

The 1st International online conference:

# DIGITAL REALITIES

work, mobilities, and new opportunities and risks in Central and Eastern Europe in the (post)pandemic period



- work and labour market changes
- migration and new technologies
- new opportunities and risks
- biographical coping mechanisms

13-14 May 2021

### The Book of Abstracts







ekcja Socjologii Pracy



Wrocławski

















#### **International conference:**

### Digital realities: work, mobilities, and new opportunities and risks in Central and Eastern Europe in the (post)pandemic period

### 13-14 May 2021

#### **Organizer:**

The General Sociology Department of the Institute of Sociology, University of Wroclaw

#### **Co-organizers:**

the Sociology of Work Section of the Polish Sociological Association the Wroclaw Department of the Polish Sociological Association the Students' Club for Social Initiatives and the University of Wroclaw (KISS UWr)

**Non-financially co-sponsored by**: the Research Committee 44 on Labour Movements of the International Sociological Association

The conference is organised online. To receive a link to the Zoom, please register via: <a href="https://forms.office.com/r/n9DvPxT4gt">https://forms.office.com/r/n9DvPxT4gt</a>

The conference is linked to the project "COV-WORK: Socio-economic consciousness, work experiences and coping strategies of Poles in the context of the post-pandemic crisis", funded by the National Science Centre in Poland, the NCN project number UMO-2020/37/B/HS6/00479.

### **Programme**

### 13 May 2021

9:00-9:15: Welcome words by organisers and co-organisers

9:15-11:45: **Theoretical debates on digitalization and work** (chair: Adam Mrozowicki) – **plenary session I** (30 minutes for presentation)

**Kazimierz Krzysztofek** (SWPS University, Poland): Digital steroids and technology fatigue? Painful adjustment to the hyper-digitization of work.

**Katarzyna Śledziewska and Renata Włoch** (University of Warsaw, Poland): The Covid-19 pandemic as an accelerator of digital transformation: the consequences for the labour markets.

**Paul Stewart, Mark Smith and Genevieve Shanahan** (Grenoble Ecole de Management, France): Individualism and Collectivism at Work in an Era of Deindustrialization: Work Narratives of Food Delivery Couriers in the Platform Economy.

**Valeria Pulignano** (KU Leuven, Belgium) **and Glenn Morgan** (University of Bristol, England): Emerging 'Grey Zones' at the Interface of Work and Home. Advancing Research and Theory on Precarious Work.

11:45-12:00: Coffee break

12:00-13:45: Changing employment in the (post)pandemic times: regular session I (15 minutes each presentation) (chair: Jan Czarzasty)

Vera Trappmann, Ioulia Bessa, Simon Joyce, Denis Neumann, Mark Stuart, Charles Umney (University of Leeds): Labour unrest of food delivery workers.

**Jacek Burski** (University of Wrocław, Poland) and **Alicja Palęcka** (University of Warsaw, Poland): Technological challenges in everyday work in time of pandemic.

**Jacqueline Kacprzak** (Collegium Civitas, Poland): New technology companies – risks posed to the human rights in the (post)pandemic world

Martyna Czajka (University of Wrocław, Poland): Challenges caused by forced digitalization in communication between culturally diverse employees with particular reference to the COVID-19 period.

13:45-14:45: Lunch break

14:45-16:30: **Digital transformation at work - regular session II** (15 minutes each presentation, 30 minutes for discussion) (chair: Agata Krasowska)

**Vassil Kirov** (Institute for the Study of Societies and Knowledge, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Bulgaria): How Digital Transformation Impacts the Business Process Outsourcing Ecosystem in Sofia?

**Piotr Binder** (Polish Academy of Sciences, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Poland) Digital Transformations of Work and Social Change: Pre-pandemic Experiences of Remote Work in Light of Qualitative Interviews.

**Katarína Lukáčová** (Scuola Normale Superiore & Sant'Anna di Pisa, Italy): Technological Change in Highly Industrialized Countries: A Key Moment for Industrial Relations in (post) Pandemic Era?

Karol Muszyński, Valeria Pulignano and Claudia Mara (KU Leuven, Belgium) Product and labour market regulation within platform work. A comparison between regional and international food delivery platforms in Poland and Italy.

**Kamila Naumowicz** (University of Warmia and Mazury, Poland): Remote work and gender - the influence of digitalisation of work on the gender inequalities.

16:30-17:00: Coffee break

17:00-19:00: Work and pandemic in the experiences of students / Praca i pandemia w doświadczeniu studentów – the debate (in Polish) organized by the Students' Club for Social Initiatives at the University of Wrocław

### 14 May 2021

9:00-11:30: **Digitalisation and work in the times of pandemic: the new venues of empirical research - plenary session II** (30 minutes for presentation) (chair: Julia Kubisa)

**Jan Zygmuntowski** (Kozminski University, Poland) **and Nikodem Szewczyk** (University of Warsaw, Poland): Digital Taylorism after COVID-19: Studying workplace surveillance in white collar jobs.

**Milosz Miszczyński** (Kozminski University, Poland) **and Patrizia Zanoni** (Hasselt University, Belgium, Utrecht University, the Netherlands): Unveiling the alienated worker behind global logistics: A study of the atomization and socialization of labour in the Amazon warehouse.

**Katarzyna Andrejuk** (Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences) Digital works in transnational environments: superdigitalization of migrant entrepreneurship.

**Dominika Polkowska** (Maria Curie Skłodowska University, Poland) **and Bartosz Mika** (University of Gdańsk, Poland): Digitally mediated work-on-demand in the Central and Eastern Europe. The Peculiar Case of Uber's fleet partners in Poland.

11:30-11:45: Coffee break

11:45-13:45: **The worlds of work in pre- and post-pandemic period: regular session III** (15 minutes each presentation, 30 minutes for discussion) (chair: Szymon Pilch)

**Markieta Domecka and Valeria Pulignano** (KU Leuven, Belgium) Who can afford to work for free? Unpaid work and inequality in the creative sectors.

**Tatiana Majcherkiewicz** (Pedagogical University of Krakow, Poland), **Marzena Kaleta** Class identity among young members of the working class and their view on the impact of the Covid pandemic on their opportunities in the labour market.

**Noémi Katona** (Hungarian Academy of Sciences Centre of Excellence, Hungary) and **Emília Barna** (Budapest University of Technology and Economics, Hungary) The Hungarian Sex Camera Industry: Digital Technology, Platform Capitalism, and Economic Crises.

**Tatiana Kanasz** (The Maria Grzegorzewska University, Poland): Mobility of Belarusians in the time of pandemic and political crisis and the role of the digital platforms in their adaptation.

**Szymon Pilch and Adam Mrozowicki** (University of Wrocław, Poland): Work experience and job quality of workers in the logistics sector within the context of Covid-19 pandemic in Poland. Initial findings of literature review.

**Elżbieta Prucnal-Tumasz** (University of Wrocław, Poland): Job offers promising high standards of job quality: What employers declare to SAP consultants in the Polish professional labour market in today's digital world.

13:45-14:45: Lunch break

14:45-16:15: Changing social worlds: the (post)pandemic experiences: regular session IV (15 minutes each presentation, 30 minutes for discussion) (chair: Elżbieta Prucnal-Tumasz)

Małgorzata Kułakowska (Jagiellonian University, Poland)

Digital education - risks and opportunities.

Tetyana Ouerghi (University of Warsaw, Poland)

Revolution in school education: new opportunities and threats in the post pandemic situation.

Piotr Pieńkowski (University of Wrocław, Poland)

Pandemic and its alternative narratives in online communities.

Klaudia Kościńska (Institute of Slavic Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences)

Between care and discrimination. Minority movements and its digital reactions during the pandemic in Georgia

**Azad Heydarov** (University of Wrocław, Poland)

Digital nomads and post-pandemic social order

16:15-16:45: Closing of the conference (Adam Mrozowicki and sessions' chairs)

#### THE BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

### THEORETICAL DEBATES ON DIGITALIZATION AND WORK PLENARY SESSION I

**Kazimierz Krzysztofek** (SWPS University, Poland): Digital steroids and technology fatigue? Painful adjustment to the hyper-digitization of work.

For the last decade in the pre-pandemic period most scholars claimed the life and work environment were becoming less physical and more and more hybrid, cyber-physical. In the time of pandemic it is still cyber-physical, yet we see a shift towards greater virtuality as direct not mediatized contacts in the work processes become weaker. This comes out not only from pademic but also from the very fact that job market is increasingly powered by the generation born in XXI c. with "smartphone at hand" preferring online activities. Digitization of works is additionally geared by the new tools facillitating performance of work in cyber-environment (communication platforms). The new generation of network technologies (5G) makes it even easier.

This situation is altering the work status, creates a demand not so much of new professions as "package" of new skills and competences that dynamize the labour market and productivity. Some areas of manufacturing and services will be winners while others - loosers.

Yet it creates the new challenges difficult to cope with. One of the most weighing is the painful adaptation to what I call hyper-technologisation of work and over-digitization resulting in technology-fatigue. This will differ depending on biological (age) and socio-demographic characteristics of employees. By necessity, it is a reactive adaptation aimed at survival, not a proactive one, anticipated by appropriate training, educational programs, mental disposition. Simply speaking, pandemic took employers, workers, gig, free lancers etc. by surprise. There made itself known the mental, cultural and institutional time lag, to use William Ogburn's description.

It is beyond grasp what the work in post-pandemic world will look like as in the forseeable future we will have to deal with pandemic (pandemics) of varied forms. It is hard to expect that our life and work get "back on track", return to the state from before the pandemic. There will be neither a simple continuation nor radical breaking with the past, rather a mix of contniuity and change. What we are wittnessing nowadays has got characteristic of a trurbulent and traumatic crisis, a passage from a known social and economic order to an unknown one. No one knows whether this will be an order or a long-lasting disorder demandig permanent adaptations. Douptless we will have a proper language to adequately describe and clarify the new phenomena . The paradigms we use are becoming more and more obsolete.

**Katarzyna Śledziewska and Renata Włoch** (University of Warsaw, Poland): The Covid-19 pandemic as an accelerator of digital transformation: the consequences for the labour markets.

In our forthcoming book The Economics of Digital Transformation (2021) we assume that the digital economy emerges in a series of digital transformations of markets and modes of production, consumption and work. Basing on this assumption, we show how the acceleration of digitalization caused by the Covid-19 pandemics impacts the labour market. We focus on the three major factors of change: (1) the massive shift towards remote work, which contributed to the change in work culture; (2) the intensification of automation of both cognitive and physical work encouraged by the pandemic conditions; (3) the breaking up of value and supply chains encouraged the relocalization of production nearer the markets and innovation centres.

Combined, these three factors will add to datafication and fragmentation of work, platformization of employment, and enhanced globalization of the labour market. Ultimately, the accelerated digital transformation will result in the deepening chasm between the highly-skilled and low-skilled workers.

**Paul Stewart, Mark Smith and Genevieve Shanahan** (Grenoble Ecole de Management, France): Individualism and Collectivism at Work in an Era of Deindustrialization: Work Narratives of Food Delivery Couriers in the Platform Economy.

The rise of the gig economy is frequently taken as a cipher for the developing deindustrialisation of western societies. Moreover, some interpret the shift of manufacturing jobs to the global south and their replacement with service sector jobs as a one-way street, leading to the demise of decent work and the rise of work characterized by precarity, low pay, low skill and a non-unionized workforce.

However, the reality is inevitably more complex. In the first place, pessimism may be attributed to a rose-tinted view of the experience of former industrial employment in the global north resulting from a questionable assumption about the nature of the jobs that occupied most people in former industrial societies. Certainly, deindustrialisation is not leading to "de-working," that is, working less for the same money. With respect to gig work, autonomy and flexibility are central to labour inducement and hence labour control. Yet at the same time, and linked to the latter, we need to explore the persistence of workspace collectivism. Our evidence derives from qualitative interviews with gig workers in the food delivery sector in a number of European countries. We highlight the extent to which couriers profess a variety of understandings of the character of platform economy labour processes. A range of narratives include platform work as leisure, as economic opportunity, and as collectivist labour. Moreover, individuation, attendant upon the character of the physical labour process, did not lead in any straightforward way to individualism in social labour processes—contrary to our expectations, we in fact witnessed forms of collectivism. Collectivism is to be distinguished from "types of solidarity" described by Morgan and Pulignano (2020) whereby neo-liberalism has transformed a range of institutional forms of labour solidarities.

By contrast, we are concerned with the persistence of the collective worker within the changing sociological structure of work. This echoes the earlier finding by Stephenson and Stewart (2001) that collectivism endures even when behaviourally absent and indeed even in the context of individualized working—termed "whispering shadow." Thus, the objective of the paper is to explore the forms of actor individualism and collectivism identified in our research. Given platforms' external control, the gig economy spatially separates workers while at the same time requiring cognition of colleagues' collective work and labor process. Notwithstanding structural processes separating workers-in-work, platforms also witness the instantiation of forms of collectivism. Deindustrialisation is neither the end to collectivism nor trade unionism. Rather than post-work, then, we explore the problematics of plus work and variant collectivisms.

**Valeria Pulignano** (KU Leuven, Belgium) **and Glenn Morgan** (University of Bristol, England): Emerging 'Grey Zones' at the Interface of Work and Home. Advancing Research and Theory on Precarious Work.

The growth of precarious work poses a challenge to generate significant rethinking of the future directions of work. We focus on the growing importance of 'grey zones' at the interface between the sphere of public (paid) work and private home (domestic) work. Between these two spheres, there is emerging a series of 'grey zones' characterized by work that is unpaid but

necessary to engage in the public sphere of paid work. At the same time, this work relies on the existence of a private sphere that can support such 'grey zones', often by making the domestic sphere more oriented to the marketability of its participants. We explain how this can provide a distinctive framework for understanding the reconfiguration of precarious work. Thus, we propose a new direction for theory and research that expands the range of dimensions, processes, conditions and actors shaping precarious work.

### CHANGING EMPLOYMENT IN THE (POST)PANDEMIC TIMES: REGULAR SESSION I

Vera Trappmann, Ioulia Bessa, Simon Joyce, Denis Neumann, Mark Stuart, Charles Umney (University of Leeds). Labour unrest of food delivery workers

This study examines patterns of platform labour unrest on a global scale, drawing from a database of over 500 instances of labour unrest in the food delivery sector. Results show that labour unrest has been growing in recent years and has spread across a large number of countries around the world. Research findings show that labour unrest is driven by workers themselves, but increasingly receives support from trade unions. Relying hitherto mainly on the ability to act collectively (associational power) and to mobilise public support for their cause (societal power), trade unions through their political and legal experiences add a further dimension to the power resources available. Issues driving unrest are not necessarily linked to novel characteristics of platform work. In most cases and regions, they have their source in classic conflicts of distributional quality like pay and working conditions. Employment relations and health protection under the Covid-19 pandemic add, however, to the urgency of finding solutions to the causes of workers' unrest.

**Jacek Burski** (University of Wrocław, Poland) and **Alicja Palęcka** (University of Warsaw, Poland): Technological challenges in everyday work in time of pandemic.

The starting point of the paper is Hartmut Rosa's theory describing the experience of late modernity as a function of broadly understood acceleration (Rosa 2020; Rosa and Scheuerman 2009). A new field for interpreting the theory proposed by Rosa appears with the emergence of the COVID-19 pandemic, which can be treated as a threat beyond the scope of currently available social risk theories (Arias-Maldonado 2020). In the paper we will focus especially on one dimension of acceleration, namely the technological one, as it is observed in the field of work in times of pandemic.

According to Rosa, technological acceleration is one of the most easily measurable dimensions of late modernity (the other two are the acceleration of social changes and the acceleration of the pace of life). Its effect is, among other things, the increasing importance of time as a resource at the expense of space (which is losing its importance with the increasing pace of movement). Rapid communication has its consequences in growing the volume of transactions, available information, connections and tasks. Work is one of the spheres in which these processes are particularly visible. We assume that they intensified during the pandemic, influencing the world of work, especially in three key sectors on which we are going to focus: education, healthcare and logistics. All of them are experiencing intensification of work and changes in its organization.

In the paper, we ask the following questions: what are the technological challenges faced by employees in chosen sectors in the context of pandemic? What strategies can we recognize in workers' activities regarding technological change? Referring again to Rosa, can we talk about

a slowdown or a deregulation of technological acceleration (eg. imbalance between private and professional life in the case of working from home)? Can we talk about the phenomenon of turbo-digitization?

We aim to present an analysis of the intersection of technology and work in chosen sectors in various countries based on a systematic review of international literature. In the last few months inflation of literature production on the topic of work in pandemic can be observed. Publications are often based on case studies and are geographically dispersed. We will systematize our analysis by confining it to three sectors, essential in the pandemic: healthcare, education and logistics, and to the subject of technology as an actor in the work process.

The paper is prepared within the research project: 'COV-WORK: Socio-economic consciousness, work experiences and coping strategies of Poles in the context of the post-pandemic crisis", funded by the National Science Centre, Poland (project no: 2020/37/B/HS6/00479).

**Jacqueline Kacprzak** (Collegium Civitas, Poland): New technology companies – risks posed to the human rights in the (post)pandemic world

During the COVID-19 pandemic new technologies, such as facial recognition, biometric or geolocation devices began to be used on a larger scale in order to control epidemiological risks. Special applications have also been developed to inform users about the fact that they have had contact with people potentially infected with the virus. Some of the companies have increased the currently used online tools to communicate with their customers. This mostly applies to the financial and e-commerce sectors. In addition, many entities have switched to the remote organization of work. On one hand, this increased the use of technology, on the other it also impacted the consumers' and employees' rights. At the same time, AI and new technologies are increasingly used in a number of new areas such as judiciary, education, health protection and others which are associated with a greater demand for software and the use of new technological devices ever. This results in an increase of products ordering and further development of new technology companies. An interesting example is the development of companies creating applications for mobile phones that allows for massive collection of data on users behavior, beliefs and habits. Basing on the accumulated data, algorithms make it possible to develop new products and services "needed" by the prospective users.

International organizations have already developed and are still working on some instruments and regulations regarding AI and new technologies at international and regional levels, some of which I will present. Individual countries are also starting to follow these recommendations, for example in Poland there is already a "Policy for the Development of Artificial Intelligence in Poland from 2020". The aim of the policy is to protect human dignity while taking advantage of opportunities related to the development of AI for society, companies, scientists and public administration. The purpose of this particular study is to capture new regulatory proposals in the field of human rights protection against violations resulting from the use of AI and new technologies. The analyses carried out so far by the Council of Europe in this regard have confirmed that the existing framework based on human rights democracy and the rule of law, can provide an appropriate context for the development of a more detailed binding instruments. However, it is important to note that the risk of violation of human rights is possible among users of new technologies, as well as - mentioned much less frequently - among employees of new technology companies. In my presentation I will mostly focus on the responsibility of AI developers, manufacturers and service providers. One part of this responsibility is to make companies aware of the need to respect human rights of their workers, users and customers. The basis for these considerations will be the analysis of information on human rights disclosed by Polish IT companies in their non-financial statements.

Martyna Czajka (University of Wrocław, Poland): Challenges caused by forced digitalization in communication between culturally diverse employees with particular reference to the COVID-19 period.

The purpose of my presentation is to discuss challenges caused by forced digitalization in communication between employees with the particular reference to the COVID-19 period. The analysis was based on a desk research, including several latest reports. Conclusions will be presented in a form of a simplified summary.

The growing role of digital technologies undeniably creates the reality of recent years. Modern international corporations deal with changing demands from the market and employees, demanding innovative approach and high flexibility. Contemporary employee of a multinational corporation has to confront the requirements established by the organization, applied technologies, as well as challenges of the cultural nature. The COVID-19 pandemic has not only accelerated ongoing processes, but in many cases has also forced digitization of work

The following questions will be answered:

- What are the barriers to digital communication?
- What challenges does digitalization pose for communication?
- Does the cultural aspect (really) matter?
- What is the impact of digitalization on business communication during COVID-19?

The specifics of nowadays business not only forced the emergence of virtual teams, but also contributed to their broad popularization. It is interesting to note that even groups working together in a common location are taking advantage of technology and choosing electronic contact over in-person interaction. The report prepared by Aon Consulting states that usage of virtual teams has a real impact on improving employee productivity by up to 43%. The virtual reality of business has become so ingrained in today's work style that it has resulted in defining the principles associated with managing a virtual team (Virtual Team Management).

The COVID-19 pandemic that redefined global reality in 2020 has unquestionably accelerated the digitalization trend in business world. The main focus is on everyday work, new technologies and changes in the labor market in the pandemic period. Although the situation is forcing an increase, if not a complete shift, to the virtual communication, it is important to question whether face-to-face communication plays a special role or fulfill a particular purpose compared to computer-mediated communication. Differences between face-to-face communication and online meetings will be discussed, including current global situation and cultural factors. Not only theoretical aspects but also a modern case study will be presented including both perspectives of employee and employer.

### DIGITAL TRANSFORMATION AT WORK REGULAR SESSION II

**Vassil Kirov** (Institute for the Study of Societies and Knowledge, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Bulgaria): How Digital Transformation Impacts the Business Process Outsourcing Ecosystem in Sofia?

The main objective of the paper is to analyze the specific role of the digitalization and its impact on a regional ecosystem, illustrated by the case of Sofia. The city's economy was marked by the rapid growth of IT and outsourcing industries over the past few years. While the outsourcing

industry was hardly known in Bulgaria in the midst of the 2000s (Kirov and Mircheva, 2009). At present, 60 000 employees work in Business Process or Information Technology Outsourcing, located mainly in Sofia. 4.8% of Bulgaria's GDP is generated by the sector. In order to explore the digitalization-driven restructuring we critically analyse the recent contributions investigating the impacts of the digital transformation on work and employment. In the continuum of pessimistic to optimistic scenarios about job destruction / job creation / job change / job replacement we claim a more nuanced view on the possible job destruction, focusing on the job change (Warhurst et al., 2019). The notion of entrepreneurial ecosystem, defined as "a set of interdependent actors and factors coordinated in such a way that they enable productive entrepreneurship within a particular territory" (Stam & Spigel, 2017) is used interpret and explain how digital transformation has taken shape and what its effects have been at regional level. The analysis is prepared on the basis of desk research and twenty semistructured interviews with stakeholders (regional and national authorities, social partners, company managers and experts). The research is part of a larger EU H2020 project (http://beyond4-0.eu/), focused among others on the economic impact of digital transformation on the basis of 6 regions (in Bulgaria, Finland, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain and the UK). The initial findings of the research suggest and increasingly complex impact of digitalisation in the context of Covid-19 pandemic, namely with a job change - with the automation of simple tasks through the use of bots; job shifts to platforms and through a geographical dispersion and home-based work and finally, through a move towards 'higher value added' service. In this context companies seem to exercise increasing pressure on employees to be "responsible for their well-being and autonomy", to be ready to be paid less (in case of client's demand) and to engage in more complex tasks.

**Piotr Binder** (Polish Academy of Sciences, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Poland) Digital Transformations of Work and Social Change: Pre-pandemic Experiences of Remote Work in Light of Qualitative Interviews.

The proposed paper's starting point is the interest in the phenomenon of remote work, which, as an organizational solution, began to be practiced in Poland on a massive scale during the coronavirus pandemic. In a broader context, it attempts to reflect on one of the progressive social change dimensions, which may have escaped - at least partly - researchers' attention. Remote work has been the subject of academic reflection since the 1970s (Bailey & Kurland, 2002; Ellison, 1999; Messenger, 2019; Mokhtarian et al., 2005; Nilles et al., 1976; Shin et al., 2000). Until recently, remote employment in Poland in the field of social sciences had an image of a relatively new niche (Gądecki et al., 2017; Gądecki & Żadkowska, 2016) and a "nontypical" form of work (Spytek-Bandurska, 2015). Simultaneously, even before the pandemic, remote work was already somewhat popular in many branches and constituted a permanent organizational culture component. It also encouraged reflection on the extent to which working in different professions is remotely feasible (teleworkability) [Sostero et al., 2020]. The paper's empirical basis is the analysis of 50 in-depth interviews with people working remotely during the first wave of the coronavirus (spring 2020) and the related lockdown. The study participants represented three categories: young adults, parents living with children, and seniors living in voivodeship cities, small towns, and villages. The proposed presentation focuses on the prepandemic experiences of remote work due to their importance in the later period when an epidemic forced remote work. They will be discussed based on the developed four-element typology. During its creation, particular attention was paid to social practices related to "remote work components," understood primarily as activities performed via electronic means of communication (ICT). Based on the conducted analyses, a thesis was formulated that social practices in remote work (but also interest in this type of work) have evolved over the past two

decades, long before the pandemic outbreak. This process's essence was the gradual dissemination and growth of remote work components' intensity (e-mail exchange, instant messaging, online platforms) in various on-site work settings (primarily, but not exclusively, in office-type work). For this reason, the changes related to the extent to which remote work is currently practiced are interpreted as a far-reaching intensification of already widespread practices. This thesis was based on the research participants' accounts. When remote work became compulsory (or even forced) during the lockdown, the problem was not the lack of digital competencies or remote work experience. Instead, the lack of appropriate working conditions (free space on the table, a comfortable chair), availability of computer equipment, stable internet connection, access to nurseries, kindergartens, and schools (in the case of parents), or emotional consequences related to this new experience constituted the primary sources of obstacles. The essential importance of the analyzed phenomenon was that thanks to the popularisation of the remote work components (as opposed to comprehensive solutions such as "teleworking") allowed a relatively smooth (although socially costly) transition to the remote mode of work of the entire economy's branches.

**Katarína Lukáčová** (Scuola Normale Superiore & Sant'Anna di Pisa, Italy): Technological Change in Highly Industrialized Countries: A Key Moment for Industrial Relations in (post) Pandemic Era?

The paper looks at how the pandemics has affected the emerging complementarities between institutions and manufacturing model in Slovakia, assessing its potential to accelerate or modify the pre-pandemic trends. The unprecedented character of pandemic has shifted many spheres of work life into digital space and accelerated ongoing technological processes. For a country that relies on industrial production like Slovakia, it means that technological change may potentially have a speed-upeffect on the manufacturing jobs(ZAP, 2020). Resulting work displacement and skill polarisation may jeopardize socio economic an economic model that has been based on attraction of FDI in foundation manufacturing(ETUI, 2020; Drahokoupilet al., 2019; Mýtna-Kureková, 2018). The extent to which pandemic and digital transformation hits the Slovak automotive sector remains an open question. However, change does not take place in isolation. It is asocial process relying on institutions. Therefore, there is an emerging need to look at how IR institutions and technological change interact in shaping work. The paper's theoretical framework takes institution as crucial in every crisis including covid-19. Particularly, change in the workplace and the labourmarket is mediated by employment relations'institutions through power and social relations among actors. In this contribution, we will look at key collective actors of IRtrade unions and employer associations, particularly at how they respond to the simultaneous challenges of technological transformation, institutional reform, and their prospects for the (post)pandemic reality. What is shaping their responses, and to what extent are these actions adaptive, innovative, or experimental? We will compare previous attitudes and strategies about technological change with the development since the beginning of the pandemic. The relevance of the Slovak case is in depth and the extent of changetriggered by the pandemic. The dramatic escalation of the pandemic did not only hitthe fragile health service, but also the industrial relation system. Following new elections, asignificant revision of Labour Code took place, undermining key employment relation institutions and especially sectoral collective bargaining. Therefore, trade unions may see their role in negotiating the terms of technological change threatened. Furthermore, institutional reform impacts the actors' political opportunity structure leading to strategic dilemmas between participation and resistance to change. Technological and institutional change have been rarely studied together, and the pandemic-crisis offers a unique case for observing their mutual relations. The focus of the paper is on the automotive sector. It has been Slovakia's flagship sector in terms of FDI and export contribution and have relatively strong employee representation but may be subject to radical restructuring to accommodate technological transformation such as the so-called Industry 4.0. The analysis is based on documentary data and small number of semi-structured interviews with representatives of trade unions, and employer associations at sectoral and national level. Aqualitative approach is chosen to better understand the interactions between technology and institutions in terms of opportunities for change and resistance, while looking at the particular role of IR in such processes.

#### Karol Muszyński, Valeria Pulignano and Claudia Mara (KU Leuven, Belgium)

Product market regulation and working conditions within platform work. A comparison between international and regional food delivery platforms in Poland and Italy

The effects of platforms on employment conditions have been primarily analyzed through the lenses of their interactions with labour market regulation and in isolation with the product market regulation (PMR). However, studies in the industrial and employment relations tradition suggest that PMR is crucial for understanding employment outcomes (Gall et al. 2011). It is because PMR limits competition between companies based on wages and working standards (Brown 2008; Brown et al. 2008; Brown 2010), whereas higher competition in (sub)sectors with less PMR weakens the ability of workers to bargain and deteriorates wages and working conditions (Pulignano et al. 2016; Aidt & Sena 2005), with employers using the competition to force concessions, like lower wages and non-standard contracts, from workers (Benassi & Dorigatti 2017). PMR also accounts for the employment conditions in labour markets by regulating the way in which services are provided and goods manufactured (Verma & Kochan 2004; Turnbull 2006; Lévesque & Murray 2010).

The paper aims to explore how and why product markets (if at all) impact employment effects in the context of platform economy. More concretely, we ask: are there (if any) differences in the way in which platforms affect employment conditions, and why? How far does the different way (if any) in which platforms engage with PMR and are affected by PMR explain the diversity in labour platforms' employment effects? Has PMR played any role in terms of change in the employment effects generated during the COVID-19? How does it all inform us in the context of current discussions about the regulation of platform work after the COVID-19?

We answer these questions by studying international and regional food delivery platforms operating across and within Italy and Poland, countries which present differences in both product and labour market regulation. The empirical basis of the paper are narrative interviews with workers (n=50), as well as expert interviews with policy makers, trade unionists, and platform managers (n=16) conducted in 2020-2021.

**Kamila Naumowicz** (University of Warmia and Mazury, Poland): Remote work and gender - the influence of digitalisation of work on the gender inequalities.

The COVID-19 pandemic has led to a growing and common use of digital tools in the working performance, creating an "always on call" working culture and 24/7/365 availability. These working conditions have negative impact both on the health and safety of the worker (leading to isolation, depression, sleeping disorders), but they also make the boundaries between work and private life disappear, causing a particularly high risk for women.

The results of the survey launched by Eurofound in April and June 2020 regarding the influence of COVID-19 pandemic on the working conditions and work-life balance, demonstrate that women are facing more difficulties on the digital labour market than men, due to the disproportionate division of childcare and household duties. The growing use of digital tools in the work process and the 'constantly on-call' culture have disproportionately negative impact on workers with caring responsibilities, who tend to be women.

Therefore, the main question of the presented paper is to examine how this particularly vulnerable position of women could be addressed by applying gender-approach to the legal debate on remote work. Special attention is given to the latest proposal of the European Parliament to regulate the right to disconnect and its implications on the principle of gender equality in the digital labour market. The author analyses some of the legal and organizational measures that should be taken into consideration to ensure equal opportunities and benefits from the use of modern technologies both for men and women.

# DIGITALISATION AND WORK IN THE TIMES OF PANDEMIC: THE NEW VENUES OF EMPIRICAL RESEARCH - PLENARY SESSION II

**Jan Zygmuntowski** (Kozminski University, Poland) **and Nikodem Szewczyk** (University of Warsaw, Poland): Digital Taylorism after COVID-19: Studying workplace surveillance in white collar jobs.

Disciplinary practices in workplaces were already increasing in the years preceding COVID-19 pandemic, with the rise of 'surveillance capitalism' (Zuboff, 2019). Most notably, this included the use of new technologies, leading to data-driven pressure on productivity and growing worker alienation. ICT is not always used purely complementarily to human labour, but often becomes the tool for work rationalization and control by measuring, tracking and deploying nudges. This new reality translates employees into digital data flows intended for scrutiny and targeted interventions (Manokha, 2019). Digital Taylorism is the current mode of Taylor's 'scientific management' of labour, achieved through application of technological apparatuses to dissect, fragmentise and optimise each work process (Staab, 2016). It can be understood as both a set of managerial practices leveraging digital tools and a form of exerting biopower, at times described as 'algorithmic governance' (Katzenbach, Ulbricht, 2019). This inevitably means not only process-optimisation, but most importantly the optimization of those who are subjects to the process – workers themselves.

The dramatic shift to telecommuting, home office and widely understood work from home (WFH) during COVID-19 pandemic across sectors of the economy created novel interest in Digital Taylorism amongst managers. From IT jobs, still regarded in CEE region as securing top quality of employment, to marketing, sales and administrative positions – the virtual office meant no escape from being watched.

We apply qualitative methods to study several cases of introduction of digital tools for workplace surveillance in Poland. Since there is a rich literature on manual labour, most notably Amazon warehouses, we focus primarily on white collar jobs. Unstructured interviews with managers allow us to understand the reasoning behind Digital Taylorism and complex interplay between privacy and productivity in times of CODI-19 and beyond.

**Milosz Miszczyński** (Kozminski University, Poland) **and Patrizia Zanoni** (Hasselt University, Belgium, Utrecht University, the Netherlands): Unveiling the alienated worker behind global logistics: A study of the atomization and socialization of labour in the Amazon warehouse.

Over the last decades, logistics has increasingly become crucial for capital accumulation. This paper investigates the production of compliant worker subjectivities in global logistics by drawing on the case of an Amazon warehouse in Poland. Theoretically, we rely on Marx's dialectical concept of alienation to show how, at the frontier of the European Union, casualized contracts and algorithmic management produce a compliant worker subjectivity but also the preconditions for subjects' class consciousness. Work in Amazon estranges workers from the work process, social relations with co-workers, the commodities they handle, and ultimately themselves as human beings. Yet, at the same time, it reconstitutes workers away from 'local' conditions, in relation to global capital, as universal, undifferentiated labour, and as part of a global consumer force. This subjectivity enforces subordination to capital, yet is also necessary for workers to become aware of being labour, a precondition, if not a guarantee, for class antagonism to emerge. Our study contributes to the existing literature on capital-labor relations in logistics, which has to date largely focused on structural explanations of workers' consent, overlooking subjection. Moreover, it recovers Marx's dialectical understanding of alienation as a condition inherent in capitalism, beyond prevailing psychological conceptualizations.

**Katarzyna Andrejuk** (Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences) Digital works in transnational environments: superdigitalization of migrant entrepreneurship.

Migrant entrepreneurs often base their activities on cross-border exchanges and intensive cross-border mobility. The pandemic has put a stop to these patterns of entrepreneurship, enhancing locality in business activities and enforcing sedentarity within migrant populations. The popularization of online activities appeared in various aspects of entrepreneurship: digitalization is observed in advertising, providing services, contacts with customers, and modes of transactions. Within migrant communities, especially among migrant entrepreneurs, it is even more evident than in the native populations because of migrants' embeddedness in transnational environments which are less accessible during lockdowns and closed/ semi-open borders. Migrants choose digital transnationalism instead of cross-border mobility and cross-border offline contacts. The scale and intensity of changes justify the understanding of these processes as superdigitalization.

The most vulnerable groups such as migrants are usually among those most affected by crises. However, superdigitalization also gives the opportunity to overcome some uncertainties and obstacles associated with migrant status: for example reducing additional lengthy bureaucratic procedures, or prejudice connected with perception of ethnicity in face to face contacts. The cost-efficiency of digitalized activities is also important for migrant firms, which often operate on the verge of profit. In migrant entrepreneurship, the changes include: 1) more frequent ditigal activities, even in the spheres where they were already present; 2) more varied digital activities, e.g. emerging in the traditionally offline branches; 3) more acceptance for digital activities from customers, contractors, and other parties (such as state authorities). While migrants' digital works have dramatically increased because of the pandemic and associated restrictions, they will not necessarily end when the pandemic is over. The analysis is based on the case study of Polish migrant entrepreneurs in the UK (in-depth interviews - both online and offline, participant observation). The empirical research was conducted after the outbreak of the pandemic. In addition, even though the pandemic plays the most significant role in speeding up the digital conversion, the case study of Poles in the UK also gives the opportunity to

examine how Brexit and the associated process of enforcing borders leads to even more digitalization in entrepreneurial activities.

**Dominika Polkowska** (Maria Curie Skłodowska University, Poland) **and Bartosz Mika** (University of Gdańsk, Poland): Digitally mediated work-on-demand in the Central and Eastern Europe. The Peculiar Case of Uber's fleet partners in Poland.

In proposed presentation the authors treat Polish labor market as a part of Semi-peripheral Patchwork Capitalism (Rapacki and Czerniak, 2019). In semi-peripheral countries, like Poland, employment relations are based mostly on a hybrid institutional system. Multinational companies apply innovations to adapt to and change the existing legal regulations often using digital technologies. This presentation refers to example of such process, namely Uber's activity in Poland. The adjustment strategy adopted by this global company in the Polish market is to use an intermediary – referred to by the platform as a 'fleet partner'. Based on 42 interviews with Uber drivers in Poland (conducted between 2018–2020), this paper tries to discover the prerequisites of the emergence of 'fleet partners' in a semi-peripheral type of work-on-demand platform. In the context of legislation reform in 2020 disturbed by SARS-COVID-19 pandemic authors follow the changes in the status of these intermediators. Using the concept of patchwork capitalism adopted for CEE countries, the study shows that intermediaries took advantage of institutional hybridity placing themselves between a global giant and a local regulator and passed the final burden of the on-demand work further onto the drivers.

# THE WORLDS OF WORK IN PRE- AND POST-PANDEMIC PERIOD: REGULAR SESSION III

### Markieta Domecka and Valeria Pulignano (KU Leuven, Belgium)

Who can afford to work for free? Unpaid work and inequality in the creative sectors.

Unpaid work is endemic to creative sectors (Brook et al., 2020), being a way to cope with underfunding and budget constraints, but who can actually afford to work for free? Comparing work and life experiences of dancers on the one hand, and journalists and translators, on the other hand, we show the consequences of unpaid work in terms of unequal access to creative work in four different national contexts: the Netherlands and Sweden (for dancers), and Belgium and France (for journalists and translators). The extent to which unpaid work contributes to perpetuation of inequality depends on whether other social support structures exist or not, and how efficient they are.

Unpaid work in dance, journalism and translation takes different forms, depending on work content, workers' employment status and the fact if they work online or offline. What all these sectors have in common is the conflation of paid and unpaid work, as within the same temporal and spatial contexts, only some tasks, or only the tasks performed by some workers, will be remunerated. Unpaid work is believed to be a stepping stone to paid work, the only way to get experience, to learn the trade and to develop crucial networks. Unpaid work is also a 'rule of the game', leaving little choice to aspiring creative workers as the sanctions for non-complying include stigmatisation and exclusion.

As in all national contexts we observe the commodification of creative work, its extent differs. Also in all four countries we see the withdrawal of the state, but again the extent differs across national contexts with different consequences for unpaid work and patterns of inequality.

When the state withdraws becoming a silent actor and the employment is replaced by project work, this is the household that is supposed to pick up the slack. Still, not all households have the capacity to carry the shifted burden. Who can then afford to do work for free? Those who have access to resources subsidising their unpaid work, and who are unburdened by caring responsibilities. As affluent households are able to take up the role of supporting the aspiring creative workers through periods of unpaid and underpaid work, covering the costs of living and providing the safety net, those with limited resources simply pay the costs of unpaid work as the precarity emerging in the sphere of work is brought back home. As a consequence, we see the constantly reproduced patterns of inequality: middle-class, white and childless people get a chance to become creative workers while others get cut off by the impossibility of working for free in hope that one day the unpaid may be transformed into paid work. These patterns of inequality have been exacerbated by the pandemic as in the situation of drastically reduced work opportunities (as in case of dancers) and insufficient government support measures, those relying on household resources may persist, while others are forced to search for paid jobs outside creative sector.

We consider the relations between unpaid work and inequality patters through the analysis of 56 narrative biographical interviews (26 with dancers, 10 with journalists and 20 with translators), collected within the ERC ResPecTMe project: Researching Precariousness across the Paid/Unpaid Work Continuum.

**Tatiana Majcherkiewicz** (Pedagogical University of Krakow, Poland), **Marzena Kaleta** Class identity among young members of the working class and their view on the impact of the Covid pandemic on their opportunities in the labour market.

This presentation aims to investigate the opinions of young working-class men and women regarding the main sources of inequalities in Polish society, their views on social stratification in Poland, and whether they see themselves as belonging to a particular class. It will address the question of whether the outbreak of the pandemic had an impact on their class identities. Equally importantly, it will examine how they define their situation in the labour market, with an emphasis on characteristics that may suggest the precarity of their employment both prepandemic and after its onset. Precarious employment will be defined by the multilevel criteria proposed in PREWORK research. An additional emphasis will be placed on the health and safety of the work environment, an issue that has been crucial during the pandemic.

The research will be based on around 30 in-depth interviews with young workers (aged 20-29) from the Podkarpacie region. The criteria for membership of the working class will be objective, using Hugrée, Penissat and Spire's list of the socio-economic groups forming this class. This will be supplemented by Gdula's description of the three-class structure, and in particular his account of the class situated at the bottom of the social hierarchy in Poland. The proposed article on young working-class men and women is inspired by Polish research investigating class identities, workers' opinions on the main divisions and inequalities in Polish society, and studies confirming the perseverance of class structure in Poland, including Domański, Gardawski, Ossowski, Ost, Janicka, Słomczyński and Mrozowicki and Czarzasty. The article will also use Pierre Bourdieu's concept of various forms of capital to investigate young working-class men and women's opportunities and risks in the labour market. Due to the scale of the research, we decided to focus on economic capital, with questions referring to the periods before the pandemic and after its onset. In defining economic capital, the criteria used will be objective (income and wealth) as well as subjective – their view on their economic conditions. When investigating economic capital, the emphasis will be on the interviewees' opinions on whether they see their incomes as sufficient and regular or have precarious employment. The article will consider the importance of accumulated assets underlined by

Savage, in particular ownership of property. In addition, it will refer to social and education capitals, with questions directed to whether they increase their chances in the labour market.

**Noémi Katona** (Hungarian Academy of Sciences Centre of Excellence, Hungary) and **Emília Barna** (Budapest University of Technology and Economics, Hungary) The Hungarian Sex Camera Industry: Digital Technology, Platform Capitalism, and Economic Crises.

In our proposed presentation, we look at the sex camera industry in Hungary with a focus on the central role of digital platform companies and the working conditions in the industry. Erotic web camera platforms emerged in the early 2000s. Since then, camming has become a global business, indicating the increasing digitalization of the sex industry. Although today there are hundreds of webcam sites operating worldwide, the market is dominated by the oligopoly of a few companies, including LiveJasmin, founded in 2001 and counting, presently, more than 50 million users and 1.5 million registered webcam models. The majority of studies of the sex camera industry focus on the work of models from the countries of the global core (e.g. Jones 2020), who have relatively higher social status and are more "successful." Other local settings and actors, however, are significantly under-researched. This is especially true for the Central and Eastern European region, which nevertheless plays a considerable role in the industry, not only through the platform LiveJasmin, but also through providing labour (models, chat operators, admin staff etc.).

In our research, we therefore asked how the sex industry has evolved along with digitalization in the global economy, and what characterises the operation of platforms, the central actors in this transformation, from the perspective of labour and in a local context. We look at how the semi-peripheral position of Hungary in the capitalist world-system and the local effects of both the 2008 economic crisis and the current COVID-19 crisis have impacted the working conditions and possibilities of local actors and workers. Our enquiry is based on interviews with people working in the sex camera industry in Hungary in various roles (e.g. chat operators, content managers), as well as the analysis of online sources (social media content, newspaper articles, image videos, and sex camera platforms themselves). Based on these, we will show that economic necessity in times of crisis is an important push factor for workers towards entering the sex cam industry. As a result, platform companies are able to profit from these crises by using a local pool of young and unemployed labour as resource. More generally, our analysis indicates, on the one hand, that digital platformization has contributed to the expansion of the market: increasingly accessible technological infrastructure has made it easier for models alongside other workers to enter the industry. At the same time, looking at working conditions along the global value chain reveals that rather than technology acting as a "democratizing" force, existing global and gender inequalities are being strengthened through platformization, and crises such as the current COVID-19 situation only reinforce this effect.

**Tatiana Kanasz** (The Maria Grzegorzewska University, Poland): Mobility of Belarusians in the time of pandemic and political crisis and the role of the digital platforms in their adaptation.

In the context of immigration in the crisis pandemic time, researchers indicate the significance of the migrant online networking (Andrejuk, Winiarska 2020, Homel 2020). This means that digital support groups can be useful in many aspects of a newcomer's everyday life, including searching for a job or a place to live and to study, etc. Moreover, female migrants from Ukraine, Belarus and Russia were considered as a group of active online supporters on Facebook in Poland (Homel 2020, Kanasz 2019). They provided with not only information but also emotional support. The role of social media is also crucial in case of the potential immigrants from the former Soviet countries (Kanasz 2019). Thus, it is crucial to continue

researching the role of digital platforms in the processes of contemporary mobility in the rapidly changing political, economic and social situation in the region.

According to Belarusian statistics (BELTA 2020), in September and October 2020, about 3,000 Belarusians left for Ukraine, about 10,000 left for Poland, 500 left for Latvia and Lithuania. For the officials, these are labour migrants. However, this mobility of Belarusians in 2020 was caused in a great extent by political crisis in Belarus, which was overlapped with the pandemic of the COVID-19. The aim of this paper is to examine the role of the digital platforms in life of new Belarusian migrants in Central and Eastern Europe, with special attention given to Poland as an important receiving country. This study is based on the literature review, the online press articles and a non-participant observation of the Facebook group for Belarusians in Poland. The main outcome of the study demonstrates the role of Facebook as a platform of communication, co-sharing of information, advice and help where the key support comes from co-nationals integrated with the receiving society.

**Szymon Pilch and Adam Mrozowicki** (University of Wrocław, Poland): Work experience and job quality of workers in the logistics sector within the context of Covid-19 pandemic in Poland. Initial findings of literature review.

In the paper we will present and identify, drawing from the literature review, crucial findings on changes and consequences of the Covid-19 pandemic in the logistics affected by the pandemic crisis. We are particularly interested in three occupational groups: (1) logistics centers employees; (2) lorry drivers; (3) couriers employed by delivery companies. Logistics can be seen as the most substantial industry in modern economies, as some scholars suggest, and the Covid-19 related lockdowns appear to confirm it. The logistics sector continued to operate at high intensity throughout the pandemic despite increased health risks for workers. Initial observations suggest that high fluctuation in customer demand translated into the oversupply of labour which contributed to the (further) precarisation of working conditions characterized by work intensification, drop in remuneration and deterioration of contractual conditions (Muszyński et al., forth.). In the paper, we will review the existing research on three occupational groups mentioned and attempt to compare their working conditions and job quality prior and during pandemic based on the literature and secondary data (Statistics Poland, media coverage). Analysing job quality, we will focus on its dimensions such as: remuneration; working time; work pressure / intensification of work. Project NCN OPUS 19 "COV-WORK: Socio-economic consciousness, work experiences and coping strategies of Poles in the context of the post-pandemic crisis", funded by the National Science Centre in Poland, the NCN project number UMO-2020/37/B/HS6/00479.

**Elżbieta Prucnal-Tumasz** (University of Wrocław, Poland): Job offers promising high standards of job quality: What employers declare to SAP consultants in the Polish professional labour market in today's digital world.

The time of the pandemic has increased the demand for the use of services in the area of information and communication technologies (ICT) in both enterprises and households (GUS, 2020). The demand for expert knowledge in the areas of digitisation, automation and the robotisation of business processes has increased in the information technology (IT) labour market (GUS, 2020). In the professional labour market, the need and competition for ICT specialists have increased among employers. My study focuses on a specific IT professional group of SAP consultants (analysts and programmers) in the context of digitisation and the pandemic. This analysis is part of my research project which focuses on the quality of job performed by these experts. I present the results of the preliminary analysis of digital

documents in terms of the working conditions declared by employers at the initial stage of the recruitment process. The observation units are statements on selected dimensions of job quality included in job offers for SAP consultants available on social networks, on the websites of organisations employing SAP consultants (such as in the 'career' tabs on company blogs) and in press interviews with the representatives of employers in this industry. These are selected case studies. I analyse the contents of digital documents of selected organisations, focusing on the mentioned data sources, published during the pandemic in 2021. Job quality includes all the features of work that are related to its objective (observable) features (such as working conditions) and an employee's subjective work experience (a sense of well-being and job satisfaction). Therefore, I analyse the description of the working conditions offered. I also focus on the work dimensions that affect well-being and job satisfaction, such as work organisation, employment conditions offered, job security and flexibility, the possibility of using and developing competences, work autonomy and work-life balance.

I assume that, based on knowledge of modern incentive systems, these offers are intended to encourage talks, help start the negotiation process and establish cooperation between an SAP consultant and a potential employer. My analysis refers to the "good workplace" and "high-quality job" patterns, which offer attractive working conditions for high-class specialists. Job offers constructed in this way can increase the prestige of the profession, showing it as an attractive one, and affect its widespread perception in the labour market.

### CHANGING SOCIAL WORLDS: THE (POST)PANDEMIC EXPERIENCES REGULAR SESSION IV

**Małgorzata Kułakowska** (Jagiellonian University, Poland) Digital education - risks and opportunities.

The paper will present challenges and opportunities connected with digital education, especially in the context of higher education and internationalisation. The paper will present challenges faced by both academics and students when teaching and acquiring new knowledge in pandemic settings, as well as solutions used by various higher education institutions. Findings from international reports will be presented. The paper will also analyse how COVID impacted international exchange mobilities, with the special attention given to Erasmus programme. Finally, the chances connected with virtual mobilities will be presented. The paper will complete with future oriented research questions, when the author would aim to foresee which forms of remote learning are most likely to stay in post-pandemic circumstances.

#### **Tetyana Ouerghi** (University of Warsaw, Poland)

The revolution in school education: challenges and risks in post-pandemic situation

A pandemic caused by a virus Covid-19 paralyzed the whole educational system in 2020 and now in post-pandemic reality, education is experiencing a real revolution and important changes. Classical traditional schools are collapsing in front of our eyes. We find ourselves in a situation where the speed of change is difficult to understand and almost uncontrollable. There are 5 to 10 super interesting educational startups that appear every week. Teachers chaotically study new and new educational platforms, but the difficulty is that the final stages of educational changes are unpredictable and the student's results are paltry.

On the one hand in the XXI century it is not necessary to prove the need of using the latest technologies in educational practice. But on the other hand in my article, I would like to point out if the new technologies are really capable of transforming traditional schools and replacing the work of a teacher. There are different opinions on this subject. Some analysts claim that the

new trends in education such as mobile learning, edutainment, analytical technologies, mixed reality, artificial intelligence, block chain, virtual assistants, etc. are the future of modern post-pandemic education.

Others say that even well-designed innovations are still an extreme journey for those who are participating in them for the first time.

In my article I will try to present the challenges and risks of both sides of the process - teachers and their recipients - facing new educational post-pandemic realities.

### Piotr Pieńkowski (University of Wrocław, Poland)

Pandemic and its alternative narratives in online communities.

Unprecedented scale of current COVID-19 pandemic made it the main framework for social life in every area of activity. Public attention is dedicated to the problems of global health, national security and societal risk, what is rather unusual (majority of people don't consider their everyday actions as related to such processes). In result, societal interpretation and evaluation of governmental decisions may be perceived as continuum: from full support and acceptance of official solutions to total rejection and discredit of pandemic policy, even claiming that pandemic is global hoax. Extremes of this continuum can change over time, due to occurrence of new facts over time (i.e. more or less infections) or because there are several official ways to handle the crisis (i.e. states changing their policy after some period).

Main point of this article is to analyze online communities contesting official pandemic narrative. These communities refer either to groups focused on pandemic in particular, or to previously existing groups; can be created as strictly delimited bubbles or spontaneous labile communities. Digitalization has created broad space for discussion even for very marginal beliefs, underrepresented in the core debate. What is more, it shortened distance between contesting citizens and authorities.

#### The analyzed groups were:

- Facebook group "Nie szczepimy się" ("We don't vaccinate");
- online community of people commenting on YouTube channel "Media Narodowe" ("National Media");
- people discussing online on Ministry of Health Facebook fanpage.

Alternative narratives were presented in units of analysis: comments, statuses, pictures, memes and videos. Analysis was conducted with Atlas.ti software.

Research problems cover comparison of official and alternative narratives (is it continuum or dichotomous division), identification of structural and cultural determinants of joining contesting groups, their agency potential, strategies of argumentation (referring to professional discourse or common sense), specific language (neologisms, new meaning of old words), allies and enemies (politicians, celebrities, journalists), representation in mainstream media, individual or collective orientations.

**Klaudia Kościńska** (Institute of Slavic Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences) Between care and discrimination. Minority movements and its digital reactions during the pandemic in Georgia

In the last few years, the emergence of numerous cultural and social initiatives, which are initiated by the young generation of Azerbaijanis of Georgia, the biggest ethnic minority in the country, can be observed in Marneuli, which is placed on the territory of southeastern Georgia. The movement is diverse, but individuals who belong to it or sympathize with, have combined joint social and intervention activities during the pandemic, which allow finding a common feature that connects each of them. At the end of March 2020, by the decision of the Government of Georgia, Marneuli was closed and quarantined for 56 days due to repeated detection of Covid-19 infections. Residents whose livelihood depends on cultivation, trade, export, and temporary migration were forced to face a very demanding challenge, made even more difficult by the lack of access to information provided by the government in their native Azerbaijani language. What was the response to these events from activists living in Marneuli or connected with it? Based onethnographic interviews made in the last two years with local activists (research project partners), and through participatory and nonparticipatory observations, will be discussed social media campaigns they had to make against the crisis situation in which the local community found itself. Activists' perception of the decisions of local authorities in facing a pandemic and their reactions through several media tools will be analyzed as well. By using the concepts of moral economy, Foucauldian relation between power and knowledge, and anthropology of activism and resistance, can be showed the dominance of structural power existing in the language of the top-down communication, used by the Government of Georgia, types of struggles, and various types of agency manifested through interlocutors' positions. Referring to Daniel Miller's reflections, my presentation will help with understanding the relationship between cultural values and structural power in interpreting the response of activists to lockdown and how important a certain idea off airness becomes in these responses to policy change. Supported by technological possibilities, ethnic solidarity and the sense of injustice made my interlocutors cooperate and finding solutions for solving problems, in fact, without benefiting from direct help from the state.

### **Azad Heydarov** (University of Wrocław, Poland) Digital nomads and post-pandemic social order

Unlike location-dependent jobholders, who are massively forced to switch to remote work due to the recent pandemic, digital nomads have been adopting the lifestyle by utilizing technology-enabled means to achieve location independence. Muller (2016) proposed that to understand this social figure, individual leisure and mobility on the one hand and work-related labor market issues, on the other hand, should be taken into consideration. In popular culture, digital nomadism is promoted as an exciting lifestyle. During an online conversation of digital nomads in quarantine, to the question of what will be changing after the pandemic for the people who pursue this lifestyle, Enelin responds that she hopes others now will understand them(Sala S., 2020, m. 8:53). Further applications of digital ethnography reveal quarantines and lockdowns forced them to adopt the slow travel concept. From the analyses of the vlog posts by digital nomads, we may identify these individuals' discussions of the "new sustainable life strategies" such as "channeling energy" for giving back their accumulated social media capital through charity activities, supporting local communities on various destinations. Their help to businesses can promote locals' goods and turn empty hotels into co-living and co-working spaces. Another quite often mentioned negotiating life strategy by digital nomads is "keeping

a finger in a lot of pies." Researchers studied digital Nomads activities just before and during the pandemic, and their results are pretty critical (McElroy, 2019; Cook, 2020; Hermann and Paris, 2020; Wang et al., 2020). Mancinelli (2020), in her ethnographic research article, points to "specific economic strategies" employed by digital nomads as "geoarbitrage and the commodification of network capital" on the one hand and discusses "evidence" of how the digital nomadism concept "meets the ideology of entrepreneurialism" on the other hand. I argue that "Salaried masses" (Kracauer, 1998) echoes today's digital nomads as a new working class of people with differences specific to contemporary time. Kracauer's convictions were also shared later by Adorno to Honneth in the Critical Theory tradition. According to Honneth, suffering points to the pathological social order, which does not allow to become individual fully autonomous (Herzog, 2016). Considering several countries that started issuing digital nomad visas in Central and Eastern Europe, we need to understand these new social figures, which will probably be inspirations for many others to cope with uncertainties in the post-pandemic world. Therefore, I am proposing the interdisciplinary data gathering method to enrich studies about the digital nomad research category by introducing Wroclaw's case.