PUBLIC SPHERE OF SOCIAL MEDIA AND THE IDEA OF SOCIETY 4.0 AND 5.0. STUDY OF A SELECTED MEDIA DISCOURSE

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Purpose: The article attempts to answer two research questions: 1) whether the participants of the selected discourse in Polish social media express in their attitudes the ideas of society 5.0 (knowledge components, emotions, behavior); 2) whether and how is the normative canon of the republican (Hanah Arendt) and liberal (John Rowls) public spheres implemented in the context of the blurring of the boundaries of the spheres of social life in the selected area of the Polish Internet public sphere?

Design/methodology/approach: The authors analyzed the online discourse on the pension reform, namely the liquidation of open pension funds. The analyzes used selected elements of discursive research, and more precisely a critical discourse analysis (Czyżewski, 2005; Czyżewski, 2008; Kopytowska, Kumięga, 2017). The authors were inspired not by a radical version of critical discourse analysis, which leads to a comprehensive social change, but an interpretation that allows for the diagnosis of structural and cultural conditions, interactions between actors and changes in selected social practices.

Findings: Analyzes of the selected discourse showed that the Internet public sphere is conducive to the use of information manipulation in political, economic, social and cultural activities, which in turn contributes to a significant weakening of social ties; the emergence of many new formal and informal links in media "filtering bubbles" on the one hand, and new tensions and social divisions on the other. The reality in digital media strongly differs from the rules of the liberal public sphere (public reason) by John Rawls, in which the concept of the public sphere is based on the social and political acceptance of justice as impartiality (Rawls, 1994, 1998, 2001; Ciszewski, 2020). On the other hand, what the classically understood republican idea of the public sphere by Hannah Arendt (2000) is considered private is often presented in social media as an element of public discourse, a tool in the fight against opposition ideology, foreign ethnicity and a hostile view of the world. Therefore, it is difficult to notice the development of the 5.0 society in social media, the aim of which is, inter alia, achieving sustainable economic and social development, breaking social divisions.

Originality/value: Critical discourse analysis (KAD) of a specific Internet public debate has been analyzed in the context of the implementation of the assumptions of Hannah Arendt's republican idea of the public sphere and the liberal principles of public reason by John Rawls.

1. Introduction

The digital revolution, also known as the fourth industrial revolution, is another era of changes caused by the development of computerization and modern technologies. The digital transformation caused by globalization and the development of digital technologies causes changes not only in technology, but also in economic and geopolitical terms (Tworóg, Mieczkowski, 2019). It is characterized by rapid technological progress, widespread digitization and its impact on all areas of life. Research and discussions on this topic date back to the last quarter of the 20th century. Daniel Bell, Manuel Castells, Marc Uri Porat, and Alain Touraine (Hepworth, 1990; Webster, 2014; Castells, 1989, 1994, 2001; Porat; 1978; Touraine, 1971). Due to the changes brought about by the digital revolution, a new social formation has emerged, known as the information society, for which knowledge has become a strategic resource, not capital and work (Balcewicz, 2019). Information resources, discourse content available on the Internet in a continuous and real time shape the world view not only of individual individuals, but also of entire social groups. The method of delivering content reaching users is profiled in line with their expectations. Such profiling closes the information filtering bubble and causes web users to live in a distorted, homogeneous world where everyone seems to have the same views. People often uncritically absorb the news spread in their own enclave and treat it as true, without verifying the facts. Under such conditions, disinformation is generated and disseminated (Elliott, Castells, 2011). Technical conditions and universal access to technology have also contributed to the democratization of knowledge that everyone can use without any restrictions (Dobrowolski, 2008).

2. Digital technologies and the common good

According to Manuel Castells, the rapid development of technologically advanced networks, saturated with information, caused social changes and led to the creation of a community functioning on the Internet. Interactions between people take place regardless of the boundaries of space and time (Elliott, Castells, 2011). According to Ali Pariser, Internet users operate in closed bubbles on the web – surrounded only by information that matches their beliefs and profiles. At the same time, they are almost completely devoid of controversial and

inconvenient messages that contradict their value system (Pariser, 2011). Individual filter bubbles that provide only personalized content give the impression that there is no one Internet in common, but each user has their own Internet, adapted to their needs and beliefs (Szpunar, 2018).

With so much information and a continuous flow of information, it becomes a challenge to check the facts and confront many messages on the same topic. The awareness of what is real and what is not has been disturbed and, what is more, it no longer matters to the information society. This phenomenon was first named and described by Steve Tesich in the 1990s. According to him, the media use not truth, but post-truth - a biased version of events that bends reality and influences emotions in such a way as to trigger a specific reaction (Balcewicz, 2019; Czapliński, 2017). There are no barriers in the information society that stop people from beautifying reality. This transformation changes the values that have so far been the basis of modern societies (du Vall, 2019) and brings about significant changes in these societies. Digital technologies are not so much an area as the dimension of the functioning of modern man. This change of perspective means that digital communication technologies are treated not only as a separate area of human activity, but also present in other areas, making it easier to function in them. It cannot be denied that information today is considered a distinguishing feature of our world. Today, domestic markets are becoming part of the global information economy. The ubiquitous media, the expansion and specialization of the information professions and the development of the Internet make participation and being part of the information society a destiny for all of us. The ability to deal with the search, collection and flow of information, as well as the proper creation and management of virtual relationships is a challenge for everyone.

Overall, Society 4.0 is a society in which (du Vall, 2019; Kuzior, 2022): 1) the creation, dissemination, use and manipulation of information has become essential for political, economic, social and cultural activity; 2) there was a transformation of the working class into the professional middle class; - we are dealing with the development of multiple networks of connections (formal and informal); 3) there are significant social divisions and inequalities, which results, inter alia, from the fact that new technologies change the structure of employment in society, and this leads on the one hand to a division into "safe", well-paid and skilled workers, and on the other hand into a growing mass of the unemployed (in addition, most members of society belong to the post-industrial working class, for which work is not a source of identity); 4) there is a lasting link with the phenomenon of globalization, which is one of the most visible consequences of the information revolution.

Society 5.0 is a proposal for the concept of a modern, future-oriented and human-oriented society, in which the integration of cyberspace with the real world is to be implemented using the latest technologies, such as: artificial intelligence, Internet of Things, robotics or large data sets. Its aim is to achieve economic growth and prosperity at the same time, and to overcome societal challenges, thus contributing to the well-being of the global community (Fukuyama,

2018). The Japanese define Society 5.0 as a human-centered society, balancing economic progress to solve social problems through technology, strongly integrating cyberspace and physical space. We are talking about a society characterized by integration, penetration and embedding of cyberspace in the real world, also known as super-intelligent or creative (Czapiński, 2019). Representatives of the society 5.0 are people for whom openness, cooperation and innovation are the basic values. Poles are certainly partially distinguished by the first trait - as many as 91% of Poles believe that new technologies make everyday life easier, and 74% eagerly reach for technological innovations (Czapiński, 2019). The basic tenets of Society 5.0 are: technological transformation, imagination and creativity of different people, problem solving and value creation (Keidanren, 2018). Society 5.0 will be the "Society of the Imagination". Digital technologies and data should therefore be used to create a society where people live a diverse life and pursue happiness in their own way. In the future, they will also need their imagination to change the world and their creativity and materialize their ideas. The aim is therefore to create a society where everyone can create value at any time and place, in a safe and harmonious environment where there are no barriers.

On the other hand, the model of Society 4.0, in which people share knowledge and information, seems insufficient today. It is about ensuring cooperation, and the information obtained is intended to meet human needs. The very diverse ability to use modern communication and information technologies and the still existing digital divide may be an obstacle. A super-intelligent society based on artificial intelligence and cyberspace, therefore, aims to reduce the gap between virtual space and reality and to bring new quality to economic and social relations (Science, Technology and Innovation, 2020-2021; Kuzior, 2017).

The innovations brought by the concept of Society 5.0, as intended by its creators, are to enable the creation of a society of the future that will overcome the existing stagnation. According to the assumptions, new values that will arise thanks to innovations are to eliminate disproportions between: world regions, generations, different genders or linguistic minorities. They are also to enable the provision of products and services precisely tailored to individual needs (Agenda for sustainable development, 2030). The society of the future does not mean a world controlled and monitored by artificial intelligence and robots, on the contrary – it is supposed to be focused on every human being (du Vall, 2019). In this way, in line with the idea of Society 5.0, it will be possible to create a society that will be able to both support economic development and find solutions to social problems. In line with the vision of the creators of the concept of Society 5.0. it requires awareness and, above all, the cooperation of its citizens, both at the stage of its creation and at the stage of taking advantage of the opportunities it creates.

3. The idea of the public sphere in the concepts of Hannah Arendt and John Rawls

In Arendt's work, several ideas and concepts can be selected that will be analyzed in terms of their potential operational applications (Arendt, 2000). In research on the functioning of the contemporary public sphere, it is potentially useful to distinguish empirically social phenomena and processes into "worldly" and "worldless". An attempt will be made to determine to what extent, with their participation, appropriate labels can be found for them in the realities of the Polish Internet public sphere. It may also be potentially useful to use the canon of republican virtues indicated by Arendt as a normative point of reference to characterize selected discourses in the Internet public sphere.

According to Arendt, the basic property of the public sphere is the intersubjectivity of relations between its participants. Because only what history can make public becomes reality. The public domain is defined by these phenomena and processes, the manifestations of which can be seen and heard by each potential participant. The scale of active participation in the broadly understood public sphere has expanded over the centuries. Since the emergence of mass means of social communication, the traditionally understood public sphere has changed its character from deliberative forms (appearing in elite and opinion-forming social circles, such as the Arendt salon in Berlin) to messages addressed to recipients (institutional sender - mass). audience).

The mentioned types of media differed and differed in the direction of their message and the role of the said audience. Until the end of the 20th century, the traditional mass media underestimated the audience's activity and relied on one-way communication. On the other hand, social media has operated in two directions from the very beginning. The current passive audience can play an active role in their framework. With the growth of the internet and social media, public opinion is potentially strengthened. Its growing importance causes greater pressure on the mass media, which, unable to cut itself off from it, allow it to enter the public sphere. This gives society previously non-existent potential opportunities to deliberate and shape reality, both in terms of public and market choices (Brol, 2015).

The blurring of boundaries between various spheres of life in modern society, already observed by Arendt, concerns every form of functioning of the public sphere. These processes are especially visible on social media. The analytical and explanatory usefulness of the concepts of "global" and "worldless" phenomena and processes is, however, limited by the contemporary world of social media. He included the sphere of private and intimate life in the mainstream of social and political discourses.

Arendt's "world" phenomena and processes ascribed to the media determine the way in which a specific public sphere functions. On the other hand, the "worldless" belong to the private sphere and do not directly influence public life. What the classically understood

republican idea of the public sphere is undoubtedly considered worldless, i.e. private, and even intimate, is often presented in social media as an element of public discourse, a tool in the fight against opposition ideology, a foreign ethnic group, and a hostile worldview environment. The instrumentally used "worldless" element of the discourse takes on a public meaning. It becomes "global" because, according to Arendt's concept, it is important for a concrete proposal for the interpretation of the common good, which is commonly presented in the public sphere (now in social media).

The above phenomena and processes take place both in the main, global online communities: Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, TikTok or Twitter, as well as in specialized, local, socially closed portals or online forums (Bartnicki, Fernandes, 2018).

The phenomenon of disruption of the actual relations between the spheres as understood by Arendt is one of the main reasons for the collapse of the republican idea of the public sphere as a place of action for the common good. Nowadays, in globalized digital media, there is a simultaneous presentation of content previously reserved for the intimate and private sphere of man, group interests as the capitalist social sphere, pluralistic ideological discourses as a public sphere, and programs and strategies in the struggle for power as a political sphere. The confusion and information noise of various messages mediated by digital media have the effect of blurring the boundaries between zones, when group and environmental goals are equated with the implementation of the common good (Bartnicki, Fernandes, 2018). Hence the question: is the canon of republican ideas and values indicated by Arendt implemented and how, in the context of the blurring of the boundaries of the spheres of social life, in selected areas of the Polish Internet public sphere?

The way to define the application possibilities of Arendt's public sphere concepts is also to indicate in which areas of public life, i.e. in politics, local government institutions, the third sector, social media, and to what extent it is possible to identify manifestations of the functioning of republican ideas and patterns of civic participation. The article proposes that the canon of republican ideas and values, characterizing Arendt's peculiar model public sphere, should constitute a normative point of reference for the characteristics of discourses in one particularly important sphere - the Polish Internet public sphere. These are discourses taking place in the context of the permanent blurring of the boundaries of intimate, private, social, public and political life.

The canon of republican virtues includes – following Arendt: respect for the law, the morality of promoting communities in public life (freedom to), imposing the obligation to have a community over individual self-realization, controlling debates, courage of opinions and their framework, the public primacy of ideas and the preference of values over individual or group self-interest, distance to homo oeconomicus, respect for tradition. Such views are published closer to substantional neo-representation as Michael Sandel, where the audience values are the same and in relation to Aristotle's constitutive values, for a reference to ethics and politics (Sandel, 1998). The analyzed analysis distanced itself from the second

contemporary nurturing – instrumenttalist republicanism (e.g. Philip Pettit) and compared valuation as instruments of preparation and protection, above all, of freedom of homelessness and improvement of the legal status and democracy (Pettit, 1997; Pietrzyk-Reeves, 2014).

To analyze the main thematic keystones, characteristic of the socio-ideological narratives present on the selected industry portal, it will also be useful to use John Rawls's liberal concept of the public sphere, an alternative to Arendt's republican concept.

He conceptualizes his model of the public sphere around the notion of a political public reason, which is expressed in one particular sphere of social life – the politically fundamental sphere. It is complemented by: non-fundamental political sphere, including legislation and management, non-public political sphere expressed in mass media, including digital media, non-public civic sphere, including non-governmental organizations, universities and churches, community sphere which concerns primary groups (families, unions). neighbors and circles of friends), private, personal and economic sphere (Buksiński, 2006).

The public sphere understood in this way consists mainly of constitutive and legal structures. In this sphere, basic solutions concerning the foundations of the functioning of social life are established, and the influence of individual interests is unacceptable in it (Sikora, 2014). There is also no place for instrumental rationality in the idea of public reason. As in the assumptions of communicative rationality, Habermas assumes the avoidance of manipulative actions: persuasion, rhetoric, sophistry. It is advisable to use the methods of logically correct argumentation, inference, justification and evidence rules (Rawls, 2012). Public reason does not create an individual morality that would regulate the whole of social life, but it creates the norms of public coexistence.

Activities in the public sphere are to be based on an element of purely procedural justice, i.e. one that is agreed in the initial situation (usually in the constitution) by the parties representing citizens. Citizens, in the course of their rational considerations, do not feel compelled to apply any predetermined principles of equity and justice, do not accept any position beyond their own point of view as rational representatives of all citizens.

According to Rawls, the normative requirement of public reason functions in societies that implement several principles in the practice of public life: (1) Every citizen recognizes and knows that others recognize the same principles of justice. (2) It is well known and accepted that the basic structure of society is the implementation of these principles. (3) Citizens have a sense of justice which lies in sticking to the basic institutions of society which they consider fair. (4) Public reason manifests itself in the existence of a "partial consensus" involving different groups and individuals who support different concepts of the good. (5) The basis of the consensus is the social and political acceptance of the concept of justice as impartiality (Rawls, 1994, 2012).

4. Methodological assumptions of the research

The above concepts of the public sphere by Arendt and Rawls will constitute an ideal typical reference point for the analysis of the main thematic threads of the analyzed discourse. An empirical analysis of the Internet public discussion on the reform, and more specifically the liquidation of OFE, in the context of the implementation of the principles of public reason and the republican idea of the public sphere will be carried out.

The open exchange of opinions of Internet users took place on the website of the industry portal https://businessinsider.com.pl, under the article: All the money from OFE will go to the private pockets of Poles? The decision was made in April and it was published on 03/04/2019. The general interest in the subject of OFEs was manifested in the relatively large number of Internet users' visits to the specialist website, or at least the portal. Reader-oriented reader with above-average knowledge of economics, finance and management as well as the labor market. By the time of the analysis, 345,882 entries were recorded on the page where the article was published. Under the article, readers posted 144 comments and 83 replies on several of the most popular threads (08/04/2020), which were the subject of the analysis. It is obvious that the presented empirical material cannot constitute a basis for any generalizations or representativeness for the entire population of the country. It is a qualitative exemplification of extreme, neo tribe social, class and ideological divisions that are reflected in social media.

Selected elements of discursive research, and more specifically a critical discourse analysis, were used for the analysis. The issue of public life and the related forms of civic activity can be analyzed as a kind of discursive thinking area (Czyżewski, 2005, 2008), in which various social actors agree to often axiologically contradictory positions. Critical discourse analysis, as a special type of discursive research, chooses, among others, public debates (van Dijk, 2006). KAD treats discourses as social forms of communication that reflect real and meaningful social activities and practices related to the sphere of cultural domination and power (van Dijk, 1993). The analyzes undertaken should take into account the social, cultural and ideological-political contexts in which the discourses take place, categories of participants, i.e. elements of subjective analysis, their social activities, rules and strategies for achieving the discourse participants' goals. Hence, attempts were made to analyze the discourse taking into account the social and cultural context in which it took place, as well as to take into account all attitudes, states of knowledge and opinions of representatives of the studied Internet community.

In analogy to the oppositional analytical categories existing in the discursive-critical approach, e.g. Ours and Strangers or We and They (Kopytowska, Kumięga, 2017), the manifestations of the existence of opposition patterns of participation in the public sphere were analyzed in the language of discourse participants and in its social and cultural context. (legitimizing ideas) and their connections with class-layer relations.

During the analysis of internet users' comments, the original state of the message was kept. This means that the statements were not taken out of their natural situational context, nor were they prepared or shortened. Their sound, style and selection of vocabulary, including profanity, were preserved. Efforts have also been made to find the goals and intentions of the commentators. Hence, the linearity and sequence of analyzes is so important, i.e. taking into account the paragraphs before and after the analyzed text and examining it based on internal consistency and dynamics, without omitting any sentences and maintaining the original graphic appearance of the texts, expressing, inter alia, emotional attitude of the participants in the analysis and presentation of the results (font selection, letter size, emoticons). All posted comments addressed to the wider group and responses to individual people have been analyzed.

The discourse study takes into account the specificity of the selected medium of the Internet industry. Particularly important is the relationship between the ownership structure and the role of the broadcaster, which, like the vast majority of broadcasters, more or less directly implements the owners' interests. The owner of the Internet portal Businessinsider.com.pl is the international media concern Ringier Axel Springer Polska, a limited liability company. The above conditions of ownership affect the selection of the content of media messages, they form the program line. However, it should be stated, in accordance with the official regulations contained in the Portal Regulations, that broadcasters declare an apolitical and ideological character and adhere to generally accepted principles "in accordance with applicable law, social and moral standards and (...) not posting content supporting radical social attitudes or promoting such views (all kinds of racial, ethnic, gender, religious discrimination, etc.). taking an open position in the current disputes between political parties fighting for power.

In the discourse analysis, the authors tried to follow a principle that closely corresponded to the sense of the methodological directive of Florian Znaniecki's humanistic coefficient and to Weber's postulate of evaluation-free social sciences, so as not to attribute to the authors of the analyzed statements their own views, methods of categorizing and diagnosing reality (internalization error). This is a necessary condition for maintaining a critical distance to a given text.

The analysis took into account the social, cultural, ideological and political context that determined the discourse on the website. Presenting the history of the establishment, main assumptions of the OFE reform and outlining the attitude of successive ruling teams to the scale of the share of capital funds in shaping the Polish pension system will allow to understand the diverse and radically different attitudes of Internet users, depending on the ideological options represented towards the government proposal by Mateusz Morawiecki, to transfer the remaining funds from OFE to inherited Individual Retirement Accounts or to ZUS.

5. Analysis of the selected internet discourse

The announced liquidation of the capital component of the pension system, i.e. Open Pension Funds (OFE), was introduced in 1999 by the government of Jerzy Buzek. They were part of a comprehensive reform of the system, which assumed that the amount of the pension would no longer depend mainly on age and length of service. The value of contributions was to gain in importance. OFE as the so-called the second pillar of the pension system, managed by private, general and operating on the financial market pension funds, were to supplement the still accumulated pension contributions in ZUS.

Radical changes in the functioning of open pension funds were introduced by the government of the PO and PSL in 2014. 50% of the accumulated funds were redeemed, mainly in the form of state treasury bonds, which were used primarily to service public debt. From this year on, the law prohibited investing funds accumulated in OFE in state bonds used to service the debt of the State Treasury. The remaining funds, in the total amount of PLN 162 billion, are invested mainly in shares of companies listed on the Warsaw Stock Exchange. By the end of June 2022, the parliamentary majority had not taken final decisions on the shape of the act on the reform of open pension funds.

The discourse on the permanent reform of the pension system in Poland has been strongly ideological and emotional from the beginning to the present. This is an element of the fundamental conflict between the neoliberal paradigm, which, at least in the declarative sphere, favors extensive investment of pension funds in financial markets and limiting the role of the Social Insurance Institution, and the interventionist paradigm supporting centralized management of pension funds. by a strong Social Insurance Institution. At the same time, it is difficult to institutionally ascribe to the former ruling coalition of the Civic Platform and the PSL, often described as the liberal, pro-market orientation of the former ruling coalition of the Civic Platform and PSL, and the interventionist tendencies of the current ruling coalition, centered around PiS.

The first topic, "We are society – they are a treacherous power": comments expressing a lack of trust in state institutions, a state far from the pattern – the implementer of the principle of justice as impartiality. This is the most articulated opinion. The discourse was dominated by the debaters, expressing distrust and distance, especially towards the executive, but also towards state institutions in general, regardless of the political or ideological option currently in power. The selected content presented above proves the lack of consensus among the participants of the spontaneous exchange of views on common, universally accepted constitutional principles.

Opinion 1: "Private property is that we have it! This money will be private once I get it into my account. Currently, the thieving state, without my consent, takes some of them for its own needs, and gives the rest to someone and gives it back to me - if it does not lose everything beforehand. Fuck such private property and the state - the thief. [...] You really want to wake

up in a state that is stealing your 25% savings. Such a state ceases to be a bastion of rights and freedoms BECOMES THEIR ENEMY! Do you want a country that will be your enemy? Who needs a state that can take what he wants? After all, such a country is no different from the invaders with whom our grandfathers have fought for hundreds of years, we live in a Polish-speaking colony?".

Opinion 2: "It will make you laugh to tears. Already in 1990, this country robbed its citizens of their life savings, believing that the accumulated savings were worth nothing. And then they had this worthless fortune".

Opinion 3: "If they transfer these funds to some IZE or KZE, I will immediately withdraw them from there to buy currency or gold. What they don't know, they won't steal it later".

Opinion 4: "Instead of enriching the thieves' open pension funds and bank accounts from which the cash register may disappear, it is better to invest this money in cryptocurrencies. Where the state has nothing to say, so do the bankers".

Opinion 5: "It is another theft of power".

Since the spread of social media, their language has made an important contribution to the language of the public sphere. Following Jerzy Bralczyk and Jacek Wasilewski, five varieties of the language of these media should be distinguished, which reflect the attitudes of Internet broadcasters: the national language, the language of success, the language of political correctness, the language of populism and the language of ease (Bralczyk, 2008). The vast majority of the authors of the above comments use the language of populism, which refers to the They category. This language is also present in tabloids, election flyers and media statements by politicians who use populist arguments. Commentators often use profanity, colloquial language and verbal aggression. There is a tendency to categorize negative ones, such as "theft of OFE", "theft of power", "hostile state", which refer to the metaphor of harm to citizens and foreign power. It is difficult to find the constituent elements of a community of citizens - the ruled and the ruling - who recognize the same principles of justice. The researched statements of Internet users did not find any axiological features characteristic of the republican idea of a state community, i.e. putting the need of the community over individual or group self-realization.

The second theme "Two hateful tribes" is characterized by the presence of glaring differences in the interpretation of the current OFE reform by the supporters of the two dominant socio-political narratives. Among the comments posted, it is easy to distinguish elements of two antagonistic, neo tribe's ideologies, integrating their own members and supporters, and rejecting not only the arguments of the opposing side, but also the possibility of any dialogue and marking the enemy. However, polarization of opinion is not the dominant topic of discussion on the Internet. The opposition between "us" and "them" is revealed most strongly in the emotional message, then in the classic form "we society" - "it is the authority, a foreign, hostile state".

Opinion 6: "First, 1/4 of this money will be used to buy voters' votes. Soon we can hear that these thieves are also returning us 75% of our bank deposits. Their electorate is so stupid that they will be delighted anyway".

Opinion 7: "I think our country treats us the same way as this human supercomputer in the Matrix. The state should serve man. Settle any ambiguities in favor of the citizen because the citizen is his sovereign!".

Opinion 8: "When Tusk stole 150 billion from OFE and took up debt of 400 billion, he was a hero. How Kaczyński wants to get 10,000 zlotys is a thief and a fraud. I just got the reply that some people have dumber voters".

The third thematic keystone of the "Theater of Absurd" discourse, comparable to the two opinions presented earlier in terms of the number of opinions presented, concerns the topic of discussion and the very situation of the exchange of views, because it is a kind of happening, participation in a surreal performance in the theater of the absurd.

Opinion 9: "We will all get 10,000 from OFE. to be paid".

Opinion 10: "It will be like in a Russian bank".

Opinion 11: "We will get a plot of land on the Moon or Mars for the election".

The debaters assigned to the above thematic keystone use loose language, a "parodic meta-pattern" (Bralczyk, 2008). They draw inspiration from all of the above-mentioned types of media language. It is a language of entertainment, absurdity and irony. He is characterized by the use of abbreviations, freedom in using stylistic means and distance to other language varieties.

In the analyzed debate, there were practically no elements of the language of political correctness, which was a linguistic reflection of official European democracy, usually using scientific and clerical phraseological connections. It is supposed to strive for objectivity, it refers to the slogans of public interest, reason and the category of We (Bralczyk, 2008). How do the course (dynamics) and content of the analyzed media discourse correspond to Rawls's five principles of public reason and Arendt's republican idea of the public sphere?

In the analyzed comments one could find manifestations of unrequited resentments, prejudices, group jealousies, as well as the amount of personal and group negative emotions of a resentmental nature that block the development of even a partial socio-political consensus. Among the statements of the debaters, there are no opinions proving the existence of even a majority social acceptance of the basic structure of society as the implementation of the principles of justice, so crucial to the idea of Rawls' public reason.

The analyzed statements of Internet users all the more deviated from the republican concept of the common good or the high ethical canons of the idea of civil freedom "to". There are two separate interpretations of constitutional principles and the resulting interpretations of the functioning of the judiciary, derived from various axiological systems and social ideologies. They are just one step away from two different ways of interpreting Rawls' universal ideological principles of justice.

In order for there to be universal social acceptance of the principles of justice, first of all constitutional and legal consent is necessary. In Polish socio-cultural realities, since the division of the post-Solidarity camp into two broadly understood blocks: liberal-democratic and conservative-national, such a community and agreement as to fundamental rights or the commonly understood concept of freedom "to", participation and maintenance of a normative community is seriously violated. In addition to various perceptions about the preferred economic programs, the scale of interventionism, attitude towards the European Union, the idea of political correctness, attitude towards sexual minorities, proposed social programs and the scope of the redistribution of resources or historical policy, after the Smolensk tragedy, relations between the two sides were also burdened with negative emotions group. Attempts were made to heal the social trauma, accusing each other of more or less direct responsibility for the disaster of the government Tu-154M in 2010. They express themselves by closing themselves in their own media circles, focusing their narrative and political persuasion mainly on their own electorate and potential allies.

The above processes are deepened by the crack in the social structure understood in terms of classes, which has been observed for years. Class capitalist society is the most essential element of the basic structure of society as understood by Rawls' concept of the public sphere. The presented statements show a split among Internet users as to the way of defining the basic criteria of social justice. Most of the respondents pointed to the lack of trust in the judiciary and the functioning of closed media circles of neoplemen. On the other hand, industry media, established to play the service and information role, which are to be a platform for meetings and exchange of ideas for various expert groups, become places of confrontation, verbal aggression, mockery and invective between ideological "skirmishers" or hired trolls of conflicted parties (case an identified troll of one of the parties to a political conflict).

Hatred is a problem primarily in large, publicly available discussion forums (Krejtz, 2012). The above observations are also confirmed by the international Cyberemmotions research, which also shows that this type of behavior is much less present on specialist websites devoted to a specific issue. Although, as outlined above, negative emotions, hate speech, and hateful opinions are relatively easy to spot even in the narrower and more industry-specific audience of Internet content. Most of the aggressive statements appear when dealing with worldview topics related to social trauma and politics (Krejtz, 2012), which is confirmed by the presented analysis of the Internet discourse.

The key issue is the disagreement as to the socio-political and axiological consensus observed among the participants of the Internet debate. The public reason imperative requires at least a partial consensus between the group and individuals advocating different concepts of the common good. It requires the development of a commonly accepted, specific decalogue of public life. It is to ensure cooperation and social integration in the conditions of differences of opinion. Since "there is no rational religious, philosophical or moral doctrine that all citizens

would profess, the concept of justice recognized in a well-organized society must be limited to [...] the political" (Krejtz, 2012).

In Rawls's concept of the public sphere, the basis of consensus is the social and political acceptance of the concept of justice as impartiality. This corresponds to the normative assumption of Jurgen Habermas with the statement that law, as a universal tool for implementing also the principles of justice, constitutes a bridge between the world of life and institutional politics. The law plays a key role in protecting socially significant values. It regulates the processes of integration and stabilization in diverse and divided societies, but also sets the framework and structures of political and public discourses.

Agreement as to the divisions is to be ensured, first of all, by the adoption of the constitution. In today's Poland, constitutional principles have become the subject of public debate as never before in the times of the Third Polish Republic. However, its instrumentalisation can be observed by antagonized political forces that use it to achieve short-term political goals. These principles are used in the current political game by both antagonistic sides. They differ, for example, in the interpretation of the method of electing judges of the Constitutional Tribunal, the essence of the reforms of the Supreme Court, the National Council of the Judiciary, i.e. the highest judicial organs. Socio-political tensions arising around the functioning of the judiciary, or more broadly the law-making and enforcement process, are also reflected in the presented online discourse (casus: "such a state ceases to be a bastion of rights and freedoms").

Social media allow for anonymous, unrestricted and largely unpunished expression of negative emotions, alleviating frustration and reciprocating suffering, humiliation experienced by physical and virtual aggressors, responding to real, more or less imaginary resentments towards political opponents, ideological enemies, any sexual and moral differences, ethnic and religious competitors in the market of tangible and intangible goods. Timothy Snyder, an American historian and social philosopher, aptly emphasizes the threats posed to the modern world and man by the rapid development of digital technologies focusing on the Internet.

"The Internet has caused a social change completely different than could have been expected. Overall, the network serves not only to enlighten and disseminate knowledge, but also to spread disinformation. It also acts as a catalyst and a transmitter of emotions. It examines the psychological weaknesses of society - and passes this information on to those who can pay for them" (Snydr, 2020).

6. Conclusion

The progressing IT revolution and the spread of its instruments (the case of smartphones) brings new channels of access to information and new forms of social integration, including for groups previously excluded from broadly understood public life. This process concerns a large part of the so-called a mute majority and, until recently, a passive majority. However, media empowerment also has negative social and cultural effects. Social media is an instrument of social mobilization, but also an accelerator of opinions and ideas, on the one hand extreme, polarized, on the other hand populist. Digital media, and more precisely means of Internet communication, are a medium, a technological tool that allows not only to communicate on the information level, but also to create contemporary tribal communities, including hate communities. The social and media phenomenon of Internet hatred reflects the tensions existing in society in the social structure between collective actors, usually of a class nature, and the rival normative systems, worldviews and ideologies that justify them. Manuel Castells has already mentioned this phenomenon, claiming that the Internet space is a material support for contemporary social practices (Castells, 2010). The structural and cultural contexts of resentment strengthen and legitimize individual negative emotions, prejudices, stereotypes, real and imaginary resentments. These, in turn, are now mediated by social communication in the Internet media. Polish society is facing a huge challenge today, which is the skillful use of information and communication technologies in the service of the common good, civic community, looking for connections between the real and virtual world and eliminating extreme social tensions (Harayamaa, 2017).

The presented content and related language forms of the three main thematic keystones of discourse found: 1) "We are society - They are a treacherous power", 2) "Two hateful tribes" and 3) "Theater of the absurd" are in blatant contradiction to both the assumptions of the liberal conception Rawls's public sphere (public reason) and Arendt's republican sphere.

The two concepts of the public sphere used in the ideal-typical analysis can serve as a model for comparing the extent to which the defined social reality, burdened with class, historical, ethnic, ideological conflicts, stereotypes and negative group emotions, differs from the assumptions of the previously mentioned theoretical and ideological constructions. However, they do not have diagnostic and explanatory possibilities to indicate and explain the nature of relations in the public sphere between structural or cultural determinants and the causative possibilities of individual and collective actors. The Polish public sphere on the Internet, permanently functioning in separate media "bubbles", is a pathology of both the republican and liberal idea of the public sphere. They show the features of a community that integrates not through the implementation of a program or idea, but "against" another community that is perceived as a community of unworthy, strangers and excluded. It can be said that the idea of the republican community and civic virtues, enshrined in Arendt's writings, is reflected in the

distorted mirror of the opinions of members of the Internet Neo Tribe. So it is far from the idea of a super-intelligent, social and creative Society 5.0.

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