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Analiza dyskursu internetowych ogłoszeń o pracę we współczesnych korporacjach wielkorynkowych w Polsce

A discourse of the Internet job advertisements of contemporary big market corporations in Poland.

Abstract

The paper studies 45 out of 51 randomly drawn job advertisements published by big, global corporations in Warsaw (Poland) in 2018 on 5 popular job-hunting portals. Author investigates main discursive techniques used by corporations to attract potential employees and describes how advertisements both create and fall within scope of two main discursive formations on corporate employment: a) corporation as technocratic dystopia or b) corporation as a modern, global way of achieving success for aspirational middle class. The presented study utilizes theories of framing by E. Goffman (not used for research on employment culture before) and responds to the demands of Polish sociologists to conduct empirical research of modern corporate culture after 2010 counterbalancing the dominant economic and institutional perspective.

Słowa kluczowe: Corporation, work, discourse, advertisements, framing.

Abstrakt

W artykule analizie poddanych zostaje 45 wylosowanych spośród 51 dostępnych ogłoszeń o pracę w korporacji w 2018 r. na 5 popularnych portalach internetowych. Autor poszukuje głównych technik dyskursywnych i określa w jaki sposób ogłoszenia te tworzą na raz dyskurs samych korporacji, jak też stanowią podstawę dla dwóch formacji dyskursywnych o pracy korporacyjnej wytwarzanych przez społeczeństwo między innymi na ich podstawie: a) korporacja jako dystopia technokratyczna oraz b) korporacja jako nowoczesna, globalnie zakorzeniona droga do sukcesu i marzeń aspirującej klasy średniej. Artykuł wykorzystuje teorię ramowania Ervinga Goffmana (niestosowaną wcześniej w studiach kultury pracowniczej) oraz wpisuje się w postulaty polskich socjologów wskazujących konieczność prowadzenia badań empirycznych nowoczesnej kultury korporacyjnej po 2010 r., jako przeciwwagi dla dominującej perspektywy ekonomiczno-instytucjonalnej.

Słowa kluczowe: Korporacja, praca, dyskurs, ogłoszenia, ramowanie.

Introduction

~ "The name that started circulating online some time ago entered the language of Warsaw residents. When we asked questions on the corner of Domaniewska and Postępu Streets, most of the interviewees knew that we were in the middle of "Mordor". Not everyone, however, associated the corporate type of work and its most famous area with negative meanings. "Work like any other" - we heard from one of the interlocutors (...)"¹

This article analyzes a series of job advertisements in Warsaw corporations posted online in 2018. Its main scientific goal is to present basic discursive tendencies that attract employees, but also - build a symbolic image of work in corporations as a clearly defined lifestyle. The issue seems to be worth attention due to the noticeable popularity of corporate job among immigrants in the largest districts of Warsaw such as Białołęka, Wawer, and Wilanów. These places have been enlarging the city population in recent years and are one of its most dynamic reservoirs of economic strength in the city. Most of the immigrants decide to settle there and their following choice of work seems to be a corporate one (Przepiórkowski et al., 2016, 2017). On the other hand, the public attention towards corporate style of living (as opposed only to working in corporation) is attracted by books like the "IKEA Generation", which describe the specific lifestyle of the young corporate generation, their dreams, problems and ways of thinking (Piotr C., 2012). People who associate their professional careers with Warsaw corporations shape their own sociolect defining the corporate lifestyle and also shaping the intra-corporate culture, which is reflected in job advertisements. Society responds with intensified discussion around the phenomenon of the corporate work – usually negative colored discussion. Examples of pejorative terms used for corporate employees include many – such as: "the corpo", "korpolicy" (lit. corpo-tribes (neg.)), "reps" (sales representatives, often coming to Warsaw at the beginning of the week and leaving it for the weekend), "Mordorowcy" (lit. Moror People/Lovers) [analysis of Warsaw estate communities groups on Facebook].

However, not everything is so obvious. Many expressions used by the corporate employees themselves have a positive, self-evaluation dimension. They come primarily from

¹ „Mordor na Domaniewskiej. Jedyna taka dzielnica w Polsce”, access: <http://finanse.wp.pl/kat,1038021,title,Mordor-na-Domaniewskiej-Jedyna-taka-dzielnica-w-Polsce,wid,17399493,wiadomosc.html?ticaid=11877c>, Retrieved: January 2020 r.

the American corporate language adapted here in Poland: "white collars" (here with positive meaning), "break / meeting for lunch" (with additional, positive connotation as opposed to just eating a "normal breakfast/dinner"), "I'm a working office executive" [: Ibidem]. Englishisms also spread widely when it comes to the names of professions having their Polish equivalents, which are written down deliberately and consistently in English as opposed to other, not corporate type of advertisements [empiric study of the author]. Sometimes it is difficult to even find a job advertisement for a secretary/secretary, and you need to look for positions labeled "Junior / Senior Office Management Executive". Therefore, it seem worth looking at the discourse of job offers attracting employees to this specific cultural work environment and answering the questions why it is so and to whom specific forms of communication about corporations are directed. All the communication including job offers constitute the image of Warsaw corporations on a bigger scale and have become an important part of the modern society of late, global capitalism.

State of studies on corporate culture

Research on corporatism as an environment with a culture that promotes specific values and lifestyles is a relatively new field in Poland. In Western Europe or in the US, corporations have been also more often described through decades rather as a management structure, i.e. they were approached from the perspective of economic sciences and management science. Scientists used to analyze their role in economy, impact on market and marketing practices, institutional role on the market, and ways of efficient company management but not employee culture and not a specific corporate lifestyle. These kind of studies boomed as early as the 21st century globally but not here in Poland (Kozek, 1994, 1999; 2003; Kaysen, 1997; Busygina, Inna, 2011; Brealey, Myers, & Marcus, 2020). Taking all of that into consideration, it is difficult to find a specific canon of corporate culture studies over the last 10-15 years or talk about the cultural sociology of the corporation as such (Bander, 1975; Mason, 1980; Mohamad, 1987; Burrell & Morgan, 2019). In addition to European-American scientific circles, the subject was sporadically raised by Russians (Vladimirovich, 2016; Kuzminykh, & Kuzminykh, 2013). A breakthrough started in Japan - there scholars started treating corporate life in their country as an autonomous field of interest in sociology of culture relatively early in late XX c., because in Japan, the corporate culture

has an extremely strong and common impact on the everyday existence of society passing through the entire spectrum of class stratification - the folk, middle and upper classes (Takakuwa & Shin, 2005; Sugimoto & Yoshio, 2010).

However, empirical research and specific explorations based on data analysis from the latest corporate culture in Poland are extremely lacking. Journalistic books and reportage dominate (Piotr C, 2012; Wójcik, 2016). Most publicists criticize the corporation as a mechanized, technocratic dystopia of capitalism, describing the lives of employees like slaves in an irrational system resembling Hell of Dante (Barry, & Jęczmyk, 2007; Lyons, & Skowron, 2016). Their enemies – other journalists mostly - present the work in a corporation quite the opposite - enthusiastically - as a place meeting the expectations and specific lifestyle of people consciously choosing corporatism for its symbolic value or stable social advancement in metropolises (modernity, middle class, success, globalism) (Banak, Listwan, 2006; Truitt, 2011).

Only in recent years, based on empirical research and postulates of exploring the culture of enterprises of Wiesława Kozek, who has consistently studied the styles of managing market organizations and the sociological conditions of the labor market (Kozek, 1994, 2015), the opportunity opened to identify corporations in Poland as an autonomous sector of the labor market and explore the culture that this sector produces, as well as public discourses about it. It happened almost thirty years after transformation. Researchers followed this path by searching and trying to describe culture, including discourses of various types of professions in modern Poland and pointing to the growing role of corporations as a specific lifestyle, behavior, thinking and manipulation of symbols. Discourse turned out to be very hot in this matter, and the role of job advertisements is increasingly emphasized as a scientifically viable part of it. It seems that this trend is gaining momentum at least in Polish science (Burkiewicz, & Kucharski, 2016; Kołodziej-Durnaś, 2017; Jędrych, & Berniak-Woźny, 2017). One of the studies suggests looking at the corporation as a tribal community centered around common values, symbols and a sense of belonging to the possibly new social strata (possibly class) of those who work in the corporation unlike the rest of society. Corporations perceived this way have their own, autonomous culture worth fully-fledged sociological analysis and by communicating their values, they provoke the reactions of external groups, they expect and demand attention or admittance (Galli, Difin, 2013).

That is why the basis of this article is the study of the discourse of job advertisements in corporations in the 2020s. It is aimed to reveal the most important assumptions of corporate culture emphasized by the corporation itself in its external first contact communication with potential employees, as well as to determine the relationship of these messages with positive and negative discourses about corporations in general within Polish society. To achieve it, I used several discourse analysis models derived from classical sociology theories. Due to personal limitations (acting individually, not in a team), it was only possible to check current job offers so the large research trials or a comparison of trends over time were not the case. This fact opens up the potential areas and directions for further analyzes in the future. However, the phenomenon of sample saturation has already occurred for twenty job offers, which turned out to be very similar to each other and based on coherent discursive techniques. Thanks to it, maintaining scientific reliability is possible and one can outline the basic tendencies in which corporate job offers in Warsaw fit in and which reveal the main features of the local corporate culture as such. Studying job offers highlighted clearly selected and consistent elements of discourse chosen by corporations to present themselves in an attractive manner for specifically profiled target groups. In other words - corporation advertisements present a specific narrative clearly different from job advertisements in small and medium-sized companies, and appealing to people looking for a specific lifestyle.

Theoretical inspirations

When constructing the analysis tool, the main inspiration came from a rather old approach, originating in 1973, but still useful even today - a diagram of content analysis by George Gerbner. The American of Hungarian origin has distinguished four basic dimensions, allowing to organize the content of media coverage, images, but also effective in analyzing the discourse of job advertisements. These dimensions are divided into: a) existence (what we see, what we hear, what is in there), b) priorities (what is most important, how it is presented), c) values (what is promoted, what is condemned or hidden) and d) relationships between different positions (Goban-Klas, 1978). In order for the model to serve better in the case of research on job advertisements, it had to be modified, while maintaining the general sense of Gerbner's thinking. From empirical practice acquired during several research projects implementing similar tools, it appeared that it is difficult to study the priorities in the

discourse and the values highlighted in it separately. It becomes even more difficult to indicate the hierarchy of content in a job advertisement without reference to values, which often even form the basis for the whole part of the advertisement. For example, you can clearly communicate your salary and tasks in a bullet-points list, and you can write a motivating, coherent text about the privilege of working in the environment of a given corporation completely bypassing monetary issues and obligation. Values, priorities, even existence entwine with each other from time to time so a tool generally works while often requiring connecting four dimensions with each other in the same part of analysis. Other research projects using the Gerbner model also revealed that, apart from inter-position relations, there is also a phenomena called the “blank spots of discourse” (as A. Wagner calls them in the book "Visible and Invisible: Atom, shales, wind in media discourses around energy" in 2016). This whole term defines parts of a discourse when something is deliberately skipped, not explicitly presented but from a logical point of view, should be there – because of being an important part of the given area, problem or phenomena.

In the final analysis, therefore, I decided to study individual parts of the ads in the following order: a) existence, b) values, priorities and blank spots of discourse (treated as one category), and c) relations of structurally coherent and repetitive parts of advertisements between each other (introduction / advertisement, requirements, obligations, company's offer for the employee).

To move the interpretation to a higher level and show how specific tendencies in job advertisements reveal corporate culture as such and at the same time relate to external discourse about working in a corporation, the last component was still missing. I needed a way to interpret the bundles of meanings discovered in my research in context of the broader studies on the organization and corporate culture. The choice caused many problems. It was unclear whether to search theories of cultural anthropology, sociology of culture, sociology of organization or maybe interactionist or phenomenological theories. There seemed to be no rational reason of choosing one approach, over another while creating an artificial all-covering perspective including all would be unproductive. The research required something specific and touching the relationship between culture and a difficult-to-define social group of corporate workers. The solution came from an unexpected direction - it turned out to be I. Goffman's theory classic for sociology of social movements - i.e. the analysis of “framing”. In general, the sociologist proposed to study the boundary of the social group (originally social

movement and corporate workers in this case) by analyzing the group's public messages treated simply as a reflection of what the group really is and what it is not. By framing different matters into its discourse, a group reveals what is important for its own identity and functioning, and what is not – it defines how it wants to be received so this reception reflects real movement/group identity (Goffman, 1974). Such frameworks serve a bit like a rice packaging - they allow to close various experiences, identities, values, postulates and biographies, i.e. elements that are difficult to grasp, within defined borders – like a full package of rice containing hundreds of grains. When we think of rice, we do not think of those grains separately but rather having a whole, consistent portion of rice in mind. To sum up, the individual experiences of group members, create a generalized identity of organization built not on fragmented identities of members, but independent, autonomous, holistic one. Over time, a distinctive culture of the social movement is emerging, which can be traced in the discourse created by it - not only in defining its framework of activity, but also - equally important - in communicated aimed to recruit new members and to create their collective identity (Benford, Snow, 2010; Lipiński, 2012).

This is how job offers by corporations could be also treated – just like Goffman, Benford and Snow treated social movements, which leads to the final theoretical assumption of my research that corporations frame the core of what corporate culture is within their job advertisements to lure people wanting to participate in it as a future corporate employees. However, the study carried out this way not only revealed the specific discursive techniques used by corporations to attract employees compatible with a particular style of work and life, but also revealed that elements exposed in corporate framing evoke extreme emotions and divide corporate work commentators in two specific camps. These camps present different discursive formations about working in a corporation: a) corporation as technocratic dystopia and b) corporation as a modern, globally rooted path to the success and dreams of the aspiring middle class.

Job offers selection methodology

To select material for a study, I used five job offers portals popular on the Polish Internet and analyzed their content. The adopted criteria of filtering advertisements allowed me to specify that the displayed ones actually are offers of corporate work. I ensured it by

individually checking the origins, size and market-organizational type of the company publishing the job offer. I sometimes called the recruiting office to be sure but in most cases the detailed check on the Internet turned out to be sufficient. As the lower limit size of a corporation, I declared enterprises employing over 100 employees and operating on the global market, which corresponds to the operational definition of the word "corporation" in American English according to the Collins Dictionary². I was not interested in ownership of capital but assured that the company had branches employing a minimum of 100 people in a minimum of 3 countries. Such a strict condition quickly proved irrelevant since most of the employers initially recognized as corporations were active in 10 or more countries. I resigned on advertisements posted by recruitment agents who did not provide the name of the company or place of work, because without this data it was impossible to clearly determine whether we are dealing with a corporation or not – the detailed check of type of company remained impossible. This method required the tedious use of many sources available in search engines, but it proved to be effective. As a result, I selected 45 out of 51 downloaded job advertisements for the analysis (representative sample at 95% confidence level with 5% confidence interval), which were beyond any doubt corporate job offers - according to the operationalization algorithm presented above. Then I conducted a sociological and linguistic exploration using the Gerbner analysis model and Goffman's framing theory, which allowed me to find the basic trends in the discourse of corporate job advertisements. Despite the quantitative type sample, the study was of a qualitative nature, and the selection served only to maintain research reliability. The approach presented here can, of course, be used for further, full-fledged quantitative analyzes that would require additional research.

Due to the requirement of avoiding errors in assigning specific features and characteristics to job offers of corporation, while they could subsequently appear in other market sectors as well, I decided to select a control sample of 45 job offers in "medium and small size" companies, defined on the basis of self-declaration in the content of the job offer ("Family form / small / medium / local / work in a small team"). I declared small companies as providing employment from several to 20 people and medium enterprises as those offering jobs for 20 up to 50 people.

Study Results

² Term: corporation. CollinsDictionary.com. Collins English Dictionary – Complete & Unabridged 11th Edition. Retrieved: December, 2019.

What exists, what is visible, communicated – the introduction part of the job offer advertisement

In general (with the exception of 6 cases), job offers in a corporation start with a separate block (introduction) describing the company itself – a long one – consisting of 14 up to 41 sentences. Sometimes it is an entry physically placed at the beginning of the advertisement (still visually long as compared to the rest of the text), sometimes it appears in a separate tab on the official website of the company - which you still have to go to after clicking on the job offer from an external advertisement portal where only a brief title is provided – there we are moved to the advertisement that is interesting for us among the "tree" of available jobs and locations and the actual offer is presented. Therefore, the introduction and information on the company itself (not a job yet) will always be read - whether we want it or not. Considering the content of the company description, this part serves to build a good image of the corporation itself as a place: prestigious, unique and international. The listed values were clearly and consistently chosen in the process of framing and highlighted by each advertisement regardless of the company. We are presented with a feeling that working for this company is an honor itself. The mechanism of self-valorization may be involved - if we decide to submit a CV in this corporation, then we are in our opinion worthy of a certain level – of a truly prestigious place, modern, global, which brings to mind images of glass office buildings of international financial hubs. We are going to be a part of this world – which is presented as prestigious itself without justifying and asking – it is taken for granted.

From time to time, announcements also incorporate information about expanding the business / opening a new department or facility – it explains the recruitment and we may ask whether it is only an information fact, mechanically rewritten, or is it a kind of discursive technique. The analysis of all selected advertisements and their comparison with offers of "medium and small size" companies suggest that recruitment in corporations is carried out only on the occasion of opening a new department (which is impossible because people give up work in a natural process so sometimes companies just need a replacement for an already existing office), and in small and medium-sized companies there is simply an employee exchange, which is not hidden by any means. We are probably dealing with a white spot of discourse here – it always consistently seems as we have just hit the jackpot of expanding the

elite group of a thriving company by a new branch. It is never exchange of employees when it comes to corporate offers. A new branch / office may be also an unspoken promise of promotion, development for the aspiring middle class.

To sum up, the discourse of the corporations used in introduction part of their job advertisements organizes specific meanings (professionalism, dynamic development, internationality, globality, modernity, prestige, opening of a new department / office) in a consistent communicate. The corporation is defined as a prestigious workplace an a new office, offering promotions and general development of life, which ideally hits the soft point of the aspiring middle class in Warsaw looking for such a job and long term social class promotion after migrating to the city. Their life is at the stage of a new beginning and work at this corporation's new office would be a new beginning too (Przepiórkowski et al., 2016, 2017).

The introduction part of the offer advertisement seems to be very important for corporations due to the fact that in some offers it takes even half of the physical space in a whole text. On a side note, offers from small and middle-sized companies never include such a long and complex introduction – they concentrate directly on a position and work characteristics instead of building a rich, self-evaluating presentation of the company before even explaining what the whole job will be about and what position we are going to occupy. A feeling of a promise of the future follows so the introduction does not really highlight the identity of a company, its tradition and heritage (like it is sometimes done mostly in small companies). It serves mostly self-valorization of a future candidate but it cannot be too much distracting from the future opportunities, which seem equally important to be highlighted already in the introductions of every single advertisement.

Discourse bundles, values, goals and interpretative framework disclosed in the introductory part of the announcements:

- a) Promotion of company prestige and specific lifestyle - modernity, globalism;
- b) Attaching importance to symbols, brands, company history and description of its mission;
- c) Potentially the first test of the candidate's personality: fulfilling ambitions, willingness to social promotion, acceptance of narratives saturated with self-evaluation (if someone is

looking for a local company without these features, they probably do not read further parts of the advertisement).

Information on the work position - transitional area of the announcement - how we determine our place in the future company

Sometimes, under the description of the company's prestige, there is a bold-font name of the position - written in Polish or English (much more often in English, sometimes in both languages). The English name most likely, symbolically connotes modernity - the American lifestyle or globalism of the labor market (the corporation located in Poland is presented globally as a modern one in a global context, and thus providing global life, symbolized by English job names). Since the initial part of the advertisements clearly suggests that people working in the corporation should want to achieve something through it, here the prestige may be gained not only by promotion and dedication to the company but again – through symbols and specific cultural valorization in language. There is a promise of something more symbolically valuable in the position of "junior / senior office management specialist" rather than a position of a "mere" secretary. The position may be the same but the name brings prestige, allures specific people consistently to the previous part of the advertisement, which was aimed at creating a vision of a prestigious place of work. This way of naming the job position allows corporations to further filter potential candidates. The not so detailed position descriptions (if they occur - approximately only in half of the cases), also turn out to be very vague and speak rather about development through promotion, satisfying office work, responsibility or an international team rather than being happy at this specific position, with specific responsibilities. Theoretical joy from working and doing specific things is usually not mentioned but replaced by a generalized prestige of work at this specific company and being able to call the working position in a prestigious, internationally-alluring way.

Of course, there are counterarguments against this interpretation – maybe the international names are more recognizable worldwide and the global corporation just has a standardized way of writing advertisements and job offers in every single country it operates. However, there seems to be a stark difference between job offers in the corporation for specialists in this matter. Generally speaking - when looking for a data administrator or programmer in C ++ / Python, the corporation publishes an advertisement with the name of

the position in Polish and omitting a long description of the prestige of the institution itself, but with specific requirements and an offer. More general positions like a secretary or accountant (not highly specialized ones) seem to follow the pattern of English name, long introduction about company prestige, no details about responsibilities and job characteristics presented at face value. This division in types of employees supports a hypothesis that even names of positions are also a part of symbolical discourse and framing by a corporation as suggested in a previous paragraph.

Therefore, I propose to perceive the aforementioned bundles of meanings hidden behind the naming of the profession / position as based on somewhat subliminal control of the candidates' interest and perhaps already shaping the personality traits of the future employee. In the more delicate version, this is not subliminal control, but at least a suggestion and a clear way of filtration of candidates based on their aspirational lifestyle going in line with corporate culture. It just seems that the position itself (written in Polish or English) is positioned secondary to the prestige of the work for a given company. It forms the relation between the introduction and this transitional part of the advertisement, according to the Gerbner analysis model, while in Goffman's theory of framing, it indicates how consciously and properly corporations build their message in job advertisements to lure candidates with specific characteristics wanted by an employer. The name of the position at work in English is simply a functional continuation of the earlier part of the announcement - it serves a purpose to build the company's prestige, select people looking for such values more importantly than for a specific set of tasks and position because they are more concentrated on their social promotion through work for a corporation than on fulfilling their dream job expectancies (Przepiórkowski et al., 2016, 2017). In opposition, "small and medium-sized companies" usually skip the whole introduction part of the advertisement and offer position names in Polish with a detailed description of requirements and obligations presented almost at the beginning.

Discourse bundles, values, goals and interpretative frameworks disclosed in the position name:

a) Potentially second level candidate personality test - checking his/her reception of English language and unclear job description as a test of aspiration vs attitude on defined tasks and dream job qualifications;

b) Further emphasizing of globalism and international lifestyle in corporation through Englishism in the name of the profession;

Requirements and duties - the main part of the advertisement - what we will actually do at work

We are going to work – it is kind of obvious - but how exactly? We already know that we will be working in an international corporation, with high prestige, in a new branch built on previous successes and uniqueness of the brand, in an internationally named position. What does it really mean? Parts of the advertisements, which specify personal requirements and the nature of the position give the impression of being very stylized, almost sacred / theologized and at the same time - not very substantive. Again, they correspond with the presentation of the corporation from the introduction and simply emphasize further the consistent values: brand prestige, professionalism, skills, development orientation, ambition, readiness to take challenges and work with demanding or key clients, independence. It is really known, however, that no rational company will offer its new employee a project related to a key customer, or it will be at most a low responsibility activity - rather in form of an assistant, handling meetings, sorting documents, serving coffee . Despite this, “demanding and key clients” were almost always a part of the text about duties . It turns out that the content of the headings describing the requirements and job position values the work itself again rather than specific details and duties themselves. There is a clear relationship between the image of the company, expectations of prestige, the workplace and what the reality of this work (duties) should be. The terms used in advertisements do not communicate anything directly, as the duties mainly consist of: “coordinating, cooperating, making contacts, carrying out tasks, and managing”. If we think about it, those are not clearly defined activities (especially in comparison with the offers in "medium companies", where are going to - for example - "control data consistency, i.e. incorrect values and missing values in SPSS datasheet". Such a description seems much more detailed and useful for a candidate than “communicating with clients” and participating in “highly valued projects”. It is also very consistent when it comes to a difference between corporate job advertisements and those of small and middle-sized companies.

In this context, it is worth asking what image of corporations emerges and is created by such a framing of specific content and values by a corporation itself. First of all - corporations may try to escape from an explicit description of corporate work (stereotypical 12h behind the desk, overtime hours, mechanization). Secondly - maybe everyone looking for a job in a corporation really looks for what has been presented earlier - just a job in the corporation instead of a specific position. Candidates may not be necessarily interested in the exact listing of duties, just as they are not interested in the position at the time of joining, but rather climbing a ladder, getting promoted also without a clearly specified path and vision, but towards general social advancement and lifestyle. Maybe the corporations themselves want such candidates only because working in a global corporation requires such trait with high commitment and identity with a company. When a structure is that big, it may be much more efficient and even needed to operate with an army of loyal warriors than a team of individuals driven much more by their very specialized, self-identified traits, positions, skills. Corporation is a working, enormous organism in the end so it requires more soldiers than high levels of individualism and self-defined tasks, paths of promotion and self-development.

As mentioned a few paragraphs above, in my sample there were offers for high level specialists too - an specialist in auditing, as well as analyst, data administrator and Python programmer. In contrary to the rest of job advertisements in corporations, in such offers, the standards were listed one by one with numbers, protocol names, types of statistical analyzes, programs used and skills required by programmers - a detailed description of what will need to be done. Interestingly - all other parts of those advertisements also seemed to be much more substantial, detailed, short and functionally oriented. Therefore, something different than symbolical corporate prestige became framed and communicated – it was efficiency, engineering style values alluring to those practical types of people being needed by a corporation.

In this context, we would be dealing with a diversity of positions within the corporation and different expectations of the candidates towards corporate life. The nodal points of discourse in job advertisements revolved around the description of the workplace, highlighting imprecise activities related to work in a corporation as such, but there was a functional and enumerating order. This is a very interesting issue, especially when we refer it to the advertisements of "medium-sized companies", and - in this unique case - we expand to include "junk-jobs" offers (i.e. low-paid, physical jobs in the sectors of fast food, security,

delivery of goods, hostesses, courier). The "junk-jobs" advertisements are focused around extremely specific, simple content - that is - they list all physical obligations in a given position (most factually). They offer work contracts known in Poland as a "garbage contract" (without any insurance, notice period, no other provisions. Advertisements of "medium companies" rather focus on the implementation of personal projects, work in small groups, high flexibility, but no one emphasizes stability. specific duties are often mentioned, terms such as creativity, independence (i.e. not a 'target' for corporations) dominate. Perhaps a representative of the target group of employees of "medium-sized companies" is specifically interested in what he or she will do, whether he/she likes it or not, whether he/she can achieve a self-fulfillment, and becomes less interested in the direct "stability" or an unspecified vision of social promotion, gaining position and achieving success in the corporate lifestyle. In turn, the candidate of the corporation would be either an aspiring representative of the middle class, or a person focused on promotion and achieving success as such, who expects the strong guidance and decisiveness on the side of the company structures. The very act of work for the symbolically prestigious brand exists as a mechanism of self-valorization and social promotion after arriving in the city (Przepiórkowski et al., 2016, 2017).

Further analysis requires additional words of commentary on the popular and theoretically predisposed points of discourse concepts in job advertisements - that is: group work, responsibility, stress resistance, good organization of work, knowledge of Microsoft Office, knowledge of foreign languages. They should not be given more analytical weight and do not prove themselves important in job advertisements. That is because these requirements flow through every sector and every type of company ("junk-jobs", "medium and small companies", corporations), i.e. they are not of a differentiating nature. They are placed in the 'requirements / what we expect' fields, almost by the 'copy-paste' method. In the corporate sector, it literally happens as a "copy-paste" - I found 27 items formulated in the same way regarding employee requirements in the advertisements I analyzed. This is important in the context of the recruitment method and standard employee skills.

To sum up - in the case of corporations, the block of requirements and job description is followed by further positive affirmation of work. Attention is drawn to the lack of details that are either less important or obvious for the style of work and life in the corporation (possible blank spot of discourse), or secondary to the fact of employment in the corporation sector as such, and not in a specific position by the candidate. It does not matter what duties

we get, neither the recipient nor the employer treat it as important - but you can expect a bureaucratic, orderly management structure and development opportunities through promotion. What's more - corporations are again referring to prestige, ontologizing work, sometimes even consistently sacralizing it. The exceptions are very specialized positions for high level specialists, also found in corporations.

Discourse bundles, values, goals and interpretative framework disclosed in the requirements section of the offer:

- a) General duties and obligations emphasizing brand prestige and position, not specific requirements (further, consistent continuation of the bundle from previous thematic blocks);
- b) The need for decision-making, responsibility and challenges - a reference to the ambitious attitude of candidates for the corporate lifestyle (ambition for a promotion itself or just an ambition of self-valorization through responsibility-requiring and "serious" tasks even at the lowest position, which is basically impossible but lures employees).

The offer part of the advertisements - "we offer" - what you can count on from a corporation

As all the analyzed offers show - we can count on: brand prestige, or possibly a set of additional healthcare privileges, discounts and ... once again - prestige. Sometimes it takes the form of a very emphasized opportunities to work with professionals, sometimes it is about high brand products as a bonus, and sometimes we get admission and a card to a prestigious medical center or gym.

In contrast, "medium-sized companies" are more about a specific salary and work style. The next blank spot in the same order is therefore the salary (clearly stated in the "junk-jobs" and "medium-sized" advertisements but almost never presented in corporation offers). Perhaps this is important for corporations as sacralizing and ontologizing work. As before, we can also give a different interpretation of the phenomenon - perhaps "gentlemen in suits do not talk about salary" - which still sends us back to the relationship with prestige, with the authority of the bureaucratic structure, because how can you talk about work in the context of an advertisement, recruitment, but without speaking of salary?

Interestingly - corporate job offers are written impersonally, which draws attention only after moving to the last, currently discussed research category. In corporate announcements, however, there is gender equality – there's no use of male or female forms, which exist in Polish - one offer breaks the principle using male forms when addressing a candidate. I found several "junk-jobs" and "medium-sized" advertisements using a male form too. Paradoxically, the total asexuality of corporate advertisements may be a sign of standardization and symbolic meritocracy, but hasty conclusions about equal pay would probably be an abuse, which is indicated in principle by all reports on pay sexism in Poland and in the world. It exists both in corporations and other types of companies but maybe it is a sign of a change for good, in the end.

Discourse bundles, values, goals and interpretative framework disclosed in the offer to the candidate:

- a) Prestige and work with specialists as a value itself;
- b) Hiding of the material issue of earnings/salary;
- c) Asexuality of advertisements - potential symbolic meritocracy of corporate culture;
- d) The prestigious role of bonuses, sacralizing and ontologizing work in a corporation.

What is revealed by a visual part of the offers

Finally, it is worth referring to the visual side of job offers in a corporation, because as I mentioned earlier - it is very poor, and it only becomes significant in comparison to the offer of "medium-sized companies". Corporations therefore choose mainly simple graphics with a one-two-color pattern, and no details. The most popular graphic would be the shadow of a man in a suit with a briefcase. Both the graphic design and the graphics used emphasize once again the prestige symbolized by showing the expected lifestyle - with a briefcase, between skyscrapers, in big business and in a suit.

"Medium-sized companies" adopt a completely different strategy. Their advertisements are almost always combined with attention-focusing photos, making the advertisement stand out among others already at the graphic level (bright, modern graphics showing the company's artistic logo, sometimes the headquarters, and sometimes smiling young people). This is understandable when we think in terms of a relation to the process of

interacting with an advertisement in corporations and in relation to a social group focused on working in more "family conditions" in middle-sized companies. The corporation again attracts candidates and creates its discourse in the face of the fact that it is a corporation – a type of work itself no matter the position, while "medium-sized companies" are trying to stand out with their unique character, offers of freedom and standing out more than others.

Two discursive formations about work in corporations, which come from the framework presented by the corporations themselves in job advertisements

At this point, it is worth climbing to a higher level of analytical description and outline two discursive formations, which are based on the interpretations of corporate culture visible, in the analyzed job offers. These two formations seem almost natural properties of a corporation, and of course, they do not come only from advertisements but more from a general discourse on corporations, which is however, hardly influenced by those advertisements and the offers literally reflect it or co-create it. It is impossible to analyze everything in one article, but the framing of corporate culture in job advertisements turned out to be extremely bright and expressive, so supporters of a specific interpretation of corporate life and its opponents confirm themselves in completely opposite interpretations of a corporate culture discourse visible in job offers.

a) Corporation as a workplace, machine, prison; and a man only a small, irrelevant piece of a technocratic dystopia - this is the vision of "evil" embodied in the form of a corporation for the supporters of small and "medium-sized companies". Of course, this "evil" relates to the vision of human life, unfulfilled dream of happiness, for which someone gave his own freedom and may not even notice it while being focused on enjoying trivial, artificial benefits (the promise of apparent prestige, indefinite promotion, which you almost "sell your soul for").

Work in a corporation would embody everything that is unfortunate, destructive - "rat race", exploitation, mechanical, standardized and repetitive activities, routine. Although it ensures a secure existence in the form of stable job (corporations seem more stable than many smaller companies), even if it gives a sense of community and hope for a dream life for those coming to Warsaw, it unrestrictedly codifies social values and kills individualism. It

introduces a ruthless industrial-technocratic order, and yet life, according to the supporters of this discursive formation around the corporation. The very term - "corporation" in such a discursive formation evokes very eloquent images. Some see machine cogs, a row of desks, drawers, computers and people suffering in this system or unaware "slavery". Others will even see similarities with the manufactories and factories from the period of the Industrial Revolution.

This is probably the hidden sociogenesis and origin of this vision of corporations. It refers to the exploitation of suffering people, who were forced to work in dehumanized, big factories in the 18th and 19th centuries. They were excluded in various ways - due to lack of property, lack of resources and the status of workers remained very low - sometimes they abandoned their nationality, fled to factories escaping courts justice, but regardless of their motives - their lives were "empty", they were a mass without content, who dreamed of promotion, better life in the city. Today, in this particular discursive formation, corporations are perceived identically - employees are former manufacture workers, CEOs and global bosses look as former, bourgeois owners of "devilish" manufactories from times of the Industrial Revolution. Naturally, this corporate vision sees corporate order in the 21st century as "the evil of late capitalism." In this sense, a corporate employee is the opposite of a liberated and emancipated person. It is someone outside of valuable life, derived of freedom, someone we exclude (no one wants to be friends with "corporals", have such a husband or wife).

The narratives of the job advertisements in the corporation themselves obviously present the exact opposites of the features of corporate culture connoted in the above order - encouraging the positive reception of the corporation, presenting it as a place straight from dreams, a place standing somewhat higher than the rest in the structure of the hierarchy of employers. In effect, they it only strengthens the supporters of this discursive formation because they treat corporate framing as a total hypocrisy, so it works like a catalyst, confirming their belief that corporations simply lie, manipulate, attract "worse" people - that is, those who agree on such a lifestyle or they even want it. This is a typical exclusion mechanism within society and refers to the exclusion of the entire branch of corporate culture on a similar basis as the dominant culture according to Bourdieu excludes culture of folk classes (Bourdieu, Niece, Bennett 2015). It correlates with exclusion of immigrants in the city

of Warsaw in XXI c. – they are a natural group for exclusion, they want to work in corporations so the corporate lifestyle is also socially ostracized.

b) Corporation as an arena of development, challenges and dreams of a new middle class; culture of meritocracy and success - this discursive formation around the corporation presents a completely different reality. According to its supporters, the corporation provides an open, tidy, clean and elegant workplace, where you can make international contacts, travel around the world (delegations), take on new challenges and get satisfaction from who you are. This is a discourse, which corporations support themselves and frame, communicate, stress in their job advertisements. On one hand, prestige and self-valorization are emphasized everywhere – they are based on belonging to the elite group of corporate culture, which becomes a value itself.

It seems to be an attempt to create an environment for an elite community of successful people, people of modernity, to whom not everyone has and not everyone should have access. On the other hand, openness to the aspiring middle class, to the vision of a better life, which everyone can achieve with their own hands, i.e. via meritocracy, plays an important role. What sociogenesis of this symbolic order can be associated with the described discursive formation about corporate culture, which this time turns out to be consistent with the framing of the corporation itself revealed in job advertisements? It is a modern variation on the theme of "American dream" implemented in the 21st century for new immigrants in Warsaw. People lured by this discursive formation, hearing the word "corporation", see through the eyes of their dreamed future - suits, silver metal in skyscrapers, on door handles, ubiquitous glass, which is supposed to resemble a symbolic vision like from Manhattan. It is already a globalized, generalized Manhattan as a corporate lifestyle and corporate work culture. Colonizers from Europe once set off to the New World, took it for themselves, conquered it and built their American empire with their own hands. Then they freed themselves from the reign of the old order - monarchy, aristocracy (elites and upper classes) in Europe. They developed their cities, and they became the center of world capitalism and meritocracy for the middle class and new elites – a fulfilled “American Dream”. Framing of corporations in job advertisements seems to show or symbolically refer to the possibility of repeating this success - today, in corporations, regardless of the country. In turn, a group that agrees with this vision of the world creates a positive discourse around the corporation and its

culture based on such values. Reading job advertisements they see those images, those interpretations and believe the corporate framing.

Conclusions

The analysis of job advertisements in the corporations presented in this paper has allowed to pay attention to the most important elements around which their core is being built. Using the content analysis tools proposed by George Gerbner and the theory of framing by Erving Goffman, I was able to reveal what values promote job advertisements in the corporation, what they present as valuable, what they hide, what vision of work and life they propose, and so how the corporate culture understood as an autonomous sector of the labor market is holistically perceived. In result, the culture of corporatism provokes the creation of two external, evaluative discursive formations, which sociogenesis can be traced in the history of labor relations and the Industrial Revolution, and the conceptualization of the "American dream." The first discursive formation is the corporation as a technocratic dystopia, a place of suffering and codification, the epitome of everything bad in the late capitalism of the 21st century. The second is the corporation as an arena of development, challenges and dreams of the new middle class, a place of fulfilled vision of meritocracy and success for new Warsaw immigrants. The perception of corporation discourse outlined in such formations is on the one hand the effect of the corporations themselves (including job advertisements) creating their own image, subjecting its specific elements to framing, on the other hand - enforces a specific way of constructing job advertisements to encourage people choosing a positive discourse towards corporatism and discourage negative supporters at the outset.

Determining which of these discursive formations dominates in the quantitative sense in society would require further quantitative research and is not the purpose of this article. Based on the conducted research, it can only be stated that the corporate culture based on the framing presented by them themselves in job advertisements, emphasizes above all the prestige of work in the corporation, global cultural orientation, the possibility of social promotion as such. I was able to identify the blank spots of discourse created by corporations - specific duties of employee, amount of salary. They seem replaced with lifestyle type offer. This allows, in the context of the two formations of corporate discourse presented, to filter out potential candidates from the very beginning, and perhaps - also to begin the process of

shaping them accordingly to the values presented in the discourse and in accordance to the applicable corporate culture. George Gerbner's analysis scheme proved effective in analyzing discursive content or visual materials in the context of the surrounding discourse of values, relationships, and ways of emphasizing certain nodal points of discourse. The theory of framing by Erving Goffman finds application not only in relation to social movements, but also to more broadly defined organizations - also on the labor market, where it can find further effective applications.

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