

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONSCIOUSNESS OF WORKING POLES THE POST-PANDEMIC SITUATION.

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OVERVIEW

1. Methodological foundations of the Index of Well-Ordered Economy (WOE);
2. Permanent and changeable aspects working Poles economic mentality;
3. Analyses of the economic mentality of working Poles using the WOE Index in the years 1990-2007;
5. Research on economic mentality in the during the pandemic and post-pandemic period (2016-2021-2023).

METHODOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE WOE INDEX

A. Theoretical trends:

1. Economic sociology and the „ideal type” method of Max Weber;
2. New economic institutionalism and the category of “interest”;
3. New economic sociology (Granovetter et al.): the category of “embeddedness”;
4. Historical institutionalism and “path dependence”.
5. Marxist and neo-Marxist reflection with its structural references;
6. British sociology of the working class mentality.

B. Key categories:

1. Economic consciousness as a dependent and independent variable;
2. Economic culture (Francis Fukuyama);
3. Economic ideology (Mirosława Marody, Jacek Kochanowicz);
4. Economic visions and economic ideology (Jan Szczepański).

C. Empirical frame of reference:

1. First of all, it is necessary to mention the research conducted by teams from the University of Warsaw and the Polish Academy of Sciences in the 1980s (research conducted by Witold Morawski's team, research conducted by Wiesława Kozek's teams, as well as Adamaski's team with Lena Kolarska and Andrzej Rychard);
2. Results of the World Value Survey and the European Social Survey;
3. Economic mentality indicators (FMME and GMIE).

DEVELOPMENT OF THE WOE INDEX BY A TEAM OF ECONOMIC SOCIOLOGISTS FROM THE WARSAW SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS

1. Visions of a well-ordered economy (WOE) have been studied by a team of economic sociologists from the Warsaw School of Economics since 1986. The WOE Index was aimed at examining the real visions of a well-ordered economy and at capturing the tensions and inconsistencies that appear in these visions. The Index combined pro-market, anti-market and neutral variables. The obtained data were analyzed using multivariable statistical analyses (mainly factor analyses, as well as cluster analyses).

2. The main conclusion of many years of research was to find out the relative durability of three visions, two of which corresponded to some extent to the pro-market and anti-market models, while the main, most typical for Polish workers vision, had an intermediate character, was characterized by "limited consent to the market economy."

THREE ECONOMIC VISIONS OF WELL-ORDERED ECONOMY (1991)

Three economic visions of well-ordered economy among Polish industrial working class in 1991.
Confirmatory factor analysis.

	Visions and orientations (60.8% of total variance was explained)	Factor loadings
I.	Moderately modernizational (moteratedly market orientem) vision	
	1. Privatisation and subjectivity	.513
	2. Efficiency and competition	.434
II.	Traditionalist vision	
	1. Associations control the economy	.624
	2. Egalitarianism and etatism	.251
	3. Authorities control the economy	.232
III.	Liberal vision	
	1. Liberalism: privatisation by foreign capital	.640

VISIONS AND ORIENTATIONS OF WELL-ORDERED ECONOMY IN 1991

Table A. Moderately market oriented vision

Table A. Moderately market oriented vision		
I.	Efficiency and competition	
	1. Laying off of redundant employees (71,5)*	.495
	2. Bankruptcies of loss-making enterprises (72,0)	.372
	3. Competition and autonomy of enterprises (83,6)	.190
II.	Privatisation by Polish capital and workers' ownership	
	1. Polish capital buys state enterprises (64,6)	.598
	2. Polish capital sets up large enterprises (66,3)	.554
	3. Enfranchisement of employees (employee stock ownership) (65,4)	.454
	4. Development of private crafts (84,8)	.317
	5. Elimination of state ownership in the economy (35,2)	.267

VISIONS AND ORIENTATIONS OF WELL-ORDERD ECONOMY IN 1991

Table B Traditional vision

Table B Traditional vision		
I.	Egalitarianism and etatism	
	1. Equal pay (49,8)	.701
	2. Introduction of upper ceiling on incomes (47,4)	.611
	3. The state runs enterprises (monocentrism) (19,4)	.368
	4. The state owns all enterprises (22,2)	.363
	5. Establishment of enterprises managed by employees (65,4)	.226
II.	The authorities control the economy	
	1. Increased parliamentary control over the economy (50,4)	.932
	2. Increased presidential control over the economy (52,1)	.529
III.	Associations' control the economy	
	1. Growth of Solidarity's influence on the economy (28,4)	.689
	2. Growth of OPZZ unions' influence on the economy (17,9)	.630
	3. Growth of Church influence on the economy (5,5)	.392
	4. Growth of influence of political parties on the economy (10,7)	.369
	5. Depriving trade unions of influence on the economy (39,2)	-.387

VISIONS AND ORIENTATIONS OF WELL-ORDERD ECONOMY IN 1991

Table C Traditional vision

I	Liberalism: privatisation by foreign capital	
	1. Foreign capital buys state enterprises (15,6)	.582
	2. Foreign capital sets up large enterprises (54,8)	.454
	3. The state as owner of big industrial establishments (44,7)	-.275
	4. Permitting unemployment (25,6)	.207

* Level of support for the principle in the sample (%)

Source: "Workers '91"; N=2817

J. Gardawski, 1992, *Robotnicy 1991. Świadomość ekonomiczna w czasach przełomu (Workers 1991. Economic Consciousness in Times of Breakthrough)* Warszawa: Fundacja im. F. Eberta w Polsce

ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES PREFERRED BY THE POLISH INDUSTRIAL WORKING CLASS. SELECTED RESEARCH CARRIED OUT AT SGH IN THE YEARS 1990-2007.

Principles	Year of research							
	1990 IX	1991	1994	1998	1999	2003	2005	2007
Selected principles of moderately modernizational vision								
Competition and autonomy of enterprises	57,4	83,6	79,8	88,2	83,7	62,1	53,5	85,5
Laying off of redundant employees	67,0	71,5	48,4	62,1	43,6	31,1	19,0	21,4
Bankruptcies of loss-making enterprises	51,7	72,0	65,9	80,9	62,7	52,3	45,1	58,5
Selected principles of traditional vision								
Polish capital buys state enterprises	X	64,6	78,5	88,2	86,2	55,7	44,4	60,5
Polish capital sets up large enterprises	X	66,3	87,0	89,0	88,8	65,7	73,2	83,6
The state runs the economy (monocentrism)	22,1	19,4	29,5	22,1	20,1	46,8	38,0	36,8
The state as owner of big industrial establishments	41,4	44,7	57,5	44,5	46,1	62,7	39,4	45,0
Equal pay	X	49,8	48,3	21,7	35,2	41,1	46,5	69,0
Selected principles of liberal vision								
Foreign capital sets up large enterprises	34,8	54,8	52,1	46,0	36,8	32,8	46,5	52,0
Foreign capital buys state enterprises	X	15,6	16,0	22,8	21,3	14,0	8,5	15,5
Elimination of state ownership in the economy	X	35,2	30,1	16,5	31,0	7,2	11,3	19,5
Permitting unemployment	13,5	25,6	21,7	25,7	10,0	34,5	14,8	25,9

Source: see J. Gardawski (ed.) Working Poles and the Crisis of Fordism, (Polacy pracujący a kryzys fordyzmu) Warsaw 2009: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, pp. 234-235

LEVEL OF SUPPORT FOR THE PRINCIPLES OF THE WELL-ORDERED ECONOMY INDEX AMONG YOUNG WORKING (18-30) IN 2016, 2021 AND 2023

Principles	Working youth (18-30)			
	Research 2016	Panel research		2023-2016
		I wave 2021**	II wave 2023***	
1. The principle of competition is good for the economy	78,4	77,4	84,6	6,2
2. Unemployment should be allowed in a market economy	20,5	9,6	7,7	-12,8
3. Employers should have the right to fire employees for whom there is no work at the moment without severance pay	X	51,6	48,4	X
4. Foreign capital should be allowed to buy Polish enterprises without restrictions	16,2	14,5	23,1	6,9
5. The free movement of workers from one country to another should be supported	69,6	84,5	72,5	2,9
6. The universal, mandatory pension system should be abolished and citizens should be allowed to decide for themselves whether they want to save for retirement	55,3	59,5	60,4	5,1
7. Research centers developing the most modern technologies in the country should be financed from taxpayers' money	56,2	52,4	48,6	-7,6
8. The establishment of companies by people starting their own business should be co-financed from taxpayers' money	77,7	74,7	64,8	-12,9
9. Favorable conditions for the development of Polish enterprises and banks should be created, better than for foreign enterprises and banks	79,7	76,2	86,8	7,1

LEVEL OF SUPPORT FOR THE PRINCIPLES OF THE WELL-ORDERED ECONOMY INDEX AMONG YOUNG WORKING (18-30) IN 2016, 2021 AND 2023

Principles	Working youth (18-30)			
	Research 2016	Panel research		2023-2016
		I wave 2021**	II wave 2023***	
10. Trade unions should have a large influence on the country's economy	46,8	31,0	38,9	-7,9
11. The state should regulate the economy, i.e. create economic plans, control prices, control wages	46,9	62,7	53,8	6,9
12. Tax policy should aim to reduce the difference between people's earnings	40,1	20,5	18,9	-21,2
13. All citizens should be provided with free health care	53,3	42,9	40,7	-12,6
14. Executive employees should have a say in the management of the companies they work for	72,0	78,3	81,5	9,5
15. Employees who want to be permanently employed (on a permanent contract) should be guaranteed a permanent contract	88,2	92,8	89,0	0,8
16. The state should provide every citizen with basic means of subsistence, including those who do not work	X	26,2	23,9	X
<p>*PREWORK studies, CATI method 2016; subsample of young workers, n=545;</p> <p>**COV-WORK studies, wave I of the panel, CATI method 2021; subsample of young workers, n=84;</p> <p>***COV-WORK studies, wave II of the panel, CATI method 2023; subsample of young workers, n=91.</p>				

LEVEL OF SUPPORT FOR SELECTED WOE INDEX PRINCIPLES BY SELECTED AGE CATEGORIES (2023)

Principles	1. Sample average	2. Young working	3. Older working	4. Retired	4-2
4. Foreign capital should be allowed to buy Polish enterprises without restrictions	14,7	23,1	15,6	11,0	-12,1
6. The universal, mandatory pension system should be abolished and citizens should be allowed to decide for themselves whether they want to save for retirement	42,9	60,4	45,9	30,6	-29,8
8. The establishment of companies by people starting their own business should be co-financed from taxpayers'	50,4	42,2	48,6	61,6	19,4
10. Trade unions should have a large influence on the country's economy	45,4	38,9	39,2	55,9	17,0
11. The state should regulate the economy, i.e. create economic plans, control prices, control wages	41,1	18,9	38,4	58,2	39,3
12. Tax policy should aim to reduce the difference between people's earnings	54,8	40,7	49,5	69,5	28,8
16. The state should provide every citizen with basic means of subsistence, including those who do not work	31,7	23,9	22,9	43,6	19,7
Total		15,1% n=91	36,3% n=218	31,3% n=189	X

Source: COV-WORK studies, wave II of the panel, CATI method 2023, N=602.