

# Two Visions: Young Poles and Germans on Well-Ordered Economy<sup>1</sup>

Juliusz Gardawski\*

## Abstract

*The paper discusses the results of comparative research of the well-ordered economy carried out among Polish and German youth (aged 18–30). The study was conducted at the turn of 2016 and 2017 on representative samples of young people from both countries. The list of dominant preferences of young Germans and young Poles sheds light on issues of key importance for the economic order. The set of preferences dominating among German youth represents the vision of a market (competitive) economy with a strong emphasis on social aspects: employee participation in management and the pursuit of social equality. Poles value the market economy with protection of national capital against foreign capital competition and an emphasis on the need to modernise the economy. There are several differences between the preferences given by the respondents from eastern and western parts of Germany. On the contrary to what was to be expected, the former are more liberal than the latter. The visions of respondents from Eastern states resemble those expressed by the respondents from Poland. The latter part of this paper presents the typologies of the visions of well-ordered economy obtained through factor analysis. Polish respondents most often hold the vision of 'developmental national employee-friendly market economy' while German respondents most often hold an individualistic or open version of 'ordered-liberalism'.*

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**Keywords:** economic culture, economic values, visions of well-ordered economy, young generation of Poles, young generation of Germans.

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\* Warsaw School of Economics (SGH), jgarda@sgh.waw.pl, ORCID: 0000-0002-5056-1215

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## Introduction

As socioeconomists<sup>2</sup> from Warsaw School of Economics (SGH), former Warsaw School of Planning and Statistics (SGPiS), since 1980s we have concentrated our research on normative visions of the economy, postulating that attitudes towards socio-economic realities correlate with normative visions of the economy. In most of our studies, attitudes towards the existing economic order were the subject of quantitative as well as qualitative research. Such a two-dimensional perspective was adopted especially in the years 1990–1996 in a series of surveys of industrial workers financed by the Polish representation of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation (selected publications: Gardawski 1992; Gardawski, Gilejko, Żukowski 1994; Gardawski 1996), and in the late 1990s in the surveys of private entrepreneurs financed by the National Committee for Scientific Research (KBN) (Gardawski 2001).

This paper discusses the vision of a well-ordered economy expressed by young people working in Poland and Germany. The samples were isolated from the representation of all youth aged 18–30 (2x1000). The surveys were carried out between Autumn 2016 and Spring 2017 using computer-assisted telephone interviews (CATI). The research covered young people who declared performing work (as employed or self-employed or employers): in Poland  $n=575$ , in Germany  $n=523$ .

Juliusz Gardawski authored the first draft of the questionnaire. Its final version was prepared in cooperation with Vera Trappmann. Her contribution consisted of adapting some questions to German conditions, as well as translating the entire questionnaire into German. Research in Poland was supervised by Juliusz Gardawski, in cooperation with Franciszek Sztabiński and Wiesława Dąbała. Research in Germany was supervised by Vera Trappmann. In addition, she expanded the number of questions as compared with the Polish questionnaire. It should be added that the index of the vision of a well-ordered economy, which is the subject of the present paper, has been faithfully translated into German by Vera Trappmann. In both Polish and German studies, the index does not differ in principle.

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<sup>2</sup> Our group of researchers from the Department of Economic Sociology from the Warsaw School of Economics (SGH) defines themselves as ‘socioeconomists’ rather than ‘economic sociologists’ (Juliusz Gardawski, Jan Czarzasty, Rafał Towalski, Czesława Kliszko and others). Our methods combine new economic sociology, institutional economics, management theory and economic theory.

This paper presents the results of the third stage of the research and modified typology proposals. It discusses the results of factor analysis. Cluster analysis, in turn, has been employed in the previous analyses.

This research adopts a methodological perspective inspired, above all, by the studies carried out by the Polish economic sociologists (Leszek Gilejko, Witold Morawski, Kazimierz Doktór, Jacek Kochanowicz and Mirosława Marody, Lena Kolarska-Bobińska and Andrzej Rychard, Jacek Tittenbrun, to name a few). Leszek Gilejko (1932–2013) played a pivotal role in establishing this field of studies in Warsaw School of Economics (SGH). The results of the research presented in this article were the subject of debates at the Department of Empirical Sociology SGH, for this reason I often use the plural.

## 1. Methodological Remarks

The following section is devoted to the problem of culture and values. In social sciences, concepts usually have many meanings, depending on their theoretical context. This applies to sociology, which Jacency Siewierski (2007) characterises as a science without a paradigm. When it comes to such key concepts as culture and values, there are many definitions that have become the subject of many classifications. We will not refer to them here. Instead, we were adopting a pragmatic point of view and limit ourselves to choosing useful definitions, leaving aside their theoretical and epistemological context.

The starting point of this research are the concepts of economic consciousness and economic imagination. Jerzy J. Wiatr, a contemporary Marxist researcher linked economic consciousness with the stages of development of societies and social classes: ‘I define economic consciousness as the totality of views and judgments in a given society regarding economic relations between people and their technological conditions. As regards individual societies and economic classes, the dominant pattern of economic consciousness can be determined’ (Wiatr 1987: 33–34). I want to add that, like Wiatr or Gilejko, in our analyzes we do not use the term ‘economic mentality’, but the concept associated with the classical heritage of Marx and Weber: ‘economic consciousness’. Like Jerzy Wiatr, Leszek Gilejko conceives economic consciousness as an ‘attitude to the most important economic principles’. In this context, he lists attitudes towards work, investing, saving and other issues important from the standpoint of economy, which, in turn, he relates to class structure (he

primarily focused on consciousness of the working class) (Gilejko 2002: 17). Andrzej Koźmiński, referring to the concept of sociological imagination, coined by C. Wright Mills (1959), introduced the term 'economic imagination' into the terminological toolkit of Polish economic sociology (Koźmiński 1971). He defined it as general views of individuals and social groups about their participation in the economic process and ways of perceiving the principles of the economy. While the concept of economic consciousness is mainly descriptive, the concept of economic imagination also has a normative reference.

'Economic culture' and 'economic values' are two other relevant concepts. In this case, the normative dimension is of utmost importance. According to Mirosława Marody and Jacek Kochanowicz, economic culture consists, first of all, of values, cognitive and behavioural patterns that are not always realised consciously. It also denotes views on the way economic life is organised, which the authors call 'economic ideologies' (Marody, Kochanowicz 2007). These ideologies are sets of values that allow for ordering the economic segment of social life. Economic ideologies may refer to economic theories, although not all ideologies have acquired, so far, their theoretical companions. Wikipedia painstakingly enumerates the existence of over a hundred economic ideologies, grouped in five orientations: anti-capitalist, consumer, Islamic, liberal, and nationalist.

The question of values is the subject of extremely wide discussions in social sciences (psychology, anthropology, sociology) as well as in economics (Misztal 1980, Kłoskowska 1981, Ziółkowski 2002). From the point of view of socioeconomics and the normative vision of a well-ordered economy, approach presenting values in a relativistic way are useful, because they link objective and subjective distinction (Marczuk 1988). In the case of normative visions of the economy, a stronger emphasis is placed on the former aspect. They link the expectations of individuals towards the economy with an objective economic order and the position of individuals in a system of economic inequalities. This approach is close to the category of 'values-ideals' as standards for assessing reality (Ziółkowski 2002: 292–293). Such 'values-ideals' are, among others, visions of ideal economic systems. Ziółkowski draws on the definition of the category of 'value-ideal' suggested by Clyde Kluckhohn and Stefan Nowak. Kluckhohn defined the value as: 'a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of the group, of the desirable which influence the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action... This definition takes culture, group and individual's relation to culture and place in his group as primary points of departure' (Kluckhohn 1962: 395). Nowak pointed out that 'certain images or

visions of desirable things, states or processes are recognised as appropriate, correct, or whatever one would like' (1984: 403).

In order to place the visions of well-ordered economy in a broader societal context, following Max Weber, one may distinguish 'economic phenomena in the strict sense of the term', related to the processes of production, exchange, consumption, 'economically relevant' phenomena and 'economically conditioned' phenomena (Weber 1949, Swedberg 1998). Economically relevant phenomena do not have economic significance in themselves, but under certain conditions they may have a significant impact on economic phenomena. Weber quotes the example of religion as an 'economically relevant' phenomenon. Economically conditioned phenomena, in turn, are those that do not belong to the first two categories but are influenced by economic phenomena and may have a secondary impact on the economy.

Weber's approach presented above suggests that the study of attitudes, and especially aspirations, towards the economy ought to include the ideas of economics and new institutionalism in sociology, i.e. the adoption of the assumptions of the calculating individual (*homo oeconomicus*) and the theory of positivist, rational action sociology, but at the same time it requires the use of research methods and tools characteristic of Weberian interpretive sociology, economic anthropology, evolutionary economy and related disciplines that do not draw inspiration from the *homo oeconomicus* model [the classification of these unorthodox tendencies can be found in a paper by Frank Stilwell (2019)]. This is particularly important in the case of normative visions, grounded in the sphere of values, aspirations, traditions, stereotypes, complexes present within the communities, etc. Normative visions of the economy favour or not the social legitimacy of the existing economic order (Gardawski, Rapacki 2019). In the subject literature we can also find narrower proposals for defining economic culture, placing it in new institutionalism and drawing on the intentional activity of the calculating individual in the economic sphere (focus on human and social capital, with marginal reference to the social worldview) (Gardocka 2005)<sup>3</sup>. In Weberian terms, the subject matter of these analyses are mainly economic phenomena in the strict sense of the term. I believe that such approach is justified when looking at economic activity in the micro- and meso

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<sup>3</sup> Economic culture 'exists as the totality of material and intellectual products of human activity (including all autotelic and instrumental values), patterns of conduct affecting productive forces, production relationships', and its content consists of 'general knowledge and professional knowledge (human capital); interests, values, norms, social worldview that defines the way of organising social and economic life (social capital)' (Gardocka 2005: 231).

economic sphere, but it is less useful when looking at the aspirations towards the organisation of economy.

## 2. Polish Research on the Vision of a Well-Ordered Economy

The founding of 'Solidarity' began the last, decadent period of authoritarian socialism, and at the same time sparked interest among researchers of social phenomena in the attitudes, values and aspirations of the rebellious society. Immediately in 1980, a group of researchers from the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology at the Polish Academy of Sciences (IFiS PAN) carried out research into the attitudes of Poles, including the vision of a well-ordered economy (Polacy [Poles] '80: 1981). At that time there was a high level of support for both egalitarianism ('reduction in earnings for the highest earners': 90 percent; 'more or less equal income for all workers': 70 percent), as well as efficiency (e.g. 'dismissal of inefficient workers': 90 percent; 'closing down unprofitable enterprises': 85 percent; 'strong wage differentiation according to the skills': 54 percent). The researchers interpreted this as a desire to bring about 'good social order', in which there would be a place for both equality and justice, as well as economic efficiency, which they considered to be an no rational view from the standpoint of economics.

Throughout the decade of the 1980s, researchers from the IFiS PAN had been carrying out studies, through which they were able to identify changing views. The support for egalitarianism waned, whereas the support for efficiency increased (in 1988, 'reduction of earnings for the highest earners': 56 percent; 'strong wage differentiation according to the skills': 83 percent). At the same time, the acceptance of the competition principle remained high (in 1984: 82 percent, in 1988: 80 percent). Lena Kolarska-Bobińska noted that 'some of the respondents are aware of the myth of the market as a solution whose effects can only be beneficial' ('Polacy [Poles] 84': 627). Based on the dynamics of attitudes in the 1980s, the authors of this series of studies concluded that the acceptance for market system, and even agreement that unemployment is sometimes inevitable in a market economy ('allowing unemployment' in the 'Polacy [Poles] 88' survey stood at 31 percent), as well as for private property in the economy (the approval for 'increasing the possibility of action for the private sector' in this series of studies reached 76 percent). Adopting

a liberal perspective, the authors concluded that as early as in 1984 respondents were 'more aware of the necessity of choice and at the same time the impossibility of implementing the principles of both models (i.e. egalitarian and efficient) although there are still many people thinking in terms of »good system«, i.e. a system that does not entail social costs' ('Polacy [Poles] 84': 626).

To sum up the expectations of Polish society towards the economic system in the decade of the 1980s, we see a rising tide of support for the principles of the market and economic efficiency and a declining support for egalitarianism and statism (this can also be confirmed by looking at numerous other studies which I will not cite here), which created a favourable social climate for the liberal reforms of Leszek Balcerowicz in 1989. Nevertheless, the expectations for the implementation of the principle of equality and social security remained relatively high.

When writing about the vision of a well-ordered economy after the economic transformation, I will be drawing upon the studies conducted by a team of socio-economists from the SGH. The results of these studies have laid the basis for the hypothesis on the durability of patterns of values regarding the economy. This research began already in the second half of the 1980s: at that time, similar to the authors of the 'Polacy [Poles]' research series carried out at IFiS PAN, we noticed the simultaneous support for some market-efficiency principles and some egalitarian-statist principles. This question became the topic of our in-depth studies between 1990 and 1995, when the team conducted a number of representative surveys of the working class, financed by the Polish representation of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation. Visions of a well-ordered economy were also the subject of my research in the following years.

In many ways, the visions identified in the 1990s could be regarded as a continuation of expectations expressed during the second half of the 1980s, with the transformation in the socio-economic system contributing to the crystallisation of the visions (Polakowska-Kujawa, Gardawski eds. 1989). Below I describe three visions that were first isolated in the research from 1991 that employed correlation matrix analysis and factor analysis (Gardawski 1992).

A. The first vision, dominant and modal among the working class and, as it turned out later, in the entire Polish society, resembled the vision accepted by British workers in the 1960s (Parkin 1972). It consisted of supporting the market economy and privatization in general, as well as acceptance of rationalization of the economy (bankruptcy of unprofitable enterprises, dismissal of inactive employees), but provided that there is no unemployment, there is moderate egalitarianism, private

national capital and state enterprises are developing. In the early 1990s there was a widespread fear that foreign investors would transform Polish manufacturing companies into assembly lines for imported components. However, the workers supported the privatisation of state-owned enterprises into the hands of the Polish capital, as well as the establishment of new enterprises by foreign capital. Yet it needs to be emphasised that the idea that state-owned enterprises should be sold to the foreign capital was rejected by an overwhelming majority. This vision, which we labelled as 'moderately modernising' or 'friendly national market economy', rejected state intervention in the economy and was characterised by a departure from the idea of worker self-management, which was, among other things, the result of the disillusionment with this idea among the then large-scale industrial working class. Trade unions were perceived as an organisation acting in favour of the world of labour but wielding no influence. This pattern of economic values has proven to be durable. It is still present today and covers about half of the respondents in most surveys.

B. Alongside this modal vision, a conservative vision consolidated, which we denominate 'traditional' (in the terminology of the IFiS PAN researchers, this vision was called 'egalitarian-statist'). The use of the term 'traditionalism' referred to Weber's sociology, which described the habit of following traditional forms of collective life. In the case of our research, it was about institutions corresponding to the authoritarian-socialist welfare state, former ownership relations, industrial relations, etc. In the course of many years of research, the relative number of supporters of 'traditionalism' never exceeded one third of the respondents who took part in the surveys, both among the workers and population at large (I draw here only upon studies with representative samples).

C. The third marginal orientation, 'rotated' through factor analysis, was 'liberalism', which was characterised by the fact that its supporters accepted two principles that received little agreement from the general public: allowing unemployment to exist in the market economy and the sale of state enterprises to foreign capital. Such supporters of liberalism constituted no more than 5 percent of the surveyed population.

The three-way vision scheme was observed in almost all studies, although there were exceptions. In the 2007 survey conducted on a nationwide sample, statistical analyses suggested that two visions remained: market, efficiency (acceptance of unemployment), privatisation on the one hand, and on the other hand statist and egalitarian (Gardawski et al. 2009: 246). However, considering all the studies carried out by the researchers from SGPiS/SGH, starting from the late 1980s until the second



decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the visions of a well-ordered economy were almost always characterised by a three-way scheme.

### 3. German Research on the Vision of a Well-Ordered Economy

Thus, attitudes towards the social market economy as a comprehensive system in Germany were relatively rare subject of research before 2000 (Kaminski et al. 2007). Later, research in this field was conducted more systematically by two centres: The Allensbach Institute (Institut für Demoskopie Allensbach, IfD) and Institute for Applied Social Research (Institut für Praxisorientierte Sozialforschung, IPOS).

The research carried out by these centres, conducted on representative samples of the German population aged over 16, demonstrated that in the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century the existing version of German social market economy was subjected to growing criticism. Dwindling acceptance for it was recorded in both the eastern and western federal states. A study conducted by the Allensbach Institute asked whether the German economic system is 'good' or 'bad'. In 2000, 46 percent of respondents said it was good and 18 that it was bad, while in 2007 only 31 percent said it was good and 39 said it was bad. The authors reported on a dramatic deterioration in the attitude towards the social market economy in Germany (quoted in Kaminski et al. 2007).

The research conducted by the group led by Susane Kaminski was divided into two studies: one concerning attitudes towards an economic (market) component and the other concerning the attitudes towards a social (justice) component of the economy. In the latter study the following research question was posed: 'How social is the social market economy in Germany?' The respondents were invited to compare the current functioning of the welfare state institutions against the desired state. This qualitative survey showed that most respondents would like to strengthen the social component and acknowledged growing in equalitie sand felt that there was an excessive expansion of the free play of market mechanisms. However, this criticism did not translate into the willingness to replace the German model of the social market economy neither with the Anglo-Saxon model of the free market (exemplified by the USA) nor with the centralised model (exemplified by Cuba). When debating alternative economic systems, the respondents expressed their overall satisfaction with the social market economy (one of the respondents said: 'compared to other countries, we already have a fair system'). Social services such as compulsory health

insurance or state unemployment insurance were taken for granted, although younger respondents were more aware of the need to save individually for their future.

The research carried out by the Allensbach Institute in 2012 concentrated on the attitude of German society to the social market economy. The results were summarised as ‘the acceptance (of social market economy) and the awareness of its functional shortcomings’. 49 percent of respondents said they were satisfied or very satisfied with the economic system in Germany, 65 percent considered the social market economy model to be the best for the Federal Republic of Germany and 67 percent considered it to be a key factor in its economic prosperity. At the same time, however, 52 percent said that this system was responsible for the deficits in social justice in Germany. In general, the respondents believed that the social market economy is the best economic model for Germany (Allensbach – Institut für Demoskopie 2012).

Jörg Luyken (2017) reported on a study by YouGov and Statista in July 2017 on what were the associations with the word ‘capitalism’ in Germany. The answers were as follows: a) very positive: 3 percent; b) somewhat positive: 13 percent; c) neutral: 27 percent; d) somewhat negative: 40 percent; e) very negative: 12 percent; f) don’t know/no answer: 5 percent. When analysed in detail, most of the opinions were negative. For example, 60 percent believed that capitalism was a system in which the rich get richer while the poor get poorer; 41 percent associated capitalism with the exploitation of the weak; 21 percent with unfair competition; and only 12 percent with fair competition. Luyken commented on this as follows: ‘Contrary to the US, where belief in capitalism is as entrenched as hot dogs and baseball, Germany has always had a more complicated relationship to the philosophy of competitive markets. This is after all the country that gave us the founding communist thinkers Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels’ (Luyken 2017).

An important gauge of the economic consciousness of the German youth are the results of the research conducted on a group of BA students who wrote essays on the social market economy. The study was conducted in 2013 and its English translation was published in 2017 (Schlösser, Schuhen, Schürkmann 2017). I present selected results of this study: one third of the surveyed students mentioned markets as basic elements of the social market economy, but their attitude towards market mechanisms was ambiguous. Some of the young people adopted a ‘regulatory’ attitude, i.e. they considered that the state institutions should regulate the market. Prices should not be left to the free play of supply and demand alone but should be subject to state intervention. There were also extreme opinions suggesting that a single ‘central institution’ should manage the social market economy. This

institution should distribute goods and services and control revenue. Only 20 percent of the authors of the essays stated that the social market economy was dominated by the market mechanism. When the content of essays referred to the problem of prices, a demand for 'fair prices' was always expressed. The sociologists considered this part of essays to be ambiguous. The same was true of thoughts on the concept of competition. Few essayists treated competition as a constitutive element of the social market economy system; 23 percent of students regarded competition as the foundation, the framework of the social market economy, but with the proviso that it should be controlled by the Federal Cartel Office. According to students, the main objective of the social market economy was to alleviate the negative effects of capitalism by means of social security ('capitalism is supposed to be defused'). Only 12 percent of students mention the value of freedom (freedom of trade, freedom of contract etc.).

## **Commentary on the Concept of Ordoliberalism and Social Market Economy**

The German variety of the social market economy was rooted in the ordoliberal doctrine (i.e. the doctrine of orderly and ethically sensitive liberalism) (Małachowski 2013). Outside the mainstream before World War II, it became central immediately after it. This is how Zweig reported on the influence of ordoliberalism on the initiation of the construction of the social market economy in West Germany in 1948: 'In the main, two lines of thought came to the fore, though largely supplementing and supporting each other: the ordoliberalism of Eucken, Rüstow, Böhm and others, also known as the Freiburg school to which Hayek must be added... The other line is connected principally with the names of Müller-Armack..., who coined the expression of »Social Market Economy« and Wilhelm Röpke, both of which had foundations in Christian ethics and philosophical anthropology. Also Erhard had strong leanings to their way of thinking. He was also greatly influenced by his teacher, Franz Oppenheimer, the »Liberal Socialist«. Briefly, their thesis was this: the growing material benefits of the competitive market can solve or at least soften class conflicts and lead to some convergence of interests between entrepreneurs and workers. The Social Market Economy is not Utopia, it tries to establish an equilibrium of the ideals of freedom, social justice and economic growth' (Zweig 1980: 17).

The social market economy was supposed to 'combine the principles market freedoms and social balance' and create 'prosperity through competition', as Ludwig Erhard used to say. Thus, this model differed from the original ordoliberal ideas of Walter Eucken due to its emphasis on social objectives: acceptance, although limited, of the state intervention in the economy, acknowledgement of the positive role of trade unions, allowing for trade union co-determination at supra-company level, development of cooperative forms of employment organization, establishment of a minimum wage, stimulation of employment by the state and elimination of 'unhealthy differences in income or ownership' (Grimm 1992: 12).

## **4. Visions of a Well-Ordered Economy in the Consciousness of Young Generations from Poland and Germany**

### **Research Problem and Hypothesis**

Our analysis will be carried out at the level of comparisons between respondents from two countries (country as an independent variable). Only in one case will the correlation be presented at the level of economic and professional groups (section on precariat). The main problem of this article is the difference in the declarations of the young generation of Poles and the young generation of Germans regarding the principles of a good economy. As part of this problem, we will try to reconstruct the typologies of visions expressed by Poles and Germans.

When preparing for the study of the vision of a well-ordered economy, conceived as an important element of the economic culture of the young generation of Poles and Germans, we adopted the hypothesis about the durability of visions of well-ordered economy. In the case of Polish youth, the hypothesis was that three visions characteristic of older generations would be recreated, with particular emphasis on the modal vision of an employee-friendly market, which also includes support of national capital, reservations towards foreign capital, relatively small resources of social capital (low level of social trust), reservations about state, trade unions.

We have also hypothesised that in the economic consciousness of young Germans there would be dominant support for the vision of the social market economy, for state intervention in the economy, the important role of trade unions and the participation of executive employees in company management. However, the results of the above-cited research point to a growing disillusionment with the real-existing German model of the social market economy, as its social component is gradually being washed out. This can lead to a loss of faith in the possibility of a fair social market economy model. In this situation, there may be expectations for a regulated, non-market economy that is socially just. Our cautious hypothesis regarding German youth assumed the existence of three visions: a social market economy as modal vision, a non-market social economy (statist-egalitarian) and a liberal economy close to ordoliberal ideology.

The second issue concerned the visions of economy desired by youth employed under precarious conditions, i.e. in low-paid jobs that do not guarantee stability of the employment. In the case of Polish youth, we assumed that the precarious forms of employment would determine the shift of preferences towards more statist-egalitarian vision of economy. In the case of young Germans employed under precarious conditions, we wanted to learn whether they would support the social component of the economy more than other groups of young German workers.

Thus, we took under consideration the impact of the workplace situation, since, as pointed out by the International Labour Organisation, 'people see their world through the optic of their workplace' (ILO 2004: 64). This is particularly relevant in view of the hypothesis that the visions of a well-ordered economy differ between young people employed under precarious conditions and those employed under indefinite contracts, self employed or those who own their business.

The index consisting of fifteen principles was used for study the economic consciousness of young generations from both countries. We assumed that, despite a relatively small number of principles (15), it would allow us to observe the differences of the economic consciousness of both young Poles and Germans.

## Methods of Measurement and Distribution of Responses to the Index Questions

The starting point for these studies were the declarations regarding index rules. The answers were given on a 5-point Likert scale. I have enclosed a 'central point', as suggested by Paweł Sztabiński (2002). Missing responses and missing data were excluded. Due to the use of multivariate statistics, I have adopted a standard interval assumption of variables.

As was mentioned above, the principles of the index (Table 1) were adopted from previous studies carried out by socio-economists from SGH. However, based on the pilot study that I had carried out in Poland, I added two new principles that I previously described as 'anarcho-liberal', but in this article I will define as 'liberal-individualistic' or 'infantile-liberal'. Thus, the V20 principle stated that taxes should be drastically reduced and citizens should be allowed to finance education, health care, etc. out of their own pockets, whereas the V21 principle stated that the universal mandatory pension system should be abolished and that citizens should be allowed to decide for themselves whether they want to save for their retirement.

The aim of the index was, in line with research hypothesis, to uncover various patterns of economic values, including three visions, present in the economic consciousness of Poles since the 1990s. The index variables represent the following modules (codes of variables: see Table 1) (Set 1).

### Set 1. Modules of the well-ordered economy index

|   |               |
|---|---------------|
| 1. Egalitarian-statist  | V28, V27      |
| 2. Corporate-participatory                                    | V25, V26      |
| 3. Protective in the field of labour market and public policy | V29, V30      |
| 4. Technologically developing and supporting start-ups        | V23, V22      |
| 5. Promoting Polish capital in relation to foreign capital    | V24           |
| 6. Promoting the expansion of foreign capital                 | V18           |
| 7. Promoting efficiency and liberalizing labor relations      | V16, V17, V19 |
| 8. Liberal individualism/infantile liberalism                 | V20, V21      |

As it was written in the introduction to this article, the study was conducted in autumn 2016 in Poland using the CATI method on a representative nationwide

sample of young generation aged 18–30. In Germany, the study was conducted in spring 2017 on a representative sample of young generation using the same method.

**Table 1. Distribution of responses of working Poles and Germans to questions about the principles included in the index of well-ordered economy (in percent)**

| Principle code | Principles (abbreviated label in italics)   | Working Poles-working Germans |               |                      | Working Germans from western and eastern states |                       |                     |
|----------------|---|-------------------------------|---------------|----------------------|---|-----------------------|---------------------|
|                |   | Poles                         | Germans total | $\chi^2$ (4df)       | Germans from the west                           | Germans from the east | $\chi^2$ (4df)      |
| V16            | The principle of competition is good for the economy.<br><i>Competition</i>   | 78.4                          | 73.8          | 4.884                | 72.6  | 79.5                  | 4.278               |
| V17            | Employers should have the right to dismiss without compensation workers who are currently idle.<br><i>Dismissal without compensation</i>  | 20.5                          | 12.7          | 72.328 <sup>c</sup>  | 10.0  | 28.0                  | 45.220 <sup>c</sup> |
| V18            | Foreign capital should be allowed to buy Polish/German companies without restrictions.<br><i>Sale of national companies to foreign capital without restrictions</i>             | 16.2                          | 15.0          | 101.921 <sup>c</sup> | 16.3  | 8.4                   | 8.964               |
| V19            | The free movement of workers from one country to another across Europe should be encouraged.<br><i>Free movement of workers in the EU</i>                                       | 69.6                          | 87.2          | 200.413 <sup>c</sup> | 87.1  | 87.8                  | 4.902               |
| V20            | Taxes should be drastically reduced and citizens should be allowed to finance education, health care, etc. themselves.<br><i>Tax reduction and self-financing of healthcare</i> | 46.5                          | 21.6          | 380.226 <sup>c</sup> | 21.6  | 22.0                  | 1.204               |

|     |   |      |      |                      |      |      |                     |
|-----|---|------|------|----------------------|------|------|---------------------|
| V21 | Universal mandatory pension system must be abolished and citizens must be able to decide for themselves whether they want to save for their pensions.<br><i>Tax reduction and self-financing of pensions.</i> | 55.3 | 11.9 | 578.324 <sup>c</sup> | 11.7 | 13.3 | 3.179               |
| V22 | Taxpayers' money should be used to subsidize the start-up companies.<br><i>Taxpayers' money to subsidize the start-ups.</i>   | 56.2 | 48.1 | 112.311 <sup>c</sup> | 47.0 | 53.7 | 9.462 <sup>a</sup>  |
| V23 | Research centres developing national state-of-the-art technologies should be financed with taxpayers' money.<br><i>National state-of-the-art technologies financed by the taxpayer.</i>                       | 77.7 | 55.6 | 99.874 <sup>c</sup>  | 54.7 | 60.2 | 9.649 <sup>a</sup>  |
| V24 | Favourable conditions should be created for the development of national companies and banks, better than those for foreign companies and banks.<br><i>Favourable conditions for the national companies.</i>   | 79.7 | 41.9 | 494.114 <sup>c</sup> | 42.1 | 41.0 | 11.374 <sup>a</sup> |
| V25 | Trade unions should have an influence over matters important to national economy.<br><i>Trade unions influence over the economy.</i>  | 46.8 | 48.7 | 18.639 <sup>b</sup>  | 49.8 | 43.4 | 4.127               |
| V26 | Executive employees should have an influence over the management of the companies in which they are employed.<br><i>Participation in management.</i>  | 46.9 | 74.1 | 326.518 <sup>c</sup> | 76.7 | 61.0 | 36.319 <sup>c</sup> |
| V27 | The state should regulate the economy, i.e. draft economic plans, control prices and determine the level of wages.<br><i>State intervention in the economy.</i>   | 40.1 | 31.3 | 26.841 <sup>c</sup>  | 34.4 | 14.6 | 39.311 <sup>c</sup> |



|     |   |      |      |                      |      |      |                    |
|-----|---|------|------|----------------------|------|------|--------------------|
| V28 | Tax policy should aim to reduce the gap between people's income<br><i>Egalitarianism.</i>   | 53.3 | 66.9 | 81.293 <sup>c</sup>  | 68.0 | 61.0 | 7.431              |
| V29 | Free health care should be provided for all citizens<br><i>Free health care.</i>  | 72.0 | 73.8 | 32.282 <sup>c</sup>  | 75.5 | 65.1 | 9.573 <sup>a</sup> |
| V30 | Employees who wish to be employed on a permanent basis (contract for an indefinite time) should have a guaranteed indefinite contract.<br><i>Guarantee of permanent employment contracts.</i> | 88.2 | 72.6 | 173.630 <sup>c</sup> | 71.6 | 78.0 | 9.608 <sup>a</sup> |

Note: The responses 'totally agree' and 'partially agree' were combined. 'Hard to say' and 'no data' responses were excluded from the calculations. Five values of the Likert Scale are included in the  $\chi^2$  statistic.

Poles n=525; Germans n= 518.

<sup>a</sup>p<,05; <sup>b</sup>p<,01; <sup>c</sup>p<,001;

The biggest difference between the responses of young Poles and Germans concerned the V21 rule ('tax cuts and self-financing pensions') and amounted to 43.4 percentage points in favor of Polish youth. In this case, we observed the highest level of the  $\chi^2$  test. The second most divergent principle was V24 ('favorable conditions for national companies') with a difference of 37.9 points, again in favor of Poles. The third place in this regard was occupied by the V26 principle ('executive employees participation in management') with 27.2 points difference, this time with German youth opting more for it. The fourth principle in this respect was V20 ('tax reduction and self-financing of healthcare') with 24.9 points more indications by the Polish youth. Finally, the fifth principle with the largest gap in this respect was V23 ('national state-of-the-art technologies financed by the taxpayer') with 22.1 points indications more by the Polish youth. These differences illustrate the main cleavages between the visions that will be discussed in detail in subsequent parts of this paper.

The smallest divergence, in turn, could be observed with regard to the V18 principle: 'sale of domestic companies to foreign capital without restrictions' (a mere 1.2 percent points difference between the responses of young Poles and Germans). I should point out that in all studies of the well-ordered economy carried out by the researchers from SGH since the beginning of the 1990s this principle got more or less 15 percent of indications. No other principle, even a relatively stable principle of competition, receives such stable level of indications throughout this period. The study of the German youth confirmed this bewilderingly stable level (16,2 percent support

among Poles and 15 percent among Germans). The next principle in line was V29 ('free health care') with 1.8 point difference. The third principle was V25 ('trade unions influence over the economy') with 1.9 percentage point divergence (one could expect a larger divergence in this respect between the German and the Polish youth, with more of the former inclining toward this principle). The next convergence concerns the V16 principle ('competition') with 4.6 percentage points of difference in indications.

When it comes to the German youth from eastern and western states, some differences in their opinions pointed to a more liberal orientation of the former, a phenomenon we did not expect. The widest gap concerned the V17 principle ('dismissal without compensation') 18 points more indications among the sample from the eastern states, The next in line was the V27 principle ('state intervention in the economy') with 19.8 points gap and more indications of the respondents from the western states. The V26 principle ('participation in management') received 15.7 percentage points more among the respondents from the western states. However, for V30 ('guarantee of permanent employment contracts') there was a 6.4 points gap with more indications from the respondents living in the eastern states. The V29 principle ('free health care') was supported more often in the west. In addition, there were some salient differences when it comes to the support of national entrepreneurship (principles V22 and V23) which received more scores in the eastern states.

## **Distributions of Responses to the Index Principles, as Stated by the Respondents from Poland**

I will start with the presentation of the distribution of the support for principles of the well-ordered economy index by the Polish youth (Table 1). When analysing the principles of the index, I will divide them into three levels according to the amount of their support.

A. The high level includes a group of five principles with support between 72.1 percent and 88.2 percent. The V30 principle ('guarantee of permanent employment contracts') 88.2 percent, enjoys a crushing dominance, almost 10 percentage points ahead of the next most popular principle. This demonstrates that there is a particularly strong feeling that such contracts are scarce (additionally, this principle received the highest number of 'totally agree' indications – 61.7 percent). In this period of virtually full employment in Poland and a huge shortage of workers in the

simple jobs segment in labour market, the fear of unemployment was replaced by the fear provoked by difficulties in obtaining stable employment; in the opinion of the overwhelming majority of young people, a well-ordered economy should provide such jobs. Incidentally, support for this principle was also expressed by employers and the self-employed, with 87.5 percent indications for both groups!

Next principles enjoying high level of support are V24 ('favourable conditions for the national companies') 79.7 percent, V16 ('competition') 78.4 percent, V23 ('national state-of-the-art technologies financed by the taxpayer') 77.7 percent, and V29 ('free health care') 72.0 percent.

**Looking only at the principles most frequently chosen by Poles, one can reconstruct the dominant averaged vision of a well-ordered economy as a market economy, ensuring stable full-time employment, in which Polish companies and banks are protected from foreign enterprises operating in Poland. Additionally, the state budget is to finance centers developing modern technologies in Poland and provide a free healthcare for citizens.**

B. The medium level of support include principles occupying positions 6–10 in the ranking (46.9 percent – 69.6 percent). This group is headed by the V19 principle ('free movement of workers in the EU') 69.6 percent, followed by V22 ('taxpayers' money to subsidise the start-ups') 56.2 percent. As a side note, we expected a higher degree of support of V22 by young employers (see Table 8). The next principle is V21 – one of the liberal-individualistic principles ('tax reduction and self-financing of pensions') 55.3 percent. Next came principle V28 ('egalitarianism') 53.4 percent. Finally, on the 10<sup>th</sup> position we have V26 ('participation in management') 49.9 percent. Thus, egalitarianism and worker participation in management, the key ideas of 'Solidarity' between 1981–1989, were supported by only about half of the respondents. The young generation inherits the attitudes observed in the research on the older generation, for whom the social-democratic ethos of the first 'Solidarity' and the idea of a social market economy, enshrined in the Polish Constitution, have largely disappeared.

C. The lower level preferences (from 11<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> position in the ranking, between 16.2 percent and 46.8 percent of support) are opened by the principle V25 ('trade unions influence over the economy') 46.8 percent, followed by the second of the principles of liberal-individualistic, V20 ('tax reduction and self-financing of healthcare') 46.4 percent. This was followed by the principle V27 ('state intervention in the economy') 40.1 percent. The group of principles with the lowest support is completed by two liberal principles: V17 ('dismissals without compensation') 20.5 percent, and V18

(‘sale of national companies to foreign capital without restrictions’) 16.2 percent. It is worth noting that not all young employers supported the principle V17 (34.7 percent supported it, 43.4 percent were opposed).

A note on liberal-individualistic principles. The inclusion V20 and V21 principles came about in the context of an intense media propaganda campaign conducted in Poland by the Open Pension Funds (private pension insurance funds), which argued that the contributions invested by funds are real financial resources (‘our money’), while the contributions managed by the public Social Insurance Institution (ZUS) are appropriated by the state and serve to finance current needs of the state. There was a widespread perception in Poland that the state would not guarantee a decent pension, whether pension contributions were made or not. The image of the state as an institution that is wasting resources, or is even at the brink of bankruptcy, was embraced by some young people, as well as some members of the older generation, especially that these views found a fertile ground in the traditional Polish low level of linking social capital and cagey attitude towards state institutions.

The hypothesis had been formulated that support for the V20 and V21 principles would either take the form of ‘liberal-individualism’, i.e. acceptance of the principles of economic liberalism, combined with a willingness to finance education and health care out of one’s own pocket in exchange for tax reductions or a form of ‘infantile liberalism’, expressed as an unwillingness to pay taxes and unwillingness to finance health care and pensions from one’s own pocket, with a parallel expectation that the state would provide free-of-charge health care (combined support for the V20, V21 and V29 principles). Prior to determining the nature of these principles for a given respondent, they be referred in general as ‘liberal-individualistic’ principles.

## **Distribution of Responses to the Index Questions, as Stated by the Respondents from Germany**

Basing on the results of some German research, in particular on the analyses of student essays, we concluded that the principles, originally fine-tuned to the Polish reality, might be suitable for the research on the German youth. Our Polish-German team’s main concern was whether the formulation of the question about state intervention in the economy (V27) was not too distant in its content from the reality of the German social market economy. However, we believe that the way the question is formulated does not produce an artefact.

In what follows I will discuss the level of support for the individual principles (Table 1) coalesced into three groups according to the level of support for them, similarly to the analysis of the declarations of respondents from Poland. I will compare the choices made by young Germans with those of young Poles.

A. The principles with highest level of support comprise five that received between 72.6 and 87.2 percent of support. These were V19 ('free movement of workers in the EU') 87.2 percent, V26 ('participation in management') 74.1 percent, V16 ('competition') and V29 ('free health care') for which the support stood at 73.8 percent in both cases, and V30 ('guarantee of permanent employment contracts') 72.6 percent.

**Significant differences were observed as to the main preferences of Germans and Poles. Participation in management (V26), which received the 2<sup>nd</sup> position in the German ranking, was ranked as 10<sup>th</sup> in the Polish ranking having received a support of more than 27 percentage points lower. This difference is even more pronounced if we look at 'totally agree' responses (50.2 percent among the German youth compared with a mere 14.3 percent in Poland!). Egalitarianism (V28), which occupied the 5<sup>th</sup> place in the German ranking, in Poland ended up on the 9<sup>th</sup> position.**

**The group of preferences dominating among the German youth represents a vision of market economy (competitive) with strong emphasis on social aspects: employee participation in management and striving for social equality. Thus, the juxtaposition of the dominant preferences of young Germans and young Poles produces different pictures as regards issues of key importance for the economic system: the Poles value market economy with the protection of national capitalism against foreign competition and emphasise the need to modernise the economy.**

Notwithstanding, young Germans shared some of their preferences with their Polish counterparts: V30 ('guarantee of permanent employment contracts') and V29 ('free health care').

B. Among the five principles with a medium level of support (41.9 and 55.6 percent), the first was V28 ('egalitarianism') 66.9 percent, followed by V23 ('national state-of-the-art technologies financed by the taxpayer') 55.6 percent, V25 ('trade unions influence over the economy') 48.7 percent, V22 ('taxpayers' money to subsidise the start-ups') 48.1 percent. The group of principles with average support was completed by V24 ('favourable conditions for national companies'). Thus, the V24 principle, one of the key principles for Poles (2<sup>nd</sup> in ranking), ended up occupying the last place among the principles enjoying medium support in the German survey.

C. The last five principles of the German ranking (11.9–31.3 percent of support) start with V27 ('state intervention in the economy') 31.3 percent. Next in line was the liberal-individualistic principle, V20 ('tax reduction and self-financing of health care') 21.6 percent, followed by V18 ('sale of national companies to foreign capital without restrictions') 15.0 percent, the key liberal principle, V17 ('dismissal without compensation') 12.7 percent. The last position in the ranking is occupied by the V21 principle ('tax reduction and self-financing of pensions') 11.9 percent (55.3 percent of support in the Polish survey!).

## German West-East Samples

There are several striking differences between the responses given by the respondents from eastern and western states of Germany. Contrary to what we had expected, the former are more liberal than the latter: they more often agree to dismissals without compensation (V17), less often expect state intervention in the economy (V27), less often expect participation in management (V26) etc. On the other hand, they are more likely to expect support for start-ups (V22) and funding for the development of national state-of-the-art technologies (V23).

A tentative conclusion can be drawn from these data: the declarations of respondents from eastern states are somewhat similar to those of respondents from Poland.

## 5. Reconstruction of the Vision of a Well-Ordered Economy

### A Note on Factor Analysis

The aim of this analysis was not only to examine the distribution of variables and correlations between them, but also the structure in which these variables are arranged. In the research conducted at SGH we used two types of multivariate analysis: factor analysis and cluster analysis (apart from other techniques, such as regression models etc.). In most of the cases we employed exploratory factor analysis, preceded by correlation matrix analysis.

Factor analysis had originally been developed in the field of psychology, and then ventured into the field of social sciences, as well as fields related to mathematics and physics (Okóń 1964, Panek 2009). In these fields it is mainly employed in those studies that refer to hard data of unequivocally interval character. In such a situation, in principle, only one factor would be 'responsible' for one variable. The variables would have high 'factor loadings' in the factor 'responsible' for them ( $>.5$  and more), while extremely low loadings in all other factors (e.g.  $<.1$ ). Note that factor loading can be interpreted as a Pearson's correlation coefficient between a factor and a variable, and, in some respects, as a regression coefficient (Field 2005: 624).

The use of factor analysis in opinion polls and analysis of attitudes towards complex socio-economic phenomena meant, above all, the need to operate with a low level of correlation coefficients. In these contexts, a single variable can be correlated with two or even more factor. Moreover, factors loadings would in these contexts, rarely reach high values. Such blurred distributions present an opportunity for deeper understanding of social attitudes. Notwithstanding, it is necessary to constantly confront the results of such factor analysis with the correlations matrix. The experience with research on economic consciousness, however, allows us to state that factor analysis, despite its shortcomings, renders relatively accurate and reliable results, which we have repeatedly confirmed by comparing the results of factor analyses with the results of qualitative studies of ambiguous attitudes of members of the working class (Gardawski 1992, 1996). The usefulness of multivariate analysis, multiple correspondence analysis, factor analysis as well as cluster analysis was corroborated by Pierre Bourdieu and his colleagues who employed them in their research on habitus.

In our research, we have always opted for factor analysis, usually in its exploratory version, rather than principal component analysis. The former is more suitable for selecting a data structure rather than to reduce the data set (Panek 2009, Wiktorowicz 2016). The use of principal component analysis and factor analysis presupposes that a data set meets the baseline criteria. These criteria include the size of sample Bartlett's test of sphericity and Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) test of sampling adequacy (Malarska 2005: 230). As for Polish sample, the results of Bartlett's test show the significance at  $p<.000$ , whereas the critical value is at  $p<.05$ . KMO, in turn, stood at  $.699$ , with critical value at  $.6$ . As for German sample, Bartlett's test stood at the same level of significance as with the Polish study ( $p<.000$ ), whereas KMO was close to critical value ( $.589$ ). Both samples met the size criterion (they had over 500 items).

The index used in our research did not consist of one scale measuring one phenomenon (Set 1). Rather, it consisted of a number of potential 'subscales' and variables that were not combined with other variables into sub-scales. As a result, Cronbach's alpha, which is a measure of internal consistency of the index, stood at a relatively low value (.403 for Polish sample, .474 for German sample).

The most characteristic variables of a given factor are referred to as 'syndromatic' and the criterion for their isolation is the size of loadings  $\geq .2$ . Passing to the research problem at hand, I should point out that the configuration of syndromatic variables that constitute a given factor will be interpreted as a vision of a well-ordered economy.

As part of current research, we used hierarchical factor analysis, which resulted in the isolation of 'secondary factors' and 'secondary order visions' (Okón 1966, Starkweather 2013). Higher order analysis allowed the discovery of a deeply hidden, pattern vision of a well-ordered economy.

## Polish Working Youth – Visions of Well-Ordered Economy

Earlier on, when discussing Polish research on the vision of a well-ordered economy, I mentioned the visions, isolated through factor analysis in 90s. Three such visions turned out to be durable. The supporters of the first vision ('moderate modernisation' or 'friendly national market economy') accepted the market economy, privatisation in general, with priority given to the Polish capital, rationalisation of the economy but without unemployment, reservation toward state, moderate reservation toward foreign capital, moderate egalitarianism. I labelled the second vision as 'egalitarian statist' and the third as 'liberal'.

The results of the research on young generation conducted in 2016 proved the durability of these visions in Polish society. The above distribution of support for economic and social principles demonstrated that the market economy principles enjoyed dominant support among the Polish working youth. However, with the proviso that it would be friendly to employees and oriented to Polish capital (private and public). Acceptance of both egalitarian-statist and liberal principles was much lower. These initial observations were corroborated by the results of the analysis of matrix correlations and factor analysis.



**Table 2. Exploratory factor analysis of the well-ordered economy index. Polish sample**

| Socio-Economic principles   | Primary factors – visions of well ordered economy     |   |   |                              |                                  |
|---|---|---|---|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
|   | 1.<br>Employee-friendly corporatism and participation | 2.<br>Developmental national market economy | 3.<br>Liberal individualism (liberal labour market) | 4.<br>Free market liberalism | 5.<br>Statism and egalitarianism |
| V29. Free health care   | .593  |   | -.261   |                              | .432                             |
| V26. Executive employees Participation in management                    | .427  |   |   |                              | .268                             |
| V30. Guarantee of permanent employment contracts                        | .526  | .251  | -.144   |                              | .318                             |
| V25. Trade unions influence over the economy                            | .523  |   |   |                              | .323                             |
| V17. Dismissal without compensation                                     | -.451   |   | .430  |                              | -.004                            |
| V23. National state-of-the-art technologies financed by the taxpayer    |   | .709  |   |                              |                                  |
| V22. Taxpayers' money to subsidize the start-ups                        | .281  | .477  |   |                              | .238                             |
| V16. Competition  |   | .338  |   |                              | -.255                            |
| V21. Tax reduction and self-financing of pensions                       |   |   | .705  |                              |                                  |
| V20. Tax reduction and self-financing of healthcare                     |   |   | .554  |                              |                                  |
| V18. Sale of national companies to foreign capital without restrictions |   |   |   | .663                         |                                  |
| V24. Favourable conditions for the national companies                   |   | .331  |   | -.451                        |                                  |
| V19. Free movement of workers in the EU                                 |   | .364  |   | .376                         |                                  |
| V27. State intervention in the economy                                  | .365  |   |   |                              | .646                             |
| V28. Egalitarianism   | .279  |   |   |                              | .576                             |

Note: Principal Axis Factoring, Oblimin rotation with Kaiser normalisation, 57,4 percent of total variation explained.

**Table 3. Correlation matrix of primary factors obtained through exploratory factor analysis of the well-ordered economy index. Polish sample**

| Primary factors  | Primary factors    |                    |       |                    |       |
|--|--------------------|--------------------|-------|--------------------|-------|
|  | 1                  | 2                  | 3     | 4                  | 5     |
| 1. Employee friendly corporatism and participation         | 1                  | .180               | -.227 | -.284              | .637  |
| 2. Developmental national employee-friendly market economy | .180 <sup>c</sup>  | 1                  | -.047 | -.137              | .070  |
| 3. Liberal individualism (liberal labour market)           | -.227 <sup>c</sup> | -.047              | 1     | .075               | -.093 |
| 4. Free market economy                                     | -.284 <sup>c</sup> | -.137 <sup>b</sup> | .075  | 1                  | -.089 |
| 5. State and egalitarianism                                | .637 <sup>c</sup>  | .070               | -.093 | -.089 <sup>a</sup> | 1     |

Note: <sup>a</sup> p<.05; <sup>b</sup> p<.001; <sup>c</sup> p<.000.

**Table 4. Second order exploratory factor analysis of the well-ordered economy index. Polish sample**

| Primary factors  | Factor loadings        |   |
|--|------------------------|---|
|  | 'Social state economy' | 'Liberalism' vs. 'Developmental employee-friendly national economy' |
| 1. Employee-friendly corporatism and participation         | .881                   | -.700   |
| 5. State and egalitarianism                                | .756                   | -.248   |
| 4. Free market liberalism                                  |                        | .437  |
| 2. Developmental national employee-friendly market economy |                        | -.280   |
| 3. Liberal individualism (liberal labour market)           |                        | .215  |

Note: Principal Axis Factoring, Oblimin rotation with Kaiser normalisation, 48,3 percent of total variation explained.

Factor analysis has identified five factors that can be interpreted as primary visions (Table 2).

The correlation matrix between the primary visions obtained through oblique rotation (see Table 3) has indicated two positive correlations. The first linked 'employee friendly corporatism and participation' with 'state and egalitarianism'  $r=.637$ ;  $p<.000$ , the second correlation linked 'employee friendly corporatism and participation' with 'developmental national employee-friendly market economy'  $r=.180$ ;  $p<.000$ . The remaining correlations, excluding one exception, were negative.

Based on the results of second order factor analysis (Table 4), the following reconstruction of secondary visions of the economy can be made. Three such visions dominate. The first is a combination between two primary visions: 'employee friendly corporatism and participation' and 'state and egalitarianism'. This second order vision

can be classified as 'social state economy'. When compared against the structure of the index (Set 1), this vision encompasses three modules: 'egalitarian-statist', 'corporate-participatory' and 'protective in the field of labour market and public policy', with one principle from the 'technologically developing and supporting start-ups' module (V22: 'taxpayers' money to subsidise the start-ups').

The second higher order vision consists of only one primary vision: 'developmental national employee-friendly market economy'. Again, when we look at it through the prism of the index structure (see Set 1), the vision combines module four 'technologically developing and supporting start-ups' with module five 'promoting Polish capital in relation to foreign capital', and includes two principles from the other modules. As far as primary-level correlations are concerned (Table 3), this vision positively correlates with 'employee friendly corporatism and participation' and is neutral with regard to 'state and egalitarianism'. It shows negative correlation with 'free market liberalism' and is neutral with regard to 'liberal individualism'. Second order factor analysis (Table 4) emphasises positive relations between this vision and 'state economy' and negative correlation with 'liberalism'.

The third vision at the secondary factor analysis level can be described as 'liberal economy' (Table 4). From the point of view of the index structure (Set 1) it encompasses a single-variable module 'promoting the expansion of foreign capital' and the 'anarcho-liberal' module. In addition, the vision includes two principles from the 'promoting efficiency and liberalising labour relations' module (the principles V17: 'dismissal without compensation' and V19: 'free movement of workers in the EU').

The above-described distribution of principles, visions and modules suggest that the module structure (Set 1) is valid from the perspective of factor analysis as regards modules comprising the 'social state economy' and traditional components of the egalitarian-statist paradigm. However, it was not affirmed as far as the remaining visions are concerned. It can be inferred that this is the result of the diversity of the index whose aim was to reveal heterogeneous visions.

### **'Social State Economy'**

The core of this vision is the expectation of respondents to have institutions protecting them in the labour market and in labour relations, providing them with security. These institutions include trade unions and works councils. The vision is based on the expectation of a guarantee of permanent employment contracts and, in addition, free health care. It is expected that the state will intervene in the economy and that there will be a policy to reduce income disparities.

### ‘Developmental National Employee-Friendly Market Economy’

It is a vision that corresponds to the key vision of a friendly national market economy. It consists of principles with the highest level of support. In a nutshell, it can be posited that this vision is characterised by the expectation of a market, competitive economy which would stimulate the technological development of Polish enterprises. In this view, such enterprises should be protected against competition from foreign companies, and at the same time the direct influence of the state on the economy should be limited. The influence of trade unions and institutions of employee participation in the management of enterprises should also be limited. Workers should be provided with stable employment, and there should be free movement of workers in Europe.

Both visions discussed above, ‘social state economy’ and ‘developmental national employee-friendly market economy’, have common ground: a worker-friendly labour market. The visions that emerge on this basis, however, are fundamentally different. One anticipates a free market game, not constrained by institutions, the state institutions in particular, and the other, on the contrary, expects protection by institutions, including those of the state.

### ‘Liberalism’

The vision in question is clearly liberal and exhibits consistently market-oriented features, rejecting the widespread principle of protecting national capital. This form of consistent opening was accepted by a marginal group of respondents.

Two principles of module 8 ‘liberal individualism/infantile liberalism’ (Set 1) deserve a detailed consideration: V21 (‘tax reduction and self-financing of pensions’ and V20 (‘tax reduction and self-financing of health care’). As was mentioned above the respondents who expressed support for these principles can be sub-divided into two groups: about half of the respondents who selected the V20 and V21 principles at the same time opted for the free health care principle (V29). For V20 this figure stood at 59.8 percent, and for V21 it stood at 65.0 percent. I have previously described the attitude of these respondents as ‘infantile liberalism’. The remaining supporters of the ‘liberal-individualistic’ principles displayed negative or neutral opinion toward the ‘free health care’ principle.

**Thus, the main cleavage within the young generation of working Poles in terms of the vision of a well-ordered economy was between the supporters of ‘social state economy’ and the supporters of ‘developmental national employee-friendly market economy’. If we exclude the supporters of ‘infantile liberalism’, ‘liberalism’ lagged far behind the two previously mentioned visions. In terms**

**of levels of support, it can be concluded that supporters of the ‘developmental national employee-friendly market economy’ dominate.**

## German Working Youth (Factor Analysis)

When it comes to exploring normative visions of a well-ordered economy, the first thing that needs to be clarified is that there is a lack of German counterparts to the Polish research. To the best of my knowledge, there is no German research on the expectations from a fair economic order that would employ multivariable indicators covering the most important aspects of a vision of a well-ordered economy. However, it should be stressed that Polish studies have been carried out in the times of an economic upheaval which was not experienced by Germany. Since there are no relevant German studies, the point of reference should rather be constituted by a review of studies on the attitudes of the German society to existing economic institutions (e.g. to the market mechanism or control by the state), or the attitudes towards economic systems as such (e.g. capitalism, socialism, social market economy). Numerous studies carried out by German sociologists constitute an important frame of reference. The opinions reconstructed on the basis of these analyses expressed, among others, a high level of support for the social economy with simultaneous reservations about market mechanisms and capitalism.

Let us now proceed to the next step of the research and discuss correlations with the variables of the normative vision of the economy and exploratory factor analysis carried out on the German sample. The results are shown in Tables 5–7.

**Table 5. Exploratory factor analysis of the well-ordered economy index. German sample**

| Principles                                   | 1.<br>Corporatism statism<br>egalitarianism | 2.<br>Ordered-liberal<br>individualism | 3.<br>Liberal anti-state<br>developmental<br>capitalism | 4.<br>Open ordered-liberalism | 5.<br>Employee friendly<br>anti-liberal statism |
|--|---|--|---|-------------------------------|---|
| V25. Trade unions influence over the economy | .620  |  |   |                               |   |
| V27. State intervention in the economy       | .495  | .299                                   | -.327   | .216                          | .294  |
| V28. Egalitarianism                          | .463  |  |   |                               | .413  |
| V29. Free health care                        | .280  |  | -.276   |                               | .258  |

| Principles  | 1.<br>Corporatism statism<br>egalitarianism | 2.<br>Ordered-liberal<br>individualism | 3.<br>Liberal anti-state<br>developmental capitalism | 4.<br>Open ordered-liberalism | 5.<br>Employee friendly<br>anti-liberal statism |
|---|---|--|--|-------------------------------|---|
| V22. Taxpayers' money to subsidize the start-ups                        | .265  |  |  | .263                          |   |
| V20. Tax reduction and self-financing of healthcare                     |   | .718                                   |  |                               |   |
| V21. Tax reduction and self-financing of pensions                       |   | .547                                   |  |                               |   |
| V17. Dismissal without compensation                                     |   | .365                                   |  | .204                          | -.245   |
| V23. National state-of-the-art technologies financed by the taxpayer    |   |  | .496   |                               |   |
| V24. Favourable conditions for the national companies                   |   |  |  | -.596                         |   |
| V18. Sale of national companies to foreign capital without restrictions |   | .401                                   |  | .427                          |   |
| V19. Free movement of workers in the EU                                 | .235  |  |  | .269                          |   |
| V26. Executive employees participation in management                    | .198  |  |  |                               | .704  |
| V30. Guarantee of permanent employment contracts                        | .251  |  | -.236  |                               | .370  |

Note: Principal Axis Factoring, Oblimin rotation with Kaiser normalisation, 54.1 percent of total variation explained.

**Table 6. Correlation matrix of primary factors obtained through exploratory factor analysis of the well-ordered economy index. German sample**

| Primary factors                                | Primary factors    |                   |                    |                    |       |
|--|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------|
|  | 1                  | 2                 | 3                  | 4                  | 5     |
| 1. Corporatism statism egalitarianism          | 1                  | .037              | -.090              | .153               | .508  |
| 2. Ordered-liberal economy                     | .037               | 1                 | -.001              | .198               | -.058 |
| 3. Liberal anti-state developmental capitalism | -.090 <sup>a</sup> | -.001             | 1                  | -.048              | -.203 |
| 4. Open ordered-liberalism                     | .153 <sup>b</sup>  | .198 <sup>c</sup> | -.048              | 1                  | -.101 |
| 5. Participation and stability of employment   | .508 <sup>c</sup>  | -.058             | -.203 <sup>c</sup> | -.101 <sup>a</sup> | 1     |

<sup>a</sup> p<.05; <sup>b</sup>p<.001; <sup>c</sup>p<.000.

**Table 7. Second order exploratory factor analysis of the well-ordered economy index. Germane sample**

| Primary factors                                | Factor loadings  |                         |
|--|--|-------------------------|
|  | social state economy vs. anti-state developmental capitalism | ordered-liberal economy |
| 5. Participation and stability of employment   | .890   |                         |
| 1. Corporatism statism egalitarianism          | .604   |                         |
| 3. Liberal anti-state developmental capitalism | -.207  |                         |
| 4. Open ordered-liberalism                     |  | .697                    |
| 2. Ordoliberal individualism                   |  | .281                    |

Note: Principal Axis Factoring, Oblimin rotation with Kaiser normalisation, 46,3 percent of total variation explained.

Factor analysis identified five factors. Based on Table 5 and the analysis of the correlation matrix between index variables, it can be concluded that the logic of the choices made by young Germans in some respects resembles the results obtained during the analysis of Polish data (two visions of a market economy, two visions of the social state economy and one peculiar market vision that stands apart from all others). However, this similarity is, to a large extent, illusory.

Two positive correlations have been observed (Table 6). The first linked ‘corporatism statism egalitarianism’ with ‘employee friendly anti-liberal statism’ ( $r=.508$ ;  $p<.000$ ), the second linked ‘open ordered-liberalism’ with ‘ordered-liberal individualism’ ( $r=.198$ ;  $p<.000$ ). In addition, a peculiar positive correlation between ‘corporatism, statism, egalitarianism’ and ‘open ordered-liberalism’ ( $r=.153$ ;  $p<.000$ ) was observed.

As with the analysis that have been presented in the previous section, the results of second order factor analysis will now be presented (see Table 7). At this stage three secondary visions emerged. The first one is a combination between ‘employee friendly anti-liberal statism’ and ‘corporatism statism and egalitarianism’. This second order vision was described using the same term as in the Polish study, i.e. as ‘social state economy’.

The second vision, which has been described as ‘ordered-liberal economy’ at the secondary factor analysis level (Table 7), encompasses two primary visions (‘open ordered-liberalism’ and ‘ordered-liberal individualism’).

The third vision comprises only one primary vision: ‘liberal anti-state developmental capitalism’. As for the correlations at the primary level (see Table 6) this vision is clearly distinct and negatively correlates with other visions, including

the liberal ones. This observation is confirmed by the second order factor analysis (Table 7).

Before proceeding to discuss these visions, it is worth adding a few explanations regarding the specifics of German visions on the well-ordered economy.

The most salient feature is the trichotomy of visions. The social state economy vision has as its polar opposite ordered-liberal visions. A separate position is occupied by the third vision, combining liberalism in technological development and depriving the state of its functions in the economy ('liberal anti-state developmental capitalism').

The second salient feature is the positive correlation of the majority of visions with the state intervention in the economy (with the exception of the 'liberal anti-state developmental capitalism' vision), which provides the basis for using the term 'ordered'. The term links with the traditional respect for German society for the institution of the state. This feature is particularly salient when compared against the attitudes of Poles for whom market support is associated with the rejection of state intervention.

The third important feature is the difference between the Polish and German vision regarding the V24 principle ('favorable conditions for domestic companies'). In the structure of Polish visions, this principle is crucial for the main vision ('developmental employee-friendly national market economy'), and also crops up in most visions (although these relationships rarely have statistical significance). A completely different picture emerges when looking at the German structure of visions in which this principle plays a marginal role or shows a negative correlation.

### **'Social state economy'**

Let us now move on to the analysis of the secondary vision 'social state economy' (Table 7). It consists of two primary visions: The first vision ('corporatism statism egalitarianism' – Table 5) includes the V25 ('trade unions influence over the economy'), V27 ('state intervention in the economy'), V28 ('egalitarianism'), V29 ('free health care') and V22 ('taxpayers' money to subsidise the start-ups') principles. Additionally, it includes V19 ('free movement of workers in the EU'), V26 ('executive employees participation in management') and V30 ('guarantee of permanent employment contracts') principles. The centre of gravity of this vision are the first three principles (V25, V27, V28) which show the highest factor loadings. These give the vision its identity.

The second primary vision belonging to 'social state economy', namely 'employee friendly anti-liberal statism' (Tables 5 and 7) includes roughly the same principles as



‘corporatism, statism, egalitarianism’. However, its point of gravity lies at the V26 (‘executive employees participation in management’) principle. It should be added that this vision is negatively correlated with the key principle of the liberal labour market: V17 (‘dismissal without compensation’). In its totality, ‘social state economy’ includes all principles from the statist-egalitarian feature (modules 1,2,3 – see Set 1), is anti-liberal and supports small businesses (start-ups).

### **‘Ordered-liberal economy’**

The ‘ordered-liberal economy’ is a polar opposite with regard to the ‘social state economy’. This secondary vision combines two primary visions: ‘open ordered-liberalism’ and ‘ordered-liberal individualism’. Both visions are defined by the term ‘ordered-liberalism’ because they endorse two liberal principles: V17 (‘dismissal without compensation’) and V18 (‘sale of domestic companies to foreign capital without restrictions’) with the pro-state V27 principle (‘state intervention in the economy’). The following are the key differences between them: ‘ordered-liberalism’ strongly rejects the V24 principle (‘favourable conditions for national companies’) and supports the V19 (‘free movement of workers in the EU’) principle. ‘Ordered-liberal individualism’, in turn, strongly endorses two individualistic and anti-system principles: V20 (‘tax reduction and self-financing of healthcare’) and V21 (‘tax reduction and self-financing of pensions’).

The ‘open ordered-liberalism’ vision is characterised by low consolidation (the relatively low level of explanation of the general variance). This vision rejects the V24 principle (‘favourable conditions for the national companies’), which determines its open nature, and embraces the unpopular V18 principle (‘sale of national companies to foreign capital without restrictions’). Moreover, the inclusion of the V22 principle (‘taxpayers’ money to subsidise the start-ups’) and the V19 principle (‘free movement of workers in the EU’) accentuates the open nature of this vision. This acceptance of the role played by the state induces the use of the term that is generally associated with German economic model based on market and competition mechanisms regulated (‘ordered’) by the state.

When discussing the ‘ordered-liberal individualist’ vision, it has to be pointed out that there is a significant difference between the views of young Germans and young Poles in that there is a widespread support of the former for the regulation of the economy by the state. The difference is significant: in the case of the survey conducted in Poland, the correlation between the statist principle (V27) and the

'liberal-individualistic/infantile-liberal principles' was significantly negative: with the V20 principle ('tax reduction and self financing of health care')  $r = -.184$ ;  $p < .000$ ; and the V21 principle ('tax reduction and self-financing of pensions')  $r = -.120$ ;  $p = .004$ . In the German survey, in turn, both correlations of statism with pointed principles were significantly positive: with V20  $r = .240$ ;  $p < .000$ ; and V21  $r = .175$ ;  $p < .000$ . Similarly, the liberal principles, V17 and V18, scored weak negative correlations with the state in the Polish survey and statistically significant positive correlations in the German one.

Let us compare the general correlation of the state intervention principle in both national surveys. As for the German survey, a negative coefficient ( $r = -.213$ ;  $p < .000$ ) was only observed in correlation with the V16 principle ('competition'). In all other cases (except one) there were relatively strong positive correlations. On the other hand, Polish survey data showed seven negative correlations (although mostly with low coefficients), while significant positive ones emerged only in five cases of correlations with state-egalitarian principles (V25, V26, V27, V28, V29, V30).

### **'Liberal anti-state developmental capitalism'**

This vision is a component part of both primary and secondary structure (Tables 5 and 7). The core of the vision is the competitive market economy and state support for technological innovations (V16: 'competition' and V23: 'domestic state-of-the-art technologies financed by the taxpayer'). The main factor that separates it from all the other visions is the rejection of state intervention in the economy. At the same time, it is extremely liberal when compared against two other liberal visions which were subsumed under the term 'ordered-liberal economy'. This expresses itself in the rejection of principles V29 ('free health care') and V30 ('guarantee of permanent employment contracts') to which the remaining ordered-liberal visions are neutral.

### **Dominant visions of well-ordered economy among young Germans**

In the initial stages of the research, a hypothesis was advanced on the possibility of the emergence of normative visions of a social market economy, combining the principles of employee-friendly egalitarianism with the support of a market economy. The correlation matrix and factor analysis leads to cautious negative verification of this hypothesis. It is noteworthy that the competition principle (V16) has been absent from the discussed visions. This principle displays a weak negative correlation with both primary visions of 'social state economy'. When focusing on the matrix of correlations between the principles, it turns out that the competition principle enters into negative significant correlations with the main principles that constitute

the 'social state economy'. First, with state intervention in the economy (V27  $r = -.200$ ;  $p < .000$ ), then, with free healthcare (V29  $r = -.155$ ;  $p < .000$ ), with guaranteed permanent employment contracts (V30  $r = -.077$ ;  $p < .05$ ) and finally with increased influence of trade unions over the economy (V25  $r = -.071$ ;  $p < .05$ ). This means that this secondary vision cannot be considered as an expression of 'social market economy' thus limiting its description to the term 'social economy'. This shift from a 'social market' to a 'social' dimension corresponds to the previously described results of analyses by the researchers who studied attitudes of the German youth (Schlösser, Schuhen, Schürkmann 2017).

**It can be concluded that, when choosing the well-ordered economy model, young respondents from Germany most often opted for either market liberalism combined with state regulation or an economy with employee-friendly solutions, oriented towards social equality and state intervention in the economy, but with reservation to the principle of competition and market economy. Thus, two alternative choices are being posed: either the market economy or the social state economy. By analysing the frequency of choices, it has to be concluded that the latter option prevails. A vision that has been described as 'liberal anti-state developmental capitalism' remains at best marginal to the visions of economic consciousness expressed by young Germans.**

## 6. Economic Consciousness in Economic and Employee Categories. The Question of Precariat

The visions of a well-ordered economy among the youth employed in Poland and Germany discussed above will now be supplemented by the analysis of class and employee differences, i.e. differences related to ownership in the economy and type of employment contract). For this reason, I decided not to employ the category 'economic and occupational' groups and instead opted for 'class-employment' groups.

The concept of precariat (precariousness and precarisation) has wider scope. The authors of an overview of biographical studies of youth working under precarious conditions (Czarzasty, Trappmann, Mrozowicki, Andrejczuk 2018) stressed that this concept is ambiguous and contingent upon its theoretical and methodological context. In the survey, I defined work under precarious conditions as work performed on the basis of low-paid, short-term contracts: in a subjective aspect, the term means

unsatisfactory working conditions. A mandate contract is a typical form that meets the above characteristics. I hypothesised that precarious conditions and insecure position in the labour market might have an impact on a vision of a well-ordered economy espoused by such workers. I specifically hypothesised that the lower the stability of a work, the lower the support for liberal principles and the higher an expectation toward welfare, egalitarian-statist solutions would be, with a preference for the protection of national enterprises and national labour market.

### Survey of Polish Working Youth

As for Poland, I have identified types of employment contracts regulated by the Labour Code, which entail a number of worker rights, and types of contracts regulated by the Civil Code, which do not entail any worker rights. The former include: 1. Employment contract concluded for an indefinite period, i.e. permanent contract (*umowa na czas nieokreślony*); 2. Employment contract concluded for a fixed-term (*umowa na czas określony*); 3. Employment contract for a probationary period (*umowa na czas próbny*). The latter include those types of contracts which do not guarantee worker rights: 4. Contract of mandate (*umowa zlecenie*). Such contract can be terminated at any time. The employee does not have the right to paid annual leave, parental leave, health and safety regulations etc.; 5. Contract of specific work (*umowa o dzieło*). This type of contract is also governed by the Civil code. The contract for specific work, in principle, is concluded with persons performing the so-called free professions: lawyers, journalists, artists. Due to the size of specific categories in the sample, I identified and analysed five groups plus the 'others' category.

**Table 8. Relative level of support ('totally agree' and 'partially agree' responses were combined) for the principles of the index of the vision of a well-ordered economy among Polish economic and employee groups (in percent)**

| Code <sup>a</sup> | Economic and employee groups <sup>b</sup> |      |      |      |      |      | $\chi^2$ (df=10) | p    |
|-------------------|---|------|------|------|------|------|------------------|------|
|                   | 1   | 2    | 3    | 4    | 5    | 6    |                  |      |
| V16               | 84.0                                      | 79.1 | 82.9 | 77.3 | 66.1 | 87.1 | 25.327           | .005 |
| V17               | 40.0                                      | 31.0 | 19.2 | 13.5 | 10.7 | 25.8 | 20.926           | .022 |
| V18               | 37.5                                      | 15.4 | 12.1 | 17.8 | 8.9  | 18.8 | 20.367           | .026 |
| V19               | 75.0                                      | 70.3 | 74.1 | 66.0 | 68.5 | 59.4 | 10.774           | .375 |
| V20               | 70.8                                      | 44.0 | 48.0 | 43.2 | 34.5 | 61.3 | 17.810           | .058 |
| V21               | 62.5                                      | 64.8 | 48.3 | 54.2 | 54.5 | 59.4 | 13.097           | .218 |
| V22               | 21.7                                      | 74.2 | 58.6 | 51.0 | 51.8 | 54.8 | 38.968           | .000 |
| V23               | 87.5                                      | 84.6 | 81.8 | 69.9 | 72.7 | 78.1 | 27.036           | .003 |

| Code <sup>a</sup> | Economic and employee groups <sup>b</sup> |      |      |      |      |      | $\chi^2$ (df=10) | p    |
|-------------------|---|------|------|------|------|------|------------------|------|
|                   | 1   | 2    | 3    | 4    | 5    | 6    |                  |      |
| V24               | 95.8                                      | 93.3 | 77.5 | 78.7 | 72.7 | 83.9 | 23.239           | .010 |
| V25               | 39.1                                      | 48.4 | 46.0 | 42.5 | 63.6 | 48.4 | 28.153           | .002 |
| V26               | 45.8                                      | 46.0 | 46.8 | 37.3 | 75.0 | 53.1 | 31.698           | .000 |
| V27               | 37.5                                      | 37.8 | 41.5 | 38.2 | 53.6 | 37.5 | 9.680            | .469 |
| V28               | 37.5                                      | 55.1 | 55.3 | 46.4 | 69.1 | 65.6 | 16.958           | .075 |
| V29               | 75.0                                      | 79.1 | 70.1 | 70.1 | 80.0 | 71.0 | 11.079           | .351 |
| V30               | 87.5                                      | 91.2 | 88.3 | 87.1 | 94.5 | 83.9 | 11.517           | .319 |
| in percent        | 4,2                                       | 15,9 | 35,8 | 27,0 | 9,7  | 5,5  | -                | -    |

n=574

<sup>a</sup> Abbreviated codes of principles:

V16 Competition

V17 Dismissal without compensation

V18 Sale of national companies to foreign capital without restrictions

V19 Free movement of workers in the EU

V20 Tax reduction and self-financing of health care

V21 Tax reduction and self-financing of pensions

V22 Taxpayers' money to subsidize the start-ups

V23 National state-of-the-art technologies financed by the taxpayer

V24 Favourable conditions for the national companies

V25 Trade unions influence over the economy

V26 Participation in management

V27 State intervention in the economy

V28 Egalitarianism

V29 Free health care

V30 Guarantee of permanent employment contracts.

<sup>b</sup> Economic and employee groups:

1. Employers; 2. Self-employed; 3. Employed under a permanent contract; 4. Employed under a fixed-term contract;

5. Employed under a contract of mandate; 6. Other (contract of specific work, contract for a probationary period, employed without a contract, etc.).

First, I compared the views of persons employed under permanent contract and fixed-term contracts. In the case of two key liberal principles (V16 'competition' and V17 ('dismissal without compensation'), my hypothesis was confirmed, although this was not the case with the V18 principle ('sale of national companies to foreign capital'), which enjoyed a higher level of support from those employed on fixed-term contracts. On the other hand, for the set of welfare-egalitarian variables (V25–V28), respondents employed on permanent contracts declared a higher level of support than those on fixed-term contracts. As for two key welfare principles (V29 'free health care' and V30 'guarantee of permanent employment contracts'), their levels of support were identical, although there were differences that are not represented in the Table, namely that workers employed on fixed-term contracts opted more often for 'totally agree' (i.e. for V30 'totally agree' levels in the category of permanent contracts reached 58.6 percent, while in the category of fixed-term they stood at 69.7

percent). Distributions of responses in both groups do not indicate that work under fixed-term contracts strengthens support for welfare-egalitarian principles. This is not surprising if one recognises the long-running practice of hiring exclusively under fixed-term contracts (this practice ended with the transition from employer's market to employee's market in Poland in the 2010s).

This picture is radically transformed when we take a closer look at employees working on a contract of mandate. They work under the most precarious conditions when compared against other groups. And they manifest an extremely high level of support for the principles of 'corporatism, statism and egalitarianism' vision.

As far as support for the principles of the index is concerned, the economic and employee groups can be divided into four levels. The first level comprises employers, the second comprises three categories: self-employed, employees working under permanent contracts and working under fixed-term contract, the third level represents those working on a contract of mandate and the fourth represents other groups of workers. The views of employers are relatively close to liberal vision – support of V17 and V18, relatively critical of the corporatism and participation (V25 and V26), unwilling to finance entrepreneurship from the state budget (V22 and V23). At the same time, half of employers support state intervention in the economy (V27). In addition, employers relatively rarely support the principle of competition (V16).

The next level includes three groups. Despite some differences, they express a convergent vision of well-ordered economy, similar to 'developmental national employee-friendly market economy'. It should be emphasised that the opinions of people working under indefinite and fixed-term contracts are relatively close to each other.

The third level, with views distant from the other levels and which satisfies the conditions of the hypothesis on precariousness, includes those working under the contract of mandate. The respondents from this group more often than respondents from other groups supported traditional, egalitarian and statist measures, i.e. 'corporatism, statism and egalitarianism'.

The last level, which consists of three, small groups (workers on probation period, those on contracts of specific work and others) includes respondents who made inconsistent choices, e.g. extremely liberal and rejecting liberalism at the same time. This is understandable, since, out of necessity, I have combined groups that numbered no more than several people working under contract for a probationary period.

Apart from normative visions, I also adopt another indirect measure of precariousness, namely the lack of satisfaction with the place occupied in the labour market, tested by the willingness to change the current economic and employee

status. When analysed from this standpoint, the configuration of groups becomes dichotomous: on the one hand, we have three privileged groups, employers, the self-employed and those on permanent contracts, and on the other hand, all the other groups. Among the first three groups, about half of the respondents would like to maintain their current status (50.0 percent, 52.3 percent, 50.2 percent respectively), the other half chose to jump to one of the two other privileged groups (e.g. 26.4 percent of those on permanent contracts chose the status of employer and 21.4 percent that of a self-employed). Among those working in all other forms, nobody wanted to maintain their current economic and employee status (the relative number did not exceed a fraction of a one percentage point in any group). For example, those employed under fixed-term contracts, mentally close to respondents with indefinite contracts, had the following preferences: 41.9 percent would like to have permanent contract, 30.0 percent would like to be self-employed and 26.3 percent would like to become employers (only 0.6 percent wanted to continue employment on a fixed-term contract).

### Survey of German Working Youth

As in the case of Polish youth, I will focus on the preferences displayed by respondents from specific economic and employee categories.

The content of Table 9 shows that the normative vision of the economy characteristic of the group of entrepreneurs, free professions etc. is close to liberal pattern of values, but to a lesser extent than in the case of Polish employers.

**Table 9. Relative level of support ('strongly agree' and 'partially agree' responses were combined) for the principles of the index of the vision of a well-ordered economy among German economic and employee groups (in %)**

| Code <sup>a</sup> | Economic and employee groups <sup>b</sup> |      |      |      |      |      |      | $\chi^2$ (df=12) | p    |
|-------------------|---|------|------|------|------|------|------|------------------|------|
|                   | 1   | 2    | 3    | 4    | 5    | 6    | 7    |                  |      |
| V16               | 81.3                                      | 75.0 | 77.9 | 66.1 | 50.0 | 46.2 | 82.4 | 35.425           | .000 |
| V17               | 20.0                                      | 37.5 | 9.5  | 15.6 | -    | 56.3 | -    | 51.730           | .000 |
| V18               | 6.7                                       | 12.5 | 16.2 | 17.9 | -    | 20.0 | 6.3  | 20.945           | .051 |
| V19               | 81.3                                      | 87.5 | 87.2 | 87.8 | 82.4 | 86.7 | 92.9 | 15.969           | .193 |
| V20               | 43.8                                      | 6.3  | 21.1 | 26.0 | 11.8 | 16.7 | 18.8 | 31.241           | .002 |
| V21               | 17.6                                      | 12.5 | 9.4  | 18.7 | 23.5 | 6.3  | -    | 25.522           | .013 |
| V22               | 56.3                                      | 81.3 | 48.2 | 38.8 | 52.9 | 50.0 | 37.5 | 18.650           | .097 |
| V23               | 69.2                                      | 50.0 | 59.3 | 51.6 | 56.3 | 25.0 | 62.5 | 22.361           | .034 |

|            |       |      |      |      |      |             |      |        |      |
|------------|-------|------|------|------|------|-------------|------|--------|------|
| V24        | 43.8  | 62.5 | 39.5 | 45.5 | 84.6 | 25.0        | 37.5 | 24.732 | .016 |
| V25        | 6.3   | 62.5 | 49.3 | 46.7 | 58.3 | 75.0        | 43.8 | 21.948 | .038 |
| V26        | 50.0  | 81.3 | 73.2 | 75.6 | 82.4 | 86.7        | 76.5 | 26.075 | .010 |
| V27        | 31.3  | 23.5 | 33.8 | 24.8 | 31.3 | <b>73.3</b> | 18.8 | 28.399 | .005 |
| V28        | 43.8  | 88.2 | 65.0 | 69.1 | 76.5 | 86.7        | 43.8 | 23.048 | .027 |
| V29        | 100.0 | 56.3 | 73.1 | 71.0 | 62.5 | 93.3        | 81.3 | 32.513 | .001 |
| V30        | 81.3  | 81.3 | 69.6 | 80.5 | 76.5 | 80.0        | 56.3 | 15.735 | .204 |
| in percent | 3,0   | 3,1  | 57,9 | 23,4 | 3,2  | 3,0         | 3,1  | -      | -    |

<sup>a</sup>Abbreviated codes of principles:

V16 Competition

V17 Dismissal without compensation

V18 Sale of national companies to foreign capital without restrictions

V19 Free movement of workers in the EU

V20 Tax reduction and self-financing of health care

V21 Tax reduction and self-financing of pensions

V22 Taxpayers' money to subsidize the start-ups

V23 National state-of-the-art technologies financed by the taxpayer

V24 Favourable conditions for the national companies

V25 Trade unions influence over the economy

V26 Participation in management

V27 State intervention in the economy

V28 Egalitarianism

V29 Free health care

V30 Guarantee of permanent employment contracts

<sup>b</sup>1. Entrepreneurs, free professions, IT professions etc.; 2. Self-employed; 3. Employed under a permanent contract; 4. employed under a fixed-term contract; 5. Employed by a temporary employment agency; 6. On paid internships and other training schemes; 7. Others (helping family members, employed without a contract, etc.).

Another peculiarity links the respondents from Germany and Poland, namely a high level of convergence of the vision demonstrated by employees working under permanent contracts with those employed on fixed-term contracts. The economic consciousness of these two economic and employee groups, which make up 85 percent of the sample of employed young Germans, determines the modal normative vision of the economy discussed in the previous section.

The hypothesis of the impact of a precarious status on the vision of a well-ordered economy is confirmed in the case of young people on internships or in other training schemes, and also among those employed by temporary work agencies. The former category is characterised by a kind of lack of economic patriotism (the lowest among the categories of support for V23 ('national state-of-the-art technologies financed by the taxpayer') and V24 ('favourable conditions for the national companies'), the



lowest support for market relations, epitomised by the principle V16 ('competition') and, in turn, the highest support for V27 ('state intervention in the economy') and V25 ('trade unions influence over the economy'). This allows us to formulate a conclusion about the deep frustration of this group of working youth. However, those employed by temporary employment agencies decisively reject the principles of liberal labour market (V17) and liberal enterprise market (V18), and relatively rarely support market economy (V16).

Finally, as with the respondents from Poland, an indirect criterion of precariousness was established, i.e. the degree of respondent's satisfaction with the position taken in the system of economic and employee groups, which is an important correlate of precariousness. For the German labour market, the same three privileged groups emerged: entrepreneurs and free professions, the self-employed and those working under permanent contracts. There were some differences in the cafeterias of participation and aspirational groups in the German questionnaire, but the trend turned out to be very clear and close to the one reported in the analysis of data from the survey of Polish youth. Aspirations for permanent contract (average of 61.1 percent) and self-employment (average of 22.9 percent) dominated. In comparison with the Polish results, the main differences concern principally less frequent aspirations to become employer (average of 9.2 percent) and self-employed, with a slightly higher aspirations to hold permanent contract. In addition, a slightly higher percentage of fixed-term contract employees reported their willingness to continue in this form of employment (6.5 percent, compared against 0.6 percent in the survey results from Poland).

## Conclusions

1. The study of socioeconomists from the Warsaw School of Economics (SGH) discussed in this paper, relies on internally differentiated indicator of economic consciousness. The intention was to capture most of the important aspects of the economic system, so that there would be no gaps in the results of the analysis due to the omission of important aspects of the economic system from the index. The index discussed in the paper included the following univariate and multivariate modules: 1) egalitarian-statist; 2) corporate-participatory; 3) protective in the field of labour market and public policy; 4) technologically developing and supporting start-ups;

5) promoting national capital in relation to foreign capital; 6) promoting the expansion of foreign capital; 7) promoting efficiency and liberalising labour relations; 8) liberal individualism/infantile liberalism.

2. The main hypothesis of the present study concerned the durability of societal expectations about the economic order. The empirical basis of this hypothesis has been laid by the results of the studies on well-ordered economy that had been carried out between 1991 and 2015 by the team of socio-economists from Warsaw School of Economics. This research has identified both a relatively stable level of support for some of the economic principles (opinions on competition or sale of national companies to foreign capital), but above all the durability of the three-way structure of visions. The first vision ('moderately modernising') enjoyed the highest level of support in the long run. At the same time it was ambivalent. It combined the support for competition, development of Polish entrepreneurship with the shielding it against the expansion of foreign capital. It combined the support for privatisation of state-owned assets but into the hands of the Polish capital, reluctant attitude to state intervention in the economy, efficiency (which include bankruptcies of inefficient enterprises), labour market protection (unwillingness to accept the unemployment) and moderate egalitarianism. The second vision ('egalitarian-statist') enjoyed lower levels of support. It was pro-statist, strongly egalitarian and opposed privatisation. The third vision ('liberal') had lowest levels of support and accepted unemployment and unrestricted access to national companies by foreign capital. Over the past 25 years the researchers from SGH have carried out over 20 surveys on representative samples. Virtually all of these studies confirmed the presence of three visions. Explaining the phenomenon of nature and the sustainability of normative visions of the economy requires in-depth analyzes. In our opinion, one should use Pierre Bourdieu's 'habitus' category and reconstruct its various forms on an intergenerational scale.

3. The current research has compared, using the same index, visions of a well-ordered economy expressed by Polish and German youth. It was hypothesised that this internally diverse index would also allow us to reliably reconstruct the expectations of the German youth. However, there were no previous questionnaire studies that had been carried out among the German society. Therefore, the point of reference was research on various aspects of economic consciousness. On this basis, the following conclusions were drawn: for many years, the German society has supported the German model of social market economy, ordoliberal at its origins but gradually

enriched with Social-Democratic interventions. However, the economic conditions has lead to the weakening of the social component of the model (this was at the heart of the question that is posed: 'to what extent the social economy is social?'). Despite growing criticism of the economic system, many Germans continue to believe that this model is better than a purely market or purely statist model. Nevertheless, there is a growing criticism which results, especially among the youth, in reservations towards market economy, 'capitalism' and economic liberalism, Related to this is the expectation for the higher level of intervention by the institutions of the state and strengthening of the social component of the module. A tentative hypothesis could be drawn on this basis: the results would show the visions of a social market economy as a main point of normative reference alongside the anti-capitalism vision.

4. The comparative, Polish-German, analyses have been carried out in three stages: a comparison of the distribution of the level of support for individual principles with the discussion of divergences between the level of support expressed by German and Polish youth and between the Germans from Western and Eastern states. The next level is constituted by the comparison of five sets of five most popular principles among the respondents from the two countries. The third level entails a comparison between the structure of the visions of a well-ordered economy reconstructed through exploratory factor analysis.

4a. The differences between the level of support for different principles sketch the main differences between the visions expressed by Poles and Germans. These Explaining the phenomenon of nature and the sustainability of normative visions of the economy requires in-depth analyzes. In our opinion, one should use Pierre Bourdieu's 'habitus' category and reconstruct its various forms on an intergenerational scale. Poles and their conviction about the low level of competitiveness of the national economy and about the technological gap. Both the secondary visions were not notable in the German sample. As far as the level of support is concerned, the highest differences were observed in relation to the principle of 'tax reduction and self-financing of pensions' with Polish youth opting more often for this principle (55 percent against 12 percent). The second position in this ranking was occupied by 'favourable conditions for the national companies'. Again, with Polish youth opting more for it (80 percent against 42 percent). The third place belongs to the principle entitled 'executive employees' participation in management'. This time it was the German youth who expressed

more support for it (77 percent against 47 percent). The next, fourth, principle was 'tax reduction and self-financing of healthcare', with more Polish youth opting for it (46 percent against 22 percent). Fifth principle was 'national state-of-the-art technologies financed by the taxpayer'. Again, with more Poles supporting it (78 percent against 56 percent). The lowest levels of divergences between the levels of support expressed by the German and Polish youth were observed for the 'sale of national companies to foreign capital without restrictions' principle.

It is also worth pointing out that some of the most general differences in the economic mentality of young respondents from Poland and Germany are similar to the differences in the economic mentality of managers from Poland and Germany (Bluhm, Martens, Trappmann 2016).

The differences between young people from the west and east of Germany suggest a more liberal orientation of the latter. The highest level of discrepancy was expressed in the relationship to the principle of 'dismissal without compensation', with more respondents from the East supporting it. Whereas the principle of 'state intervention in the economy' received more support among the youth from western states. The same was true for 'executive employees' participation in management'. In addition, notable differences surfaced when it comes to the level of support for national entrepreneurship, with more Easterners supporting it.

4b. I shall now discuss the set of the most popular principles from the index. As for the Polish youth, this battery includes the following principles: 'guarantee of permanent employment contracts'. This principle enjoys a crushing dominance, almost 10 percentage points ahead of the next most popular principle. Next principles are 'favourable conditions for the national companies', 'competition', 'national state-of-the-art technologies financed by the taxpayer' and 'free health care'. When we look only at the most frequently chosen principles, we can reconstruct the prevailing average vision of a well-ordered economy as a market economy, ensuring stable full-time employment, in which Polish enterprises and banks are protected from foreign enterprises operating in Poland. Additionally, the state budget is to finance centres developing modern technologies in Poland and provide a free healthcare for citizens.

The battery of preferences dominating among the German youth represents a vision of market economy (competitive) with strong emphasis on social aspects: employee participation in management and striving for social equality. The battery with highest level of support comprises five principles: 'free movement of

workers in the EU', 'participation in management', 'competition', 'free health care' and 'guarantee of permanent employment contracts'.

Thus, the juxtaposition of the dominant preferences of young Germans and young Poles produces different pictures as regards issues of key importance for the economic system: the Poles value market economy with the protection of national capitalism against foreign competition and the emphasis on the need to reduce the technological gap. Significant differences were observed as to the main preferences of Germans and Poles. Executive workers' participation in management, which received the 2<sup>nd</sup> position in the German ranking, was ranked as 10<sup>th</sup> in the Polish ranking having received a support of more than 27 percentage points lower. Egalitarianism, which occupied the 5<sup>th</sup> place in the German ranking, in Poland ended up on the 9<sup>th</sup> position.

Notwithstanding, young Germans shared some of their preferences with their Polish counterparts: 'guarantee of permanent employment contracts' and 'free health care'.

4c. We have carried out the analysis of the structure of the visions of well-ordered economy using multivariate statistics in general, and exploratory factor analysis in particular. The use of such methods in social opinion studies entails major methodological challenges. However, it also allows us to deepen our knowledge about the phenomenon.

The analyses of the visions of a well-ordered economy expressed by the working youth from Germany and Poland have produced two entirely different pictures. To generalise, the Polish youth carries three normative visions of the economy which, to a large extent, came about as a result of intergenerational transfer. The isolation of these visions through factor analysis has made it possible to corroborate the main research hypothesis. The German youth, in turn, displays a more dichotomous split between the vision. Hence, our tentative hypothesis regarding the internalization of the vision of social market economy seemed to be not confirmed.

The first vision displayed by the Polish youth has been characterised as the expectation for a 'social state economy'. The core of this vision is the view that employees should be protected on the labour market and the idea that trade unions can play this role. The main postulates of this vision are guaranteed indefinite-term employment contracts and free healthcare. It is expected that the state would intervene in the economy and that a policy to limit income

disparities would be implemented. The second vision, widespread among the young Poles, is the 'developmental national employee-friendly market economy'. This vision comprises principles that enjoy the highest level of support. Its basic tenet is the expectation for a market, competitive economy which would stimulate the technological development of Polish companies. These companies would be protected against the competition from foreign firms. At the same time, the influence of the state on the economy would be limited. The trade unions would have limited influence over the management of the companies. The employees, in this vision, should enjoy guaranteed stable employment. Free movement of workers in Europe would also be guaranteed. The common denominator of both visions is the employee-friendly labour market. The two visions, however, exhibit major differences. One envisages markets unconstrained by the institutions and especially by the state. The other, on the contrary, expects protection from the institutions, including from those of the state. Alongside these visions, a third vision emerges. A liberal vision whose supporters do not expect employee-friendly labour market, free public services, and protection against the external competition. However, this vision has very little support.

4d. The German respondents used fifteen variables of the index to shape five primary visions which consolidated into three secondary visions. Based on these analyzes, the hypothesis that German youth expected a 'social market economy' had to be rejected. It can be concluded that young respondents, when choosing the well-ordered economy model, most often opted for either market liberalism combined with state regulation (we decided to give this vision the label of 'ordered-liberalism') or an economy with employee-friendly solutions, oriented towards social equality, but with negative attitudes toward the principle of competition and market economy. Thus, two main alternative choices are being posed: either the market economy or the social economy, both supplemented by state intervention. By analysing the frequency of choices, I conclude that the latter option prevails. The vision characterised as 'liberal anti-statist developmental capitalism' is a marginal one, because it rejects the 'guarantee of permanent employment contracts', 'free health care' and 'state intervention in the economy' principles.

When comparing economic consciousness of young Poles and Germans, the first salient feature is a marked difference between Polish and German visions regarding the 'favourable conditions for the national companies' principle. Namely, this principle links with most of the visions from the Polish structure (although these relations are rarely statistically significant). It is also one of the

axes of modal visions. Without going into the complex question of the origins of differences, it is feasible to pose a thesis that expectations of the young Poles reflect either the dominance of the inherited complex of exploited periphery with alienated authorities (the vision of ‘developmental national employee-friendly market economy’) or the domination of a sense of social abandonment and longing for a welfare, ‘social state economy’. As for the German youth, in turn, they show signs of disillusionment resulting from washing away of the social part of the social market economy model. The result is that some are opting for some sort of a market economy that is coordinated by the state (‘ordered liberalism’). Others turn towards a welfare ‘social economy’, much the same as the one expected by some Poles.

5. When analysing the issue of precarious work, the degree of satisfaction (or rather lack of it) with the current position in the system of economic and employee groups turned out to be an important correlate. There are groups that can be labelled as privileged, aspirational, and groups that can be assumed to be socially perceived as precarious, both by the group members themselves and by their environment. The privileged groups consist mainly of people working on permanent contracts, as well as in various forms of ‘self-employment’. In Poland, respondents aspired more frequently than in Germany to become employers. However, the surveys discussed here do not allow for a more detailed analysis of this question. Apart from privileged groups, there are also those that are valued negatively. The latter comprise all those groups of workers who are burdened with instability and whose jobs do not guarantee a stable employment relationship or economic autonomy.

Finally, it has to be noted that the visions of a well-ordered economy proved to be an accurate proxy for precarious work, except for the group of workers that work on fixed-term contracts, whose visions of a well-ordered economy did not differ from the visions observed among those employed under indefinite contracts. Our analyses suggest that the group of workers employed under precarious conditions that rejects to a largest degree market economy are, for Poland, those employed on contract of mandate and, for Germany, those working for temporary employment agencies.

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