

ное восприятие и интерпретация полученной информации о происходящих событиях, политиках и т.п.); *национального* (оценка социально-политического и экономического статуса отдельных государств) и *глобального* (геополитические модели устройства мира в контексте глобализационных процессов) и т.д.

*Открытость СГТ* проявляется в отсутствии четко и однозначно обозначенных процедур и общепринятых методов организации социально-политических действий и принятия решений в силу непредсказуемого характера объективно складывающейся ситуации в политике и экономике.

*Вероятность СГТ* (вероятность достижения желаемого результата с помощью СГТ; вероятность получения нежелательного исхода; вероятность корреляции используемых СГТ в случае трансформации цели).

*Управляемость и оптимизация СГТ* заключается в возможности и необходимости оптимального регулирования ими на основе синтеза и интеграции качественных и количественных экспертных подходов; гуманистической экспертизы СГТ; рациональной и психологической подготовки субъектов СГТ; разработки механизмов принятия управленческих решений на различных уровнях.

*Практикоориентированность и действенность СГТ*, поскольку благодаря им разрабатываются алгоритмы решения социальных задач и механизмы их практического внедрения и осуществления. Социальное знание при этом из описательного и объяснительного, анализирующего и прогнозирующего переходит в статус практикоориентированного, прагматически-действенного знания, становясь своего рода «производительной силой».

*Трансдисциплинарность СГТ* как особая форма производства технологий, выходящая при их разработке за рамки не только отдельных дисциплин, но и науки как особого рода института, и выступающая результатом совместного решения конкретных социальных задач при взаимодействии науки, государства (иногда негосударственных структур), бизнеса, гражданского общества и др.

*Инновационность СГТ*, поскольку социальные технологии обеспечивают цивилизационные прорывы в развитии общества, выступая механизмом продвижения новаций в самых различных областях – политике, управлении, экономике, науке.

Таким образом, динамика представлений о социально-гуманитарных технологиях приводит к тому, что в настоящее время под этим феноменом понимают сложную многогранную реальность, которая является *механизмом внедрения новаций и развития*, обеспечивает в функциональном отношении те или иные цивилизационные завоевания и фактически является *сферой целенаправленных действий в сферах управления, политики, экономики, информатизации, интеллектуального и ресурсного обеспечения модернизации общества*, детерминируемых социокультурной средой.

## SOCIETAL TRANSFORMATION IN CEE COUNTRIES: CASE STUDIES FROM POLAND

Hines M.

Kozminski University, Warsaw, Poland

### Abstract

This paper explores a concept of societal transformation following post-1989 transition. It questions whether neo-liberal values of the free market have been acquired in transition process. It argues that the experience of transition is perceived as negative and ideas of socialism deinstitutionalised, thus providing empirical evidence for societal transformation.

Key words: post-1989 transition, societal transformation, institutionalisation, de-institutionalisation, neo-liberal values

**Introduction**

In line with institutional theory of modernising, the assumption is being made in this paper that values change in social conditions. Following this assumption, the paper examines whether external pressures of transition would facilitate, or not, forming of neo-liberal values. Concern with values in post-transition Central and Eastern European countries is relevant to the EU project of workplace modernisation and societal transformation.

In this paper, neo-liberal values are values of market economy and learned via the media, educational system and/or management training, and/or experienced. They are the opposite of traditional values - inherited, transferred across generations and based on historical experience and old institutions. This paper is limited to exploring effect of experience of transition, and of memory of the pre-1989 system on forming of neo-liberal values. The effects of transition have been explored by researchers as shown in literature review next.

## Experience of transition

### *Political and economic transition*

The terms 'transition', and 'transformation' have been used to describe two similar concepts. 'Transition' is used in a sense of transition from socialism to capitalism. According to the IMF economic indicators [1] economic transition is over for some countries including Poland, Hungary and Czech Republic. 'Transformation' is used in a sense of societal transformation that embodies internalisation of ideas of the free market.

In 1989, two strategies were used for privatising state economies. 'Rapid' strategy involved dismantling of institutions and break-up of mono-bank structure, liberalisation of prices, and privatisation of state health, education, and pension system [2, p.205]. The alternative - gradual privatisation model, relied on institutional reforms, sale of large enterprises by initial public offering, direct sale to investors and employee buyout, with setting up of taxation system and development of commercial market sector [3, p.7]. Analysing these approaches, Stiglitz admits that gradual privatisation adopted by Hungary, Slovenia and Poland achieved better economic results than 'radical' approach [4, p.182]. The latter had negative effects in the Czech Republic, and caused a collapse of economy in Russia [ibid]. Both approaches applied as an experiment at great political and human cost, created unstable and difficult economic conditions.

### *Economic and political outcomes*

The sale of state enterprises was found to be complex to implement, with small number of attractive companies being sold relatively quickly, and the majority remaining in the hands of state sector for the lack of buyers. The process was also accompanied by wide-spread corruption [3, p.7]. Income generated from privatisation by CEE countries' governments was rather low - 5% of GDP, with Hungary being an exception at 14% [ibid]. Also, it was directed towards paying debts of socialist governments to Western banks. Economic growth did not reach pre-1989 levels. Political dependency, in a sense of inability to act in national interest, was created as the result of economic dependency on international financial institutions and FDI companies [2]. Thus, economic and political outcomes were assessed by transitioning countries as 'pathological' [5, p.590]. The societal outcome was a 'transformation of societies' [6] in which new values were formed, as shown next. Core neo-liberal values are considered to be individualism, competitiveness, and materialism [9;10].

### *Societal outcomes*

The liberalisation of prices used both in 'shock' and 'gradual' privatisation strategies destroyed individuals' savings leaving them without resources to face the transition [4, p.133]. Labour shedding was imposed on enterprises that formerly applied socialist full employment policies, thus creating wide-scale unemployment. In Poland in 2003, 59% of population lived

below poverty line [7; p.192]. On workplace level, decline in pay and drop in the living standards to pre-1989 levels, produced new type of poverty for workers in full-time employment, with wages set below-survival level [5, p.596].

Societal transformation – ‘a particular sociological experiment which has no comparator in history’, according to Kolankiewicz [8, p. 438] produced new in CEE countries phenomena, including: - development of social inequity with division to manual and non-manual workforce, commercialised state enterprises, and the emergence of social democratic model, [ibid, p.428]. For the new elite – mostly old socialist elite and old private-sector entrepreneurs, transformation meant large-scale material success, which facilitated forming of emerging neo-liberal values. For the majority, ‘survival mentality’ in Poland [ibid.], with ‘less initiative or self reliance’ in Hungary [9, p.436-437], and fatalism with ‘belief in fate and destiny’ in Russia [10], meant that subjective individual experience of transition both deinstitutionalised and reinforced traditional values for transition participants. This idea is being explored next by using empirical evidence from case study companies in Poland.

**Research questions**

In line with a concept of societal transformation in literature [8], the assumption is being made that legacy of socialism and transition affect this process. The questions being studied are:

- How did experience of transition affect local managers?
- Are local managers guided by traditional, and/or legacy-of-socialism based values?

To answer the research questions I use concepts of the deinstitutionalisation theory of Oliver [11], which states that in change process, external and/or internal pressures are met by moderating factors of entropy and inertia. Instability appears as new institutions are seen as hostile, and old institutions are in condition of erosion. Thus parallel processes take place – of institutionalisation of new, free market system, and of de-institutionalisation of old, socialist one [11, p.566]. In the environment of transition, external pressures of political and economic nature, according to Oliver [11], and internal pressures of multinational companies would encounter moderating factors of entropy and inertia, such as legacy of socialism and other historical experience, and of national culture that includes values. This paper is concerned with experience of post-1989 transition and legacy of socialism as affecting societal transformation.

**Case study companies**

The companies studied are a part of financial services industry in Poland and were selected for dynamism and work-related innovation, such as HRM, thus likely to show evidence of societal transformation. The sample comprises 2 FDI companies and 1 non-FDI with characteristics as shown below.

**Table 1: Profile of sample companies**

Case	Employees	Ownership	Initial JV date	E/sample	Fieldwork date
1	<6000	FDI – 80%	2001	12	6/06, 1/07, 7/07
2	7000>	FDI – 70%	1994	10	12/06
3	900>	non-FDI – 100%	1989	10	1/07, 7/07

Source: study data 2005-2007.

FDI – foreign direct investment; JV – joint venture; E/sample – employee sample. Source: [12]

**Method and data**

The data for this qualitative study had been collected between 2005 and 2008 as a part of PhD research project. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 32 participants, based on interview guide, with questions focusing on three variables. This paper is con-

cerned with one variable - of local managers' values. The data is supported by unstructured opportunistic observations and external and internal documents.

### Data & findings

The summary of analysis is presented in two category tables – Tables 2 and 3, illustrated by syntheses of interviewees' language. Quotations are used to illustrate concepts with managers' identities coded, for example 3/2 is interviewee 2 in Case 3. In Tables 2 and 3, a rating scale (weak, moderate, strong and very strong) [13, p.253] measures persistence of a variable of local managers' values in categories of experience of post-1989 transition and of pre-1989 system, as evidence for societal transformation.

Table 2: Experience of post-1989 transition

Descriptions	Language	FDI		Non-FDI
		Case 1 (i) (o)	Case 2 (i) (o)	Case 3 (i) (o)
Post-1989 experience of transition	'disillusionment', 'system merciless', 'lost heads', 'pressure to make money'	m (i)	s+ (i) m (o)	m (i) s (o)

Legend: (i) interviews-based evidence; (d) documents-based evidence; (o) observations-based evidence; s (strong evidence, >5) s+ (strong plus, >10), s++ (very strong, >15); m (moderate, <5); w (weak, 1-2). Source: [12]

Table 2 shows experience of post-1989 transition as reported by local managers in FDI (multinational) and non-FDI (local) companies. Disillusionment with transition is strongest in Case 2 - an FDI with well-established HRM innovations, and moderate in Cases 1 and 3 with negotiated HRM systems. Managers' personal reflections on post-1989 transition acknowledge the extreme model of the new system. Explanation is managers' feelings of instability and lack of control noted in the literature [10]. The significance of disillusionment with capitalism is that some new concepts will be rejected, thus moderating the pace of societal transformation.

Insecurity of past transition and present societal transformation is alluded to by managers: 'our reality is very mobile' (1/6), with interviewees' frequent job changes: 'some time ago I had 5 employers over 3 years' (3/4), or a change of profession: 'in 1997 from engineer to management' (3/10). In Case 2, a senior manager reflects on societal effects of transition:

*Now we have good times, women have babies... picture before was less optimistic. 1990, in January – 70% interest rates, hyperinflation, people were shocked, desperate to repay. People see that governments were changing, but not able to deliver. Experience of transformation left people disillusioned... have no expectations as to the state, want to look after themselves (2/10).*

The above story of past hardships provides explanation for present feelings of disillusionment with transition outcomes noted in the literature [3,4,8]. Current effects of transition, according to managers, are: 'government has no tool to provide protection for society' (1/8), and with future effects unknown: 'transformation in 89, we don't know how capitalism...the power of money...' (3/10). Some managers talk about inevitability of capitalism: 'cannot accept everything but it functions all over the world' (3/6). Explanation might be that the neo-liberal business model is diffused via business schools and management books, as shown in the literature.

An extreme model of the new system was created as the result of mismanaged privatisation, according to local managers: 'It happened because there was no vision...when the money was needed, a decision was taken... there was no long-term policy' (1/8). The reason for transition was economic constraints: 'the government was burdened, Polish debt' (3/6). The effect on national economy is negative: 'if I have no control [over] the banking

sector... foreign banks are not interested in helping companies to survive' (1/8). This view of mismanaged privatisation is confirmed in the literature [2; 3]. Next, the data on the category of pre-1989 system is presented.

In Table 3 below, there is weak, interview-based evidence of legacy of socialism in Case 2 (FDI) and Case 3 (non-FDI). There is also observations-based evidence that contradicts evidence from interviews. Explanation is that cultural memory of a deinstitutionalised socialism exists as a reference point for evaluating new concepts. The significance of existence of cultural memory of socialism is that some old concepts, or traditional values, will be retained.

Managers' personal reflections on socialism acknowledge the elements of social democracy in the former system: 'medical care was better' (3/6). The pre-1989 system is opaquely alluded to, or un-acknowledged and un-named and becomes cultural memory,. Socialism is termed as: 'a certain political system' (1/8), or: 'before 1989' (1/12), and: 'people grew up in a different culture' (2/5).

Two systems are compared as: 'conservatism and modernism' (1/2), or sceptically as: 'it was like that in Poland years ago, now in the opposite direction' (3/3). Local managers do not want to be associated with a discredited and deinstitutionalised socialism and perceived as old-fashioned. Thus, the system is evaded or denied: 'I don't know the system of the previous era,' (1/1), and: 'I am young, I don't know any other system' (1/6). These findings are preliminary and need to be studied further.

Table 3: Pre-1989 system

Descriptions	Language	FDI		Non-FDI
		Case 1 (i) (o)	Case 2 (i) (o)	Case 3 (i) (o)
Pre-1989 system	'certain political system', 'it was like that years ago'	m (i) w (o)	w (i)	w (i) s (o)

Legend: (i) interviews-based evidence; (d) documents-based evidence; (o) observations-based evidence; s (strong evidence, >5) s+ (strong plus, >10), s++ (very strong, >15); m (moderate, <5); w (weak, 1-2). Source: [12]

To sum up, the data shows that local managers have experienced external instability of transition, and internal instability of a dynamic workplace. The neo-liberal concepts learned contradict reality they experience, affecting retreat to cultural memory of socialism, thus reinforcing traditional values. In the light of the deinstitutionalisation theory [11], external pressures of later-phase transition are weaker, with lesser effect on values. External pressures of deinstitutionalised socialism are also weaker, or non-existent, thus suggesting a process of societal transformation.

### Conclusions

This paper shows how the concepts of institutionalisation and deinstitutionalisation can be applied to a context of transition to further understanding of societal transformation. It highlights a role of two factors in this process – post-1989 transition and pre-1989 system. The important finding is that transition as external political and economic pressure [11] appears to reinforce traditional values - the effect opposite to the effect intended.

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## BEZPOŚREDNIE INWESTYCJE ZAGRANICZNE W POLSCE W LATACH 1990–2009

Zofia Tomczonek

*Politechnika Białostocka Wydział Zarządzania*

**Wprowadzenie.** Międzynarodowe transfery kapitału w postaci bezpośrednich inwestycji zagranicznych były znane od dawna. W średniowieczu dokonywały się między krajami Wschodu a Europą, Afryką, Azją. Kolejną falę przepływu kapitału przyniósł kolonializm. Wówczas decydujące znaczenie miało lokowanie kapitału w tych przedsięwzięciach, które umożliwiały eksploatację. Były to głównie: surowce i siła robocza. Po upadku kolonializmu nastąpiła trzecia faza w procesie przepływu kapitału w skali międzynarodowej. Trwa ona do dzisiaj. Jej cechą charakterystyczną jest fakt, że dominującą rolę odgrywają korporacje transnarodowe.

### Pojęcie, rodzaje i charakterystyka bezpośrednich inwestycji zagranicznych (BIZ)

#### Definicje bezpośrednich inwestycji zagranicznych

W literaturze przedmiotu znajdujemy wiele definicji pojęcia inwestycje, świadczy to o trudnościach związanych z ich jednoznacznym postrzeganiem.

Jedną z definicji jest definicja J. Hirschleifera, która wydaje się najwierniej oddaje istotę zagadnienia. Pisze on, iż inwestycje to „teraźniejsze wyrzeczenie dla przyszłej korzyści. Teraźniejszość jest względnie pewna, podczas gdy przyszłość jest niewiadomą. Z tego powodu inwestycje są poświęceniem pewnego dla niepewnej korzyści” [1, s.509, 2, s.18]. Uprecyzniają definicję K. Jajuga i T. Jajuga [3, s.7] i wymieniają trzy aspekty pojęcia inwestowania:

- wyrzeczenie, czyli ograniczenie bieżącej konsumpcji na spodziewaną przyszłą korzyść,
- określenie czasu trwania wyrzeczenia, po upływie którego są spodziewane przyszłe korzyści,
- niepewność rynku, ryzyko, które w tym wypadku jest stałe.

Inwestycje zagraniczne są jedną z form przepływu kapitału w skali międzynarodowej [4, s.13].

Na poziomie mikroekonomicznym, cała uwaga skupia się na przedsiębiorstwie, które inwestuje [5, s.134]. Jest to więc podjęcie samodzielnych działań za granicą od podstaw [4, s.14].

Definicję terminu bezpośrednio inwestycje zagraniczne daje J.H. Dunning [6, s.22]. Według niego inwestycja zagraniczna to inwestycja dokonana przez przedsiębiorstwo poza granicami swojego kraju. Składają się na nią aktywa i czynniki produkcji. Zalicza do nich: