

From Shipyard Workers to Young Precariat. Thirty Years of Research on Well-Ordered Economy at Warsaw School of Planning and Statistics (SGPiS)/Warsaw School of Economics (SGH)¹

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Abstract

The article provides a retrospective overview of quantitative survey research on economic mentality conducted in the Warsaw School of Planning and Statistics (SGPiS), renamed Warsaw School of Economics (SGH) in 1990. The time span of the research covered in the article runs from 1986 – when the initial surveys were completed – until 2016. The main focus is kept on so-called ‘well-ordered economy index’ (a set of variables designed to serve as a tool for reconstructing the dominant normative visions of economy) and its evolution over three decades. The most significant observation made is that despite profound changes in the structure of Polish economy and society which took place since the final years of the authoritarian state socialism, the normative visions of economy as registered by the research in focus have remained relatively stable.

Keywords: economic mentality, well-ordered economy, survey, Poland.

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Introduction

In the article the results of selected studies on the normative visions of the economy (*as it should be*), carried out for over 30 years (since 1986) by a team of researchers initially led by Leszek Gilejko, then by Juliusz Gardawski, and most recently by the author himself are presented and discussed. The subject of this article, normative visions of the economy, was the domain of Gardawski's research², while Gilejko focused on the study of the institutions of the world of work: trade unions, worker self-management, worker shareholding and the structure of worker communities.

My intention is to recapitulate the empirical results of surveys led mainly by Gardawski over a period of more than three decades, during which Poland witnessed a political and economic transformation, accession to the EU, a great 2008+ crisis which, only seemingly (as demonstrated in the article) did not affect Poland, and the ongoing anti-liberal turn, which, as will also be shown in this article, had already been predicted by us at the beginning of the 2010s. Despite this, the collective mindset of the Poles regarding economic matters throughout this entire period is characterised by a relatively high stability.

The research discussed hereinafter can be divided into four periods. During the first period, between 1986 and 1990, the research team was led by Gilejko. Then Wojciech Widera and Juliusz Gardawski for the first time employed the well-ordered economy index, derived from the so-called DENKI-ROREN project³ carried out by Witold Morawski and Bogdan Cichomski (cf. Cichomski, Morawski 1988). At that time, the index comprised 10 variables.

The second period were the 1990s. During that period, the research team was led by Gardawski who expanded the index to 24 variables in 1991 wave and kept using it until 1995. It should be emphasized that the profound reconfiguration of the index

² In the article I make several references to the unpublished text by Juliusz Gardawski upon his permission.

³ The international research project 'Social consciousness of electrical and electronic industry workers', led by the Japanese trade union DENKI-ROREN, covered 10 countries, including Poland (Hungary and Yugoslavia were other countries from the then Eastern Bloc). The research was carried out in 1984.

was the result of experiences of the 1980s. Gardawski's team aimed to reconstruct the vision of a 'well-ordered economy', going beyond a mere identification of pro- and anti-market attitudes and the extent of each in the population. The research focused primarily at inconsistencies in the preferences expressed. It was hypothesised that inconsistent visions, will be typical in the times of transformation rather pro-market than anti-market. The index was then employed in 1996–1998 waves, albeit in a somewhat altered form, yet with the main variables and their order retained. The second period concluded in 1999 with the survey of private employers and their employees with index reduced to fourteen variables.

The third period comprises the surveys carried out in the first decade of the 21st century (2003, 2005, 2007, 2009). During that period the team was still led by Gardawski, and the index consisted of 12–14 variables used in the same order as in the 1990s. The most important studies during that period were conducted on representative samples of adult Poles in 2003, 2005 and 2007 (the two latter forming a series referred to as the 'Working Poles').

The fourth period (running) has begun with a survey of private entrepreneurs in 2010 (most of the data published in 2013), for the sake of which the index underwent a far-reaching modification due to the specificities of the SME sector. In 2013 Gardawski conducted a small survey of the leaders of company-level trade unions belonging to All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ), where he returned to the traditional form of the index. In the ongoing (2016–2018) research on the youth (18–30 year olds), including those working in precarious conditions, the index is used in even more profoundly modified state. For technical reasons, I have decided to devote a separate section to the 2016 wave.

The first period: 1986–1990

The first study was carried out in 1986 at the then Paris Commune Shipyard by Widera and Gardawski. Three subsequent quasi-panel studies were conducted by Gardawski in 1986, 1988 and 1990 in six large factories across the country. Table 1 presents synthetically the results of the surveys (frequencies) carried out in between 1986 and 1990.

Table 1. Distribution of responses to variables of the well-ordered economy index among the line workers in industrial manufacturing between 1986–1990

Principle	Study			
	'Shipyard '86' N=209	'Workers '86' N=533	'Workers '88' N=1136	'Workers '90' N=584
1. Government management of the activities of enterprises (top-down assignment of tasks)	23.8	10.5	16.4	22.1
2. Introduction of self-sufficiency and fierce competition between companies	85.9	73.9	79.6	57.4
3. Acceptance of unemployment and payment of minimum benefits to unemployed persons	27.8	25.5	34.7	13.5
4. Closures of ill-functioning enterprises	74.6	69.4	77.1	51.7
5. State ownership of all companies (large and small)	-	23.5	-	-
6. State ownership of all the large industry	52.7	54.2	x	41.4
7. Enabling Western companies to set up large manufacturing companies*	56.1	36.2	60.0	34.8
8. Allowing enterprises to dismiss those who are not absolutely necessary	77.5	61.4	74.0	67.0
9. Enabling widespread establishment of small craft and trading companies	80.5	66.6	x	79.8
10. Allowing companies run exclusively by democratically elected staff representatives to exist	80.6	49.9	45.7	54.3

Note: research carried out using the method of audience (self-administered) questionnaire on randomly selected departments (Shipyard) and production teams in 1986, 1988 and 1990. In 1988, the question concerned 'private' not 'Western' companies.

Sources of data:

«Shipyard '86»: a survey in the Paris Commune shipyard in Gdynia, February 1986. Conducted by the Institute for the Research on Working Class, February 1986.

«Workers '86»: a survey in six companies (CEMI, FARUM, KDO-ZREMB in Warsaw, ZPL in Żyrardów, F&T in Kraśnik, EDA in Poniatowa). Conducted by the Institute for the Research on Working Class, December 1986.

«Workers '88»: a survey in eight large companies (Warsaw, Ciechanow, Białystok, Cracow provinces). Conducted by the Institute for the Research on Working Class, July 1988.

«Workers '90»: a survey the same companies that participated in the 1986 study in 1986 (Social Economy Institute SGPiS/SGH), September 1990.

The results presented in Table 1 show a very high level of support to the principle of competition (especially among shipyard workers), as well as efficiency principles: closure of inefficient enterprises and disposal of staff who is not absolutely necessary

for the enterprise to carry on (principle 8) (Gardawski 1989: 127–128). Furthermore, the low (very low in case of the ‘Shipyard’ 86’ survey) level of support for the principle of monocentrism in the economy (the state control of economic activity), practiced at that time, allowed the researchers to make a claim that support for the socialist economic model was disappearing and the ground for economic transformation was being laid as far economic mentality of the working class is concerned. Comparing the results of the 1986 and 1988 surveys with the results of the surveys conducted after the take-off of the transformation and introduction of the so-called shock therapy (in Autumn of 1990) allows for noticing a deep breakdown in the level of support for the modernisation of the economy. The idealised vision of economic governance (not embedded in the respondents own experience) clashed with the harsh realities of the early stage of the market transformation: only 57 per cent were in favour of competition at the time, 51.7 per cent in favour of closing down of ill-functioning enterprises and only 13 per cent accepted unemployment. However, as the subsequent survey carried out in the early 1991 (‘Workers ‘91’) demonstrated, the rise of anti-market views was only a temporary correction of the general trend, which would continue in the next years. This is examined in detail in the following section.

The Second Period: the 1990s, and three Visions of the Well-Ordered Economy

The survey performed at the final stage of the first period produced quite ambiguous results suggesting even a possibility of the working class turning its back on the market economy. However, just the next edition of the study carried out in early 1991 showed that the support for the market-driven modernisation has only increased. These results can be summarised as refusal to reject the principles of the market economy (ideal state) coupled with a disappointment with the emerging domestic market economy (real state). The market economy was accepted without enthusiasm, yet no nostalgia for the socialist economy appeared either. The ‘syndrome of abandoned society’ crystallized (Gardawski 1997): the working class felt that ‘they’ – those situated higher in the social hierarchy – were alienating themselves from ‘ordinary people’.

The version of the well-ordered economy index employed in the years 1991–1994 included 24 variables, with eight variables from the original version retained (in some cases revised). In 1995 the index was used in a reduced form, including 13 variables

but in 1998, it would be expanded again to cover 24 variables, but this did not mean a return to the version from the first half of the decade (only seven original variables were retained).

Table 2 presents the distribution of support for the principles of the index of normative visions of the economy in the years 1991–1998.

Table 2. Distribution of responses to variables of the well-ordered economy index among the manufacturing workers in large industrial enterprises (300+) and across adult population between 1991 and 1998

Principles	Representative sample of industrial workers (enterprises with 300+ staff)				Representative sample of adult population of Poland	
	'Workers 1991' N = 2817	'Workers 1992' N = 988	'Workers 1993' N = 1006	'Workers 1994' N = 997	CBOS 1995 ^a N = 1115	'Attitudes towards privatisation 1998.' N = 1101
1. Government management of the activities of enterprises, i.e. the top-down assignment of tasks, wage determination, and supervision of the company management	19.4	24.1	26.0	29.5	33.9	29.9
2. Withholding trade unions from having an influence on the economy	39.2	32.3	26.2	24.9	X	X
3. Full autonomy and fierce competition between companies (1998: competition among companies)	83.6	75.4	72.4	79.8	74.2	85.5
4. Autonomy of companies	X	X	X	X	X	81.5
5. Acceptance of unemployment and payment of minimum unemployment benefits ^b	25.6	36.4	10.0	21.7	25.0	14.7
6. Dismissal by enterprises of workers who are not absolutely necessary	71.5	56.9	37.8	48.4	49.9	53.3
7. Bankruptcies of unprofitable enterprises	72.0	63.4	56.8	65.9	65.0	72.3
8. State ownership of all enterprises, irrespective of their size	22.2	21.9	20.5	24.4	21.5	21.6

9. State ownership of all the large industry	44.7	59.4	59.6	57.5	56.5	55.3
10. Incentives for foreign capital setting up large companies (1998: establishment of large enterprises by foreign capital)	54.8	44.5	41.7	52.1	41.3	38.4
11. Incentives for Polish capital setting up large enterprises ^c	66.3	84.1	81.5	87.0	69.2	88.6
12. Selling of state-owned enterprises to foreign capital	15.6	16.2	14.8	16.0	14.1	17.0
13. Selling state-owned enterprises to Polish capital	64.6	77.2	73.2	78.5	78.5	84.8
14. Selling state-owned enterprises to employee-owned companies at reduced prices	X	X	X	X	X	56.5
15. Enabling the widespread establishment of small craft companies ^d	84.8	92.3	94.0	91.2	X	51.7
16. Allowing to set up of craftsmen's businesses only by such specialists, whose companies are needed in a given area	X	X	X	X	X	71.3
17. Allowing existence of companies run exclusively by workers self-management	45.7	57.6	51.2	61.2	X	X
18. Enabling workers to take over the ownership of companies where they are employed	65.4	76.4	79.4	76.5	X	X
19. Handing over the state-owned enterprises to their workers for free	X	X	X	X	X	23.8
20. Abandonment of state ownership of all or most of the enterprises ^e	35.2	27.5	21.6	30.1	X	13.0
21. Introduction of an income cap for all people in the country	47.3	50.8	39.9	45.2	58.8	43.1
22. Pursuing equalisation of income of all people ^f	49.8	44.1	38.7	47.7	42.7	33.7
23. Increasing the influence of 'Solidarity' trade union over the economy ^h	28.4	27.8	27.1	33.3	X	18.2
24. Increasing the influence of trade unions affiliated to the OPZZ on the economy ⁱ	17.9	21.4	23.7	27.0	X	17.1

25. Strong influence of the company-level 'Solidarity' – affiliated unions over the management of enterprises	X	X	X	X	X	21,5
26. Strong influence of the boards of the OPZZ-affiliated company-level organisations over the management of enterprises	X	X	X	X	X	18,9
27. Increasing the influence of the (Roman Catholic) Church over the economy ⁱ	5,5	4,1	6,2	6,5	X	6,6
28. Increasing the influence of political parties over the economy	10,7	12,9	19,6	20,1	X	X
29. Increasing the influence of lower (Sejm) and upper (Senat) chambers of the parliament over the economy	50,4	50,8	49,8	56,3	X	X
30. Increasing the influence of the President (of Poland) over the economy	52,1	48,0	47,2	40,1	X	X

Notes: All the field research was conducted by CBOS.

^a The index was incorporated in one of the regular CBOS surveys ('omnibus').

^b In 1993 and 1998 the question did not mention the 'minimum unemployment benefits'.

^c In 1998: establishment of large enterprises by Polish capital.

^d In 1998: abolition of all restrictions and concessions on the establishment of small craft, commercial, etc. businesses.

^e In 1998: privatisation of all state-owned enterprises.

^f In 1998: equalling the incomes of all people across the country.

^g In 1998: a strong influence of the Solidarity trade union over the economy.

^h In 1998: a strong influence of the OPZZ over the economy.

ⁱ In 1998: a strong influence of the (Roman Catholic) Church over the economy.

Source: Gardawski, Żukowski (1994: 18); Gardawski (1996: 61–62); Gardawski, Gilejko, Towalski (1999: 70).

The most important conclusion of the research from the early 1990s is the formation of a three-tier normative vision of the economy. The economic attitudes of the 1990s were characterised by strong support for the principle of competition, also by the workers (Gardawski 1992: 50). In addition, market principles were supported, including the 'efficiency' principles (disposal of unneeded workers, closure of inefficient enterprises) and acceptance of unemployment. In 1991 a very high level of acceptance of the two efficiency principles (over 70 per cent in each case) was registered. Never again have the working class and the adult Polish population at large supported the principle of disposal of unneeded workers to such a large degree. However, pro-market attitudes were also accompanied by a relatively high level of support for egalitarianism, manifested by a high percentage of responses supporting the principle of income equalisation.

From the 1990s onwards (until early 21st century), ‘moderate modernisation’ remained the modal vision of a well-ordered economy. It consisted of two dimensions, with the first being the ‘friendly market economy’ with competition as a key regulatory principle. At the same time, however, those supporting that vision rejected unemployment. We can recall the ‘negotiated version of the dominant values’ notion (Parkin 1972), while discussing those results. The second dimension of ‘moderate modernisation’ relied on support for Polish capital which was perceived as friendlier to the world of labour than foreign capital. There are several reasons for which this is a very interesting phenomenon. Firstly, it manifested itself, as Gardawski points out, in the form of a ‘complex of periphery’, a term coined by a team of researchers from the then Warsaw School of Planning and Statistics (SGPiS). Observable already among the industrial workers at the end of the 1980s, the complex stemmed out of fears that domestic enterprises would fail in confrontation with foreign companies, much stronger as far as possession of capital, organisation and technology is concerned. As a result, the economic colonisation of Poland would take place, leading to transformation of the domestic market to an outlet for goods imported from the West, the industry being reduced to the role of ‘assembly line’, and overall degradation of the Polish labour market. Marginalisation of domestic enterprises due to the influx of foreign capital would mean the end of a specific, somewhat peculiar system of company-level welfare and imposition of new, rigorous capitalist standards of work discipline (cf. Dunn 2008). That is how state-owned enterprise became the most desirable employer for the entire 1990s, as far as public opinion studies are concerned. Nevertheless, assumed advantages of a state-owned enterprise were in fact illusory in terms of work and employment relations. Especially, during the first phase of the economic restructuring, state-owned enterprises would easily shed workers and provided less secure jobs than private enterprises. Fears of neo-colonial expansion of Western capital were also manifested in the reluctance towards foreign greenfield investments. In the first half of the 1990s, workers preferred the Polish capital twice as much than foreign to set up new enterprises (80 per cent to about 40 per cent in each of the surveys, respectively).

‘Moderate modernisation’ was a mid-way vision, combining support for market economy with awareness of the risks it might bring, thus, it manifesting in a ‘normative ambivalence’ (Parkin 1972). Market economy (capitalism) was accepted in general. This acceptance was certainly influenced, albeit in a generally unconscious manner, by the TINA (there is no alternative) narrative (Klein 2009), which started to dominate public discourse in Poland as the transformation began. However, a closer look at the data allows to realize that workers’ attitudes were complex and ambiguous.

Thus, the Polish workers of the 1990s accepted competition and ‘efficiency’ principles, but not unemployment. They accepted, in principle, privatisation of state-owned factories, but only as long as the buyer would be Polish capital, and only if their own workplace was left aside the privatisation process. They accepted expansion of Polish private capital but were afraid of Polish capitalists and did not want to have any direct contact with them. Those schizophrenic views are aptly described by the concept of ‘privatisation dissonance’ (Gardawski 1992: 43–65), which, applying Parkin’s terminology, was a native version of the negotiated dominant system of values. In other words: capitalism yes, deviations no.

In addition to the dominant moderate modernisation vision, the three-tier normative visions of the economy included two other components. The traditionalist perspective rejected the axio-normative foundations of the market (although in the early 1990s that vision included support for the principle of competition) and at the same time projected expectations for state intervention in the economy. The liberal perspective was initially very coherent, with the market economy being adopted ‘warts and all’: support for the market economy and privatisation meant acceptance of unemployment and inequalities. However, by late 1990s (Gardawski 2001) some cracks appeared in that vision appeared. Employers and managers split along the lines of their attitude to foreign capital. Consistent (open) liberals accepted its expansion without reservations, yet there was a significant share of liberals who believed that in a well-ordered economy foreign capital should be subject to certain restrictions, while domestic capital should receive preferential treatment.

The Third Period: 2000s, Varieties of a Moderate Modernisation

In 2000s, there were four large surveys conducted. In 2003 (‘Economic consciousness of Poles and its correlates’), 2005 and 2007 (two ‘Working Poles’ studies), and finally in 2009. In all of them, well-ordered economy was approached with the index reduced to a dozen or so variables (fourteen in the first three studies, twelve in the 2009 study). Therefore, the comparative analysis (Table 3) covers only the first three surveys done in that decade. All of them were done on nationwide and representative samples.

Table 3. Distribution of responses to variables of the well-ordered economy index across the working population of Poles in 2003, 2005 and 2007

Principles	'The economic consciousness of Poles and its correlates' 2003	'Working Poles' 2005	'Working Poles' 2007
1. Government management of the economy, i.e. the top-down assignment of tasks to enterprises, financial support for enterprises, wage determination, price determination, day-to-day control of management boards and managers	36,4	30,9	38,0
2. Fierce competition between companies	59,4	53,3	86,0
3. Acceptance of unemployment	25,8	13,9	32,2
4. Dismissal of workers who are not needed by the company at a given time	37,0	16,9	25,4
5. Bankruptcies of unprofitable companies	52,0	51,6	63,1
6. Restoration of exclusive state ownership in the large industry	24,9	34,3	38,6
7. Introduction of a pay cap for the highest earners	73,5	60,7	X
8. Establishment of new large enterprises by foreign capital	33,1	43,9	52,4
9. Establishment of new large enterprises by Polish private capital	70,4	72,8	87,4
10. Selling state-owned enterprises to foreign capital	14,3	11,3	19,7
11. Selling state-owned enterprises to Polish private capital	57,6	45,8	67,2
12. Privatisation (selling) of all state-owned enterprises	10,3	11,9	20,5
13. Pursuit of equal pay for all people in the country	40,6	43,3	60,7
14. Increasing the economic influence of trade unions	42,0	30,0	X

Notes: the 2003, 2005 and 2007 surveys were conducted on representative random samples of adult population of Poland, (300+). Surveys from 2003 and 2007 were conducted by the Centre for Social Opinion Research (CBOS), survey from 2005 by the Research Department of the Polish Sociological Association (PTS).

Sources: 'The economic consciousness of Poles and its correlates' (2003) (N=1072); 'Working Poles 2005' (2005) (N=900); 'Working Poles 2007' (2007) (N=1021).

The analysis of preferences for principles of well-ordered economy expressed in the first decade of the century reveals two phenomena: first, a trend with regards some principles and, second an 'oscillation' in case of others. The latter phenomenon can be explained by fluctuations in social moods related to the economic situation, especially the situation in the labour market. Those fluctuations were reflected in the degree of support for the principles that related to the situation of workers at the workplace level and the labour market (the 'efficiency' principles and acceptance of the unemployment). The poor economic situation in 2005 correlated with

a reduced support for those principles. However, there were palpable tendencies in the level of support for economy-wide (systemic) principles. The support for both privatisation (establishment of private enterprises, both domestic and foreign, closure of state enterprises) and statist measures (nationalisation of large industrial sectors) was systematically growing. This indicated an emerging polarisation of attitudes and a coalescence of visions. The popularity of the ambivalent vision of moderate modernisation, with high support for competition coupled with a belief that it does not have to be accompanied by redundancies of unneeded workers, was waning. In 2000s, the tendency to ‘demythologise’ competition was observed during downturns in the labour market.

The three-way constellation of visions of a well-ordered economy turned out to be quite durable. However, it did evolve. In 2000s, modernising optimism was waning, as support for statist practices grew: in 2005, one third of the working Poles wanted a return to such forms of management.

Fourth Period (Part 1): Surveying Private Entrepreneurs in 2010–2011

At the turn of the first and second decade of the 21st century, a survey of private entrepreneurs, owners and co-owners of small and medium enterprises (from 10 to 249 employees) was conducted. The most important conclusion of that research was a relatively strong desire for anti-market correction and expectations for state intervention in the economy. On the one hand, the respondents were convinced that the state should perform better in those fields where, in their eyes, it fell short. On the other hand, their attitude was highly critical, precisely because of this perceived ineptness of the state. The expectations towards the state disclosed in 2010 differed significantly from the picture registered in the 1990s (Gardawski 2001). While in 1990s entrepreneurs had expected the state to limit itself to the role of the regulator, refraining from direct interference in the economy, especially in terms of ownership, in 2010 there was a noticeable desire for a more active economic policy by the state. Entrepreneurs had little involvement with employer organisations and displayed modest level of social capital (trust). They hardly identified with both foreign corporations and owners of large Polish private enterprises (Czarzasty 2014). The results are presented in Table 4.

Table 4. Distribution of responses to variables of the well-ordered economy index among entrepreneurs of the SME sector in 2010 (in %)

Principle	
1. The state should employ its funds to support modern economic sectors and companies developing state-of-the-art technology	85,5
2. The state should provide support from the budget for large companies with large numbers of employees, whose bankruptcy would increase unemployment and social welfare spending	40,2
3. Companies with big economic impact (energy, telecommunications, etc.) should be publicly owned	68,7
4. The state should facilitate the acquisition of state-owned enterprises by employee companies or by manager-and-employee companies	65,6
5. The state should finance HI-TEC research and development centres on a large scale	84,4
6. There should be unrestricted, fierce competition between companies. Concessions and restrictions on competition should be abolished	66,6
7. Public enterprises that are not profitable should go bankrupt and not be subsidised from the public budget	71,2
8. In the event of an economic downturn, companies should have the right to dismiss employees without compensation	55,2
9. The state should not set the minimum wage	50,1
10. Every Polish citizen who wants to work should have a job guarantee	60,8
11. The state should provide for health-care needs of all citizens, everyone should be guaranteed free health care	80,5
12. The state should provide for housing needs of all citizens, and everyone should be guaranteed a roof over their heads	43,4
13. Trade unions should have more influence over economic policies of government than they currently have	16,6
14. Employers' organisations should have more influence over the economic policies of government than they currently have	61,1
15. The state should pursue tax policies that equalise people's personal incomes	35,1
16. The state should pursue tax policies that limit highest personal incomes	25,5
17. The state should support the establishment of new enterprises by foreign capital.	41,8
18. The state should support establishment of new enterprises by Polish capital	84,4
19. The state should sell state-owned enterprises to foreign capital without restrictions	13,3
20. The state should sell state-owned enterprises to Polish private capital without restrictions	56,3
21. The state should pursue the objective that many children are born in Poland, and generously support large families from the state budget.	69,7

Source: 'Entrepreneurs 2011' survey (2010), N = 609, study carried out by CBOS.

According to the results of the survey, the state should provide financial support for modern sectors of the economy and enterprises developing state-of-the-art technology

(85 per cent), provide large-scale financing for research and development centres working with the most modern technology (84 per cent), support the establishment of new enterprises by Polish capital (84 per cent), satisfy the health needs of all citizens, guarantee free health care to everyone (80 per cent), take ownership control over enterprises important for the economy in the energy sector, telecommunications and other key sectors (69 per cent). Moreover, the relatively low level of acceptance of the competition principle (67 per cent) was also notable. A surprisingly high percentage of entrepreneurs supported the principle of guaranteeing jobs for all those who wanted to work (61 per cent) and the introduction of a tax policy designed to equalise personal income (35 per cent). One in four respondents would accept a tax policy limiting the highest personal income. The support for active, pro-family social policy (70 per cent) was very strong.

The low level of support for the competition principle and the expectation of heavy state intervention in various spheres of social life, including the economy, as well as the sense of being in the opposition to large capital, trade unions and state institutions marked out the scope of frustrations of Polish entrepreneurs. In the language of the Varieties of Capitalism (VoC) school, there was a shift in preferences from liberal to coordinated market economy (Gardawski et al. 2013). Looking back now, it can be safely said that in 2010 there were symptoms of the anti-liberal ‘counter-movement’ already visible.

Fourth Period (Part 2): Surveys on Youth in 2016⁴

As part of the ‘PREWORK’ project, in 2015/2016 a survey was conducted using CATI technique⁵ on a representative sample of young people (18–30 years old). It should be added that a parallel study was also completed in Germany. The core of the questionnaire was constituted by the well-ordered economy index, this time comprising 15 variables⁶. The results are presented in Table 5 (apart from aggregated scores, the data broken down using the criterion of being/not being in employment

⁴ These studies are discussed in detail in the opening article of the current issue: J. Gardawski: ‘Two Visions: Young Poles and Germans on Well-Ordered Economy’.

⁵ Computer-aided telephone interview.

⁶ In the German version of the questionnaire there was one more variable, moved from another part of the survey.

while being interviewed, and the differences between the two categories are shown).

Table 5. Distribution of responses to variables of the well-ordered economy index among young Poles (18–30 years old) in 2016

Principles	(1) Total	(2) Employed only	(3) Not employed	Difference (2–3)
1. The principle of competition is good for the economy	72,3	78,4	64,5	13,9
2. Employers should have the right to dismiss without compensation workers who are currently idle	17,7	20,5	14,8	5,7
3. Foreign capital should be allowed to buy Polish companies without restrictions	16,4	16,2	16,9	-0,7
4. The free movement of workers from one country to across within Europe should be encouraged	66,2	69,6	62,1	7,5
5. Taxes should be drastically reduced and citizens should be allowed to finance education, health care, etc. themselves	46,1	46,4	47,1	-0,7
6. Universal mandatory pension system must be abolished and citizens must be able to decide for themselves whether they want to save for their pensions	52,9	55,3	50,1	5,2
7. Taxpayers' money should be used to subsidise the start-up companies	52,6	56,2	48,6	7,6
8. Research centres developing domestic state-of-the-art technologies should be financed with taxpayers' money	75,5	77,1	73,0	4,1
9. Favourable conditions should be created for the development of domestic companies and banks, better than those for foreign companies and banks	77,3	79,7	74,6	5,1
10. Trade unions should have an influence over matters important to the domestic economy	50,2	46,8	55,6	- 8,8
11. Executive employees should have an influence over the management of the companies in which they are employed	47,5	46,9	48,9	-2,0
12. The state should regulate the economy, i.e. draft economic plans, control prices and determine the level of wages	42,2	40,1	45,4	-5,3
13. Tax policy should aim to reduce the gap between people's income.	54,4	53,4	57,5	-4,1

14. Free health care should be provided for all citizens	76,4	72,1	82,5	-10,4
15. Employees who wish to be employed on a permanent basis (contract for an indefinite time) should have a guaranteed indefinite contract	88,1	88,2	88,1	-0,1

Source: Survey conducted using CATI, 'Young people in the labour market' (N=1000), carried out by IQS (2016); age bracket 18–30; employed: n=574; combined affirmative responses (strongly agree and agree) were taken as measures of support of a given principle.

Nearly all supported the principle of a permanent employment guarantee for all those who want it (88 per cent). There was also very high support for the principles of state support for domestic enterprises (77 per cent), universal healthcare (76 per cent), public funding for R&D (76 per cent), competition as a desirable regulatory mechanism (72 per cent) and free movement of workers (66 per cent). Positive opinions prevailed as regards the principles of progressive tax policy (54 per cent), abolition of the general and compulsory pension insurance (53 per cent), support for the development of entrepreneurship from public funds (53 per cent) and granting trade unions the possibility to influence important economic issues (50 per cent). Opinions on the principles of employee participation (47 per cent), radical tax cuts (46 per cent), state control of the economy (42 per cent) were relatively equally split. On the other hand, the right of employers to make unilateral decision to dismiss employees (only 18 per cent supported this principle) and full freedom for foreign direct investment (barely 16 per cent of support) were strongly rejected.

Breaking down the sample into the employed and those not in employment does not reveal any significant differences in opinions on the principles of a well-ordered economy. Compared to those in employment at the time of the survey, respondents declaring not being employed revealed slightly less liberal views on the economy. So it seems that the experience of working in Poland in 2010s makes young people somewhat more pro-market. Looking more specifically, the greatest discrepancies were observed when it came to: the competition principle (the support among the employed was 14 per cent higher than among those not in employment), the provision of free health care for all (the support among the unemployed was 10 per cent higher than among the employed), the recognition of the right of trade unions to influence economic issues important for the country (the support among those not in employment was 9 per cent higher than among the employed) .

As one looks at the opinions of young Poles on well-ordered economy, regardless of whether they are working or not, a strong inconsistency is striking. On the one hand, they show strong reluctance towards the universal pension and health care

system. On the other hand, they quite strongly express their expectations of the state to intervene in economic processes in a protectionist way. Taxes should be reduced (46 per cent), but the state should provide all citizens with free health care (76 per cent), invest in new technologies (75 per cent) and, to a lesser extent, support start-ups (53 per cent) and reduce the income gap with fiscal measures (54 per cent). The longing for better protection of workers in the labour market is noticeable. The strong affirmation of competition clashes with an aversion to unfettered access of foreign capital to the domestic market, or to any dismissal of employees without compensation. A rather reluctant support for the principle of free movement of persons (66 per cent) is also worth considering thoroughly. There is a strong support for universal health care and indefinite employment contracts for those who want it, while there is a moderate backing for the promotion of entrepreneurship and innovation by the state.

However, it is also worthwhile to look at the opinions of young Poles about the economy in relation to how they perceive their status on the labour market. To be precise, whether they believe that they work or have ever worked under precarious conditions. Nearly half (47 per cent) of the respondents stated that they did so.

Table 6. Support for the principles of a well-ordered economy among young Poles (18–30 years old) and personal experience with working under precarious conditions in 2016

Principles	I've been working under precarious conditions (1)	I never worked in precarious conditions (2)
1. The principle of competition is good for the economy	73,5	72,3
2. Employers should have the right to dismiss without compensation workers who are currently idle	16,5	18,8
3. Foreign capital should be allowed to buy Polish companies without restrictions	17,4	14,2
4. The free movement of workers from one country to another across Europe should be encouraged	67,4	66,2
5. Taxes should be drastically reduced and citizens should be allowed to finance education, health care, etc. themselves	45,3	47,1
6. Universal mandatory pension system must be abolished and citizens must be able to decide for themselves whether they want to save for their pensions	51,4	53,3
7. Taxpayers' money should be used to subsidise the start-up companies	54,0	51,8

8. Research centres developing domestic state-of-the-art technologies should be financed with taxpayers' money	74,0	76,8
9. Favourable conditions should be created for the development of domestic companies and banks, better than those for foreign companies and banks	77,8	77,1
10. Trade unions should have an influence over matters important to the domestic economy	51,1	49,0
11. Executive employees should have an influence over the management of the companies in which they are employed	49,4	45,2
12. The state should regulate the economy, i.e. draft economic plans, control prices and determine the level of wages	44,7	40,5
13. Tax policy should aim to reduce the gap between people's income	56,8	52,3
14. Free health care should be provided for all citizens	74,0	78,7
15. Employees who wish to be employed on a permanent basis (contract for an indefinite time) should have a guaranteed indefinite contract	89,7	86,6

Note: the wording of the question was: 'Have you ever worked in precarious conditions, i.e. under low-paid, short-term contracts?', only unambiguous answers (yes, no) were picked (n=988), and answers in affirmative (strongly agree and rather agree) were combined to obtain the measures of support of economic principles.

Source: Survey conducted using CATI, 'Young people in the labour market' (N=1000), carried out by IQS (2016); age bracket 18–30.

In the similar way to the comparison between employed and unemployed respondents presented above, the levels of support for particular economic principles expressed by persons who declared experiencing work in precarious conditions with those without such experiences do not vary much. The differences between the two categories amount to between 0.7 and 4.7 percentage points across the whole index. This means that, at present, the experience of working in precarious conditions (on low-paid, short-term contracts) is not a factor differentiating young people's views on the desired economic model.

Conclusions: Metamorphoses of Normative Visions of Economy from the 1980s to the 2010s

The conclusion that can be drawn from the results of research conducted at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s is that there were three visions of 'well-ordered economy',

embedded in the experiences of the work at the time of transition from command socialist economy to market economy. The dominant vision, embraced not only by the majority of the working class but also by the majority of the adult Polish population, was to a large extent ambiguous (Gardawski described it as ‘moderately modernising’). The remaining two, less popular but discernible, visions were also present: traditional’ (egalitarian-statist) and ‘liberal’.

The default vision of ‘moderate modernisation’, shared by the working class and population at large, expressed limited acceptance (Gardawski 1996) of market principles. There were some inconsistencies: while market economy was generally supported, the ‘existential interest filter’ was imposed on it: efficiency was accepted, including dismissal of employees for whom there was no work at the time, but unemployment on the economy-wide scale was rejected. What is more, the vision embraced hopes and expectations of domestic capital development: privatization was supported, but rather by Polish than foreign capital, and whereas there was a consensus that wages should be determined by the market, there were demands for moderate egalitarianism expressed as well. In other words, ‘moderate modernisers’ looked forward to a ‘friendly market economy’.

The rejection of the socialist economic model as ineffective and, in the light of the experience of the 1980s, completely disgraced, pushed those expressing such views straight into the camp of supporters of the market economy, to which ‘there was no alternative’ (TINA). However, at the beginning of 1990s, the picture of market economy people held in their minds could only be described as a bulk of highly mythologised concepts, as hardly anyone had previous personal experience with the market, and the process of socialisation to the market was just beginning. Considering that the public discourse had been shifting towards a (neo-)liberal direction since the late 1980s, it is hardly surprising that the supporters of the moderate modernisation vision would idealise the mechanism of competition and expect that at the level of their existential interests, the market economy would become an institution fairly distributing rewards and penalties. This is precisely what the economy of authoritarian socialism was lacking and that was expected from capitalism.

On the other hand, the egalitarian-estatist (‘traditional’) vision presupposed a substantial state intervention in the economy and state ownership of companies (except for small and medium-sized enterprises). The ‘liberal’ vision, in turn, entailed the negation of statism and egalitarianism and acceptance of the spread of foreign capital in Poland, including acceptance of unrestricted buyouts of Polish enterprises by the foreign capital. The liberal vision was the only one to accept unemployment.

Multiple long-term studies of the normative vision of the economy allow us to conclude that the three-tier division in economic mentality has proved to be durable, but at the same time prone to corrections. The 'moderately modernising' vision was subject to reality checks during the times of crisis (Gardawski et al. 2009). That type of rationalisation manifested by reduced ambiguity, that is, increased the coherence by falling level of support for competition as the principal regulatory mechanism of economic activity. The disenchantment with competition can be viewed in terms of as 'growing tired' with the market economy. It can also be described simply as taking a realistic view on the market, which some respondents began to see in all its complexity, and not only in terms of simple causal relationships. People became aware that market economy with unfettered competition brought the risk of unemployment, even for the good, hard-working employees. As a result, the belief in the 'invisible hand of the market' bringing genuine social justice dwindled.

The declining support for competition, however, did not result in the waning of the support for Polish private capital. There was also an steady consensus over selling state-owned enterprises to the Polish capital with restrictions imposed on the expansion of foreign capital. At the same time, moderate egalitarianism enjoyed noticeable support as well.

The hypothesis that crisis triggers anti-market correction is backed by the results of 2010 survey on private entrepreneurs, who appeared tired of liberal market economy and demanded strong state support for Polish entrepreneurship. They expressed little enthusiasm about competition, favoured statist and protectionist measures, and to some extent social welfare, and many slightly leaned on egalitarianism. High expectations of state support were paralleled by strong criticism of the state. It seems clear the anti-liberal turn began to take shape at least a few years before the 2015 elections which transferred the power to political forces endorsing such agenda. The phenomenon of 'disenchantment of market' was noticed by number of authors (e.g. Mrozowicki 2014, Zagórski et al. 2015).

The state of economic mentality of young people registered in 2016 is complex and full of contradictions. An interesting observation concerns the partial convergence of their views on the economy with those expressed by entrepreneurs in the surveys conducted half a decade earlier. Neither socio-demographic, nor class or even temporal differences (six years separating the two surveys) do not seem to have a significant impact on the expected model of a well-ordered economy. In short, the state should intervene more actively in economic life, it should not succumb to pressure from multinational corporations and it should pursue an active social policy. On the other hand, the degree of support for competition as a regulator of

economic life and the renewed blurring of the moderately modernising normative vision of the economy correlate (in the same way as was observed in earlier surveys) with the state of the Polish economy. In 2016, at the time of conducting the survey, Poland's economy prospered and the labour market was in its best state since 1989. Inconsistency of views on economy was probably the greatest since the very beginning of the research on a well-ordered economy. Will we witness a renewed reversal of the vector of views on the 'well-ordered economy' when a slowdown or recession hits the economy? This remains an open question. However, assuming that the mechanism diagnosed and confirmed over a period of more than thirty years continues to work at the same pace, at some point the dominant vision of well-ordered economy should become more coherent again.

As empirically demonstrated by the analysis of data from a very long time series, the cyclical change in attitudes does occur. However, the above statement is incomplete, because it concerns only one aspect of social consciousness transformations, overlooking another, that is, linear changes. Before our eyes the fourth industrial revolution is taking place, affecting everyone's life. This is a radical change, impacting all key areas of social life (cf. Czarzasty, Kliszko 2018). There is a redefinition of work as a value, as a form of social activity, as a determinant of social status, and as one of the essential ingredients of individual identity. All those processes will surely leave their mark on the social perceptions of economy. In what way, however, we are yet to discover, so there is a strong incentive to carry on with research on normative visions of economy (*as it should be*) in the decades to come.

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