

Mateusz Pękała¹

General Problems of Public Policy Making in Poland – Qualitative Content Analysis of the Expose Speeches Made by Polish Prime Ministers: Beata Szydło (2015) and Mateusz Morawiecki (2017)

Keywords: expose speech, qualitative content analysis, public policy, legal policy, public governance

Słowa kluczowe: expose, jakościowa analiza treści, polityka publiczna, polityka prawa, zarządzanie publiczne

Abstract

Article presents the conclusions resulting from a qualitative analysis of speeches given by the Prime Ministers of Poland: Beata Szydło (2015) and Mateusz Morawiecki (2017). The aim of the study was to reconstruct the assumptions concerning public policy, including legal policy and issues related to the state system. The application of qualitative content analysis made it possible to determine, i.a. the main autotelic and instrumental values of the Polish legal system, as well as to identify the most important social objectives and ways of their implementation. The analysis of the speeches shows the dilemmas and challenges currently faced by decision-makers in Poland: political and social conflicts, legislative inflation, the need to increase efficiency in public governance, supporting social capital. The main instruments for achieving social goals are: adoption of legal acts (laws and regulations) and the use of economic incentives.

¹ ORCID ID: 0000-0002-1389-2664, PhD, The Chair of Public Policy and Public Administration of Jesuit University Ignatianum in Cracow. E-mail: mateusz.pekala@ignatianum.edu.pl.

Streszczenie**Ogólne uwarunkowania polityki publicznej w Polsce – jakościowa analiza treści wystąpień expose Prezesów Rady Ministrów RP: Beaty Szydło (2015) i Mateusza Morawieckiego (2017)**

Artykuł przedstawienia wnioski z jakościowej analizy treści wystąpień premierów Polski: Beaty Szydło (2015 r.) i Mateusza Morawieckiego (2017 r.). Celem badania była rekonstrukcja założeń dotyczących polskiej polityki publicznej, w tym polityki prawa oraz zagadnień ustrojowych. Zastosowanie metody jakościowej analizy treści pozwoliło określić m.in. główne wartości autoteliczne i instrumentalne polskiego systemu prawnego, a także zidentyfikować najważniejsze cele społeczne i sposoby ich realizacji. Analiza treści przemówień ukazuje także główne dylematy i wyzwania, jakie stoją aktualnie przed decydentami kształtującymi politykę publiczną i politykę prawa w Polsce: spory polityczne i *światopoglądowe*, inflacja prawa, konieczność podnoszenia skuteczności w zarządzaniu instytucjami publicznymi, wspieranie kapitału społecznego. Głównymi instrumentami osiągnięcia celów społecznych są: przyjmowanie aktów prawnych (ustaw i rozporządzeń) oraz stosowanie bodźców ekonomicznych.

✱

The paper presents preliminary results of empirical research conducted by the author, consisting in qualitative content analysis of the expose speeches of Polish prime ministers Beata Szydło (2015) and Mateusz Morawiecki (2017). Research is conducted from the perspective of selected problems of public policy sciences and sociology of law. The main aim of the research is to describe and reconstruct main dilemmas, challenges and assumptions on rationality of Polish policy-making centre in the context of its self-awareness and beliefs about the state of public policy and legislative policy.

The creators of public policies in Poland are largely aware of theoretical and practical problems limiting the possibilities of effective solutions of social problems. As in many modern countries, the processes of shaping and implementing public policies in Poland are conditioned by various internal and external factors. Public decisions are often influenced by intensive social conflicts and pressure exerted by various interest groups

and media. Also, political opponents sometimes try to interfere with the effective achievement of government goals. Financial constraints play an important role. Moreover, the most important social problems can only be solved with a strategic approach based on a long-term perspective. Meanwhile, political life is moving at a very fast pace and society expects results “here and now”.

The presented research is based on qualitative content analysis of particular data. Qualitative content analysis is a research method that enables the analysis of many aspects of various types of social communication acts, both oral and written. The inquiry concerns both the content of the message and its impact on the social environment. The origins of this approach can be traced back to the 1940s, when attempts were made to systematically study the meanings contained in texts by defining particular semantic categories (concepts) and stylistic properties in order to answer the questions of who speaks, what, to whom and with what effect². Thus, a qualitative analysis of the content allows us to understand the categories used by the participants of social life and to determine how these categories are used in specified actions³. The content of fixed acts of social communication is a valuable subject of research not only because of their richness and accessibility, but also because their analysis allows us to reconstruct the hidden visions of the world and the beliefs of various actors about the most important social processes⁴. The most frequently used semantic categories of qualitative content analysis include: the subject of the statement and the way it is presented, substantive basis, author’s values, his goals and methods of achieving them and rhetorical or persuasive means⁵. It is therefore not only about what has been said, but also about how the content was communicated by the author of the act of social communication in question. Moreover, it is also important to know what content (and for what reason) has been passed over in silence.

² Entry: *Analiza treści*, [in:] *Słownik socjologii i nauk społecznych*, ed. M. Tabin, Warsaw 2004, p. 15.

³ D. Silverman, *Interpretacja danych jakościowych. Metody analizy rozmowy, tekstu i interakcji*, Warsaw 2008, p. 150.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 148.

⁵ Ch. Frankfort-Nachmias, D. Nachmias, *Metody badawcze w naukach społecznych*, Poznań 2001, p. 345.

Having clearly defined criteria of analysis and easy access to the content of the research material, every researcher should reach the same main conclusions in regard to the essential features of a given act of social communication. This is particularly important when political and legal institutions become the subject of research. Of course, this also applies to research on parliamentarianism and legislative processes in the broad sense of the term. A very important element of any political process are the acts of communication that make up the narratives, which in a broader perspective create a specific whole, called discourses. Moreover, the communication taking place within the political and legal system also has a creative function. It is constitutive – it not only describes, but also, in a sense, creates social reality⁶. Researchers of political discourse indicate that one of the research areas in this area are legislative procedures (legislative discourses)⁷. It is also one of the fields of research to answer the question of how public decisions are made and how they are justified⁸. The auxiliary role in the research was played by the narrative analysis technique, which is also an element of the qualitative research strategy and enables us to determine the meanings given by the participants of various social activities to their own experiences⁹.

The carried-out analysis is an exploratory study. Despite the adoption of a descriptive perspective, such analyses often result in the recognition of new research areas for social sciences¹⁰. Analytical categories used in research were following: statements contained in a speech on the subject matter, the style of the message and the expressions used in these statements and significantly given to them by the author. A unit of analysis in this research was the content of given expose speeches according to the official transcript from the specific sessions of Polish Parliament.

⁶ S.J. Rittel, *Dyskurs w filozofii politycznej. Podejście lingwistyczno-politologiczne i systemowe*, Kielce 2005, pp. 11–12.

⁷ R. Wodak, M. Krzyżanowski, *Jakościowa analiza dyskursu w naukach społecznych*, Warsaw 2011, pp. 154–155.

⁸ K. W. Frieske, *Polityki publiczne: iluzje uniwersalnej racjonalności*, [in:] *Nauki o polityce publicznej. Monografia dyscypliny*, ed. J. Kwaśniewski, Warsaw 2018, p. 14.

⁹ J.H. Kołodziej, *Analiza narracyjna. Przygotowanie projektu badań*, [in:] *Metody badań medjoznawczych i ich zastosowanie*, eds. A. Szymańska, M. Lisowska-Magdziarz, A. Hess, Kraków 2018, p. 48.

¹⁰ E. Babbie, *Podstawy badań społecznych*, Warsaw 2008, pp. 107–108.

I. Subject Matter of the Study

The presented research is based on the concepts of public policy and legal policy, defined as practical sciences, which provide legislative and governmental institutions with guidance on the rational impact on social reality through legal means, such as normative acts and the principles of functioning of institutions responsible for application of legal norms¹¹. A classic paradigm in this respect is the theory of rational law-making, which assumes that the decision-making centre has appropriate knowledge, a coherent catalogue of preferences and the ability to make rational decisions in an instrumental sense¹². The previous analyses were aimed at reconstructing the general assumptions concerning the model of the decision-making process actually adopted by policy-makers in Poland and determining their level of “self-awareness” in the light of the beliefs concerning the so-called meta-decisions on: What is the art of public policy? What is the role of legal instruments in policymaking? What is the role of citizens in policymaking? What arguments and what knowledge is/should be used, which social actors take part in decision-making process? What are main current challenges of policy-making in Poland?

In formal terms, an expose is a speech delivered to Parliament by each Prime Minister within 14 days of his appointment by the President of the Republic of Poland. The speech is followed by a debate followed by a vote of confidence in the new Cabinet. The legislature symbolically expresses its support for the executive. In a political sense, the expose is a persuasive speech in which the ruling party defines its agenda for the next term of office and tries to gain the broadest possible support from other participants in the political life. The expose also is a meta-political speech in which both plans and promises are formulated regarding short- and long-term strategies for solving public problems. Furthermore, it also performs a symbolic function, becoming a “mirror”, that shows what is the essence of public policy and how it is practised in a given country. Due to the importance of this speech, the expose can be treated as an opportunity to confirm the existing order or to announce a “new opening”, i.e. to redefine the basic principles of the function-

¹¹ M. Zirk-Sadowski, *Polityka prawa*, [in:] *Leksykon socjologii prawa*, eds. A. Kociołek-Pęksa, M. Stępień, Warsaw 2013, pp. 191.

¹² *Ibidem*, pp. 192–194.

ing of the political system¹³. The expose is addressed not only to other political actors (Members of Parliament), but also to officers of many public institutions applying and enforcing legal regulations and, finally, to the whole society.

The conclusions presented below are the result of a qualitative analysis of the content of the two most recent expose speeches made by the Polish Prime Ministers. The first one was delivered on November 18, 2015 by Beata Szydło, who was designated Prime Minister after the parliamentary elections held in Poland on October 25, 2015. The Law and Justice party succeeded then, winning respectively 37.58% of votes in the elections to the Sejm (lower chamber) and 39.99% of votes in the elections to the Senate (higher chamber). Beata Szydło (born in 1963) is a politician, local government activist and a long-term deputy. She served, i.a. as the Vice-President of the Law and Justice party. She was Prime Minister until 2017, when she was replaced by Mateusz Morawiecki (born in 1968) – manager, banker and politician, member of the Law and Justice party, former Minister of Development and Finance. The change of prime minister was a result of internal decisions of the leaders of Law and Justice and was one of the stages in the process of the government's reconstruction. Politicians stressed that both prime ministers are still "playing in one team". Mateusz Morawiecki was appointed by the President of the Republic of Poland as Prime Minister on December 8, 2017, and the expose was delivered on December 12, 2017.

II. The Results of Qualitative Content Analysis

As mentioned, the analysis of the exposes was aimed at determining what general assumptions concerning Polish public policy were included in the speeches. First of all, it is about reconstructing the views of the state decision-making centre with regard to the so-called meta-decisions, i.e. criteria determining the process of solving social problems, for example: the need to make decisions, appeal to specific sources of knowledge and opinion, shaping the decision-making situation and its context and relations with other social partners.

¹³ K. Kubala, „Racjonalność” w dyskursie polityki polskiej na przykładzie expose premiera Donalda Tuska w 2011 r. *Dominująca odmiana refleksyjności zinstytucjonalizowanej*, „Władza sądszenia” 2012, No. 1, p. 29.

This also applies to the use in the expose of specific schemes of explaining the government's actions, i.e. the narrative accompanying the shaping and implementation of public policy. As far as the latter is concerned, both speeches made patriotism the leading theme, which, on the one hand, is presented as the main motive for the new government's actions, and, on the other hand, is to encourage other political and social forces to cooperate with the new Cabinet: "My desire is that the government of the United Right should be the government of a united Poland. (Applause) Because the government and the Prime Minister are to serve the whole country, our entire homeland, every citizen of the Republic of Poland. There is enough room for everyone. Poland is one. (Applause) The Republic of Poland is a common good"¹⁴. "The government of the Law and Justice Party is ready to work together on the basis of consensus and agreement. (Stefan Niesiołowski, MP: He, he, he.) (A voice from the audience: We have already experienced this.) That is why today I am asking the entire House, without exception, all of you, for such substantive and consensual cooperation"¹⁵.

The second narrative motive is that of the public service, which the new Cabinet undertakes to carry out with the interests of the whole country. Prime ministers promise to act according with the best public virtues, considering the opinion of citizens. The rhetoric of managerialism is used here, based on the metaphor of "employing" by society "managers" to run a "company" for the duration of the parliamentary term. The consequence of such a perspective is the need for periodic reporting and settlements of accounts for the implementation of promises: "Humility, work, moderation, prudence, responsibility and, first of all, listening to the people are the principles that will guide us. No more arrogance of power, no more pride. (Applause, cheerfulness in the audience)"¹⁶.

¹⁴ M. Morawiecki, *Expose Speech delivered in Polish Sejm*, 12.12.2017, as in Official Transcript in Polish language, available at: http://orka2.sejm.gov.pl/StenoInter8.nsf/0/7F-B7AC056BB67FEDC125821A002F0A5D/%24File/S4_a_ksiazka_bis.pdf (1.10.2019), p. 4, see also: p. 13. All quotations translated by Mateusz Pękala.

¹⁵ B. Szydło, *Expose Speech delivered in Polish Sejm*, 18.11.2015, as in Official Transcript in Polish language, available at: http://orka2.sejm.gov.pl/StenoInter8.nsf/0/ACC7A0E8310D-1F55C1257F01004844EA/%24File/01_ksiazka_d_bis.pdf (1.10.2019), p. 57. All quotations translated by Mateusz Pękala.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 49, 50, 57.

Unfortunately, despite the general promises of transparency and accountability on the part of public authorities, the speeches do not contain many precise declarations with a description of the deadlines for their implementation and the indicators to be used to determine whether a measure has actually achieved its objective.

One of the main dilemmas of public policy in Poland, visible in the exposes, is the need to continuously agree on improving the effectiveness of public institutions with the increasing social costs (tangible and intangible) of public interventions. It often happens that a comprehensive solution to a social problem is connected with the violation of interests of specific social groups or for other reasons is not accepted by the majority of “ordinary” citizens. Moreover, public intervention often does not lead to calming social emotions at all, but even exacerbates them, in extreme cases leading to the escalation of conflicts on a macro scale. Prime Minister Morawiecki said: “we have to convince each other, not to overcome”¹⁷. Another quote: “One can and must argue. A dispute – yes, war – No. (Applause) (A voice from the audience: Bravo!)”¹⁸. Morawiecki on energy policy: “Here we need to clearly define Polish interests and take a common development policy that will survive many parliamentary terms”¹⁹.

Compromises concerning the practice of public policy are also reflected at the theoretical level, where the state decision-making centre must combine the best features of different philosophies²⁰. Morawiecki explicitly admitted that his rule in general would not be based on any particular ideology: “We are not and will not be a government of ideological extremes. We are far from neo-liberalism and just as far from socialism. (Applause)”. Then came the words that “dogmatism does not work” and that it is necessary to “combine competition with cooperation, combine the global dimension with the local dimension, combine Europe with our viewpoint, through the prism of our interests, and also combine the pragmatics of state governance with the free market”²¹. On the one hand, the statements can be interpreted as a tes-

¹⁷ M. Morawiecki, *op.cit.*, p. 4.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 13.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 7.

²⁰ B. Szydło, *op.cit.*, p. 50; M. Morawiecki, *op.cit.*, p. 3.

²¹ M. Morawiecki, *op.cit.*, p. 4.

timony to the high self-awareness of the rulers in terms of the complexity of the processes shaping contemporary socio-political systems. But, on the other hand, they may be an example of a political message inspired by populism.

Another key issue for the meta-level of public policy is the question of the optimal scope of state intervention in social life. Regardless of philosophical beliefs, many thinkers admit that not all social problems can be solved “automatically” by adopting a new law or regulation. Sometimes it is the implementation of new regulations that causes even more complications and side effects. Some social problems are “immune” to any actions of public authorities, regardless of which public policy instruments would be used. The starting point for prime ministers, however, is a proactive approach (preventing the causes of problems, not just current repair of their visible effects) and an innovative approach (searching for and testing new, previously unused methods of action). Morawiecki said: “A balance must be struck between a minimum state [...] and a heavy bureaucratic state”²². In his opinion, the state institutions should “genuinely serve the State”²³. There is a huge need of restoration of the “dignity of the State”²⁴. In both analyzed speeches the need of reversal of the process of “oiling the state” was strongly emphasized²⁵.

Managerialism and the promise of a strategic approach and effective action are also reflected in the adopted narrative on the new Cabinet’s actions. The key terms used during the expose of both Prime Ministers were: “the entrepreneurial state”, “the responsible development” and “the social market economy”. Allocating budgetary resources to solve social problems is not defined as “incurring costs”, but as “investing”. Regulating the behavior of social entities is not an intervention in the sphere of their freedom, but an attempt to “activate” them, “help them to take advantage of the opportunities ahead” and “to multiply their potential”. Creating opportunities for young people after graduation is not a fight against unemployment, but “building an innovative economy”²⁶. In addition to the declaration of willingness to implement a very ambitious political programme, the Prime Ministers’ speeches

²² Ibidem, p. 5.

²³ Ibidem, p. 7.

²⁴ Ibidem.

²⁵ B. Szydło, op.cit., p. 53; M. Morawiecki, op.cit., pp. 4, 10.

²⁶ B. Szydło, op.cit., pp. 51, 55.

also reflect on the real possibilities and resources available to public authorities in Poland. This concerns, first of all, the principles of functioning and organizational problems of the state institutional base which, even if it receives clear guidelines on strategic objectives in a specific sector of public policy, is not able to translate them into practical solutions and, as a result, is not able to achieve the intended effects. For this reason, Poland needs “a new governance mechanism”. These are the words of Beata Szydło: “If we want to be effective, we need better governance. To do this, we need a streamlined, better organized government. [...] it is all about integrating actions and measures to achieve a real breakthrough”²⁷.

The issue of the institutional and scientific background will return later, and here we will limit ourselves to the conclusion that considering the problem of lack of maneuverability in the content of the expose speech should be treated not only as an attempt to explain the possible future failure of the Cabinet in implementing the announced political programme, but rather as a symptom of self-awareness of the state decision-making centre and a symptom of the fact that ineffective rules of operation of public administration are a major problem for the entire Polish public sphere.

As far as the catalogue of key sectors of Polish public policy is concerned, it has remained unchanged for many years. The typical agenda of Polish public policy, which is described in more or less the same way by successive prime ministers, includes the following issues:

- social policy: family support, demography, unemployment, poverty. Here, the main goal declared by the government is that “as many Poles as possible will be able to benefit from the fruits of development”²⁸;
- economy (in specific: the so-called average growth trap): investment, re-industrialization, entrepreneurship, taxes, European funds, infrastructure, housing, new technologies;
- international, internal and energy security,
- health care,
- regional development: support for neglected areas and rural development,
- education and higher education, youth,

²⁷ Ibidem, p. 55.

²⁸ Ibidem, p. 50.

- emigration,
- culture, sport,
- the justice system,
- foreign policy.

For obvious reasons, many of these issues are discussed in a very general way in the expose, but each of them, at least in a symbolic way, should appear and be appreciated as an “important field of action” to satisfy individual groups of addressees. Some problems are indeed discussed in a way that makes it possible to thoroughly reconstruct the instrumental rationality of the state’s decision-making centre by determining what objectives the government intends to pursue and what measures it intends to take. For example, Beata Szydło’s expose contains a precise description of the “500+” programme, which is to support families through direct money transfers to the second and every subsequent child (500,00 Polish zlotys per month), and in less affluent families to the first. According to the declaration, the funds for this purpose were to come from revenues from a new bank and supermarket taxes, from an increase in the collection of dividends from state-owned enterprises, from an increase in the amount of the budget deficit and from an improved collection of VAT. At the same time, the programme was to be accompanied by broader systemic changes, including a reform of the tax administration²⁹. However, in the same speech the author devoted only one sentence to the development of Polish sport: “The successes of our players in many disciplines show that it is worth investing in sports activities of children and youth. (Applause) (Chamber voice: Bravo!) Ladies and Gentlemen! The media play a huge role in social life. (deputy Jakub Rutnicki: That’s all about sport?)”³⁰.

The analysis of the content of expose speeches provides interesting conclusions on the instruments of public policy implementation used in Poland. It seems that the management of public affairs consists mainly in deciding what financial resources will be allocated to specific social groups and objectives. The state decision-making centre uses mainly economic incentives, the most important of which are: increasing budget expenditures, obtaining and better use of EU funds, increases for employees and officers of certain institu-

²⁹ Ibidem, p. 53.

³⁰ Ibidem, p. 50.

tions, subsidies for certain types of activities, cooperation with banks, incentives for business investors, social investments and tax policy. Interestingly, the legal instruments for shaping and implementing public policies can only be reduced to the adoption of subsequent normative acts by the legislative authority, ministries or government agencies. At the same time, one can get the impression that from the moment the new legal norms come into force, they start to “work on their own” and “automatically” lead to the solution of a given social problem. A good symptom of the self-awareness of decision-makers is the fact that they are aware of the low quality of Polish legislation and the inflation of legislation: “Changes are also needed in relation to the legislative process, which must be safeguarded against mistakes, and also against the writing of laws dictated by lobbyists. (Applause)”³¹. “We must learn to prepare coherent laws and make decisions that are subordinate to long-term development strategies. The more laws, the better – this is not always true. Sometimes the opposite is true. In the last 25 years, there has been more laws every year, and we will try to stop this wave. (Applause)”³².

We return to the problems that Poland is experiencing in the process of building a knowledge-based policy. During the speeches, Prime Ministers often quote figures and statistical indicators, but the source of this information is very rarely mentioned. Referring to the authority of individual experts (researchers from various disciplines of science) or renowned scientific centres, think-tanks, non-governmental organizations or international institutions would undoubtedly strengthen the persuasive power of the message and the credibility of the author himself. For some reasons, however, information about the source of data and opinions does not appear in the expose. Perhaps, this is the rhetorical style designed to create an image of the Prime Minister as a well-informed person who ‘magically’ possesses all the knowledge and needs for effective governance. A more convincing conclusion, however, is that Polish public policy is largely based on dispersed and fragmented knowledge, and this knowledge is considered only if it provides conclusions favorable to political decision-makers. Worth emphasizing is the fact, that Prime Minister Morawiecki, during his exposé in 2017, i.e. 28 years after the over-

³¹ Ibidem, p. 55.

³² M. Morawiecki, *op.cit.*, pp. 4–5.

throw of the communist system in the peaceful revolution of the Round Table, proposed the idea of creating an institutional scientific base for the activities of the government in Poland: “I would also like to promise you from this place that our Cabinet will be very ambitious in changing Poland for the better. This requires, among other things, the construction of a centre for strategic analyses”³³. Unfortunately, the further content of the speech did not say anything more on this subject³⁴.

III. Summary and Conclusions

The parliamentary debates that took place after each expose remained outside the scope of the analysis. Ultimately, as expected, each Cabinet received a vote of confidence from the parliament. The study also did not include verification whether the declarations contained in Beata Szydło’s and Mateusz Morawiecki’s expose were actually fulfilled. The results of the qualitative analysis were focused on the very acts of social communication as “mirrors” of the current state of Polish public policy. In terms of structure and general message, it can be said that the speeches of 2015 and 2017 were typical political speeches, in many respects very similar to the exposes of the previous Prime Ministers of the Republic of Poland. A comprehensive and reliable assessment of individual government actions would require the existence of a system of institutions in our country dealing with evaluation studies and post-legislative research. Meanwhile, we have only single research centres, usually dealing only with selected thematic areas.

The qualitative content analysis is based on an objective approach, and one of the main assumptions of this type of research is: “Avoid taking the actors’ point of view as an explanation”³⁵. From this point of view, we can conclude that the preliminary research allows to consider qualitative content analysis as a good research method to reconstruct the general assumptions adopted by policy-makers. This type of research is not widespread in Poland, although

³³ Ibidem, p. 4.

³⁴ Governmental Center for Strategic Analyses was finally established in Poland in December 2018. A similiar institution operated in Poland in the years 1997–2006.

³⁵ D. Silverman, *op.cit.*, p. 311.

some social researchers try to develop this approach³⁶. Referring to the hypothesis put forward at the beginning of the research process, it can be said, that a truly detailed analysis of the content of an expose speech may be a good way to obtain at least a partial picture of the assumptions on which the state decision-making centre in Poland currently operates, the theoretical concept of public policy, as well as the dilemmas and challenges it is aware of. In this context, the prime ministers' appeals for cooperation, for consent and for moderation in the current political game are important. In the same way important are declarations of high ambition, determination to pursue goals and efforts to increase the effectiveness of public interventions. Of course, the narratives in the expose more often concern effective changes that are to take place in the near future than promises of stabilization and protection of the existing achievements. It is also important to highlight a strong belief in the potential of Polish society, visible in the content of the speeches, although it is difficult to find a coherent vision of how this potential should be used. The main role in the governance of the state is played by economic issues, which can be seen e.g. in the catalogue of public policy instruments at the disposal of the government. Unfortunately, the large role of law (binding regulations and soft law) and other types of social norms in shaping and changing citizens' attitudes is underestimated.

The need for a strategic approach, effective conflict resolution and social emotions management, as well as the need to increase the effectiveness of state institutions are the main challenges currently facing public policy in Poland. In 2019, our country celebrates the thirtieth anniversary of the beginning of the political transformation and the 15th anniversary of its accession to the European Union. The analysis of the last two expose speeches of the Polish prime ministers shows that Poland is a country subject to very rapid struc-

³⁶ K. Kubala, op.cit., pp. 25–51. See also: S. Wójcik, *Analiza dyskursu polityki wokół obywatelskiej inicjatywy ustawodawczej na wybranych przykładach debat parlamentarnych*, "Polityka i społeczeństwo" 2015, No. 1(13), pp. 5–22; S. Kamosiński, *Bezpieczeństwo państwa w expose polskich premierów od Tadeusza Mazowieckiego do Beaty Szydło*, "UR Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences" 2016, No. 1, pp. 94–117; R. Leśniczak, *Zastosowanie reguł konwersacyjnych Paula Grice'a w komunikowaniu politycznym – analiza porównawcza expose Donalda Tuska i Beaty Szydło*, "Acta Universitatis Lodzianensis, Folia Litteraria Polonica" 2016, No. 2(32), pp. 207–224; M. Stefaniuk, *Rola opinii publicznej w wystąpieniach posłów VI kadencji Sejmu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, "Studia Iuridica Lublinensia" 2014, No. 22, pp. 333–360.

tural changes, affecting virtually all areas of social life, including the political and legal system. It is a consolation, that policy-makers are still trying to learn how to manage social issues and look for new ways to solve old problems.

Literature

- Babbie E., *Podstawy badań społecznych*, Warsaw 2008.
- Frankfort-Nachmias Ch., Nachmias D., *Metody badawcze w naukach społecznych*, Poznań 2001.
- Frieske K.W., *Polityki publiczne: iluzje uniwersalnej racjonalności*, [in:] *Nauki o polityce publicznej. Monografia dyscypliny*, ed. J. Kwaśniewski, Warsaw 2018.
- Kamosiński S., *Bezpieczeństwo państwa w expose polskich premierów od Tadeusza Mazowieckiego do Beaty Szydło*, "UR Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences" 2016, No. 1.
- Kołodziej J.H., *Analiza narracyjna. Przygotowanie projektu badań*, [in:] *Metody badań medjoznawczych i ich zastosowanie*, eds. A. Szymańska, M. Lisowska-Magdziarz, A. Hess, Kraków 2018.
- Kubala K., „Racjonalność” w dyskursie polityki polskiej na przykładzie expose premiera Donalda Tuska w 2011 r. *Dominująca odmiana refleksyjności zinstytucjonalizowanej*, "Władza sądenia" 2012, No. 1.
- Leśniczak R., *Zastosowanie reguł konwersacyjnych Paula Grice'a w komunikowaniu politycznym – analiza porównawcza expose Donalda Tuska i Beaty Szydło*, "Acta Universitatis Lodzianensis, Folia Litteraria Polonica" 2016, No. 2(32).
- Morawiecki M., *Expose Speech delivered in Polish Sejm*, 12.12.2017 r., Official Transcript in Polish language available at: http://orka2.sejm.gov.pl/StenoInter8.nsf/0/7FB7AC056BB-67FEDC125821A002F0A5D/%24File/54_a_ksiazka_bis.pdf.
- Rittel S.J., *Dyskurs w filozofii politycznej. Podejście lingwistyczno-politologiczne i systemowe*, Kielce 2005.
- Silverman D., *Interpretacja danych jakościowych. Metody analizy rozmowy, tekstu i interakcji*, Warsaw 2008.
- Słownik socjologii i nauk społecznych*, ed. M. Tabin, Warsaw 2004.
- Stefaniuk M., *Rola opinii publicznej w wystąpieniach posłów VI kadencji Sejmu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, "Studia Iuridica Lublinensia" 2014, No. 22.
- Szydło B., *Expose Speech in Polish Sejm*, 18.11.2015, as in Official Transcript in Polish language, available at: http://orka2.sejm.gov.pl/StenoInter8.nsf/0/ACC7A0E8310D-1F55C1257F01004844EA/%24File/01_ksiazka_d_bis.pdf.
- Wodak R., Krzyżanowski M., *Jakościowa analiza dyskursu w naukach społecznych*, Warsaw 2011.

Wójcik S., *Analiza dyskursu polityki wokół obywatelskiej inicjatywy ustawodawczej na wybranych przykładach debat parlamentarnych*, "Polityka i społeczeństwo" 2015, No. 1 (13).

Zirk-Sadowski M., *Polityka prawa*, [in:] *Leksykon socjologii prawa*, eds. A. Kociołek-Pęksa, M. Stępień, Warsaw 2013.