patient', i.e. the individual segments of public, private and social sectors in Poland which, allegedly or actually, do not suit the future challenges. This has been a drawback of Polish (and not only Polish) public policy since its modern beginnings. That is why we should not throw blame, but rather argue for better, truly cooperative variants of public policies. Only then will it be possible to set a better 'focus' on the growing complexity of tools, devices and vehicles of public interventions.

By means of concluding this digression, resulting from reading of the reviewed volume, suffice it to say that this book in its entirety and in its parts inspires and is a highly pleasurable reading. However, since it raises so many issues and presents so many conclusions, it is impossible to provide a straightforward answer to the question posed in the title of this review. It is one of those questions to which we tend, almost reflexively, to give positive answers. It is clear that most of us would like to continue to work, just like we would like to be healthy. The thing is that we do not have the same impact on some of these changes as is the case with working out new ways of maintaining good physical condition. Similarly to changes in our bodies, the changes to work and employment are sometimes painful and refuse to be modelled. In both cases, health and work, there is some scope for control and corrections. But it is better to prevent certain situations, with pre-emptive, detailed consultations and diagnostics, than treat them when it is too late, when we are stressed and sometimes even use random means. That is why it seems that the only reasonable way to achieve any corrections of the emerging world with(out) work is through co-decision-making.



This will make it easier to diagnose and prescribe possible remedies. However, in this 'new world', the very co-decision-making is becoming ever more difficult.

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