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RATIONALITY IN DISCOURSES ON WORK AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP. INSTITUTIONAL REFLEXIVITY VS. DOMINATING METHODS OF DEFINING REALITY IN (POST)TRANSFORMATIONAL POLAND

Abstract. Text is dedicated to: (a) the presentation of the meaning of “rationality” and its consequences for social life in the era of institutional reflexivity; (b) a brief introduction to the problems of power resulting from “relations of defining”; (c) the presentation of small fragment of the research I still have been doing: the discourse analysis and membership categorization analysis of the articles from the socio-political weeklies (*Polityka, Wprost, W Sieci, Do Rzeczy*), the analysis of all exposé given by the Polish prime ministers during the Third Republic of Poland and the analysis of the regular radio program involving symbolic elites/experts as illustration of the problem of “relations of defining” as relations of power: deciding who, in what circumstances and under what conditions can count on the job, to what extent should expect to be safe, who is the creator or co-creator to various risks etc.

Keywords: rationality, power, relations of defining, expert elites, capitalism.

1. Rationality as a key concept

The material, which I present in this article is only a small fragment of the research I still have been doing. Due to formal requirements constraints, I can only present a fraction of my extensive research into dominating methods of defining reality in (post)transformational Poland conducted over the past few years. I decided to focus on data, which suits every kind of politics and symbolic elites during the Polish transformation. What is more important, in my point of view, we are dealing here with key-factors in the whole process of transformation. I would like to indicate similarities which have a huge influence on shape of Polish thinking about the reality, humanity, social life and ethics attitudes. The reason of their importance, is the way they reificate (not institutionalise) social world, that

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is, the way we start thinking, that the whole social environment created by human, is a world created without human activity. So, in this aspect, my article concerns intentionally selected data and is rather some kind of critical discourses analyses referring to specific case studies.

Creators of the reflexive modernisation theory raise the problem of concepts which are extremely important for the organisation of social life, which certainly include security and threat, or trust and risk (Giddens 2006: 1–39). We believe that the key concept for understanding reproduction of social life in the age of reflexive modernisation is “rationality” (see Wynne 1991). Rationality is today a highly valued attribute, one might say a virtue, a standard, a tool, a target. The concept of rationality has become one of the key term for self-knowledge of modern Western societies. Individuals and institutions aim for rational functioning, refer to rational accounts of efficiency and take into consideration rational pragmatism – its axionormative “spine”.

The enormous popularity of this concept makes us forget about the fact that it has its own history, during which the rationality meant different things. If this concept is used commonly, the question of whether certain definitions of this concept become leading in the social construction of reality seems to be particularly significant and whether its scope of meaning is discursively negotiated. Therefore, in the project we ask about the role of the notion of rationality in shaping the process of defining reality by individual social actors and organizations co-forming social order. If the concept of rationality becomes a kind of “the driving force behind history,” not less important than a number of historical inventions, it is the duty of sociologists to inquire the relationship between today’s Western rationality and structural social problems.

One of these problems is defining labour relations and entrepreneurship, crucial to reconstructing a social reality, that in capitalism and liberal democracies is organized around the economy. As a result of a series of historical events in the twentieth and twenty-first century, in contemporary capitalism a picture of a man, whose ontological self-definition is being an independent entrepreneur emerges (Beck 2005). In the order of “Life-World” the status of humanity is no longer increasingly determined by a mere transfer of emphasis from the free activity to the forced one, but a shift towards an individual, intentional and planned self-employment. Most of the concerns of private life and the problems of social life has its source in this “operationalization” of the work concept. The knowledge of it, becoming a part of the “uncontested obviousness,” builds “common believes” of today’s individualized societies. This knowledge is also called rational.

Rationality is a concept necessary for understanding institutional planning of the effect on the shape of social reality (politics, economy, culture), as well as private expectations and feelings of individuals. The concept organises the “Life-World”, allows to combine time and space in an orderly way, where the order is based on rooting in social knowledge a specific content of concepts used for explaining

reality (see Sennett 2006; Sloterdijk 2011; Miller, Rose 2008). Whoever has the privileged position of defining and popularisation of a specific kind of definition of rationality, has the position which allows for indirect influence on political planning, ethical imagination and even aesthetic order (MacIntyre 2007; May 2000; Wynne 1996; Salskov-Iversen et al. 2000; Dean 2010). Assessment of safety or risk, threat or trust, will always be mediated through references to publically articulated rationality of their occurrence and form. Thus, it is my conviction that rationality is a basic modal concept, whose forms of functioning shape the order of social life (Foucault 1988; Habermas 1999; Weber 2011).

2. Research project objectives

I assume, that individuals act in social reality according to their knowledge. From the practical point of view, borders of that knowledge mean borders of their reality. Therefore, creating and modifying of knowledge that takes place in social interactions, leads to creating and modifying reality. The knowledge that allows everyday functioning of a human being (eg. making decisions) is a result of organizing information. The organization of information leads to the objectification of social facts, which then build the reality.

Following processes of institutionalization bring different mechanisms of legitimization. In this way the reality has a gaining status of an objective sphere of facts and ensures subordination of individuals. Legitimization is mostly the work of specialized people – symbolic elites – representing specific social agenda (expert systems) that have a special part in the creation of reality and providing the symbolic guarantee of its existence. They offer specific “structures of authentication.” Appearing of such specialists who legitimate specific institutional orders enables to impose particular definitions of reality using various means. These experts allow the imposition of certain definition of reality by using various means. In other words, in this project we want to take under consideration the processes through which any knowledge can be socially established as a “reality”. I analyze the social construction of reality (see Berger, Luckmann 2010) and assume that this analysis must be conducted in constant reference to the institutional reflexivity, which means that the theories and concepts created by experts and discoveries made by them constantly pass into the society. Absorbing new information leads, in more or less automatic way, to the transformation of habits and expectations (see Beck et al. 2009).

The need for such oriented analysis stems from the belief that institutionalized political discourse includes the basic mechanisms of establishing “power-knowledge” in society of “governmentality” (see Foucault 2011). Illusory sense of identity characteristic of “governmentality” is a guarantee of obedience

to authority. It is built on the expertise concepts routinely incorporated into the personal lives and the community. Political discourse is a kind of laboratory of generating and using certain expressions legitimized by symbolic elites which expressions create the frameworks for actions undertaken by individuals and groups of activities.

An empirical objective is to recreate the relations of defining rationality, that is “legal, epistemological and cultural matrix of power, inside which policies towards risk are organized” (Beck 2012: 54). Beck’s basic thesis, concerning the necessity of making a far-reaching distinction between the relations of production and relations of defining, seems not convincing though. Even if it was used as a theoretical structure allowing for understanding the belief in the change of relations of defining ecological threats with constancy of work relations in contemporary capitalism, it does not mean that it does not work as a basic category that explains reproduction mechanisms of social life. Relations of defining as relations of power mean that certain social actors in specific social contexts gain advantage in problematising and defining what is socially important, thus becoming “owners of the means to define” (see Salskov-Iversen et al. 2000; Chakrabarty, Bhattacharya 2008). The category of “owners of the means to define” becomes more important in so far as exercising power today forces elites to be able to shape strictly defined desires and expectations, shared by the majority of those underlying the authority.

Ever since the formula of liberal democracy with the axiom of broadening the space of freedom has become the most popular form of political regime in Western states, governing techniques have become vital for exercising authority, including primarily a specific type of their rationality. It should be understood as the dominating form of discourse that proposes to replace thorough control and regulation of nearly any element of internal administration of the society in welfare societies with control by numerous regimes organised around the idea of mercantilism. Securing this hegemony is done through permanent process of political socialisation taking place in the most widely understood public discourse which has an impact both on the world of political discourse and implementation of specific solutions and on programmes of mass education or orders of popular thinking (see Foucault 2010: 333–362 and 2000: 163–185). I assume that in disputes concerning work and entrepreneurship the most important elements of permanent socialisation process are organised for specific defining of social relations in their ontological dimension. Therefore, my objective is to perform a more in-depth analysis of descriptions of reality (rational or devoid of this feature) produced in this way and acceptance or rejection of these messages by recipients.

The multifaceted issue of rationality types forces me to make an intentional choice of the issue which will represent, as holistically as possible, the problem of dominating rationality forms present in the transformation process. The decision

on selecting work and entrepreneurship is related to the conviction that they are maximally inclusive, as regards the entire spectrum of problems related to organising social reality in the age of the institutional reflexivity of late capitalism (see Foucault 2011; Cernat 2006; Beck, Lau 2004). The concepts of work and entrepreneurship are entangled with linguistic transformations and history of events. An important part of the history is the development of contemporary social sciences, as part of which, academic disciplines undergoing institutionalisation took work as the subject for analyses or treated it as an explanatory variable. Work has become a key anthropological category, with the help of which attempts were made at explaining the essence of human condition within the framework of philosophical anthropology (Kant, Marks, Habermas). It was a basic category for the classical and neoclassical theory of economics. When it borders on the concepts of progress and fall, emancipation or crisis, it is frequently the central analytical category in sociology and critical theory (see Giddens 1982; Bogun et al. 1992; Offe 1985; Negri 2013, Weeks 2011).

3. Methodology

The research subject are both patterns of producing rationality discourses and their reception by media recipients. Furthermore, that rationality is a concept that has crucial influence to the organization of social life in modernity. An important part of the history is the development of contemporary social sciences, as part of which, academic disciplines undergoing institutionalisation took work as the subject for analyses or treated it as an explanatory variable.

I assume that studying discourse means studying all kinds of linguistic and paralinguistic practices and rituals, which are used to construct and sustain the sense of reality and a given vision of the society (including politics). Considering so defined research subjects, I want to answer the following research questions:

1. How do relations of defining key-concepts (rationality in this case) impact the maintenance of social order in democracies?
2. How does internalisation of certain forms of rationality and using them for explaining the surrounding reality determine the processes of institutional reflexivity in the field of economy and others?
3. How much are social relations in the range corresponding to the field of interest of labour sociology dependent on the form and content of the language of media and politicians?

The base of research in discourse analysis and membership categorization analysis consisted of articles from the socio-political weeklies (*Polityka, Wprost, Sieci, Do Rzeczy*) beginning from the year 2011 (minimum 50 articles of each magazine). I'm interested in discourse about a labor and entrepreneurship in weekly magazines, from left-wings to right-wings, in order to search for

mentioned similarities in defining of reality. When it is possible, I selected materials concerning trade unions and strikes – maybe the most important part of defining labor world historically.

Another element of the research corpus in discourse analyses are the policy statements of Polish Prime Ministers at the start of their terms. The corpus includes all seventeen policy statements during the transition period after 1989. Each policy statement is a complex political message, oriented at referencing the three areas (polity, policy and politics). Policy statements constitute very valuable discursive material – holistically oriented at an entire palette of narrative ways to construct reality in the sense of giving it a symbolic shape and attempting at taking control of the system of signs that define problems of the space of the World-Life and, above all, point to their solutions, which is particularly important from the institutional point of view. Policy statements, as the key political speech, become a realisation of the knowledge of society in two ways – by presenting objectivised social reality and by continuous creation of this reality (Berger, Luckmann 2010: 98). The choice of exposé materials as a key to understand the mechanisms of discursive production of reality is deliberate. I'm not interested in institutional legislative discourse, which I would have to deal with, in the case of selection of other government documents, e.g. The Ministry of Labour and Social Policy (the study of such documents remains the domain of law sociology). Similarly, a different order and a different logic of discourse production could be found in documents prepared by the OPZZ² or NSZ "Solidarność"³. Another level of generality of these documents and a differently defined recipient, make these documents from our/research point of view less important (statutes, programs, proposals and others). Such a selection would expose authors to the accusation of unjustified mixing of materials, coming from different orders. I'm interested in what the authorities are trying to say to the public on selected topics in the key moments of the ceremony for a democratic society. For this reason, the intervals between consecutive exposés in which rhetorical projects of political control over development of society collide, seem to be interesting.

The last element of the research corpora before focused group interviews includes 145 radio programmes. For the purposes of reconstructing rationality types

² Ogólnopolskie Porozumienie Związków Zawodowych (OPPZ) [National Trade Union Alliance] – Polish trade union umbrella organization. Its main goal is to protect the social and labour rights of its members (mainly state-owned companies). 86 national federations and trade unions are associated with the OPPZ, in addition to several hundred local and company-based unions affiliated through Regional Councils.

³ Niezależny Samorządny Związek Zawodowy "Solidarność" [„Solidarity” Independent Self-governing Trade Union] – national trade union established in 1980 to protect labour rights, until 1989 also one of the pillars of the democratic opposition in communist Poland. Politically powerful at the time of the Third Republic (e.g., Solidarity Electoral Action in the years 1997–2001), the organization subsequently lost its clout. Nonetheless, "Solidarity" remains the largest labour organization in Poland.

in the discourse on entrepreneurship and labour, I chose the programme entitled “Ekonomia – kapitał – gospodarka” [Economics – capital – economy] □ EKG in Radio Tok FM, hosted by Tadeusz Mosz (and sometimes by Maciej Grelowski). Within the context of the presented assumptions, the programme is a case of particular interest (the programme’s address is <http://www.tokfm.pl/Tokfm/0,130489.html>). Tadeusz Mosz was (he died while the research was being prepared) an easily recognisable figure, owing to his long-term presence in journalism, characteristic style of hosting the programme, including his openly and principally articulated views, which can be characterised as free-market (in their more orthodox than moderate version) and his simultaneous presence in public and private media. All of the above attributes made it possible for him to regularly invite guests who commented on relations between economy, politics and social life. Without overstating, one can propose a thesis that Tadeusz Mosz’s programmes to a great extent monopolise this kind of public discourse in media, since experts invited by him appear alternately in public and private media, even when they are invited by other hosts or, what is equally important, when they comment on the reality on their own, using new media. I emphasize that the choice of the “EKG” broadcast was purposeful and thoughtful. In this broadcast, there are experts, who meet the criteria important for us “owners of the means of defining” to the highest degree. According to Beck, they are the ones who are privileged to have an access to the public means of communication and at the same time they play an important role in the legal regulatory and other institutional orders. Guests invited to the EKG programs meet these criteria in an almost perfect way. EKG guests appear on television as often as in the analyzed radio broadcast. An important element is also the fact, they play as impartial commentators of public life.⁴

In the project were used the qualitative research method connected with conversational analysis. However, my intention is to transpose conducted analyses beyond the range of linguistic investigations with reference to axiological-normative level. Every research procedure will be conducted in two steps with NVivo software support. First step is concentrated on membership categorization analysis (MCA). This type of investigation is focused not only on the formal text content but on the suggested text content, which means normative and cognitive presumed form of social relations, which are enclosed in the process of text constructing and understanding. This method can be applied to text analyses (interviews, discussions, press articles), but usually it is used for conversational analyses. Its creator, Harvey Sacks, was focused in his analyses on the problem of description making and understanding other people’s activities and attitudes. Spoken words can be grouped into collections, which create a category based on

⁴ Radio TOK FM, one of Polish supraregional radio stations, is accessible mainly to the residents of big cities. Its 2013 ratings for the Warsaw region stood at 7%, Radio Track, Millward Brown, <http://www.wirtualnemedial.pl/artykul/wyniki-sluchalnosci-stacji-radiowych-w-miastach-polski-dane-za-i-polrocze-2015>) (28.10.2016).

common understanding and mundane knowledge. In this way created categories have a strong influence on social reality interpretation and understanding.

The subject of the research I still have been doing are, first of all, patterns of creation of certain types of rationality in public discourses on work and entrepreneurship as well as their reception by media recipients (I do not present in this article FGI results. The interviews were conducted, but they are not yet developed). For me the pattern is: thematic and rematic discourse organisation, presuppositions, as a result of which it becomes commonly understood, implicatures, conceptual framework and sets of rhetorics and counter-rhetorics used by main actors of the discourse. It also includes kinds of linguistic operations on the “they-we” categories and SEP and counter-SEP practices, modality of statements and other elements of discourse analysis (see Fairclough 2003; Van Dijk 2001; Duszak, Fairclough 2008; Grant et al. 2004; Chouliaraki, Fairclough 2002). Classification of rationality types along with a specification of each highlighted element is planned to be performed with reference to basic approaches to this issue present in sociological and philosophical literature. Thus, I start with an analysis of types and critique of instrumental and non-instrumental rationality, to take a look at conceptualisations present in the works of M. Weber (2002), T. Parsons (2009), A. Schütz (2008), H. Garfinkel (2007), M. Foucault (2012), J. Habermas (1999, 2002), Ch. W. Mills (2008), P. Bourdieu (2006, 2011), N. Luhmann (2012) and others, to finish with a proposed synthesis in the form of conceptual and operating definitions of individual rationality types, which are applicable for verifying the reflexive modernisation theory.

4. Exemplifications

The category of “owners of the means to define” becomes more important in so far as exercising power today forces elites to be able to shape strictly defined desires and expectations, shared by the majority of those underlying the authority. In my analysis the key-actors was, e.g.:

- **Andrzej Arendarski** – PhD former Minister of Foreign Economic Relations in 1992–1993, President of the National Chamber of Commerce.
- **Maciej Grelowski** – Chairman of the Business Centre Club (President of Orbis SA (1993–2004), president of the Polish Institute of Directors 2005–2006, member of the Supervisory Boards of many public companies.
- **Ryszard Petru** – a partner at PWC, the chairman of the Association of Polish Economists (a director of PKO BP, BRE Bank Committee for Strategy and Supervision, the Chief Economist of Bank BPH). In 2001–2004 he worked at the World Bank as an economist for Polish and Hungarian matters, he dealt with the reform of public finances, the regional policy and

the investment climate. Next, he participated in consulting projects related to the pension reforms and the public finances in the countries of Central-Eastern Europe and Central Asia. In the years 1997–2000 he was an advisor to Leszek Balcerowicz, the Deputy Prime Minister and the Minister of Finance. He was involved in the pension reform and the creation of a new pension system. He also worked on the reform of public finances. In 2013, he became an advisor to the Lower Silesia Speaker for economic matters. A columnist in *Dziennik Gazeta Prawna* and *Rzeczpospolita*. Currently, a founder of *Nowoczesna.pl* (<http://nowoczesna.pl>).⁵

- **Ryszard Wojtkowski** – President of Resource Partners (Novartis Consumer Health International SA of Switzerland, Alima Gerber and Gerber), head of operations in Eastern Europe, deputy general director at Coca-Cola Poland Services. Prior to joining the business was the head office of four successive Polish prime ministers.

We need to focus on the fact, there are experts, who meet the criteria important for us “owners of the means of defining” to the highest degree. Please note that they are private investors, the ones who are privileged to have an access to the public means of communication and at the same time they play an important role in the legal regulatory and other institutional orders.

Table 1 illustrates the most characteristic ways of the mentioned actors defining unions and strike problems. In their opinion, the union trades are of course completely irrational because of their attempts to affect the political situation. They simply accuse unions of this and finally try to maintain the pictures of reality, in which spontaneous allocation of resources is the only way of creating just world. Here are some quotations from our domestic “owners of the means of defining”, which you may find interesting.

Table 1. Defining unions and strike problem in EKG broadcast

Guests EKG “owners of the means to define”	Quotations
1	2
Tadeusz Mosz	<p><i>We will begin shortly on strike. We will not detain on this ... on this topic. The strike in Silesia. “Gazeta Wyborcza” signals on the first page. “Postulates do not know, says Piotr, bus driver Gliwice transport. I do not know yet how it will look protest. I did not get instructions from the relationship, if I have anything to block or something else. Well, I’d [...] done. [A. Blikle: Well, yes. It does not require comment]. I’ll end on this commentary on today’s strike. General laughter in the studio.</i></p>

⁵ Nowoczesna (.Nowoczesna) [Modern] – Polish centre-liberal political party, founded in 2015 by economist Ryszard Petru. On international stage, in June 2016 it joined the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (ALDE) Party.

Table 1 cont.

1	2
Andrzej Arendarski	<p><i>Yes, because I also wanted to draw attention to one thing, that again takes the confusion. Outraged movement in Western Europe, particularly in Spain, it is a spontaneous movement of citizens who do not agree there, have pretense, no matter right or wrong, build yourself these towns, do something such as we move against ACTA. There spontaneously convened mainly by Facebook etc., etc. In contrast, here is an organized structure, say political movement, did not you? We spend too little time for a fundamental education to simply distinguish between what is simply political cunning, [...] and what is feasible.</i></p>
Maciej Grelowski	<p><i>I think that in Poland the strike has such a mythical assumption memory of the past, where it has always had a political dimension, rather than economic. We overestimate this method and when I look at the number of strikes sweeping through EU countries with just any reason [...]. I hope that this time this confrontation, because there is a lesser force than the force that will not work, so as you need to check what is a strength, and, and, and not with just any reason scare you and do something that will destroy the whole system. So I hope that the government will take myself here [and ignore – R. Petru] distance to the whole thing.</i></p>
Ryszard Petru	<p><i>Excuse me, but what does the word power, which is power?! Mr. Editor, but it's not just that you need from the government is that it's all with the power to fix! What does it mean?! power [T. Mosz: You may need to sign a contract just quietly on time]. But who?! [an agreement with the trade union representations of the social representations of all sorts □ T. Mosz]. Yes, but as long as I agree, but if someone is out before calls [yeah! □ M. Grelowski]. Well, it's hard to sign contracts. First you have to talk and strike up when other options have run out!</i></p>

Table 2 presents the key-fragments of selected statements. They are, in a diplomatic, politically correct way, very similar to presented a moment ago. You'll notice an interesting way, the Prime Ministers mix the traditional aims and values with the specific kind of rationality. Responsibility, security, trust and commons in these statements are possible only as an effect of implementing flexible rules and deregulation.

Table 3 illustrates a few examples of political rhetoric widespread among Polish symbolic elites. Regardless of whether we talk about left-wings or right-wings newspapers, we are dealing with beliefs concerning redundancy and harmfulness of trade unions. What is more our former president thinks that every expectation of political activity denies a sense of freedom. It is a very distinctive way of defining freedom.

Table 2. Defining specific social problems in Polish Prime Ministers expose

Prime Ministers “owners of the means to define”	Quotations
Exposé of the PM Leszek Miller (2001)	<i>Seal system, rationalize expenses, to make a slim measures have brought the best results; we intend to make the state a cheaper and more efficient [...]. We apply for the freezing of wages in government administration. Already there are fewer ministers, and will be less of directors, councilors, presidents, agencies, funds, foundations, where the money disappear. [...] Unemployment is a problem of material, moral, social and political [...]. We will introduce the possibility of flexible management of working time that more people were employed in part-time.</i>
Exposé of the PM Donald Tusk (2007)	<i>Poles do well when the authorities did not bother them live. Poles have the right to rule [...] does not intend to impose anything, check each piece of their lives; free people, untrammelled tax is too high, too complicated regulations, produce more and more goods. This is the essence of politics, which today we want to offer the Poles of liberal economic policy and social policy of solidarity; [...] Poles rejected the authority which renounced cardinal virtues in politics. Virtues such as common sense, moderation, temperance, humility (which can be found sense of security, mutual trust, a sense of mutual responsibility for the homeland).</i>
Exposé of the PM Donald Tusk (2011)	<i>All the efforts of our government must be directed primarily at the safety and well-being of each man individually; [...] Hence the need today to create I would say such a smart, flexible options, so that no unnecessary distress to be prepared for every circumstance; I ask for solidarity here all parliamentary clubs, because deregulation for sure [...] can become part of the political community, we should make up at least in some cases.</i>

Table 3. Defining specific social problems in Polish public discourse

Representatives of symbolic elites “owners of the means to define”	Quotations
1	2
Polityka Janusz Lewandowski (2013.09.04)	<i>Criticize Tusk goes hand in hand with the national accused of carrying out the policy of hot water in the tap. Both expressed an incurable need to experience some great adventure of political or ideological. In spite of all the lessons of history, which say that the great ideological projects led to an equally great misfortunes. Though communism and fascism, as total projects [...].</i>

Table 3 cont.

1	2
<p>Polityka Bronisław Komorowski (2015.07.01)</p>	<p><i>There is such a tendency. Something has changed. Freedom, we dreamt about for generations, makes people feel frightened today. The expectation is getting higher and higher that the state is to give, provide and serve. It is not optimistic.</i></p>
<p>Wprost Jan F. Libicki (2013.09.09)</p>	<p><i>I certainly do not scare a manifestation. But these are mere street fights that are no different from some riots organized by football hooligans . Though actually it is a difference: hooligans piles police. Trade unionists must protect [...]The most important requirement in my project is the eradication of union jobs that employers are obliged to finance. In large companies, these are huge money [...].</i></p>
<p>Wprost Leszek Balcerowicz¹ (2013.07.29)</p>	<p><i>In any free society, there are pressure groups. For example unions, which want to force a solution good for activists and sometimes also for union members. Or people who call themselves intellectuals, worshipping and hating the state of the market. However, whether their voices will prevail depends on the other hand – I call it libertarian who can oppose them by pushing politicians from the opposite side.</i></p>
<p>Do Rzeczy Łukasz Warzecha (2013.09.30)</p>	<p><i>The absolute victory of PiS and self-governments also represent a danger implement far-reaching command economy ideas. A much better solution would be a coalition with a force that will hold back Kaczynski and socialist aspirations resemble that restriction on the omnipotence of the state should be freedom of its citizens.</i></p>
<p>Do Rzeczy Krzysztof Rybiński (2013.10.21)</p>	<p><i>Over the years we have developed a pathological system privileges for which we pay high unemployment, impending demographic disaster or crisis in public finances. But we have a columnar-media democracy and privileged groups very effectively defend their interests.</i></p>

5. Key-issues. Summary and comment

Modality of confidence analysis (selected rhetoric, stylistic and intonations tools) concerns this elements of statements, which impose recipients as axioms. I use transitivity analysis to define the main actors of event presented in communication acts and the goal, they want to achieve. Presuppositions, “unquestioned obviousness”, necessary to make a logical sentence, concern structures, in which individuals locate

⁶ Leszek Balcerowicz – Polish politician and economist, professor of economics, academic, representative of the Monetarist school of economic thought. Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance in the cabinets of Tadeusz Mazowiecki (1989–1991), Jan Krzysztof Bielecki (1991) and Jerzy Buzek (1997–2000), member of the Third Sejm (1997–2000), president of the National Bank of Poland (2001–2007). Author of the so-called Balcerowicz Plan, in the 1990s he spearheaded economic reforms in Poland after the fall of communism. Often criticised for the high social cost of his policies that came to be known as a “shock therapy”.

their dialogue dispositions. We may say, that symbolic elites in Polish transformation often used an idiom characterized in Table 4.

Maintaining the dominance of a given type of rationality is a key element of political agency and a mechanism of social control. Dissemination and internalization of interpretative instructions that result from the naturalization and universalization of a certain type of rationality make it possible to control the defining of the manufactured situation as non-problematic. The conclusions pertaining to the ability to maintain this control may relate to both the micro- and macrosystemic levels. Society as an objective and subjective reality recreates itself in a constant dialectics of the potentials of power that manifest themselves in the experienced world and in the system of formal institutions. “The potential of ‘power’ is understood here as having the tools to impose a structure on the meaning given to the recognized goal” (Woroniecka 2001: 101).

Table 4. Characteristics of the analyzed discourse

Categories of analysis	Features
Topics	A rationalization of government’s spendings’, finances, security, trust, freedom, taxes and tribute, solidarity, competition, flexibility and routine, crisis, privileges, allowances.
Modality of confidence	A necessity to reduce costs of government and local authorities in order to build national security and trust to institutions of power; neo-liberal rules to solve the problems of “welfare state” ; a need to separate politics and economy, where neither of these take over control on the other side; freedom from regulations and obligation as a guarantee of security and solidarity ; to implement management by deregulation; a necessity to methodical expiry the vast majority of social life regulation.
Transitivity	The main actor is “a man” (not a group or society), <i>who should be equipped with all possible instruments to make a free choice and dispose them freely</i> ; in other words, he will create a “good result for Poland” intentionally and independently. The objective (a participant of) these processes is Polish society/national community focused on macroeconomic indicators and internalization of knowledge, that endemic financial crisis anticipates/forestalls/precedes/overtakes a democratic choice.
Presuppositions	Common interest as a collective syndicate of selfishnesses; lack of common political solutions for individual problems; to withdraw the political institutions from attempts to control the network of dislocating capital ; an obviousness of abolition of tax allowances and dismantling of the welfare state as a guarantee of freedom.

Ideological obligations and expectations, strongly dominating in the formal aspect, are co-formed as a result of a given type of rationality, much as the simplifying rationalizations embedded in common sense that underlie the

actors' decisions to reproduce or contest the existing reality. Rules governing the definitions of interrelations among different classes of actors and guidelines on how to define partners and their interaction result from institutional subdiscourses. Therefore, every claim to define the situation as non-problematic results from the asymmetry of the actors' positions, simultaneously legitimized at the theological and axiological levels. Attaining any goal may be a value in itself, yet in most cases it should also serve added values, which take on a substantialist character in the political rhetoric. "A political agenda is rather the fruit of the confrontations of rationalities within which participants build and operationalize the goals of their common actions" (Woroniecka 2001: 107).

In its basic framework, in its logic of agency, in its principles of social values, the universe of symbols that serve to legitimize given collective goals is always similar at the micro- and macrosystemic levels. The relationship between the resources of rationality, which determine the structures of meaning of the communicated messages, directly depends on how successfully these symbols are naturalized, universalized and internalized.

For the sake of research, a type of rationality can thus be characterized as a form of giving a meaning to certain social actions and of sustaining it. Any meaningful action acquires its significance as a result of the naturalization and universalization of some selected aspects of reality. Every epoch can be characterized by the dissemination of its own practices of naturalization of individual elements of the social reality, which are peculiar to this period and fundamental for the organization of its social life.

Modernity can very well be described e.g. by analyzing such practices in relation to the issue of rationality. This issue becomes a fundamental rule organizing the processes of giving and sustaining meaning; it begins to resemble the pre-cognition category. Today, social action is considered sensible to the degree it is rational. A type of rationality will therefore be a set of discursive practices which impose a structure on the meaning of social actions at instrumental-objective and axiological levels. This means that a type of rationality constitutes a set of values, beliefs, norms and universal resources of knowledge able to shape both individual expectations, behaviours and judgments about the reality, as well as institutional procedures to attain collective and political goals that have their axiological justifications. Thus, a type of rationality is a nexus of symbols that legitimize the formal/institutional definitions of situations and individual experiences, along with the instructions on how to interpret their meaning.

A type of rationality encompasses value-rational actions and goal-rational ones, since both levels are characterized by a reflexive motivation of actions. Furthermore, it is worth recalling that the analysis of the dominant rationality types is related to the analysis of the "relations of defining." The matrix of the dominant complex of symbols depends to a larger extent on the formal-institutional level than on the instrumental or axiological orientations of social actors. Still,

the successful dominance of historically accidental types of systemic rationality depends on their “dissolving” in the shared knowledge at the level of the world experienced.

Internal discourses of symbolic élites that owners of the means of defining recruit from can by no means be a testimony to the turning points of systemic consequences in the policies actually implemented. After all, élites are heterogeneous, perform different functions within the system, have different goals, and therefore attempt to establish and reproduce different rules, have different resources etc. Yet these discourses are, without a doubt, an agenda that to some extent controls and co-creates the scope of legal regulations. The state of the “owner of the means of defining” discourse should be discussed in the context of the new global political economy, insightfully diagnosed by Beck (2005). Employing a range of strategies, the meta-power of the global economy stimulates the processes of reification of certain political solutions at local levels.

The analyzed material (a policy statement, radio programmes, press articles) briefly presented above, illustrates the effectiveness of the strategy of economic sovereignty (the creed of political sciences based on the axioms about the separation of state and economy is being challenged by privatization of the roles of state; global economic actors take precedence in setting the rules □ the authoritarianism of effectiveness as a new form of legitimization; the question of how we want to live is being answered behind closed doors, beyond the realms of politics that is subject to observation and oversight) as well as the strategy of monopoly on economic rationality and the strategy of substitution, consisting in the internalization of the belief that states should focus on the use of instruments of parliamentary democracy, police, and caesarism of the mass media in order to “politically” legitimize priorities and decisions of the global economy despite social resistance (Beck 2005: 165–221). At the level of awareness, the semi-peripheral position of Poland in the global order further complicates breaking this global monopoly.⁷

From the vantage point of the sociology of knowledge one should ask what kind of ideological order determines both popular judgments about the reality and the solutions offered by experts, and how our thinking is shaped: by what kinds of beliefs and convictions determined by a certain social position and who participates in making decisions about this position. Impossible as it is to answer these questions at this stage, it should be emphasized that the social actors indicated in the above paper promulgate the knowledge based on neoclassical economic models of human behaviour: the fiction of an individual solely guided by his/her own interest and the drive for maximizing their own material benefits; the recipes of the policy of austerity supposed to bring the same results for states

⁷ The dominant rationality type and its susceptibility to change closely depends on the position of state in confrontation with the main actors of the global economy.

as for individuals; the belief that political borders should be transparent to the flow of capital; an economic understanding of the world embedded in the Newtonian physics with its conviction that government should not obstruct the natural tendency toward equilibrium, so as not to impede the process of restoring the balance, which benefits all (the state as a night watchman), and many more that ignore the problem which is fundamental for economics as a social science: that of uncertainty (com. Skidelsky 2012: 21–78).

In other words, among Polish economic luminaries with access to the means of defining it is impossible to find authoritative figures who would offer alternative narratives to the dominant explanation of the existing realities. In the absence of authorities (professional élites) to challenge at least a small part of the findings and precepts of mainstream economics, the Polish citizen will continue to participate in an experiment of diluting social relations of the era of dehumanized individualism.⁸ The world we create depends on our understanding of the world. Therefore, we should have long been concerned by the tendency to reify certain institutional solutions presented in this paper. Perhaps it is not surprising, we have witnessed that mentality on a global scale. In according to Lash, we may say, that: “We are approaching here to full meaning of institutional reflexivity, which should include the way, how institutions analyze, undermine and create a ‘semantic horizon’, on which they are based” (Lash 2009: 266). The world we create depends on our understanding/concept of the world. Therefore, we should have long been concerned by the tendency to reify certain institutional solutions presented in this paper.

From my point of view rationality is a basic modal concept. But, as Foucault said: “In political practice, we do not have to deal with ‘universal reason’, that is implemented, but always with a very specific kind of rationality” (Foucault 1981: 226). Its forms of functioning shape the order of social life. I need to highlight that in Polish transformation we are dealing with specific kind of rationality, which is related to **instrumental reason, “governmentality” rationality, neoliberal configuration rationality, moving away from axially (not axial civilizations rationality):**

- **instrumental reason** (a depoliticization of practical issues through redefining them as technical problems) (Habermas);
- **“governmentality” rationality** (managing by freedom, flexible rules „of chaos managing”) (Foucault);
- **neoliberal configuration rationality** (monetarism, free trade, finance capitalism, deregulation, balanced budget, the market state, the state minimum, a consumer – not a citizen);
- **moving away from axially, not axial civilizations rationality** (economization of basic premises of cultural and political agenda and delegitimation of vision of other world);

⁸ Unless there appear widespread alternative narratives to compete with the existing ones (see Skidelsky 2012; Krugman 2013; Rodrik 2011; Frydman, Goldberg 2013)

- in terms of systems theory (Luhmann) we have to deal with inability to cope with problems caused by the system (so that with irrationality).

But what deserves attention, is the consequence of symbolic elites in ritual presenting almost all values as a free market, not human and social activity result. “In certain circumstances arising reflexivity has an emancipatory effect. In other respects (in various contexts) has the opposite effect: it strengthens the stratification. [...] Extending/broadening/expanding the area of freedom, for somebody, usually goes with stronger oppression for the other or turns out to be the cause of oppression” (Giddens 2009: 239). Now it is a cliché, but in the country where “Solidarność” was established it has to be ironic.

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RACJONALNOŚĆ W DYSKURSACH O PRACY I PRZEDSIĘBIORCZOŚCI. REFLEKSYJNOŚĆ ZINSTYTUCJONALIZOWANA A DOMINUJĄCE SPOSOBY DEFINIOWANIA RZECZYWISTOŚCI W POLSCE (PO)TRANSFORMACYJNEJ

Streszczenie. Artykuł poświęcony jest: (a) prezentacji znaczenia racjonalności oraz społecznym konsekwencjom jego używania w dobie refleksyjności zinstytucjonalizowanej; (b) krótkiemu wprowadzeniu do problematyki władzy będącej wynikiem „stosunków definiowania”; (c) przedstawieniu fragmentów wciąż prowadzonych badań: analizy dyskursu i analizy kategoryzowania przynależności materiałów pochodzących z artykułów publikowanych w tygodnikach społeczno-politycznych („Polityka”, „Wprost”, „W Sieci”, „Do Rzeczy”), analizom wszystkich *exposé* wygłoszonych w latach istnienia III Rzeczypospolitej przez polskich Prezesów Rady Ministrów, analizom regularnego programu radiowego z udziałem elit symbolicznych/eksperckich. Przedstawione fragmenty analiz służą jako ilustracja „stosunków definiowania”, rozumianych jako relacje władzy, tj. możliwości decydowania o tym kto, w jakich okolicznościach i pod jakimi warunkami może liczyć na pracę, do jakiego stopnia możemy oczekiwać bezpieczeństwa zatrudnienia, kto jest twórcą wszelkiego rodzaju ryzyk, które dotyczą rynku pracy, itp.

Słowa kluczowe: racjonalność, władza, stosunki definiowania, elity eksperckie, kapitalizm.