

**Working Paper No. 68
2004**

**From Socialism to Capitalism:
Women and their Changed Relationship with the Labor Market in Poland**

Ania Plomien

A modified version of this paper will appear in:
Hans-Peter Blossfeld and Heather Hofmeister (Eds.)
Globalization, Uncertainty, and Women in Society
(Forthcoming)

<http://www.uni-bamberg.de/sowi/soziologie-i/globalife>

**Faculty of Social and Economic Science
Department of Sociology I
Otto-Friedrich University of Bamberg
Lichtenhaidestr. 11
P.O. Box 1549
D-96045 Bamberg
Germany**

INTRODUCTION

Since the late 1980s and early 1990s Central Eastern European (CEE) countries have embarked on changes involving political, economic, legal, and social spheres. All these areas concern macro structural levels and micro processes displaying path dependent tendencies along with highly transformative ones. Over the last decade and a half there were two major exogenous sources of change affecting the CEE region. The first was the 1989 rapid fall of communism, and the second was the more drawn out process of membership negotiations with the European Union (EU), initiated in 1993 and with rising intensity culminated by the Accession Treaty in 2003 and joining the EU in 2004. Both of these events, combined with internal factors specific to each country, caused far reaching consequences for the domestic scene. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to establish whether globalization "caused" the 1989 fall of communism and the movement to join the EU, but these phenomena are undoubtedly linked. Poland, in addition to implementing deep internal changes, reoriented its external outlook away from the Soviet block in the East toward the EU countries and other democratic states in the West. Poland's post-transformation role in the international economy, including its closer relationship to international markets, greater vulnerability to market shocks, intensified competition and the influx of technological changes, are evidence of globalization's reach within Polish borders. This chapter focuses on the changing gender relations in Poland and women's position in the labour market as influenced by these endogenous shifts. From the available literature¹ and an overview of occurring legislative changes, I establish how women (and men) have fared in the labour market in Poland from the post World War II era to the present. Most contemporary European labour markets present great difficulties to policy makers and all those who are or wish to be engaged in its activities. But, the labour market situation in Poland (a country accounting for over half of the working age population among the new EU members) is particularly challenging because its employment rate is among the lowest among EU25 (50.6% in 2003), and the unemployment rate is the highest among EU25 (in July 2004 it reached 19.3 percent). Women's access to sustainable employment in Poland, although an acute problem, generally has been a low priority on the agenda of domestic actors such as the successive governments, trade unions or employers. But the entry and rising importance of an external player – the EU – is a stimulus for the growing attention to women's employment in politics and policy making.

I examine (1) whether there is a change of the Polish gender contract from the socialist to the present era, and if so, (2) how is it evolving and what are the factors and actors relevant to its development? Along with considering the internal dynamics, especially the role of the government in power, I assess the role of the EU and its potential in the shaping of the labour market position of women. The two mentioned structural sources of change seem to have brought different consequences for the domestic scene overall and for gender relations in particular. The first external shock was detrimental to the position of women in Poland, the second is more beneficial. Why is that so?

¹ A comparison of the situation of men and women in Poland is challenging for the reasons of shortage of reliable data and studies. The assumptions of gender equality under socialism were not questioned, and so an informed analysis did not emerge until the socialism collapsed. Also, if certain statistics do exist, their meaning is not the same under the now changed circumstances rendering comparisons complex (Fuszara, 2000b).

The chapter begins with situating the discussion of Poland within the broader welfare state perspective and points to particular historical contexts influencing the cultural dimension of gender relations. Next, it traces the attitudes and actions of the pre- and post- transition governments related to gendered labour market issues. The following section discusses the realities of the Polish labour market in its central planning and free market economy stages. After that the relative position of men and women is placed in a broader context. Finally, the changes associated with the prospects of accessing the EU are discussed.

The Relevance of the Welfare State Discussion

The importance of the welfare state to labour markets is manifest in the state's ability to maintain full employment or in dealing with the labour market crises (Bastian, J. 1998). Esping-Andersen (1990) systematised the cross-national differences in welfare state structures into three ideal-types based on two dimensions: the degree of decommodification and the sort of existing social stratification and solidarities. Variations on these axes resulted in three different types of welfare states: liberal, conservative, and social-democratic.²

Thus, mainstream academic studies of welfare state development focused on the relationship between the state and the market. In addition, the literature on Western labour markets considers the national state as crucial in forming the relationship between household models and employment. And so, welfare regimes are said to contour not only the employment systems but also patterns of gender relations (Rubery, 2001). Adding on the issue of unpaid work (Taylor Gooby, 1991) expands the discussion of state-market relations by stressing the family as the third component in the interaction. Including family in the analysis is crucial, as Western states depend on the family provision of welfare (Orloff, 1993). This component enables one to view welfare regimes as gendered, where most evident are the gendered division of labour, the family wage system, and the traditional marriage (Orloff, 1996).

The concept of the breadwinner model (Lewis, 1992) illuminates the state's role in the division of paid and unpaid labour performed by men and women. In its pure form the male breadwinner model assigns men to the paid economy and women to non-paid domestic and caring duties. Under such arrangements either none or only minimal state provisions are made for maternity leave and pay, the right to post maternity work reinstatement, or childcare. Therefore, women's labour force participation is predicted to be low, since they privately make up for the deficiencies in the provision of social services related to care. Consequently, women who do not participate in the formal labour market must depend on their husbands for social security entitlements.

Authors have shown (Lewis 1992, Sainsbury 1994) that the male breadwinner model to certain degrees persists in all modern welfare states³. As an alternative to the weak male breadwinner model, Sainsbury (1994) puts forth an individual model where both men and women are wage earners and perform caring duties, benefits target individuals, and the bulk of caring work is provided or paid for by the state. Although the male breadwinner model has eroded, the shift to the individual model, where both partners are financially independent of each other and in full time work, has not taken place yet (Lewis, 2002).

² Later expanded to a Mediterranean/Latin Rim group by Leibfried, S. 1992.; Ferrera, M. 1996.; Bonoli, G. 1997

³ Following the pattern, Britain and Ireland are strong male-breadwinner states, France is a modified male-breadwinner category, and Sweden with high female labour force participation, childcare provisions and individual taxation policy classifies as the weak male-breadwinner type (Lewis, 1992).

Can the Western mainstream and feminist discussion of the welfare state apply to a country like Poland? The welfare state concept pertains more to contemporary Poland than to the socialist period. The socialist regime and the welfare state seem to be more of a contradiction in terms than compatible concepts due to the organisation of the whole political, economic, and social system. While today Poland resembles Western democracies based on free market principles, under socialism the reign of the free market was not permitted, and all the parts of the polity, economy, and society were centrally regulated. Therefore, the notions of labour decommodification or social solidarities and stratifications do not carry across the two periods equally well. However, the concept is still useful if discussing the impact of the state on the labour market position and the overall well being of citizens. Indeed, governmental policies, whether under command economy or free market conditions, can still be assessed from the perspective of promoting a certain gender contract or regulating the labour market. And in the case of contemporary Poland – a new member state of the recently enlarged EU – the discussion of the importance of the national actors must expand to include supra-national forces combined with the unique cultural and historical context.

The Ideal Cultural Gender Model in Poland from a Historical Perspective

Under the circumstances of lost statehood⁴, women, especially from the higher and better educated strata, were expected to preserve and pass on to younger generations the national language, culture, and religious faith. The term ‘Matka Polka’ (Polish Mother) developed to describe the phenomenon and give it high prestige. This task called for self-sacrifice in the name of the family and the nation, and women’s private troubles had to take a back seat.

After a short lived sovereignty between the two world wars, the post WWII alien socialist state imposed new images and definitions of model citizens with appropriate gender roles. A complex situation has emerged where the state’s imposition of what was desirable in the public sphere inadvertently reinforced the traditional role of the woman from the pre-modern times. So, the tradition of the mother as the keeper of the family and cultural heritage, especially religion, continued privately in people’s homes and in churches. Under socialism, even if the need to question the tokenism of the party was in women’s interest, the tactics of open confrontation and free expression were not readily available, and the public sphere and the civil society were repressed. Thus, the opportunities for women to understand, articulate and then openly challenge gender relations of the existing status quo were lost (Titkow, 1993). In spite of the wide gap between theory and practice in equal status between Polish men and women, grass roots movement aiming for equality did not evolve in parallel with the developments in the West, and women in a sense skipped a stage in their grasping and challenging the difference between sex and gender (Titkow, 1993).

Post 1989 the traditional role of Matka Polka has been called on again by some political and public figures. The traditional view of gender roles was reinforced by the revival of patriarchal values and the vulnerability (described below) of men in the deteriorating economic climate (Sasic Silovic, 2000). In Poland the political patriarchal culture, with its traditional symbols, language and ideology, is still sustained by men, and the so called women’s issues pertaining to childcare, health, or gender based labour market inequality must give place to collective interests of nationhood (Graham and Regulska, 1997). The Church plays a prominent role in reinforcing traditional gender roles by closely aligning itself with the political right (Martynowicz, 2000). The overall acceptance of such attitudes (with exceptions) relates to the historical legacy of power relations. Feminist issues were artificially

⁴ Poland was partitioned in 1772, 1793 and 1795, its territory divided among Austria, Prussia, and Russia and the citizens subjected to their rule.

imposed from above and post 1989 became branded as leftist (therefore bad). The role of political parties matters in this cultural realm, with the right promoting conservative and the left more progressive and egalitarian scenarios.

THE STATE AND THE FORMATION OF THE GENDER CONTRACT

The State and its Policies before 1989

Under socialism all citizens of Poland, male or female, were in principle given the same legal rights. All were permitted to participate in political, economic, and social domains (although not in a democratic sense) and all were guaranteed employment. The socialist ideology stressed participation in work outside the home as emancipating, and as such supported women as paid employees (Piotrowski, 1963; Pascall and Manning, 2000). Thus, the official public discourse seemed to stress equality in general, but also equality between the sexes (Hauser et al, 1993). This assertion must be qualified by at least two points. First, the right of all to work did not translate automatically into equalities surrounding work (men were excluded from some of the work benefits related to family care and women were barred from certain occupational categories). Second, the official stance of the party and the government as well as the state controlled media fluctuated among three degrees in the promotion of a desired role for women. It varied from clear efforts towards the increase of active female employment and equalization of women's and men's positions in social and professional arenas, through indifference and no active promotion of any roles, and finally to the slow down of professional activation of women by stressing their family role of mother, wife, and caregiver as paramount (Piotrowski, 1963). In essence, the early socialist state, concerned with rebuilding and industrialising post-war Poland promoted an image of woman as an employee first, in the mid 1950s, there was a shift in the position of the state by emphasising women as mothers, while in the 1960s the government supported women's employment if the workplaces were not filled by men (Piotrowski, 1963; Heinen, 2002).

On the whole, the employment of women was steadily growing from 30.6% in 1950 to 46% in 1990 (Glogosz, 2000; based on GUS, 1998). Various state and work benefits, although not aimed at eliminating inequalities between men and women, facilitated the reconciliation of women's roles as mothers and workers. Services provided by the state enabled women's employment by minimizing the conflicts between professional and family responsibilities (Lobodzinska, 1995). As a result the state's granting of gender equality was incomplete and superficial, and was not fully reflected in practice nor extended to the private sphere (as discussed below). The gender question therefore remained unresolved and the patriarchal family order unchallenged (Pascall and Manning, 2000). At times, however, the socialist government treated the gender question in a more decisive and active way. An example is the 1986 establishment of an office to ensure the equal status of women and men in government, political, economic, social and cultural arenas: The Office of the Government Plenipotentiary for Women's Affairs. Such institutionalisation of women's issues indicates some degree of commitment on the part of the socialist government to the establishment of mechanisms pertaining to and dealing with gender (in)equality.

The State and its Policies after 1989

In contrast to the previous era, the state's dedication to equal opportunities (even if mostly superficial) and women's professional activation was not sustained through the transition period. After 1989 the official ideology of defining a suitable or desirable role and place for women changed together with the change of the politico-economic system by assigning women to the position of mother in the private sphere of the home (Watson, 1993; Fuszara, 2000a). The official stance is evident in the 1991 conversion of the Office for Women's Affairs to the Office of Undersecretary of State for Women and Family with new responsibilities for family, children and youth (Hauser et al, 1993). Moreover, at the beginning of the transformation period, the right leaning government went as far as advising women to return to households and take up their motherly and wifely duties in order to make jobs available for men (Sasic Silovic, 2000).

The government coalitions between the years 1993 and 1997 came from the left side of the political spectrum and were more involved in promoting equal opportunities, especially after the 1995 UN conference in Beijing. The government developed a National Plan of Action which included among its concerns plans for fighting women's poverty, assured access to education, better access to medical care, addressing violence against women, institutionalisation of mechanisms for the advancement of women, and facilitation of women's involvement in power and decision making (Martynowicz, 2000).

However, the policy of promoting gender equality did not persist for long. The state's course on the issue altered yet again with the 1997 elections when a right wing government with close ties to the Church was formed. This administration was quite clear in expressing its traditional views on the appropriate and desirable women's roles. For example in a UN questionnaire, quoted by Martynowicz (2000, p1), the government expressed to:

...take steps aimed at improvement of women's situation that can be seen in its pro-family policy program (...) aimed at, among others, increased independence of families – that means women – as well as decreased number of single mothers through family and marital counselling centres (...)

and

In Poland, many discriminatory situations don't happen due to (...) very special belief in an exceptional role of a woman as mother and family supporter. Besides, egalitarian tendencies are very strong in Polish society and that is something women also enjoy.

Thus, the government made its position on the role of women as wives and mothers evident. It called on their centuries old mission of safeguarding families and sustaining national values. Its regard of gender equality as unproblematic suggests not only a lack of will to do anything about its improvement, but certainly entails a pledge to the weakening of women's independence outside of family contexts. Congruently with its stated preference, this administration put a stop to a project "Against Violence – Equalising Chances" on the grounds that "offering help to women and children outside their family home contributes to the break up of that family" (Martynowicz, 2000, p6). Moreover, this government questioned the need to introduce an equal status bill, to investigate gender equality in the labour market (like pay equity) or to introduce the political quota system. Instead a Program for Pro-Family Policy was voted in (Martynowicz, 2000).

Certainly, the office of the Government Plenipotentiary appears to be an expressive medium for government priorities and the role of women it aims to promote, because with the next change of administration in 2001 (left wing coalition), the office conveys a different message. This time its motto is "the propagation and realisation of the principle of equal treatment of women and men and in all areas of social life and the counteraction of all expressions of

discrimination based on gender” (Kobiety OnLine). Hence, the state’s maxim is more attentive to gender related issues yet again.

The above examples show that the state’s promotion of a new gender contract is not unidirectional but continuously transforming. The presence of agency is clearly evident when governing parties change, depending on the political orientation of the administration in power, the politics and policy of gender fluctuate between progress and retreat.⁵ In addition, not only the government’s preferences but also the influence of the EU needs to be assessed while analysing recent developments in gender relations and the labour market in Poland.

THE LABOUR MARKET BEFORE AND AFTER TRANSITION

Labour Market Participation: Employment and Unemployment

The labour market situation in the areas of employment and unemployment shows the most drastic differences between the socialist and post-socialist periods. In the socialist era for the most part, women’s labour was needed and work was perceived a civic duty (LaFont, 2001). On an individual level, work was also a necessity because single wages were insufficient to support a family with only one income (Marody and Giza-Poleszczuk, 2000). Therefore the state demand for professional involvement of women was readily met with a supply of women who combined full time employment with motherhood. In 1946 the percentage of women among the workforce in Poland outside of agriculture was nearly 30 percent (Piotrowski, 1963). By the end of 1980s women comprised about 46 to 47 percent of the entire workforce, thus nearly half of the workers were women and the state activated women professionally in relation to men to a degree comparable only in the Nordic states (Kramer, 1995). For example, in the age category of women 40 to 44 years (Table 1), CEE countries achieved higher rates of women’s employment than anywhere else in Europe.

Table 1. Labour Force Participation Rate (%) of Women 40-44 Years of Age

Country/Region	1950	1960	1970	1980	1985
Czechoslovakia	52.3	67.3	79.9	91.3	92.4
Hungary	29	51.8	69.4	83.2	84.7
Poland	66.4	69.1	79.5	83.2	84.7
Northern Europe	30.9	39.9	53.8	69.9	71.1
Western Europe	34.5	39.5	46.4	55.1	55.6

Source: Jackman and Rutkowski 1994, based on Kornai 1992

Note: Northern Europe covers Scandinavian countries, Western Europe: Austria, Belgium, France, FRG, Netherlands, Switzerland, Luxembourg, and UK

⁵ Based on post 1993 elections, Fuszara (2000b) classifies Polish political parties into three different groups. First: groups who do not pay any attention to the specific needs of women. Second: parties who propose extended maternity leaves and PT employment for females (women as mothers and not workers) and neglect the role of males and their family obligations. And third: political associations who openly address discrimination, reproductive rights, feminization of poverty, high female unemployment, and assistance to single mothers.

The CEE region stressed work related benefits: retirement pensions, subsidised canteens, holiday resorts, free transportation to some work places and institutionalised childcare all tied to work enterprises, and the socialist state in Poland was based on active work participation (Makkai, 1994). With growing numbers of women engaging in active employment, their access to these subsidies was facilitated. Some social services and benefits, such as education and health care, were available to all citizens for free.

In contrast to the command economy, the labour market situation of the free market system has been detrimental to full employment. Labour force participation as well as employment rates of men and women have declined sharply in the post transition years (see Table 2).

Table 2. Labor Force Participation and Employment (%) Rates in Poland in the years 1988-2002

Category	Activity	1988	1992	1995	2000	2001	2002
Total	LFPR	65.3	61.7	58.4	56.4	55.8	55.0
	ER	--	53.3	50.7	47.4	45.5	44.1
Men	LFPR	74.3	70.0	66.5	64.3	63.4	62.6
	ER	--	61.4	58.5	55.2	52.5	50.7
Women	LFPR	57.0	54.2	51.1	49.2	48.4	48.0
	ER	--	46.0	43.7	40.3	39.0	38.1

Source: GUS, Yearbook 2003, and as reported in Woycicka et al 2003

The command economy was characterised by low level and growth of wages, an excess demand for labour resulting in labour shortages and no open unemployment (Brainerd, 2000). Since the adoption of market economy, one of the most drastic labour market changes affecting both men and women has been a steep rise of unemployment and a strong increase in non-employment⁶ (Gora, 1997). Participation rates in all other transition countries have declined greatly, but Poland has been affected to a greater degree. Its unemployment levels are higher than its CEE neighbours' and higher than in West European states (see Table 3).

Table 3. LFP and Unemployment Rates (%) for Select CEE and EU in the years 1990-2001

Country | Activity | 1990 | 1993 | 1995 | 1997 | 1999 | 2001

⁶ Employment outflows to inactivity surpass outflows to unemployment, and outflows from unemployment show the unemployed leaving the labour force completely instead of moving to new employment (Mickiewicz and Bell, 2000) - likely due to a discouraged worker effect given regional unemployment levels over 40 % (Churski, 2002).

Czech Republic	LFP	-	75.3	73.6	72.1	72.2	71.1
	U	0.8	3.9	4.1	4.8	8.7	8.2
Hungary	LFP	74.9	56	59.4	57.8	59.9	60.0
	U	1.9	11.9	10.2	8.7	7.0	5.7
Poland	LFP	-	73.5	67.4	66.4	65.9	65.7
	U	6.3	13.6	13.7	11.5	12.8	18.6
EU (15)	LFP	66	66.4	66.4	68.1	69.1	69.2
	U	8.5	10.6	11.1	10.7	9.3	7.4

Source: Labour Force Surveys reported in Mickiewicz and Bell, 2000; OECD 1997, 2002; and as reported in Fultz 2003

As Table 4 presents, unemployment strongly affected the Polish society as a whole, but unemployed women are worse off than unemployed men. Women experience higher unemployment rates⁷, they make up higher proportion of the long term unemployed, and their non-employment rate is greater as well, (Gora, 1997). Clearly the demand for female workers is lower than for male workers (Fuszara, 2000b) in the now liberalized labour market, and women as outsiders experience more uncertainty, as their access to stable jobs with benefits has diminished. The high prevalence of long term unemployment is the more serious as it is strongly associated with poverty.

Table 4. Unemployment Levels (%) for Poland in the years 1992 to 2002 by Gender

Category	1992	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Total	13.7	13.1	11.5	10.2	10.6	15.3	16.0	18.5	19.7
Men	12.4	12.1	9.9	8.7	9.3	13.0	14.2	17.3	19.0
Women	15.2	14.4	13.4	12.0	12.2	18.1	18.1	20.0	20.6

Source: BAEL in GUS www.stat.gov.pl

Wages

Since the collapse of the socialist system, some changes took place in the wage structure in Poland. The command economy was characterised by centrally assigned wages on the basis of an occupational wage scale for specific industries with a narrow wage differential between occupations and was skewed towards manual workers, especially in heavy industry and skilled manual work. As in the Western economies, women in Poland were overrepresented in the lower earning sectors; men dominated the higher ones (Brainerd, 2000). Not surprisingly, the gender pay gap was widespread. Female wages tended to be about 20% to 40 % lower compared to men even in the same positions (Marody and Giza-Poleszczuk, 2000). In fact, gender was a higher predictor of earnings than educational level, occupational position, age, job experience, or membership in the party (Siemienska, 1990).

⁷ Beside women, young people are another group highly vulnerable to unemployment in Poland (Churski, 2002).

In the years following the demise of the command economy, women's relative wage disadvantages have decreased. In Poland the mean gender earnings difference changed from 72 percent in 1986 to 81 percent in 1992 (Brainerd, 2000), so in this field women seem to have benefited from the transition. A study by Grajek (2001) confirms the general trend of the immediate post transformation drop in the gender pay gap, but he points to the fact that the bulk of the change occurred in 1989 when the state owned enterprises were reducing their labour costs. The jobs and wages of men were cut, and that, along with a fraction of well educated women entering lucrative positions, accounts for the narrowing of the wage differential. After 1992 this narrowing trend no longer continues (Grajek, 2001). Thus, although the relative position of female wages has improved, in real terms women's pay still has some catching up to do.

Employment Structure

Under the command economy, most employment, whether male or female, was in the public sector, and the much smaller private sector employment was mostly in agriculture or in small businesses. With the transition to the market economy via privatisation of state owned enterprises as well as setting up new ventures, the public sector contracted and the private sector expanded. Still, more women than men find employment with the public sector (42.5 percent and 34.2 percent respectively), and more men than women are attached to the private sector (65.8 and 57.5 percent, respectively) (Kolaczek, 2001). Consequently, the calls for and trends toward further privatisation or contraction of the public sector might be damaging to the employment of women and men. In spite of lower wages, public sector employment traditionally provides employment security (Towalski, 2003) and is more 'women friendly' (Balcerzak-Paradowska, 2001). Therefore further employment reductions in the public sector may translate into high losses especially for female employees.

The communist approach to women did not eradicate patriarchy and gender inequalities or enable women to gain positions of power (Graham and Regulska, 1997), and so men occupied the top professional positions – a situation that has not changed today (LaFont, 2001). Throughout the CEE region, horizontal and vertical segregation was a norm, with women based in a narrower range of sectors and occupations, such as light manufacturing, caring jobs, and services. In Poland such professions as medicine, legal areas, teaching, business and accounting became feminised, thus conveying lower status and commanding lower salaries (Bialecki and Heyns, 1993; Towalski, 2003). The service sector has been relatively underdeveloped and women tend to hold jobs that are and low level, except in the financial sector, where female employment is substantial and attributed to their high qualifications (Pollert, 2003).

Part-time employment has not been a wide spread work arrangement in Poland, and the number of part-time positions is in short supply (Glogosz, 2000). There are calls for the provision of more part time employment, but such solution carries both risks and benefits⁸. Part time employment in Poland shows a slight growing tendency, with women more likely to be employed part time than men (in 1998 13.1 percent and 8.1percent, respectively) (Kolaczek, 2001).

⁸ With the persistently low income levels and two full time salaries needed for securing basic family needs, part time employment may lower the family income to poverty line levels (Balcerzak-Paradowska, 2002). Also, if part time employment occurs in the unregulated spheres of the labour market, it further endangers women by marginalising them through socially unprotected jobs (Sasic Silovic, 2000)

Retirement and Pensions

Although during socialism the average male pensions were higher than the average female pensions, there was an element of redistribution from higher to lower benefits. The formula for pensions consisted of a constant element as well as a variable component depending on the level of pre-retirement income and work history. Since on average women retired at 60 and men at 65 years of age and because women earned less money, such a blueprint resulted in increasing women's pensions above the level if strictly actuarial criteria of time worked and salaries earned were taken into account (Nowakowska and Swedrowska, 2000; Woycicka et al 2003). The different retirement age of men and women was not as important for pension levels as was the pre-retirement income level (MGiP).

Pension reforms in Poland introduced in 1998 (right government in power) increase the gender inequality in pension income, since the policy changes kept the differential retirement age between women and men, but women who retire earlier than men lose more now than previously. Under the old system, with different retirement ages, women's average pension was at 75 percent of the average men's pension, while at equal retirement age it reached 81 percent. On average, the changes will decrease women's pension to 57 percent of men's pension with different retirement ages and to 73 percent if the retirement age is equal (Woycicka et al, 2003). Thus, the redistribution of pension income towards low-earning individuals has been restricted and women's relative position further deteriorated, thus stretching the economic uncertainty to old age.

Another change in the calculation of pensions relates to how periods of child-raising leave are treated. The socialist state recognised the value of providing care and such a leave was equal to active employment in calculating pension benefits. Changes introduced in 1991 distinguish between active employment and child raising leave to the detriment of care providers by reducing their future pension (Woycicka et al 2003). Women's greater responsibilities and involvement in child care activities during their productive and re-productive periods reinforce the gender inequality extending to post-retirement age.

Under the new rules pension benefits depend also on the status of unemployment. Those unemployed who receive benefits contribute to their pension fund, and those without benefits do not. Since more women than men make up the category of unemployed without benefits (their risk of long term unemployment is greater) their contributions to the pension funds are lower, and as such will translate into lower pensions upon retirement (Woycicka et al, 2003).

The pension reform has, however, some positive aspects. It improves the prospects of persons working part time (Woycicka et al 2003), and although in Poland the prevalence of part time work is not high, more women than men are engaged in such work arrangements. Another change advancing gender equality is the right of a spouse to pension funds accrued in the second pillar in case of death or divorce (Woycicka et al, 2003).

Education

Polish women have obtained relatively high educational levels, and already in 1968 women's educational achievements have surpassed those of men (Heinen, 2002). Despite their higher human capital, however, they command lower incomes and positions of authority (Hauser et al, 1993). So, women's overall higher education does not translate automatically into success in the labour market. On the one hand, greater educational attainment of women is necessary if they want to participate in political or in executive professional careers (Fuszara, 2000b).

On the other hand, it is not a sufficient characteristic, as women still have more difficulties than men in attaining higher posts, even if they are better educated. Also, because increased competition in the open economy no longer guarantees secure employment and income, less educated women may find themselves in especially vulnerable positions.

Childcare and Housework in Relation to Employment

During socialism the state's endorsement of women's employment in combination with motherhood was realised through generous paid maternity and childcare leave legislation and by developing a network of subsidised childcare. The particular legislation packages and the coverage of such institutionalised care varied together with the different commitment of political forces to the idea of professional activation of women as the state closely coordinated its employment policy with family policy (Piotrowski, 1963). During socialism, childcare centres were less numerous in Poland than in the neighbouring countries,⁹ but still they covered nearly 30 percent of children between 3 and 6 years of age in 1970 and increased to nearly 49 percent in 1980 (Heinen, 2002). Today many public childcare facilities have been closed or privatised, already by mid 1991 some 40 to 60 percent of nurseries and pre-schools were closed (Titkow, 1993). The decreasing number of daycares and their high cost create the necessity to provide for such services at home, and more often than not this responsibility falls on women (Siemienska, 2000; Heinen 2002). Increased costs associated with childcare create not only gender inequality, but also class inequalities, where poorer families with many young children find such services financially unattainable.

The macro impact of social policy changes on micro patterns of employment is visible in an analysis by Mickiewicz and Bell (2000) who find that among such characteristics as education, age structure, maternity leave, institutionalised childcare, public transport, level of urbanisation and socio-cultural traits, the factor that most affects the emerging pattern of professional activity rates in Poland is the availability of childcare. The percentage in the supply of childcare places is the most significant reason for affecting activity rates, especially in regards to female labour force participation (Mickiewicz and Bell, 2000) by either creating pathways or mounting barriers to employment.

Conversely, financial support for children has not deteriorated as quickly as the institutional coverage. Real values have decreased only slightly, where in 1995 they were at 97 percent of 1989 values (Pascall and Manning, 2000). Maternity leave and benefits, first introduced in Poland in 1924, have been adjusted several times in the post transition years. In 1989, benefits provided for 16 weeks of leave on the birth of the first child at 100 percent of mother's salary. In the post transition period the leave was extended first to 20 weeks, than to 26 weeks. In 2001 part of the leave (2 weeks) was also extended to fathers. In 2002 the leave was cut back again to 16 weeks (Woycicka et al, 2003). While on the one hand the extension of maternity leave to about six months at full salary seems good for easing the tension between motherhood and employment, on the other hand, such arrangement may be seen as costly to employers and may increase the prevalence of statistical discrimination against female workers. The maternity provisions beneficial during socialism are now viewed as detrimental since there no longer exists the guarantee of secure employment.

Childcare leave and child raising leave and benefits were introduced in Poland in 1954 and 1968 respectively, however only in 1995 and 1996 (leftist government in power) were they extended to men on equal basis with women. In principle both parents have equal rights to 80

⁹ e.g. GDR childcare centres accommodated about two thirds of 3 to 6 year olds

percent of the employee's income (Woycicka et al, 2003) and although the extension of this right to fathers is a positive development, there are no incentives for men to opt for such leaves. Introducing legislation consistent with EU standards in the area is insufficient in changing the behaviour of both parents towards a more egalitarian care sharing scenario. Currently, data show that the general trend of taking a leave to bring up a child is declining, and only about 2 percent of fathers in Poland take such a parental leave (Szemplinska, 2000). The general decline in parents exercising their right to time off is ascribed to their fear of losing employment in the precarious labour market situation and to low childcare allowance while on leave (Glogosz, 2000).

Similarly to the persistence of the traditional gender division in child care responsibilities, the division of household labour is resistant to change. The official socialist rhetoric of equality did not spread to the domestic sphere, and the double burden of women during socialism was an acute problem. While men tended to spend more time than women in paid employment, men spent much less time on housework and childcare than women.¹⁰ Today, women's housework remains disproportionately greater than that of men, but also men seem to have a choice whether they will contribute and what form this contribution will take (Fuszara, 2000a). In sum, the conditions for combining women's professional and family lives have worsened. The still disproportionate division of necessary non-paid household labour and childcare makes it much harder for women to be available for paid work outside the home, or if they are available to project the perception of this availability onto the employers.

A Discriminating Labour Market?

Generally speaking, high skills and education have become major explanatory aspects of higher wages as well as best protective features of holding on to a job (Rutkowski, 1998). However, women's inferior labour market position in both earning capacity and employment seems contradictory to their human capital accumulation, since on average they do acquire higher qualifications than men (Balcerzak-Paradowska, 2002). A possible explanation of this conundrum is the behaviour of employers, who may view women through their maternal and caring responsibilities (Balcerzak-Paradowska, 2002). As Fuszara (2000a) notes, the regulations intended to uphold equality did not in fact protect women from discrimination in the period of transformation. The planned economy was a secure environment in which women's jobs were legally and practically guaranteed even after lengthy parental leaves. The current labour market situation is much more precarious, and women may be discriminated against at the point of entry in order to prevent their potential higher cost to the employer. Men as fathers do not face the same danger, although the legal privileges of caring for children were extended to them as well.

More concretely, there are numerous examples of women discriminated against in the labour market. Watson (1993) reports that employers have openly indicated a strong preference for male workers: about two thirds of job vacancies advertised in job agencies preferred men. Another study (Hebda Czaplicka and Kolaczek, 2001) found that gender-based discrimination in access to work as well as surrounding employment and social insurance has increased in Poland over the 1990s. For example, unemployed women seeking employment were asked more often than unemployed men (54 percent versus 27 percent) whether they had children (Kolaczek, 2001). Furthermore, sometimes employers offered a job to a woman on a

¹⁰ Time budget studies in Poland suggest that in 1984 women spent on average 5 hours 9 minutes a day doing housework, while men spent about 2 hours 10 minutes. In 1996 the scenario moved a little closer to a more egalitarian division of household labour, where women's time investment into unpaid house work decreased to 4 hours 50 minutes per day, and men's increased to 2 hours 36 minutes (reported in Woycicka et al, 2003).

condition of her signing a statement that she will not use paid childcare days accorded to her by law while employed, or young female job candidates were required to provide a doctor's note stating they were not pregnant (Balcerzak Paradowska and Kolaczek, 2001). With such episodes quite common, it is difficult to disregard the issue of direct gender discrimination in the labour market. However, recent labour market policy developments, especially labour code modifications, clearly ban such discriminatory behaviour and set repercussions for the law violation.

Labour Market Policy

With unemployment being such a new development in the post-socialist Poland, the state laid down legal foundations for labour market policy and to facilitate its institutionalisation. Thus, the first Employment Act of December of 1989 included in its regulations a definition of the term unemployed person, introduction of unemployment benefits, and compulsion of regional employment offices to take unemployment counteracting measures (Churski, 2002).¹¹

The gendered analysis of the labour market policy is missing from literature on CEE countries, but certain policy trends can be detected. Already progressive legislation can be seen in the anti-discrimination legislation integral to the Polish Constitution and to the Labour Code. The Constitution of 1997 (Article 33) asserts equal rights for men and women in family, political, social and economic life, in education, social security, public office holding, employment and promotion, with equal remuneration for equal work (Fuszara, 2000).

The Labour Code has been changed many times since 1989, with the most recent version coming to effect in January 2004. The amended regulations establishing equality of rights and treatment of men and women and banning discrimination clearly reflect EU trends. According to Jerzy Hausner (2002),¹² the initial modifications were partial and transitional, with further changes responding to EU regulations. The treatment of sexual harassment not only replicates EU law but also aligns the Labour Code with the Polish constitution (MGiP) and responds to the demands of women's groups in Poland (European Foundation, 2003). The reforms refer to such EU laws as Directive 2000/78/EC and Directive 2002/73/EC¹³ and revise and detail Chapter IIa of the Labour Code 'Equal treatment of women and men' (MGiP). Among other changes the new Labour Code: it defines and prohibits all forms of direct and indirect discrimination, compels employers to counteract discrimination, defines and prohibits sexual harassment, and lifts the upper limits of compensation to a victim of discrimination. Thus, in terms of equality of rights and opportunities, progress on legislative level is evident. The impact of the reforms in working relations still needs to be assessed, but there are other known effects of the transformation on the status of citizens in Poland and the CEE region.

THE POSITION OF WOMEN AND MEN IN A BROADER CONTEXT

A Changed Reality?

¹¹ Currently in force in Poland is the Employment and Unemployment Act of 14 December 1994, amended and published in 1997 (Churski, 2002).

¹² Jerzy Hausner is the current Minister of the Economy and Labour (formerly ...and Social Policy) in Poland.

¹³ Directive 2000/78/EC sets the framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation concerning religion, belief, disability, age, sexual orientation; Directive 2002/73/EC modifying the Directive 76/207/EEC.

There are some concrete indicators of the impact of post-socialist change on the transforming societies. As discussed by Pollert (2003), United Nations Development Reports from various years contain the Human Development Index (HDI) and since 1991, a Gender-related Development Index (GDI). A higher (larger) ranking number indicates a worse position of a country relative to other countries with a lower (smaller) number.

Table 5. HDI and GDI ranking of select CEE countries, 1990-2001

Index / Country	1990	1992	1995	1998	1999	2000	2001
HDI							
Czech Republic	27	38	39	34	33	33	32
Hungary	30	50	47	43	36	35	38
Poland	41	51	52	44	38	37	35
GDI							
Czech Republic	-	15	25	33	32	32	32
Hungary	-	23	34	38	35	35	36
Poland	-	22	35	40	36	36	35

Note: For Czech Republic until 1993 data for Czechoslovakia used.
 Source: based on UNDP Human Development Reports from various years¹⁴

As Table 5 indicates, the HDI ranking number for CEE countries shortly after transition was relatively high. In the case of Poland, that rank was 41st. Poland’s GDI rank was better than its HDI rank, so its gender dimension was relatively good in comparison to the general index. However, in most the recent period, the HDI rank for Poland has improved by moving to 35th, while its GDI plunged from 22nd in 1992 to 35th in 2001, with the year 1998 reaching the worst, 40th position. The comparative advantage of human development accounting for gender has declined quite steeply across CEE countries. Pollert (2003) makes a poignant observation that the “capitalist transition not only failed to maximize the female human resource legacy left by the Communist regimes, but damaged it.” (p.336) It appears that since 1999 the direction is being reversed back again, as the situation in Poland and the other CEE countries has improved. The reversal of the trend towards a better scenario on the gender dimension coincides with Poland’s approaching accession to the ranks of the EU.

Women and Political Power

Sainsbury (1999) argues that women’s politics are relevant to policy outcomes because of “ideology, power resources, strategies, and sites of influence” (p. 272). Despite the Polish Constitution’s assertions of equal rights for men and women, equality in opportunity and equality in outcome leave much to be desired. Although participation in politics and power in socialist times did not have the same value as it does now, the socialist state did at least put up a façade of women’s involvement. Since then, even the façade is gone, because after the removal of the official gender quota, the proportion of women in positions of power has been

on equal treatment for men and women in access to employment, vocational training, promotion and working conditions adding the issue of sexual harassment.
¹⁴ HDI contains: long and healthy life, knowledge, decent standard of living; GDI accounts for differences between men and women. Pollert notes methodological and conceptual modifications in successive UNDP reports, so comparative analysis should be cautious. Still, the ranking position is a valuable indicator of relative changes. The number of countries varies among years, but for GDI it is over 140 and for HDI over 160.

on the decline (Fuszara, 2000b).¹⁵ Despite the decline, the 1999 proposal of promoting equality in political representation via the quota system, whereby electoral candidate lists would contain at least a third of each sex, was not accepted (Fuszara, 2000a). The absence of politicised women's issues is also glaring in the trade unions where women were advised not to bring up potentially divisive concerns (Hauser et al, 1993). Thus, trade unions do not yet respond to the new possibilities of achieving greater gender equality (Sasic Saslovic, 2000).

A weak representation of women in power may be a part of the explanation for their relatively poor position in the society. A new avenue for the formation and articulation of politicised problems pertaining to women in Poland is the emergence of non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Although NGOs are increasing their presence, they are still seen as weak or ineffective (Graham and Regulska, 1997) and their cooperation with the government as difficult (Fuszara 2000a). However, their growth may be a real opportunity for women to stretch the boundaries of the public sphere and to engage in politics. This has the potential to engage with the general public in addition to working with national and supranational governing bodies, as it was done post- 1995 Beijing conference through the drawing up of a National Action Plan devised to improve women's situation (Martynowicz, 2000).

The Role of EU: Membership Prospects

The EU included labour market issues early on in its relations with CEE countries. The Europe Agreements provided for cooperation and harmonisation of labour law, especially health and safety, social security, and labour market policies (Mickiewicz and Bell, 2000). Poland's relations with the EU began with the 1989 trade and cooperation agreement, followed by the 1989 PHARE Programme, and then by the Europe Agreement signed in 1991 and enforced in 1994. The 1993 Copenhagen European Council required of CEE countries to fulfil criteria of stable institutions guaranteeing democracy, a functioning market economy, and the ability to carry membership obligations, the pre-accession strategy came with the 1994 European council in Essen. On the 5th of April 1994, Poland submitted its official application for accession and on the 31st of March 1998 began official accession negotiations (Lippert et al, 2001). Poland became an EU member on May 1st, 2004.

The politics of Equal Opportunities (EO) is seen either a non- or a low priority issue on the agenda of CEE governments, while joining the EU is to CEE countries a top political priority (Lippert et al, 2001). In fact, combined problems associated with the decline in employment, increasing inequality, and evolving gender roles together with institutional structures and politics complicate the prioritising of the one policy area (Pollert, 2000).

Despite such scepticism, some progress has been made, as Sasic Silovic (2000) observes, CEE countries have passed crucial legislation to prevent gender-based discrimination. In addition, the Polish Constitution permits certain sovereign powers to submit to supra-national regulations, so international law may override domestic legislation and as such new opportunities emerge to alter anti-discriminatory standards (Sasic Silovic, 2000). A concrete labour market example comes from retirement regulations, where, as a result of Poland's ambition to join the EU, the principle of equal treatment for men and women comes to the fore: an employer cannot fire a woman who has reached the age 60 if she still wants to work and must employ her for another 5 years (Helsinki Foundation Report). Also under pressure to meet the EU entry requirements, but in a different legislative sphere, the amended 1996 parental leave included fathers without any restrictions (Heinen, 2002).

¹⁵ Composition of women in the Sejm (lower house of Parliament) was 23% in 1980, 13.5% in 1989, and 11% in 1997.

The positive changes in legislation that have been taking place in recent years are ascribed to the harmonisation process and would not have taken place without the aspiration of joining EU ranks (Wilkowska, 2002). The changes in the Constitution of 1997 and the Labour Code of 2002 and 2004 are seen as influenced by the EU accession process. An EU report on Poland's progress towards accession (COM (2002) 700) confirms this by noting that the *acquis* on equal treatment for women and men has been mostly transposed. It further points to continued amendments to the Labour Code to establish complete comparability in the field of Labour Law. But, the new Labour Code regulations, aside from looking good on paper also serve as a concrete base for legal action if the law is not observed (Tokarska-Biernacik, 2002).

In the institutional realm, the Office of the Governmental Plenipotentiary for Equal Opportunities for Women and Men in Poland was established as a result of the negotiations with the EU (Wilkowska, 2002). The Ministry of the Economy and Labour together with the European Social Fund is involved in the initiative EQUAL, aiming at the study and support of new ways of fighting all forms of discrimination and inequality in the labour market. In addition, considering EU direction and adapting it to domestic context, the government has prepared the National Strategy for Increasing Employment and Human Resource Development for the years 2000-2006 (1999). Accordingly, the document recognises the inferior position of women in the labour market in relation to men and suggests changes addressing the issue. It proposes to popularise the idea of gender equality through education and media campaigns and to appeal to employers to provide part time positions to women with family obligations. While the document created during the right wing administration does recognise certain gender inequalities, it still stresses the more traditional role of women as mothers and attempts to find solutions for their return to work after childbirth. It does not, however, present women with real choices, nor does it promote the idea of fathers' role in childcare or part time employment. Gender equality then is not fully applied nor supported within the document itself, while the government vows to endorse it within the wider society.

And so, the prospect of joining EU does not mean that governments act in a single direction, or stay the course. They are still strong national actors whose varying preferences are often put into play. A recent example of the state's activities taken against the official EU tendencies and against the government's earlier proclamations to the public occurred in the case of abortion law. The Polish leftist government, facing a nation wide referendum on joining the EU and under pressure from the Church, has requested from the EU a permission to keep the right to preserve its existing restrictive abortion laws (Penn, 2003). That is, the government acting on its own preferences also responds to pressures from other strong actors.

In sum, a complete transformation of the Polish system involving all the political, economic, social, and cultural adaptation to the West European standard is unlikely. One reason is that a uniform system has not been established anywhere yet, not even in the longest standing members of the EU (Kowalik, 1998). Another reason is that applicant or new member states are active players in the EU integration process and respond not only to the external structural pressures but also to interests expressed within the states' borders. A combination of what is demanded as fixed and what is negotiable causes unique solutions across the border. The resulting outcome for women in Poland and their position within the labour market is, in the end, affected by actions taken by the national governments as well as other sub-national and supra-national actors.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Although assessing the labour market position of women and men in socialist or post-socialist Poland is a complicated task, it is evident that the two recent structural sources of change, the 1989 communism collapse and the EU accession process, have resulted in different outcomes for the society. The first external shock worsened the relative position of women in comparison to the socialist period while the second has brought more beneficial amendments, at least on legislative level.

In brief, throughout the CEE countries, the communist official discourse was mostly supportive of gender equality. The Polish state emphasized women's active participation in employment so it was relatively high and facilitated by the provision of institutionalised child care, extensive maternity leave and child benefits, but also necessitated by low wages. Pension policies partially compensated women for their child raising leaves. The legal tradition of marriage was based on equality principles and promoted secularisation of marriage as well as simplifying divorce procedures (Ferge, 1998) and equal property rights in marriage and divorce (Pascall and Manning, 2000). Taxes and benefits were tied to individual employment and thus avoided treating women as dependent on their husbands (Pascall and Manning, 2000). The liberal abortion laws gave women a degree of control over their reproductive rights. All these characteristics suggest a degree of choice and independence between partners, a pattern of a family approaching a dual/individualised earner model. Still, full equality in socialist Poland was not achieved, having a gendered division of unpaid and paid labour and gender pay differentials as high as in the West.¹⁶

The collapse of communism changed the official and modified the actual gender relations in Poland. The immediate post-transition government did not engage in women friendly politics, and women's presence in the labour market became less legitimate than previously. The changed overall conditions and economic uncertainty worsened women's relationship to the labour market where female unemployment levels were rising faster and persisted longer than those of men. The gendered wage gap improved only slightly in the first phase of the transition; the segregation in the labour market did not. The higher human capital of women did not translate into significant improvements in wages or positions of authority, labour market discrimination has increased, and the political power of women decreased. Household and child care duties have remained predominantly with women.

Yet, today, the general picture of gender relations and the labour market situation of men and women is mixed, there are losers and winners among both groups. Since the guarantees of full employment are unsustainable, the unemployment rates are high, and employment rates are low, women find it more difficult to successfully compete in the labour market. Their labour force participation is lower than before the transformation, but so is that of men. The access to affordable childcare has diminished, but the maternity and child raising leaves and benefits have been extended to include fathers. Pension reforms became detrimental to persons who take time off to care for children, but benefit part time workers. In addition, individual wages are generally low and not conducive to the establishment of independent households based on only one income, whether male or female.

Linking the empirical description to the theoretical discussion at the onset of the paper does not yet allow determining what kind of a welfare state Poland is moving towards. The impact

¹⁶ The Polish case under socialism resembles that of Sweden, where the traditional family model coexisted with a more individual approach to men and women. The Swedish breadwinner model, although awarding women certain individual social rights, was still based on a traditional family ideology and did not erode the gendered division of labour (Sainsbury, 1994). However, while in Sweden the notions of care were changing from private to public responsibilities (Sainsbury, 1994), in Poland such a transition did not occur to a great degree, and certain accomplishments of the socialist state did not survive into the new system.

of global processes of internationalization of markets, intensified competition, the spread of knowledge and technology and the rising importance of markets collided with a set of institutions and culture specific to socialist societies. This collision is still generating the Polish welfare state mix, but in the meantime increased uncertainty is evident. The types of labour de-commodification and stratification are evolving from more generous and egalitarian to more precarious and stratified. The three pillars of state, market and family have shifted weight away from the state toward the market and the family. The patterns of state promoted gender relations uphold or even intensify the gendered division of labour and traditional marriage, and the change to non-individual taxation hints at a shift to a family wage system (without the family wage). The relatively good maternity leave and post maternity work reinstatement laws contrast with the diminished state provision of institutionalised childcare. Taken together, it is hard to argue that the employment pattern in Poland has moved from the more individual to the clear male breadwinner model.

Again, although a more detailed and rigorous analysis is still needed, one can see that structural changes related to globalization pass through the filter of national institutions, interact with agents on various levels, and alter the existing domestic status quo. More specifically, I argue that the commitment to labour market gender equality in a post-socialist state such as Poland depends on the political outlook of the governing administration (with the left more committed to equal opportunities than the right) combined with external and internal actors pressing for such a stance. While during the first exogenous shock the domestic environment contained an ‘anti-leftist’ Solidarity government¹⁷ committed to (male) worker support (decommodification), but grappling with a sudden sharp rise in unemployment, and thus budgetary constraints (trade off between unemployment benefits and ‘less urgent’ services). The increased strength of the Church stressed conservative roles of women, and the unions were pretty much in accord with this stance. The weak women’s movement was not in position to counter the retrenchment in the gender contract. The second external shift met a more fertile ground for supporting gender equality. The power of the right parties committed to the traditional family and the male worker is circumscribed by the leftist groups (no longer viewed as ‘old communists’) with a more egalitarian outlook and alignment with EU principles, the position of the Church after the initial boost is declining, and issues and non-governmental organisations focusing on commitments to gender equality are maturing and learning to use the EU’s commitment to gender equality on the national scene.

¹⁷ I use the term anti-leftist to stress the opposition to the communist totalitarian party from pre 1989 era and because the many parties making up the coalition were aligned with workers, but also committed to liberal style market reforms.

Bibliography

- Balcerzak Paradowska, Bożena (ed). 2001. *Kobiety i mężczyźni na rynku pracy: rzeczywistość lat 1990-1999*. IPiSS, Warsaw
- Balcerzak-Paradowska, Bożena. 2002. 'Czy uprawnienia pracownicze sprzyjają zatrudnieniu kobiet?' *Polityka Społeczna*. Vol 11-12
- Bastian, J. 1998. "Putting the Cart Before the Horse? Labour Market Challenges Ahead of Monetary Union in Europe" in Hine and Kassim (eds) 1998 *Beyond the Market*, London and New York, Routledge
- Bialecki, I. and Heynes B. 1993. 'Educational Attainment, the Status of Women, and the Private School Movement In Poland' in V.M. Moghadam (ed.) *Democratic Reform and the Position of Women in Transitional Economies*. Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Boeri, Tito. 1997. 'Learning from Transition Economies: Assessing Labor market Policies across Central and Eastern Europe'. *Journal of Comparative Economics*. Vol 25, pp 366-384
- Brainerd, Elizabeth. 2000. 'Women in transition: changes in gender waged differentials in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union'. *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*. Vol 54 no 1, pp 138-162
- Burda, Michael. 1998. 'The consequences of EU Enlargement for Central and East European Labour Markets'. CEPR discussion Paper No. 1881, pp 1-37
- Churski, Paweł. 2002. 'Unemployment and Labour-market Policy in the New Voivodeship System in Poland'. *European Planning Studies*. Vol 10, no 6, 745-763
- Domsch, Michel E. and Desiree H. Ladwig (eds). 2000. *Reconciliation of Family and Work in Eastern European Countries*. Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Mein
- Einhorn, Barbara. 1993. *Cinderella Goes to Market. Citizenship, Gender and women's Movements in East Central Europe*. Verso, London, New York.
- Esping-Andersen, G. 1990. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Oxford, Polity Press
- European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (2001-2004). *European industrial relations observatory online*: www.eiro.eurofound.eu.int
- Ferge, Zsuzsa. 1998. 'Women and Social Transformation in Central-Eastern Europe: the "Old Left" and the "New Right"', *Social Policy Review* 10: 217-36
- Fultz, Elaine, Markus Ruck and Silke Steinhilber (eds). 2003. *The Gender Dimensions of Social Security Reform in Central and Eastern Europe: Case Studies of the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland*. ILO
- Fuszara, Małgorzata. 2000a. 'The new gender contract in Poland'. SOCO project Paper No. 98, Vienna 2000
- Fuszara, Małgorzata. 2000b. 'New Gender Relations in Poland in the 1990s' in Gal, S, Kligman, G. (eds) *Reproducing Gender. Politics, public and everyday life after socialism*. Princeton University Press
- Głogosz, Dorota. 2000. 'Reconciliation of family and work – situation and trends in Poland – current tendencies and foreseen changes. In Domsch, Michel E. and Desiree H. Ladwig (eds). *Reconciliation of Family and Work in Eastern European Countries*. Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Mein
- Główny Urząd Statystyczny (GUS) – Central Statistical Office, www.stat.gov.pl
- Golinowska, Stanisława. 2002. 'Europejski model socjalny i otwarta koordynacja polityki społecznej'. *Polityka Społeczna*. Vol 11-12
- Gora, Marek. 1997. 'Employment Policies and Programmes in Poland' in Martin Godfrey and Peter Richards (eds). 1997. *Employment policies and programmes in Central and Eastern Europe*. International Labour Office, Geneva, pp 115-133

- Graham, Ann and Joanna Regulska. 1997. 'Expanding Political Space for Women in Poland'. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*. Vol 30, no 1, pp 65-82
- Grajek, Michal. 2001. *Gender Pay Gap in Poland*. Discussion Paper FS IV 01-13, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin.
- Hauser, Ewa, Barbara Heyns, and Jane Mansbridge. 1993. *Feminism in the Interstices of Politics and Culture: Poland in Transition*. In Nanette Funk and Magda Mueller (eds) *Gender Politics and Post-Communism: Reflections from Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union*. Routledge, New York, London.
- Hausner, Jerzy. 2002. Interview with Rzeczpospolita journalist Katarzyna Sadłowska. *Archives of Rzeczpospolita Online*.
- Hebda-Czaplicka, Izabela and Bożena Kolaczek. 2001. *Przypadki dyskryminacji kobiet i mężczyzn w sferze pracy*. In Bożena Balcerzak Paradowska (ed) *Kobiety i mężczyźni na rynku pracy: rzeczywistość lat 1990-1999*. IPISS, Warsaw
- Heinen, Jacqueline. 2002. *Ideology, Economics, and the Politics of Child Care in Poland before and after the Transition*. In Sonya Michel and Rianne Mahon (eds) *Childcare Policy at the Crossroads*. London, Routledge.
- Helsinki Foundation Report, 2000. 'Poland'. Pp 319-344, [http://: free.ngo.pl/temida](http://free.ngo.pl/temida)
- Inglot, Tomasz. 1995. 'The Politics of Social Policy Reform in Post/Communist Poland: Government Responses to the Social Insurance Crisis during 1989/1993'. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*. Vol 28, no 3, pp 361-373
- Jackman, Richard and Michal Rutkowski. 1994. *Labor Markets: Wages and Employment*. In Nicholas Barr (ed) *Labor Markets and Social Policy in Central and Eastern Europe: The Transition and Beyond*. Oxford University Press
- KobietyOnLine, www.kobiety.com
- Kolaczek, Bożena. 2001. *Zatrudnienie kobiet i mężczyzn w Polsce w latach 1990-1999. Tendencje zmian*. In Bożena Balcerzak Paradowska (ed) *Kobiety i mężczyźni na rynku pracy: rzeczywistość lat 1990-1999*. IPISS, Warsaw
- Kowalik, Tadeusz. 1998. 'The Systemic Conditioning of Polish Social Policy'. *Labour Focus on Eastern Europe*. No59, pp 53-61
- Kramer, Mark. 1995. 'Polish Workers and the Post Communist transition, 1989-1993'. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*. Vol 28 no1, pp 71-114
- Krynska, Elżbieta. 2001. *Dylematy Polskiego Rynku Pracy*. Instytut Pracy i Spraw Socjalnych, Warsaw
- Lafont, Suzanne. 2001. 'One step forward, two steps back: women in the post-communist states'. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*. Vol 34, pp 203-220
- Lewis, Jane. 1992. *Gender and the Development of Welfare Regimes*, *Journal of European Social Policy* 2 (3), pp 159-173
- Lewis, Jane. 2002. *Gender and Welfare State Change*. *European Societies*, 4 (4), pp. 331-357
- Lippert, Barbara, Gaby Umbach, and Wolfgang Wssels. 2001. 'Europeanization of CEE executives: EU membership negotiations as a shaping power.' *Journal of European Public Policy*. Vol 8, no 6, pp 980-1012
- Lobodzinska, Barbara. 1995. *Family, Women, and Employment in Central-Eastern Europe*. Westport, CT/ London: Greenwood Press.
- Makkai, Toni. 1994. 'Social Policy and Gender in Eastern Europe' in Diane Sainsbury (ed) *Gendering Welfare States*. Cambridge, pp 188-205
- Marody, Mira. 1995. 'Life Strategies in the emerging Capitalist Economy and the Role of Gender.' *Polish Sociological Review*. 2 (110), pp103-111

- Marody, Mira and Anna Giza-Poleszczuk. 2000. 'Changing Images of Identity in Poland: From the self-sacrificing to the self-investment woman.' In Gal, S, Kligman, G. (eds) *Reproducing Gender. Politics, public and everyday life after socialism*. Princeton University Press
- Martynowicz, Agnieszka on behalf of the Polish Helsinki Committee, 2000. 'A Perspective on the Women's Status in Poland'. Paper presented at the "Obstacles to the Advancement of Women's Human Rights – A Regional Approach" conference in Sarajevo.
- Mickiewicz, Tomasz and Janice Bell. 2000. *Unemployment in Transition: Restructuring and Labour Markets in Central Europe*. Harwood Academic Publishers
- Ministerstwo Gospodarki i Pracy (MGiP) Ministry of the Economy and Labour (formerly Ministerstwo Gospodarki, Pracy i Polityki Społecznej (MGPiPS) – Ministry of the Economy, Labour and Social Policy), www.mpips.gov.pl
- Nowakowska, Urszula and Anna Swedrowska. 2000. *Kobiety na rynku pracy*. In Barbara Gadomska, Maja Korzeniewska, Urszula Nowakowska (eds) *Kobiety w Polsce w latach 90. Raport Centrum Praw Kobiet*. Warsaw.
- OECD Employment Outlook, various years available at: <http://www.oecd.org>
- Orloff, Ann Shola. 1993. *Gender and the Social rights of Citizenship: the Comparative Analysis of Gender Relations and Welfare States*. *American Sociological Review*. 58, June, pp 303-328
- Orloff, Ann Shola. 1996. *Gender in the Welfare State*. *Annual Review of Sociology*. 22, pp 51-78
- Pascall, Gillian and Nick Manning. 2000. *Gender and social policy: comparing welfare states in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union*. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 10 (3), pp 240-266
- Penn, Shana. 2003. *Poland Backs Away from Liberalizing Abortion Laws*. www.womenenews.org
- Piotrowski, Jerzy. 1963. *Praca zawodowa kobiety a rodzina*. Książka i Wiedza.
- Pollert, Anna. 2000. 'Gender Relations, Equal Opportunities and Women in Transition in Central Eastern Europe'. *Labour Focus on Eastern Europe*. No 66, pp 4-49
- Pollert, Anna. 2003. 'Women, work and equal opportunities in post-Communist transition'. *Work, employment and society*. Vol 17 (2), pp 331-357
- Rubery, Jill. 2001. *Equal Opportunities and Employment Policy*. In Peter Auer (ed) *Changing labour markets in Europe: the role of institutions and policies*. ILO, Geneva
- Rutkowski, Jan. 1998. 'Welfare and the Labor Market in Poland: Social Policy during Economic Transition'. *World Bank Technical Paper no 417*, Washington, DC
- Sainsbury, Diane. 1994. *Women's and Men's Social Rights: Gendering Dimensions of Welfare States*. In D. Sainsbury (ed) *Gendering Welfare States*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
- Sainsbury, Diane. 1999. *Gender, Policy Regimes, and Politics*. In Diane Sainsbury (ed) *Gender and Welfare State Regimes*. Oxford University Press.
- Sasic Silovic, Dasa. 2000. 'EU accession- chance for gender equality in CEE countries'. *Transfer*. Vol 3/00, pp 468-485
- Siemienska, Renata, 1990. *Plec zawod polityka. Udział kobiet w zyciu publicznym w Polsce*
- Siemienska, Renata, 1997. *Wokol problemow zawodowego rownowyprawnienia kobiet I mezczyzn*. Warsaw
- Siemienska, Renata. 2000. *Factors shaping conceptions of women's and men's roles in Poland*. In Domsch, Michel E. and Desiree H. Ladwig (eds). 2000. *Reconciliation of Family and Work in Eastern European Countries*. Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Mein

- Siemienska, Renata. 2002 'The Political Culture of Elites and Public: Building Women's Political Representation in Post-Communist Poland'. In T. Klonowicz and G. Wiczorkowska (ed) Social Change, Adaptation, and Resistance. University of Warsaw
- Szemplinska, Elzbieta. 2000. Legal possibilities of reconciling family and work in Polish law. In Domsch, Michel E. and Desiree H. Ladwig (eds). 2000. Reconciliation of Family and Work in Eastern European Countries. Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Mein
- Taylor Gooby, P. 1991. Welfare state Regimes and Welfare Citizenship, *Journal of European Social Policy* 1 (2), pp 93-105
- Titkow, Anna. 1993. 'Political Change in Poland: Cause, Modifier, or Barrier to Gender Equality?' In Funk, Nanette and Magda Mueller Gender Politics and Post-Communism. Reflections from Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union. . Routledge, New York, London
- Tokarska-Biernacik, Krystyna. 2002. Participant in the seminar 'Kodeks Pracy Szansa dla Kobiet' in Warsaw. Secretariat of the Government Plenipotentiary for the Equal Status of Women and Men.
- Towalski, Rafal. 2003. Public sector pay examined. www.eurofound.eu.int
- United Nations, UNDP Human Development Reports from various years, www.undp.org
- Watson, Peggy. 1993. 'Eastern Europe's Silent Revolution: Gender'. *Sociology*. Vol 27, no 3, pp 471-487
- Watson, Peggy. 2000. 'Politics, policy and identity: EU eastern enlargement and East-West differences'. *Journal of European Public Policy*. Vol 7, no 3, pp 369-384
- Wilkowska, Anna. 2002. Gender Equality Standards in Poland: The Results of the Enlargement Process. http://www.ewla.org/wf_dl/Paper_Wilkowska.doc
- Woycicka, Irena, Bozena Balcerzak-Paradowska, Agnieszka Chlon-Dominczak, Irena Kotowska, Anna Olejniczuk-Merta, Irena Topinska. 2003. The Gender Dimensions of Social Security Reform in Poland. In Elaine Fultz, Markus Ruck and Silke Steinhilber (eds) *The Gender Dimensions of Social Security Reform in Central and Eastern Europe: Case Studies of the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland*. ILO